# CARE AND EMOTIONAL IMPERIALISM

Filipino Migrant Workers and the Ethics of Home Healthcare

**Cover Story**
by Arpita Wadhwa,
Ashoka University **p. 5**

# CONTENTS

# Staff

**EDITORS-IN-CHIEF**
Tyler Jager
Numi Katz

**MANAGING EDITORS**
Blake Bridge
Juanita Garcia Uribe
Mary Orsak
Vishwa Padigepati

**OUTREACH DIRECTOR**
Samantha Larkin

**ASSISTANT ONLINE EDITOR**
Alizeh Yahya

**DESIGN EDITOR**
Mary Orsak
Pearl Hwang
Josie Jahng
Monique Nikolov
Chanwook Park

**EDITORS**
Adoma Addo
Joe Boland
Amelia Browne
Nathalie Bussemaker
Coco Chai
Kiran Damodaran
Ruquiyah Damrah
Carlos Del Rio Oropeza
Helen Dugmore
Steven Dykstra
Fatma Elsayed
Chase Finney
Bayan Galal
Gianna Griffin

Ariana Habibi
Will Howard-Waddingham
Tasnim Islam
Lucy Kim
Max Krupnick
Joaquín Lara Midkiff
Alayna Lee
Haze Lee
Jason Lee
Joon Lee
Mason LaPlante
Emily Lin
Yusra Mohamed
Minahil Nawaz
Sam Pekats
Allison Rice
Marianna Sierra
Andrew Song
Henry Suckow Ziemer
Eda Uzunlar
Miguel Von Fedak
Gabriella Wallk
Elizabeth Zietz

**CONTRIBUTORS**
Arpita Wadhwa
Greyson Hoye
Amy Tong
Coleman Lambo
Price Phillips

# Dear Reader,

We are proud to present to you the 2020 Winter Issue of the Yale Review of International Studies. This issue, the second of the Yale College academic year, features the most exemplary work of undergraduates submitting to YRIS from within the United States and around the world. Their scholarship draws attention to a number of pressing issues around the world. In our cover issue, Arpita Wadhwa explores the lived experiences and theoretical dimensions of Filipino home healthcare workers in the United States, arguing that injustices within the American healthcare sector are upheld by a system of colonial relations.

Our remaining articles cut across a broad range of creative disciplines and methodologies. Through an analysis of China's involvement in Ethiopian and South African information and technology sectors, Amy Tong shows that the aims of Chinese foreign investment in Africa are more complex than traditionally conveyed in Western media. Greyson Hoye uses social theory to examine how 1990s postcommunist transitions explain present-day national populism in Central and Eastern Europe. Coleman Lambo writes on the relationship between the Thai military and the country's financial sector, and on the more quantitative side, Price Phillips analyzes national anthem adoption and its effects on national identity with an original data set.

The high quality of thoughtful and creative scholarship that we receive at YRIS continues to impress us. These five essays in our print issue complement our growing online content, as we venture into interviews and podcast coverage as well as other media. We are so proud of our editorial staff, who have overcome significant barriers from around the world to bring characteristic care and thoughtfulness to the Winter Issue, despite the pandemic. We hope that you enjoy this issue as much as we do, and that these articles raise thought-provoking social, cultural, and political questions for your consideration.

Kind regards,
Tyler Jager & Numi Katz
Editors-in-Chief

ARPITA WADHWA

GREYSON HOYE

AMY TONG

COLEMAN LAMBO

PRICE PHILLIPS

# Essays

Arpita Wadhwa
Ashoka University

# Care and Emotional Imperialism

## Filipino Migrant Workers and the Ethics of Home Healthcare

**T**oday's north does not extract love from the south by force: there are no colonial officers in tan helmets, no invading armies, no ships bearing arms sailing off to the colonies. Instead, we see a benign scene of Third World women pushing baby carriages, elder care workers patiently walking, arms linked, with elderly clients on streets or sitting beside them in First World parks."

Arlie Russell Hochschild
'Love and Gold' (2002)

On August 7, 2017, hundreds of activists took to the streets of New York to protest the terrible working conditions of home healthcare workers in America. 'Home' which is considered to be a place of safety had been turned into a site of exploitation for these workers. The protest was sparked due to a lawsuit filed by two Filipino women, Edith Mendoza and Sherile Pahagas, against their employer, the Kohlers.[1] The women were paid less than the

---

1    R Nasa. (2017, August 1). Two Filipina domestic workers for German diplomat were overworked, underpaid: lawsuit. *New York Daily News.* https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/manhattan/diplomat-sued-underpaying-overworking-filipina-house-workers-article-1.3375495.

minimum wage and were forced to work 90 hours a week. They were not paid for overtime and were not allowed to take any days off from work. "I don't want them to do this to another Filipina or anyone else," Pahagas expressed.[2] However, Pahagas and Mendoza are not alone; their lives are also the reality of many home healthcare workers.

By drawing on similar experiences of Filipino home healthcare workers in America, the paper will problematize the ethicality of home healthcare. It will argue that the practice of home healthcare in America is embedded in a system of colonial relations, and thus, the care that is 'extracted' leads to the emotional imperialism of the caregivers. To do so, the paper has been divided into broad sections. First, it will trace the origins of feminization of international migration to highlight the role of neoliberal strategies in the construction of a global care crisis. Second, by focusing on the case study of America's home healthcare sector, the paper will bring out postcolonial entanglements to the migration flow of Filipino women into America. Third, it will analyze the consequences of caregiving for these workers within the space of 'home'. Fourth, the paper will bring together the findings of postcolonial entanglements and 'care drain' to establish the emotional imperialism of the caregivers. Lastly, the paper will suggest an ethical reconceptualization of home healthcare to account for the global structures of power that govern this sector.

## I. FEMINIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THE GLOBAL CARE CRISIS

In 2019, the global number of international migrants reached an estimated 272 million.[3] Of these migrants, over 10.4 million migrants are from the Philippines and are located in 200 countries as permanent, temporary, or irregular migrants.[4] The United States of America is one of the most common places of work for Filipino migrants. As of 2018, there are 4.1 million Filipinos in the United States.[5] Migration has long been seen as a male-dominated arena. Interestingly, in recent times, women have also migrated in large numbers to different parts of the world. Women's participation in the (health) care sector has been increasingly high. As of May 2020, women account for 75% of the immigrants entering the healthcare sector in the U.S., and this number is even larger while referring to the sub-field of home-based healthcare.[6]

Home Health Care is an easy and institutionalized way of receiving care in the comfort of one's home. Often used for children or the elderly, these care workers engage in Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) such as bathing,

---

2   Ibid.

3   United Nations. (2019, September 17). *The number of international migrants reaches 272 million, continuing an upward trend in all world regions, says UN*. UN DESA | United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/international-migrant-stock-2019.html.

4   United Nations Organization. (n.d.). *Filipino Women Migrant Workers: Fact Sheet*. UN Women. https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2016/filipino-women-migrant-workers-factsheet.pdf?la=en&vs=2736

5   J.B. J. Batalova, (2020, August 7*). Immigrant Health-Care Workers in the United States*. Migrationpolicy.Org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigrant-health-care-workers-united-states-2018.

6   Ibid.

feeding, walking, assisting with any equipment (such as wheelchairs), and providing emotional support to the person.[7] Care workers also provide indirect personal care services such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, housekeeping, and maintenance, which are necessary for the comfort of members of the house. In America, 92% of all home-healthcare workers are immigrant women, with a large proportion of them being from the Philippines.[8] The increasing migration of women and their subsequent employment in the care sector is a response to what is known as the 'care crisis'. Neoliberal policies have played a major role in the creation of this 'care crisis,' which results in a 'pull to care' for the Global North, and a 'push for care' for the Global South.

> "MIGRATION HAS LONG BEEN SEEN AS A MALE-DOMINATED ARENA. INTERESTINGLY, IN RECENT TIMES, WOMEN HAVE ALSO MIGRATED IN LARGE NUMBERS TO DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD."

## CARE CRISIS: A 'PULL FOR CARE'

'Pull for care' refers to the role of neoliberal policies in generating a demand for migrant caregivers because of both women's increasing participation in the 'productive workforce' and also the privatization of care.[9] 'Privatization of care' refers to the declining role of the state in providing services of care to its citizens. Receding spending in care services has put the sector of the care work largely in the ambit of private, voluntary, and non-profit actors. Moreover, certain demographic factors also play an important role in the creation of a care crisis. Rising divorce rates and lower marriage rates, along with the increasing employment of women outside of the home, and the decline of the welfare state, result in a vacuum of care (or a 'pull for care') to be filled by migrant women caregivers.[10]

## CARE CRISIS: A 'PUSH TO CARE'

For developing countries, the care crisis is a 'push to care'. This 'push' is largely created by a neoliberal ideology which dictates structural adjustment policies for developing countries.[11] Structural adjustment policies are a set of economic policies to which a country is bound in order to be eligible to secure loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and have often led to sovereign government debts. Facilitated by international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, have led to government debts. Some argue that mounting government debts have subsequently led to cutbacks of state spending on education, health, and

---

7    Parks, J. A. (2003). *No Place Like Home?: Feminist Ethics and Home Health Care (Medical Ethics)* (1st ed.). Indiana University Press.

8    J.B. J. Batalova, (2020, August 7*). Immigrant Health-Care Workers in the United States*. Migrationpolicy.Org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigrant-health-care-workers-united-states-2018.

9    J Misra,, Woodring, J., & Merz, S. N. (2006). The globalization of care work: Neoliberal economic restructuring and migration policy. *Globalizations*, 3(3). https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730600870035, pg 319.

10   Ibid.

11   Ibid.

childcare services.[12] The result of this is an increased burden on the women of poor countries to provide for care for their families. Emigration is one of the options available for these women to earn income to support their families. Thousands of women emigrate to rich countries every year in search of jobs. These women are integrated into the healthcare sector because of the vacuum of care present there. Thus, neoliberal strategies play an important role in the creation and sustenance of a global crisis of care.

While the creation of a global care crisis can be understood through the lens of neoliberal strategies, it is worth mentioning that such strategies may not be sufficient to explain fixed flows of migration. Migration isn't a random act of movement. Migration is highly structured and conditioned.[13] This structuring often has colonial or historical traces to it. Filipino women have continued to be one of the largest groups of people to migrate to America every year. The next section will delve into this topic to identify the reasons for a fixed migration flow of Filipino women into America.

# "MIGRATION ISN'T A RANDOM ACT OF MOVEMENT. MIGRATION IS HIGHLY STRUCTURED AND CONDITIONED. THIS STRUCTURING OFTEN HAS COLONIAL OR HISTORICAL TRACES TO IT."

## II. POSTCOLONIAL INTIMACIES: A CASE STUDY OF CARE WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Due to the growing vacuum of care within households, more and more women are being employed as home-based care givers. As mentioned earlier, a large proportion of these women are from the Philippines. It is no coincidence that the pattern of migration flows from the Philippines to the United States of America. A careful study of the history of America's actions in Philippines reveals that this migrant flow has been facilitated by the colonial relationship between the two countries.

A study of these actions highlights a web of postcolonial intimacies between the two countries. Postcolonial intimacy refers to the sense of 'proximity, entanglements, and mutuality' between the countries.[14] It explores the historic entanglement of the two countries. The relationship can be traced back to the Pensionado Act of 1903 wherein the U.S. Army hired several Filipino women as contract nurses trained and trained them in healthcare work in order to

---

12    Ibid.

13    Ibid pg. 320.

14    R Guillermo, (2019). Beyond Bali: Subaltern Citizens and Post-Colonial Intimacy By Ana Dragojlovic. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016. Pp. 208. ISBN 10: 9462980640; ISBN 13: 978-0822362494. *International Journal of Asian Studies*, 16(1). https://doi.org/10.1017/s1479591418000311, pg. 75.

fight the shortage of healthcare professionals in America.[15] Their training was specific to the problems of the Americans. These women then set up multiple nursing schools in the Philippines with the same Americanized model, which started a trend of Filipino nurses training themselves to serve Americans. In 1948, the U.S. State Department initiated an Exchange Visitor's Program to combat Soviet propaganda.[16] This program allowed many visitors from other countries to visit the U.S. and learn about American culture. A majority of these visitors were Filipino nurses who, in need of better wages, were training to flee to America for a job. The program also allowed for these nurses to immigrate to the U.S. without pre-arranged employment.[17] As a result of this, many Filipino women entered the U.S without jobs. Often they would end up failing the nursing board exam, and thus, were forced to use their nursing skills for 'low-skilled' carework to make ends meet. This carework was often outside the hospital and inside the house.

One of the advertisements for Filipino nurses in the 1940s promised "bright futures" for the people who came to the U.S. for nursing.[18] "If you're not happy... why not go somewhere else? We can't promise that you'll find happiness, but we can help you chase it all over the place," another advertisement claimed.[19] These catchphrases and advertisements were marketing strategies for the United States, which considered the Philippines as an extension of its control and used it to fill up its shortage of careworkers. Decades later, while the Philippines no longer remains a colony, its entanglements with the United States of America still exist. Aspirations of better pay, earning for their family, and better standards of living are still some of the leading drivers of migration for Filipino women.

Another major aspect of postcolonial entanglements is the 'mutuality' between the countries. This refers to the mutual influence of the countries on each other. While referring to this very mutuality between America and the Philippines, Catherine Choy, author of Empires of Care, writes:

> *We often think about the Philippines as an extension of the United States, as a colonial possession, as an extension of U.S. ideology... But what we ought to think about is how the United States is also an extension of the Philippines.[20]*

Choy argues that Filipino care workers, whose nursing practices have Americanized since their colonialization, also influence the American healthcare system.[21] The rise of traditional Philippine therapies such as hilot, faith healing, and the use of medicinal plants can be attributed to the influence of Filipino care workers in America.[22] However, the aspect of 'mutuality' differs in the context of geographies of care. Care, when provided in geographies

15   N. Robles (2019, May 3). *Why Filipino nurses are a huge presence in U.S. health care*. INQUIRER.Net USA. https://usa.inquirer.net/28681/why-filipino-nurses-are-a-huge-presence-in-u-s-health-care.
16   Ibid.
17   Ibid.
18   Vox. (2020, June 29). *Why the US has so many Filipino nurses* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yw8a8n7ZAZg&t=481s, 06:15- 06:46.
19   Ibid.
20   A Brice, (2019, May 30). *Why are there so many Filipino nurses in the U.S.*? Berkeley News. https://news.berkeley.edu/2019/05/28/filipino-nurses-in-the-us-podcast/
21   Ibid.
22   Ibid.

"THE ABSENCE OF LABOR LAWS, STANDARDIZED WAGES, AND REDRESSAL MECHANISMS HAVE RESULTED IN AN EXCESS OF 'EMOTIONAL LABOUR.'"

such as of a hospital, community care centers, etc., operate within a framework of labor laws, rights, and redressal mechanisms. Such features are absent in the geography of the 'home'. The geography of the 'home' enables an unregulated interaction of these postcolonial entanglements. Traditional conceptualization of the home reifies a public/private dichotomy wherein 'work' performed inside the house is devalued. Moreover, because of the influence of patriarchal norms on labor relations, women entering the field of home healthcare are marked with a 'low price tag' for their work.[23] Their 'low price tag' allows for them to be exploited for as much labor as possible. The next section of the paper will elaborate upon the geography of home to highlight its impact on the nature of care relations within the household.

### III. GEOGRAPHIES OF CARE: WHAT ROLE DOES THE 'HOME' PLAY?

Geographies play an important role in defining the arrangements of caregiving and care receiving.[24] Increasingly, migrants are being employed in homes for providing healthcare. One of the reasons for this is the provision of being taken care of within the comfort of one's home. Services in America such as home-based nurses, nannies, and Rent-A-Mom are all facilities which are replacing nurseries, community drop-in centres, and hospitals.[25] [26] These services provide personalised care and nourishment - all for a fee. In the United States of America, home-based healthcare is one of the fastest growing industries.[27] However, the geography of the home in a neoliberal economy in such that it is devoid of any worker protections. The absence of labor laws, standardized wages, and redressal mechanisms have resulted in an excess of 'emotional labour.'

Coined by A.R. Hochschild, the term 'emotional labour' refers to the performance of emotions, care, and nurturing for a fee. This is also what is known as 'emotional proletarianism'. Emotional Proletarianism refers to the production of authentic emotion in exchange for a wage.[28] While conventional 'productive' labor which happens in factories and industries is controlled and exploited by the state or the market, emotional labor is controlled (and exploited) by the person in-charge of the home. This rigid dichotomy between the home and the outside has led to the creation of an unregulated home healthcare sector. It

23    A Mezzadri. (2016). Class, gender and the sweatshop: on the nexus between labour commodification and exploitation. Third World Quarterly, 37(10). https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1180239, pg. 1887.
24    Raghuram, P., Madge, C., & Noxolo, P. (2009). Rethinking responsibility and care for a postcolonial world. Geoforum, 40(1), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.07.007, pg. 4.
25    *Rent–A-Mom* is a service in America that aims to fill the vacuum of childcare which is created when women are employed outside of the home. The service allows people to rent a caregiver (a woman) for the care of the child for a fixed period of time.
26    While hospitals continue to be accessed in high numbers for care, long term care work of chronically ill patients, or the elderly is often done within a home setting.
27    N Yeates, (2011). Global Care Chains. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(3), https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000235573, pg. 384.
28    M.A. Lee, (2016). BEYOND THE CARE CHAIN: KOREAN-CHINESE CHAOXIANZU MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN CHINA, SOUTH KOREA AND FRANCE. China From Where WeStand: Readings InComparative Sinology, 205–220.https://www.academia.edu/25730619/BEYOND_THE_CARE_CHAIN_KOREAN_CHINESE_CHAOXIANZU_%E6%9C%9D%E9%AE%AE%E6%97%8F_MIGRANT_DOMESTIC_WORKERS_IN_CHINA_SOUTH_KOREA_AND_FRANCE

has been estimated that less than 15% of home-based long-term care workers are formally employed.[29] More than half of these workers are undocumented.[30] Those who have been informally employed often lack the labor rights required for the protection of their emotional labor and are subjected to exploitation.

Home healthcare workers face multiple negative consequences as a result of the absence of a legal framework. The caregivers are often vulnerable to the demands of their employers and have a high-risk of physical, sexual, or economic abuse.[31] The employers often use tactics of abuse to establish control over the caregivers. In fact, it has been found that a lot of households prefer caregivers that are undocumented and less-educated so that they can have more power and control over them.[32] It was reported that 44% of Filipino migrants know another domestic worker who had experienced physical abuse, 27% of them knew someone who had experienced sexual harassment, and 22.4% knew someone who had been raped.[33] There have also been multiple instances of withholding of payments, passports, and other legal documents.[34] At the risk of being vulnerable to such abuses, caregivers often comply with the demands of their employer. Exploitation of their emotional labor by the employer also has several consequences on the physical health of the caregiver. A study reported that domestic caregivers are prone to burns, chronic hand/wrist pathology, head injuries, eye injuries, blindness, musculoskeletal strains/sprains, and amputations.[35] It also mentioned that female care workers often complain of long-term fatigue, chronic hunger, falls from picking up heavy equipment, and musculoskeletal strains and injuries caused by heavy lifting.[36]

The story of Mendoza and Pahagas mentioned at the start of this paper echoes this emotional labor, whose control was in the hands of the employer. The women were promised $10 per hour for a 35-hour work week, plus a room and meals. "It all turned out to be lies," explained Mendoza.[37] The workers worked for around 90 hours a week and ended up

> "IN FACT, IT HAS BEEN FOUND THAT A LOT OF HOUSEHOLDS PREFER CAREGIVERS THAT ARE UNDOCUMENTED AND LESS-EDUCATED SO THAT THEY CAN HAVE MORE POWER AND CONTROL OVER THEM."

29  WHO, (2017), *Women on the Move,* World Health Organization, pg 2.

30  Aviv, R. (2019, July 9). *The Sacrifices of an Immigrant Caregiver*. The New Yorker. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/04/11/the-sacrifices-of-an-immigrant-caregiver

31  WHO, (2017), *Women on the Move,* World Health Organization, pg 2.

32  J Misra, Woodring, J., & Merz, S. N. (2006). The globalization of care work: Neoliberal economic restructuring and migration policy. *Globalizations*, https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730600870035, pg. 324

33  WHO, (2017), *Women on the Move,* World Health Organization, pg 3.

34  Ibid pg. 4.

35  Ibid pg. 3.

36  Ibid.

37  R Nasa. (2017, August 1). Two Filipina domestic workers for German diplomat were overworked, underpaid: lawsuit. New York Daily News. https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/manhattan/diplomat-sued-underpaying-overworking-filipina-house-workers-article-1.3375495.

making only $350 a week.[38] They were also not allowed to go to the doctors or miss work for any emergency. "I am a human, not a robot… I don't want to die like this", one of them complained while talking about the extreme exhaustion caused by overworking.[39] The judgement of the lawsuit filed by the care workers stated that the act of employing caregivers in a domestic setting is not an 'official act'.[40] In this way, the geography of care also came to define the nature of care relations. In the context of the 'home', not only was the power in the hands of the household owner, but there were also no possibilities of unionization or legal ways for them to seek justice.

It is evident that the constant extraction and exploitation of emotional labor from immigrants leads to the chronic deterioration of health and quality of life for these caregivers. This pattern of consistent extraction of care of Filipino women, given their postcolonial entanglements with the United States of America, resembles a pattern of a new kind of imperialism. As compared to 'traditional' imperialism, this new form of 'emotional imperialism' does not target material resources but rather care and emotional labor.

## IV. EMOTIONAL IMPERIALISM - CARE CHAINS AND CARE DRAINS

The concept of 'emotional imperialism' states that global care chains lead to the maldistribution of the Third World emotional commons.[41] Emotional commons refer to work or labour that is highly dependent on emotional inputs such as care. Following, from this, Global Care Chains are the personal links between caregivers who distribute these emotional commons. The following is an example of a care chain:[42]

1. *First Link:* An older daughter from a poor family in a Third World country cares for her siblings
2. *Second Link*: While her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a nanny migrating to a First World country
3. *Third Link*: This nanny, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a rich country

The Global Care Chains highlight a sense of dependency among caregivers and establishes transnational connections. However, it also highlights the care drains experienced by the countries which make-up the first link in the chain. These countries are often poor and belong to the Global South. Thus, the global care chains lead to deficits of care being administered in poor countries. These care deficits are also known as 'care drains'.[43] Care drain refers to the extraction of care and love from poor countries. Every year thousands of villages and cities see mothers, daughters, and grandmothers leave their homes behind in an attempt to provide care to the homes of the First World. This "desertification of Third World caregivers" leads to a new kind of imperialism: emotional imperialism.[44] This imperialism does not involve physical acts of force such as deployment of troops or policing. However, this

---

38  Ibid.
39  Ibid.
40  Ibid.
41  Y. Z. Gündüz (2015, April 15). *The Feminization of Migration*. Monthly Review. https://monthlyreview.org/2013/12/01/the-feminization-of-migration/#fn54
42  Ibid.
43  Ibid.
44  Ibid.

does not imply the absence of coercion. In emotional imperialism, coercion takes place through the conditions of the poorer country that forces women to provide their care to someone else. This emotional imperialism also has several negative consequences for the homes that were left behind. A report published by the World Health Organization revealed that the children of women who migrate to provide care work often suffer negative consequences from their mother's absence. The consequences include decreased focus on education and other activities. Moreover, the absence of the mother also often forces the girl in the family to pick up (unpaid) care work in order to provide care for her family.[45] Section III of the paper also highlights the consequences of care work on the caregivers in the setting of a household.

The protests for Mendoza and Pahagas in New York targeted the oppressive functioning of home healthcare which extracts and exploits the care workers. "End modern day slavery now," one of the posters said.[46] This implies that rather than exploitation of natural and material resources, modern-day slavery constitutes exploitation of emotions and care. This coercive extraction does not need the state or factory owners, but just the comfort of home. Such findings problematize the ethicality of home healthcare. Care, which is often seen as a nurturing act has ramifications and postcolonial connotations that are directing the home healthcare industry towards emotional imperialism of the Global South. Thus, it is important to reconsider the ethics of care work in a relational framework in order to analyze its consequences on the caregivers.

## V. TOWARDS A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF HOME HEALTHCARE ETHICS

The home healthcare industry of the U.S. is booming with high demand and supply. Despite the issues faced by individual caregivers, home healthcare continues to be seen as an 'ethical' profession because it provides nurturing and nourishment to people in order to facilitate their growth and well-being. It is often argued that the 'care drain' does not exist since care isn't a measurable entity and that due to the advent of the Internet, it is possible for the caregivers to care for their families back at home and for their employer.[47] However, this paper argues that care work within the home healthcare sector is subjected to excessive exploitation. The consequence of such exploitation is deteriorating health of the caregiver, making it impossible for them to 'care for' their families back home. The paper also argued that the relationship between the caregiver and the care-receiver in home healthcare is deeply constructed by powers of neoliberalism, colonialism, and is determined by gender.

Considering these dimensions from an ethical standpoint paves the way for an 'expressive – collaborative' model of ethics to come into place. Feminists such as Margaret Walker have argued that morality (or ethics) should be looked at as "understanding and adjustment in which people account to each other for the identities, relationships and values that define their responsibilities".[48]

---

45    WHO. (2017). *Women on the Move*. World Health Organization. pg. 5.

46    R Nasa. (2017, August 1). Two Filipina domestic workers for German diplomat were overworked, underpaid: lawsuit. New York Daily News. https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/manhattan/diplomat-sued-underpaying-overworking-filipina-house-workers-article-1.3375495.

47    N Yeates, (2011). Global Care Chains. International Feminist Journal of Politics, 6(3), https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000235573, p. 370.

48    F Robinson, (2012). Decolonizing International Political Theory: Emotional

In the context of Filipino caregivers in America's home healthcare sector, this model of ethics would imply looking at home healthcare not just in terms of the act of care-giving, but also in terms of the socio-political, psychological, ethnographic and historical process that operate behind the act.[49] Thus, an ethical reconsideration of home healthcare is needed in order to recognize the role of global structures of power (and discrimination) in governing something as traditionally private as care inside a home.

---

Imperialism and the Paradox of Value in Globalized Care, p. 13.
49  Ibid.

---

**Arpita Wadhwa** is a part of Ashoka University's Undergraduate batch of 2021. She is pursuing a major in Political Science and a minor in International Relations. Her research interests lie in global development, international political economy, and its intersections with identity politics.

# Works Cited

Antwi, P., Brophy, S., Strauss, H., & Troeung, Y.-D. (2013). POSTCOLONIAL INTIMACIES: GATHERINGS, DISRUPTIONS, DEPARTURES. Interventions, 15(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/136980 1x.2013.770994

Aviv, R. (2019, July 9). The Sacrifices of an Immigrant Caregiver. The New Yorker. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/04/11/the-sacrifices-of-an-immigrant-caregiver

Batalova, J. B. J. (2020, August 7). Immigrant Health-Care Workers in the United States. Migrationpolicy.Org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigrant-health-care-workers-united-states-2018

Brice, A. (2019, May 30). Why are there so many Filipino nurses in the U.S.? Berkeley News. https://news.berkeley.edu/2019/05/28/filipino-nurses-in-the-us-podcast/

Guillermo, R. (2019). Beyond Bali: Subaltern Citizens and Post-Colonial Intimacy By Ana Dragojlovic. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016. Pp. 208. ISBN 10: 9462980640; ISBN 13: 978-0822362494. International Journal of Asian Studies, 16(1), 75–77. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1479591418000311

Gündüz, Z. Y. (2015, April 15). The Feminization of Migration. Monthly Review. https://monthlyreview.org/2013/12/01/the-feminization-of-migration/#fn54

Hochschild, A. R., & Ehrenreich, B. (2002). Love and gold.

Hochschild, A. R. (2012). The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling (Third Edition, Updated with a New Preface ed.). University of California Press.

Lee, M. A. (2016). BEYOND THE CARE CHAIN: KOREAN-CHINESE CHAOXIANZU ( ) MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN CHINA, SOUTH KOREA AND FRANCE. China From Where WeStand: Readings InComparative Sinology, 205–220. https://www.academia.edu/25730619/BEYOND_THE_CARE_CHAIN_KOREAN_CHINESE_CHAOXIANZU_%E6%9C%9D%E9%AE%AE%E6%97%8F_MIGRANT_DOMESTIC_WORKERS_IN_CHINA_SOUTH_KOREA_AND_FRANCE

Misra, J., Woodring, J., & Merz, S. N. (2006). The globalization of care work: Neoliberal economic restructuring and migration policy. Globalizations, 3(3), 317–332. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730600870035

Parks, J. A. (2003). No Place Like Home?: Feminist Ethics and Home Health Care (Medical Ethics) (1st ed.). Indiana University Press.

Raghuram, P., Madge, C., & Noxolo, P. (2009). Rethinking responsibility and care for a postcolonial world. Geoforum, 40(1), 5–13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.07.007

Robinson, F. (2012). Decolonizing International Political Theory: Emotional Imperialism and the Paradox of Value in Globalized Care.

Robles, N. (2019, May 3). Why Filipino nurses are a huge presence in U.S. health care. INQUIRER.Net USA. https://usa.inquirer.net/28681/why-filipino-nurses-are-a-huge-presence-in-u-s-health-care

Mezzadri, A. (2016). Class, gender and the sweatshop: on the nexus between labour commodification and exploitation. Third World Quarterly, 37(10), 1877–1900. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1180239

Nasa, R. (2017, August 1). Two Filipina domestic workers for German diplomat were overworked, underpaid: lawsuit. New York Daily News. https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/manhattan/diplomat-sued-underpaying-overworking-filipina-house-workers-article-1.3375495

United Nations. (2019, September 17). The number of international migrants reaches 272 million, continuing an upward trend in all world regions, says UN. UN DESA | United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/international-migrant-stock-2019.html

United Nations Organization. (n.d.). Filipino Women Migrant Workers: Fact Sheet. UN Women. https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2016/filipino-women-migrant-workers-factsheet.pdf?la=en&vs=2736

Vox. (2020, June 29). Why the US has so many Filipino nurses [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yw8a8n-7ZAZg&t=481s

WHO. (2017). Women on the Move. World Health Organization.

Yeates, N. (2011). Global Care Chains. International Feminist Journal of Politics, 6(3), 370–391. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000235573

Greyson Hoye
Pacific Lutheran University

# Confronting the Leviathan

## National Populism and Integration in Central and Eastern Europe

**M**any observers in 1989 interpreted the events that transpired that year as the rays of light that preceded the dawn of a golden age in the West: The Berlin Wall lay in rubble, broken down by a people liberated from communist oppression.

The Soviet Union—the "evil empire" whose shadow had for decades loomed over half of Europe and much of the globe—was well on its way to dissolution as more and more countries rose up in protest of injustice.[1] Indeed, even before the destruction of the Berlin Wall (*Mauerfall*), scholar Francis Fukuyama hailed the times as the "end of history."[2] But, as revealed in the years to come, liberalism would face perhaps its most daunting challenge yet: to transform and integrate former communist states into the existing political and economic order.[3] This paper argues that through the process of transition, the political philosophy that Fukuyama and many other Western thinkers espoused has

1    Ronald Reagan, "Evil Empire Speech," Voices of Democracy, accessed April 16, 2020, https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/reagan-evil-empire-speech-text/.

2    Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?", *The National Interest*, no. 16 (1989): 4, www.jstor.org/stable/24027184.

3    The main theory driving post-communist economics was neoliberalism, a revival of classical liberalism and the *laissez-faire* approach championed by Adam Smith. This differs in important respects from "modern" liberalism, which seeks to address issues such as inequality and discrimination. But since both variants of liberalism influenced the development of post-communist states, and they have often coexisted in political thought, the author incorporates the two under the umbrella of "liberalism." See Nicola Smith, "Neoliberalism," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published June 28, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoliberalism.

sown the seeds of its own potential destruction—that is, the end of liberalism. As demonstrated in the cases of both Hungary and Germany, liberal reforms led to an overconcentration of authority in the hands of political and economic elites—irresponsible top-level politicians and captains of industry—during the processes of transition and integration. These efforts not only precluded change through non-liberal or non-capitalist methods, but also curtailed the practice of democratic principles, thereby creating conditions suitable for the resurgence of national-populist movements in Central and Eastern Europe.

The importance of Hungary and Germany as transition states and members of the European collective cannot be understated. Hungary, along with Poland and the Czech Republic, was quickly identified as one of the leaders in the transition away from communism, with its strong economy and close proximity to Western Europe. The Hungarian case is also noteworthy in that, even in the late 1960s, the government was implementing gradual reforms of the country's planned economy. The German Democratic Republic was equally well-observed because, unlike other Central and Eastern European States (CEES), it found itself in the unique situation of being absorbed by a liberal-capitalist state, rather than "merely" transitioning to a new system. In this way, one could consider German unification as the most formidable test of liberal reforms in the post-communist era. Furthermore, both Hungary and Germany feature some of the leading national-populist movements in Europe today, namely Fidesz and Alternative for Germany, respectively. These two countries, whose current circumstances—politically, economically, and in other respects—are inextricably tied to their pasts, provide rich ground for uncovering the roots of national populism.

In examining these states' experiences in transition and integration, there are certain elements of sociological theory that can help elucidate the engines working beneath political and economic structures. As an interpretive framework of social change, dialectical functionalism marries principles from structural functionalism with the dialectic devised by the philosopher Georg Hegel: First, it puts forth the claim that, in response to external change, societal structures make slight adjustments in order to minimize the effect on, and preserve the stability of, society as a whole. Second, this theory incorporates Hegel's belief that change is produced through the conflict between opposing ideas and the resolution that results from said conflict. (That is, a thesis and its antithesis conflict and eventually produce a synthesis.) Karl Marx, in turn, applied the dialectic concept to the mechanisms of change in society.[4]

Social change can thus be defined as not merely an evolution from one point to another, nor a cyclical rotation between them. It is in fact both, in that opposing forces in society clash against one another, resulting in new compromises, for lack of a better word, that are increasingly more beneficial for said society than previous realities. As explained by Pierre van den Berghe, dialectical functionalism posits that "while societies do indeed show a tendency towards stability, equilibrium, and consensus, they simultaneously generate within themselves the opposites of these," responding to change from both within and outside of themselves.[5] However, societies may resist change—resulting in what van den Berghe terms "malintegration"—since the previous norms are still considered valuable "either to the society as a whole, or to its

4    Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *American Sociological Review* 28, no. 5 (1963): 696, 699, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2089908.
5    Ibid, 696-97.

ruling group or groups." It is this increasing lack of adaptation that necessitates drastic counteraction to successfully integrate change and restore equilibrium.[6]

Therefore, it is the aim of this paper to demonstrate that in the transition period from the late 1980s through the 1990s, the communist societies of Central and Eastern Europe met their antithesis in the form of internal protest movements and Western liberalism, both of which challenged the undemocratic and oppressive reality of the communist systems. Attempting to maintain the status quo—one where citizens were controlled through heavy-handed bureaucracy—these societies resisted total change and, likewise, liberalism rejected any avenues of reform other than its own. Hence, a cycle of "malintegration" occurred in the CEES as they attempted to implement liberal ideas through illiberal means: Political and economic elites retained the same top-down authority structure that their communist predecessors had held in order to impose progressive, free-market reforms. This malintegrated framework became institutionalized in the European Union (EU), an entity that many perceived as the embodiment of liberalism's final victory over the continent's oppressive past. But the underlying concept of the EU rests upon a false equilibrium that disregards foundational principles such as democracy and national sovereignty, a contradiction that has prompted drastic opposition from national-populist movements. These factions seek to return the ideological pendulum to what they consider to be the true equilibrium, one that limits governance to the national level, rather than assigning control to some higher governmental structure, and gives considerable authority to the people instead of yielding it to unaccountable elite groups.

> "SOCIAL CHANGE CAN THUS BE DEFINED AS NOT MERELY AN EVOLUTION FROM ONE POINT TO ANOTHER, NOR A CYCLICAL ROTATION BETWEEN THEM."

## NATIONAL POPULISM

Before analyzing Hungarian and German national-populist movements specifically, one must first understand national populism as a concept. Political scientists Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin explain that national populism "prioritizes the culture and interests of the nation, and […] promises to give voice to a people who feel that they have been neglected, even held in contempt, by distant and often corrupt elites."[7] The authors elaborate on this definition by pointing to four major phenomena ("Four Ds") that have encouraged widespread support for national-populist beliefs.

First, Eatwell and Goodwin believe that the elite nature of liberal democracy has fostered *distrust* of political institutions and the political process at large. This lack of confidence is compounded by the fact that leaders are increasingly dissimilar to their constituents, in that officials are better educated, wealthier, and have more white-collar work experience than the people who vote in support of them.[8]

Second, according to Eatwell and Goodwin, there are fears that rapid immigration and multiculturalism have instigated the *destruction* of national

---

6   Ibid, 698.
7   Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, *National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy* (London: Pelican, 2018), 48, Kindle.
8   Eatwell and Goodwin, *National Populism*, xxi, 106, 108-109.

values and cultural history. Eatwell and Goodwin add that such "fears are wrapped up in a belief that culturally liberal politicians, transnational organizations and global finance are eroding the nation by encouraging further mass immigration, while 'politically correct' agendas seek to silence any opposition."[9]

Third, national populists have arisen in response to a perceived deprivation of wealth in society. Eatwell and Goodwin make the distinction that this does not necessarily connote actual deprivation, but rather that people feel they "are losing out relative to others in society," rendering their chances for upward mobility unlikely and the hope of a bright future dim. In this way, feelings of deprivation can be found among full-time and middle-class workers, in addition to individuals with unstable, part-time employment.[10]

Finally, the previous three crises have contributed to a "*de-alignment*" between mainstream politics and the people. Unlike in past decades, recent elections have been more contentious, and new parties are more likely to find support, even in established party systems. These developments stem from voters' feelings of alienation by the political establishment, sentiments that have also led to the decline of historically strong social movements.[11]

# "...NATIONAL POPULISTS, AT BEST, ARE WARY OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES SUCH AS THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND, AT WORST, REGARD IT AS THE MANIFESTATION OF HOBBES' LEVIATHAN..."

In conjunction with these largely domestic issues, national populists also respond to the international system and, more specifically, to international organizations. Eatwell and Goodwin write that national populists do not shun the idea of belonging to multinational collectives such as the EU—in fact, as will be argued here, they have even welcomed membership at times—but they do prioritize national interests.[12] However, political theorist Yoram Hazony, in making his passionate case for nationalism, deems the EU an "imperialist project" that has "progressively relieved member nations of many of the powers usually associated with political independence" in a vain attempt to create a sort of *pax Europaea*. In fact, Hazony believes that liberalism itself is a form of imperialism, promising peace if humanity unites under one political standard and, consequently, one government that enforces said standard.[13] In the context of Central and Eastern Europe, political scientist Andrew C. Janos argues that, after the fall of communism, states experienced transition, "though

---

9    Ibid, xxi-xxii.
10   Ibid, xxii, 181.
11   Ibid, xxiii, 224-25.
12   Eatwell and Goodwin, *National Populism*, 79.
13   Yoram Hazony, *The Virtue of Nationalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 3, 40.

not from authoritarianism to democracy but from one international regime to another."[14] The liberal order that replaced the Soviet Union controlled CEES from the outside, imposing a "hegemonic agenda" and demanding that countries "surrender their sovereign rights just as they were recovering them from Soviet usurpation."[15]

Therefore, national populists, at best, are wary of international bodies such as the European Union, and, at worst, regard it as the manifestation of Hobbes' Leviathan, an absolute sovereign that threatens the survival of free nations.

In summary, national populism responds to the needs of ordinary people in opposition to elites, who have pursued only their own self-serving agendas. Both economic and cultural factors play into national-populist movements, and so they feature a diverse body of support. Yet, as will be shown through the lens of dialectical functionalism, national populists do not seek to abolish democracy. Rather, they bring attention to the internal contradictions of modern liberal politics, which paradoxically "[promise] 'redemptive' rule by the people, but which in practice [are] increasingly based on 'pragmatic' and technocratic competing elites whose values are fundamentally different from many of those they govern."[16] That is, national populists see themselves as the guardians of free, democratic society and stewards of the people's interests.

## HUNGARY'S POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION

Following the conclusion of the Second World War, the communization of Hungary began gradually but violently accelerated in the late 1940s, with members of the wartime and transition administrations summarily executed and the ravaged economy rebuilt and nationalized. However, in 1956, reforms inspired by Imre Nagy sparked an anti-communist revolution that prompted the country's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, which had been formed only a year earlier to be the political-economic-military partnership of states within the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. Soviet troops invaded and quashed the revolt, and the General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, János Kádár, assumed control of the government. To prove Hungary's renewed loyalty to the Soviets, the Kádár government continued communist reforms and killed off Nagy and his followers in the months to come.[17]

However, gradual reforms enacted by the Hungarian government from the late 1960s onward signified a relaxation of the harsh communist policies. In 1968, Kádár introduced the New Economic Mechanism, which loosened centralized control of state enterprises and agriculture and encouraged the pursuit of profits. As Hungarians became increasingly exposed to foreign markets, the country fell into a trade deficit, so the government enacted further reforms and authorized the development of small enterprises. These businesses comprised a "second economy" that catered to consumers and boosted foreign tourism, particularly from the West. Despite these improvements and other measures, particularly related to infrastructure, the state debt increased, and Kádár was removed from office in 1988. More moderate party functionaries succeeded him and, after confidently allowing Hungarians to vote in free

14    Andrew C. Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes," *East European Politics and Societies* 15, no. 2 (2001): 222, doi: 10.1177/0888325401015002002.
15    Ibid, 223, 237.
16    Eatwell and Goodwin, *National Populism*, 48.
17    Carlile Aylmer Macartney et al., "Hungary," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published October 15, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/place/Hungary.

"THIS BLURRING OF THE POLITICAL LINES SUGGESTS THAT THE MALINTEGRATION IN HUNGARIAN SOCIETY HAD ALREADY BEGUN."

elections, the Communists lost to more reform-minded opposition groups.[18]

After the elections in 1990, a coalition of right-wing parties, led by József Antall's Hungarian Democratic Forum (*Magyar Demokrata Fórum* or MDF), took the reins to enact new economic reforms. The nature of the environment in which the MDF rose to leadership, as explained by Hungarian political scientist Gergely Egedy, reflects the beginnings of the dialectical functionalist hypothesis:

> *After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, conservatives were forced into the radical position of advocating change, while the economic and political status quo was defended by the political left. This unusual arrangement emerged because the creation of democratic institutions and a market economy in 1989–90 was not accompanied by a redistribution of economic and cultural power. Instead, members of the former elite converted their pre-1989 political influence into economic and cultural capital in order to retain their privileged positions in many crucial fields.[19]*

This blurring of the political lines suggests that the malintegration in Hungarian society had already begun. The elites of the left sought to consolidate power amidst the uncertainty of the immediate transition period, leaving the right to pursue what are commonly accepted as liberal principles of democracy and free markets.

While unquestionably conservative in character, the MDF under Antall positioned itself as a champion of centrist government. In promoting "forces of the center," the new prime minister chose to follow a Burkean model of reform, "relying on our historical heritage" and allowing change to occur naturally from within the Hungarian system, rather than importing a foreign, Western model, as Poland did.[20] Antall's approach thus bore a distinct national focus, yet that focus was balanced with other values: "We are of the view that the idea of the nation and the democratic rights of liberty, the human rights and the wish for social renewal must be represented simultaneously, in equilibrium, without giving priority to any of them."[21]

Indeed, democracy constituted the cornerstone of the Forum's vision of post-socialist Hungary. When the party's plans for reform came under criticism in the days leading up to the first elections, Antall replied:

> *In my view—and I do not say this as a rhetorical trick—the greatest merit of this debate is that you criticized the program. This is the greatest historic exploit and achievement—the fact that you did not receive it with an automatic nod, with words of praise but with a sharp critique, using vitriolic expressions […] I am very glad that we have lived to see that a program of government is treated and criticized this way.[22]*

Furthermore, Antall affirmed that "liberty and property" were essential to the

18    László J. Kulcsár and Young-ok Yum, "One Nation, One Brand?: Nation Branding and Identity Reconstruction in Post-Communist Hungary," in *Branding Post-Communist Nations: Marketizing National Identities in the "New" Europe*, ed. Nadia Kaneva (New York: Routledge, 2012), 200-201; Terry F. Buss, "Economic Development in Hungary: The Transition Years--1989 to 1998," *International Journal of Economic Development* 2, no. 1 (2000): 16-18, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A176368804/AONE?u=vic_liberty&sid=AONE&xid=a1797c22.

19    Gergely Egedy, "Political Conservatism in Post-Communist Hungary," *Problems of Post-Communism* 56, no. 3 (2009): 43, doi: 10.2753/PPC1075-8216560304.

20    József Antall, *Modell és valóság*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Atheneum, 1994), 45, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 44.

21    Ibid, 9-10, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 45.

22    Antall, *Modell*, 42, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 45.

success of post-communist Hungary, and that these two objectives were "the starting point of the program of the Hungarian Democratic Forum."[23] With Antall at the helm of the nation, it seemed that Hungary was on its way to fully embracing freedom over authoritarian overregulation.

The MDF ultimately failed, however, to carry out the extensive plan of reform that it had promised, and it was surpassed by the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP; formerly the Communist Party) in the 1994 elections. During the four years that they spent in power, the MDF was constantly fighting off attacks from both the left and the right, with liberals and socialists accusing the government of being a catalyst for resurgent nationalism while the far-right criticized the MDF for not being nationalist enough. Antall's untimely death in December 1993 sealed the party's fate.[24] Under Gyula Horn, a member of the former Communist Party, the newly-elected Socialists unexpectedly chose to continue the market reforms undertaken by the MDF, slashing state spending, lowering the national debt, and increasing privatization. These measures, too, failed in the eyes of the public, and the MSZP was voted out of power.[25]

These reforms, however problematic, allowed Hungary to avoid some of the problems that other CEES, such as Poland, faced as a result of radical economic overhaul. Spearheaded by Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz and American economist Jeffrey Sachs, the Polish economy underwent what is known as "shock therapy," in which the system is forced to privatize and conform to free-market standards, virtually overnight. As in many socialist countries, the Polish state was responsible for producing almost three-quarters of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at the end of the 1980s. The anti-communist Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement planned to remedy the situation by introducing gradual capitalist reforms after taking power.[26] However, Sachs declared that Poland "must reject any lingering ideas about a 'third way' […] and go straight for a Western-style market economy," and so the nation's leaders put the Sachs-Balcerowicz plan into action.[27] The results were disastrous: One quarter of the national workforce (approximately five million Poles) found themselves unemployed, and the number of citizens relying on government assistance skyrocketed. Ironically, as political economist Stuart Shields writes, "the neoliberal attempt to correct the 'over socialisation' of the economy created a gigantic welfare state."[28] Fortunately, the Polish economy began to recover in the mid-1990s, with the GDP experiencing marked growth, and unemployment and inflation rates lowering considerably. But these rates were still high compared to the rest of the CEES, and half of Polish industry continued to operate under government control.[29]

"IN KEEPING WITH ITS UNUSUAL EXPERIENCE UNDER COMMUNISM, HUNGARY PROVED UNIQUE IN SOME ASPECTS OF ITS TRANSITION TOWARDS LIBERAL-CAPITALISM..."

23    Ibid, 35, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 45.
24    Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 45-46.
25    Buss, "Economic Development," 18.
26    Piotr Kozarzewski and Maciej Bałtowski, "Change in the Ownership Policy Paradigm in Poland: State Control vs. Privatisation," *Acta Oeconomica* 67, no. 1 (2017): 3, doi: 10.1556/032.2017.67.1.1; Stuart Shields, "How the East Was Won: Transnational Social Forces and the Neoliberalisation of Poland's Post-Communist Transition." *Global Society* 22, no. 4 (2008): 455, doi: 10.1080/13600820802366409.
27    Jeffrey Sachs, "What is to be done?", *The Economist*, January 13, 1990, https://www.economist.com/europe/1990/01/13/what-is-to-be-done.
28    Shields, "How the East Was Won," 458.
29    Ben Slay, "The Polish economic transition: outcome and lessons," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 33, no. 49-70 (2000): 54, 55, 60, http://online.ucpress.edu/cpcs/article-pdf/33/1/49/3975/cpcs_33_1_49.pdf.

Likewise, while some success had been achieved by the turn of the century, there nevertheless remained significant problems in the Hungarian economy. While seventy-five percent of state-owned enterprises were privatized by the end of the decade, the State Holding Company retained shares in over a hundred enterprises, perpetuating state influence on the economy. Additionally, the trade deficit in 1998 reached $321 million, pushing the national debt to $1.6 billion.[30]

In keeping with its unusual experience under communism, Hungary proved unique in some aspects of its transition towards liberal-capitalism, but it also shared in the pitfalls of other post-communist states. The "road to a free economy" that Hungarian economist János Kornai envisioned in 1990—and, as some would argue, the road to freedom itself—was a long and difficult one indeed.[31]

## THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND UNIFICATION WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

In the autumn of 1949, just over four years after the conclusion of the Second World War in Europe, the western Allies—the United States, the United Kingdom, and France—relinquished their zones of occupation in Germany to the new Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or *Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, also known as West Germany), while the Soviet Union passed its territory to the German Democratic Republic (GDR or *Deutsche Demokratische Republik*, otherwise known as East Germany).[32] Yet, the framers of the West German constitution—and those who built the East German system as well—anticipated a future national reunification (*Wiedervereinigung*), and thus they included provisions for such an occasion in the foundational documents. The GDR, however, removed any such plans from its revised constitution of 1968 due to the rising tensions between the East and West that would continue to exist for much of the Cold War.[33] Nevertheless, in 1989 Hungary opened its borders, giving citizens of the GDR access (via Austria) to automatic citizenship in the FRG, and the continued growth of local opposition movements precipitated the Peaceful Revolution (*friedliche Revolution*), thus substantially increasing the prospect of a united Germany.[34]

Regardless of the method by which the states came together, the unification would be in effect not so much a fusion of two halves to form a new country, but rather a rejoining of the East with the West. The West German constitution (the Basic Law, or *Grundgesetz*) devoted two separate sections to the matter of future unification: The first was Article 146, which stipulated that the Basic Law would cease to exist once a new constitution was enacted by both sides. In theory, operating under this article would ensure the participation of both Western politicians and the democratic reformers from the GDR. The second option was represented in the text of Article 23, which stated that the jurisdiction of the *Grundgesetz* (and all rulings of the West German Constitutional Court pertaining to it) would be extended to "other parts of Germany" upon their accession to the FRG. The virtually total continuance of Western law in the East was meant to facilitate the most stable transition possible, and certain revisions would be made to accommodate

30    Buss, "Economic Development," 21-23.
31    See János Kornai, *The Road to a Free Economy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company).
32    Office of the Historian, "A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: East Germany (German Democratic Republic)," U.S. Department of State, accessed April 20, 2020, https://history.state.gov/countries/german-democratic-republic.
33    Peter E. Quint, *The Imperfect Union: Constitutional Structures of German Unification* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 11-13, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rrrn.13.
34    Ibid., 15-16.

Eastern practices. In March 1990, the West German parliament (Bundestag) voted to follow the plan laid out in Article 23—despite the fact that the results of the GDR elections, which would determine who would lead the East during the unification negotiations, were as yet unclear. This outcome would set the tone for much of the subsequent decisions regarding unification in the months to come, dismissing the will of East Germans as well as the democratic process itself.[35] The stage was set for the dialectical conflict over the future operation of government and society in Germany.

Unquestionably the most formidable challenge in the unification process was the union of the Western and Eastern economies and their currencies. The bulk of the work involved in the economic transition lay in the ratification of the "Treaty concerning the Creation of a Currency, Economic, and Social Union" (*Vertrag über die Schaffung einer Währungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialunion*). Also known as the State Treaty, the agreement was signed on May 18, 1990, and ratified by the two national parliaments, the *Bundestag* and the *Volkskammer*, in late June of the same year. Effective on July 1, the Treaty introduced the Deutsche Mark (D-Mark) into the Eastern economy and initiated the economic unification process. The State Treaty also served as the *de facto* East German constitution during the final days of the GDR.[36]

However, the actual negotiation and drafting of the State Treaty featured little involvement beyond the dominant Western party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU; Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands), and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU; Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern). In the Bundestag, the Social Democratic Party (SPD; Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands) protested that, during the framing of the agreement, neither the parliament nor the state governments—represented in the Bundesrat (the German legislature's upper chamber, comparable to the U.S. Senate or the British House of Lords)—were consulted.[37] More importantly, East German reform activists objected:

> *Government commissions negotiate a state treaty behind locked doors; the parliaments are not consulted. The government […] then presents the finished draft as a treaty in international law—to which, as everyone knows, [the parliaments] can only say 'yes' or 'no.' […] Thus the whole German people in free self-determination can only add a couple of grudgingly conceded footnotes to the economic-political [ordnungspolitischen] chapters of their future constitution.[38]*

These fervent protests reveal the exclusionary, elitist attitudes that pervaded the unification process. Rather than incorporating diverse viewpoints from both sides of the national border (*innerdeutsche Grenze*), the select few officials in power prioritized their own Western agenda over the voice of the regular citizens whom the unification policies directly impacted. As understood through the lens of dialectical functionalism, the rigidity of liberalism did not allow for alternative paths of reform.

As mandated by the State Treaty, the GDR was required to accept the D-Mark as its standard currency almost immediately, with near-catastrophic results. Although the agreement allowed for special exceptions, it effectively

---

35    Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 49-53.
36    Ibid., 56-58, 61.
37    Ibid., 57.
38    Jens Reich, *Rückkehr nach Europa: Zur neuen Lage der deutschen Nation* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1991), 221, quoted in Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 57.

set the average exchange of the GDR Mark to the D-Mark at a rate of 1.8 to 1, despite the fact that the D-Mark was previously worth three GDR Marks, and the comparative value between the two currencies declined over time. Consequently, the market price of goods manufactured in the GDR quickly tripled. Additionally, as made possible by the currency union, Western vendors rushed to the East, and within days what were once considered luxury items, such as bananas and running shoes, appeared in East Berlin shops. While beneficial for consumers, the access to these new goods meant that farmers and other sellers in the GDR, who had enjoyed relatively little competition for decades, now found the economic rug pulled out from under their feet. By the end of the summer, hundreds of thousands of jobs had vanished; by 1992, nearly half of all jobs in the East would disappear, along with two-thirds of the region's industrial production capacity. These shockwaves signaled the beginning of the "cold start" (*Kaltstart*) in eastern Germany, as the engine that once drove the GDR economy (or what was left of it by 1990) was made to run not only on a different type of fuel, but also with entirely new parts, many of which were not readily compatible.[39]

# "UNQUESTIONABLY THE MOST FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE IN THE UNIFICATION PROCESS WAS THE UNION OF THE WESTERN AND EASTERN ECONOMIES AND THEIR CURRENCIES."

Another important facet of the economic merger was the privatization and restitution of Eastern state enterprises. Because the majority of state-run businesses could not be returned to their owners—since owners had fled to the West, or companies had modified their operations or were still of use to the state—the GDR *Volkskammer* authorized the creation of the *Treuhandanstalt* (Trust Agency) in mid-June 1990 to review and reallocate assets. The *Treuhand* Law (*Treuhandgesetz*) gave this entity considerable leniency in regard to the period of time required to assess and sell (or dissolve) enterprises and allotted it considerable influence in the economic reconfiguration. In opposition to Adam Smith's beliefs about free markets in the *Wealth of Nations*, the *Treuhand* became the very visible "hand" that rebuilt the eastern German economy. Due to the mammoth scope of its mission, the *Treuhand* employed thousands of Germans across sixteen offices, with headquarters in East Berlin.[40]

Many Germans had mixed feelings, at best, about the work of the *Treuhand*. Detlev Rohwedder was appointed as chair of the agency, and under his leadership, many businesses that could have been potentially salvaged were terminated. Such actions produced massive unemployment, and after the currency union, some 5,000 businesses managed by the *Treuhand* defaulted on

39    Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 59, 63-64; Ben Gook, "Backdating German neoliberalism: Ordoliberalism, the German model and economic experiments in eastern Germany after 1989," *Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2018): 40, doi: 10.1177/1440783318759085.
40    Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 144, 146-147.

their debts, resulting in even more jobs lost. These events were compounded by general economic upheaval in the early 1990s, which in and of itself cost millions of people their jobs. The *Treuhand* became a scapegoat upon which *Ossis* (a colloquial name for East Germans) could place blame for their severe hardships—and, in many cases, rightly so—and the Monday night protests (*Montagsdemonstrationen*) that played a major part in the *friedliche Revolution* soon resumed.[41] Some scholars, including Ben Gook, assert that the GDR intended for the *Treuhand* to absorb such criticism during the unification process, thus shielding the post-unification administration of Chancellor Helmut Kohl from political fallout.[42] In any case, the *Treuhand* caused the destruction of hundreds of thousands of jobs and incurred debts amounting to billions of D-Marks. In many ways, the agency tasked with administering liberal privatization only continued the pattern of heavy-handed bureaucracy that had long existed in eastern Germany. Indeed, as legal scholar Peter E. Quint observes, "[t]he government and the Treuhand sought to create western economic conditions in the east [… but] these efforts […] evoked the greatest—and, indeed, the central—failure of German unification."[43]

Naturally, economic unification would mean nothing if there were not a successful unification of the two political systems, as outlined in the sequel the Unification Treaty agreement (*Einigungsvertrag*) to the State Treaty. In brief, the settlement determined how the GDR territory would be absorbed, how Western law would apply to the East during the transition, and how the Basic Law would function moving forward. Upon accession to the FRG, the former Eastern territory would be divided into five new states (*Länder*): Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia, in addition to a separate state of (unified) Berlin. While there existed certain exemptions during the transition period, Western legislation would ultimately supplant Eastern law—aside from the more permanent areas of policy stipulated in the Treaty. Lastly, due to the input of the SPD and Eastern reformers, the Unification Treaty amended Article 146 of the Basic Law, which now read that the *Grundgesetz* could still be replaced if and when a new, post-unification constitution took effect. This occurred even though unification occurred under the now-fulfilled Article 23. On August 31, FRG and GDR representatives signed the Unification Treaty, which was soon ratified by the *Volkskammer*, *Bundestag*, and *Bundesrat*.[44]

On the whole, the Unification Treaty signified a continuation of the West's dominance over the unification proceedings. Because the GDR government had little experience in framing a document with as broad a scope as the Unification Treaty, the bulk of the provisions were written by the FRG, particularly the CDU, in the Western capital, Bonn. The primary objective—and result—was a replacement of GDR law *en masse*, in order to reverse what the CDU leadership condemned as "GDR injustice," even where

## "ON THE WHOLE, THE UNIFICATION TREATY SIGNIFIED A CONTINUATION OF THE WEST'S DOMINANCE OVER THE UNIFICATION PROCEEDINGS."

---

41   Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 148-49.
42   Gook, "Backdating German neoliberalism," 42.
43   Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 151.
44   Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 103, 105, 108-109, 113-114.

some *Wessis* (the nickname for West Germans) would have preferred GDR policy solutions. This was confirmed by the very method by which the Treaty was to be approved: As stipulated by FRG law, members of the *Bundestag* had only the choice of accepting or rejecting the agreement in its totality, instead of voting on individual amendments. Furthermore, in spite of their representation in the deliberations, the western *Länder* had little influence on the final product, and popular involvement was nonexistent.[45] In effect, the FRG's constitutional approval process solidified the control not only of the West over the East, but also of the elites over ideological minorities and the ordinary populace. That is, the liberal structure in the West reinforced itself against external change, which only perpetuated the status quo of top-down bureaucracy that had existed in the East.

The German people were finally permitted to have a voice on the subject of unification in the first all-German elections in December 1990, the winners of which would lead Germany in its initial steps as a unified nation. As the FRG ushered Eastern parties into the fold, specific procedural modifications were necessary in order for the inaugural elections to occur. Normally, parties needed to receive at least five percent of the electoral vote in order to join the *Bundestag*. But for the East German parties that emerged from the *friedliche Revolution*, such as Alliance 90 (*Bündnis 90*), the task of capturing five percent of the total German electorate seemed almost insurmountable.[46] Alliance 90 itself was formed from a coalition of the reform movements New Forum (*Neues Forum*), Democracy Now (*Demokratie Jetzt*), and the Initiative for Peace and Human Rights (*Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte*). Following a poor performance in the March *Volkskammer* elections, Alliance 90 merged with the Eastern Green Party (*Grüne Partei*) in order to cross the threshold.[47] If Alliance 90 struggled to win seats in the East, one could only imagine its difficulty operating in the West. Therefore, after receiving input from the Constitutional Court, the *Bundestag* adopted separate guidelines for the East and West, requiring that parties obtain five percent only in their respective "Germany."[48] Three years later, Alliance 90 joined the western Greens to form Alliance 90/The Greens (*Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*), and the influence of the once-vocal reformers quickly dwindled in national politics.[49]

On October 3, 1990, the German Democratic Republic formally acceded to the Federal Republic of Germany, an event that resulted in the dissolution of the former, the expansion of the latter, and the unification of the German nation.[50] Yet throughout many aspects of the process, Easterners—as well as minority parties in the West—felt that their voices went unheard by the politicians and economists involved in the negotiations. Within months, *Ossis* saw their businesses, their laws, and their values radically change or even disappear altogether. Citizens in neither the East nor the West were given the opportunity to vote on the question of unification (although, at least in the East, the majority still would have supported unification). Rather, top-level officials engineered the entire affair, much in the same way that the GDR was established after World War II. Indeed, a popular referendum may very well

---

45    Ibid, 104, 108-109.
46    Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 66-67, 69.
47    David F. Patton, "Monday, Monday: Eastern Protest Movements and German Party Politics since 1989," *German Politics* 26, no. 4 (2017): 481-82, doi: 10.1080/09644008.2017.1365136.
48    Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 69-70.
49    Patton, "Monday," 482-83.
50    Quint, *Imperfect Union*, 71.

have encouraged a unification not only in the political and economic arenas, but also in the minds of Germans on both sides.[51] This outcome further reveals the validity of the dialectical functionalist hypothesis, in that the structure of society worked to lessen the impact of change, and change manifested itself in the clash between opposing forces—East versus West, democratic reformers versus elite politicians and economists. Ultimately, although there were certainly benefits to unification, Easterners remained just as voiceless in the new union as they had been under the GDR.

In short, the central error of the unification process was its failure to include and honor the very people whom the liberal-capitalist transformation would affect most. Gook aptly summarizes the legacy of the union:

> *The swift westernisation of bureaucracy and politics meant many eastern Germans again, now after their revolution, felt locked out of decisions about their social world's administration. Thus an elite-led reunification produced alienation for many eastern Germans, particularly given the revolution's radically democratic genesis.[52]*

## EU ACCESSION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The pursuit of European integration dates back to 1951, when the leaders of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the FRG signed the Treaty of Paris and established the European Coal and Steel Community, creating a protected trade zone for valuable natural resources. The European Economic Community (EEC), formed under the Treaty of Rome in 1957, instituted a common market for member countries that extended beyond simply coal and steel and removed most trade barriers. A few decades later, the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 marked the creation of the European Union, the ultimate iteration of pan-Europeanism, and set in motion the eventual adoption of the euro as the universal currency across EU member states.[53]

The process of accession to the EU revolves around the implementation of the *acquis communautaire*, or the legal code for the Union. Totaling some 130,000 pages divided into thirty-five chapters, the acquis includes all laws, agreements, regulations, and joint actions made by the member states, from the time of the EEC to the present. In order to become a member, candidate states must adhere to the acquis in full, meaning that a country must align all relevant institutions and sectors, public and private, with EU standards. After screening a prospective member's ability to conform to the chapters of the acquis, the European Commission (which performs the executive functions in the EU) presents multiple reports analyzing the country's ability to comply with each chapter. If the country does not meet the required conditions, the Commission will recommend a series of guidelines for reforming the necessary systems or practices. Upon fulfillment of the *acquis*, the candidate country signs an Accession Treaty, which also requires the consent of the European Parliament and the Commission. The treaty must then be ratified by not only the acceding country's parliament, but also that of each EU member state, in order for the

---

51    Michael Dreyer, "The Ongoing Significance of East Germany and the Wende Narrative in Public Discourse," in *Virtual Walls?: Political Unification and Cultural Difference in Contemporary Germany*, eds. Franziska Lys and Michael Dreyer (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 179, doi: 10.1017/9781787441682.
52    Gook, "Backdating German neoliberalism," 35.
53    Matthew J. Gabel, "European Union," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published January 31, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Union.

**" WITH STRUGGLING ECONOMIES AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY, COUNTRIES SUCH AS HUNGARY AND POLAND WELCOMED THE CHANCE TO PARTNER WITH THE POWERHOUSE ECONOMIES AND GLOBAL LEADERSHIP OF FRANCE, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM."**

country's full membership to take effect.[54]

In many CEES, government officials assigned top priority to attaining EU membership. With struggling economies and political instability, countries such as Hungary and Poland welcomed the chance to partner with the powerhouse economies and global leadership of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Politicians from the left and right agreed that joining the EU was the next step in their state's political and economic development.[55] However, conforming to the acquis is no small task, and it entailed further renovation of CEES' national structures, even though they had already changed considerably since 1990. The motivation to accede to the EU must have therefore been rooted in something more than simply the desire for economic gain, although this was, without question, significant. On a larger scale, EU membership signaled not only the departure from communism, but the restoration of CEES's European identity.

Identity reconstruction in CEES is tied to what some scholars have termed "nation branding." Broadly speaking, this idea refers to a country's practice of crafting a particular image of itself, a phenomenon that incorporates discourses about politics, economics, and culture. By manufacturing a specific national narrative, states behave similarly to private firms that market products or services, in that countries aspire to make themselves more attractive for the investment of capital, whether it be financial, political, or otherwise.[56] CEES perceived Western Europe as the embodiment of everything good about being European, whereas Eastern Europe represented the continent's failed, backward, or even evil past. Accession to the EU signifies an integral part of "becoming European," because the organization was, after all, a Western European venture. As argued previously, EU membership also met the more concrete needs of post-socialist states, since the Union possessed considerable resources for rebuilding crumbling infrastructure. Once again, like private enterprises in a free-market economy, "[nation] branding campaigns were seen as inevitable by post-communist states and political elites as they found themselves more and more in the role of *competitors for* rather than *regulators of* global flows of capital, trade, and human migration."[57] Accession to the EU, then, had a two-edged purpose for post-communist states, in that membership supplied much-needed economic assistance and also served as a vehicle for restoring these countries' rightful place in the European family.

54    Vaughan Miller, *The EU's* Acquis Communautaire, House of Commons Briefing Paper no. 5944 (London: House of Commons Library, 2011), 2, http://researchbriefings.files.parliament. uk/documents/SN05944/SN05944.pdf; Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, "Accession Negotiations," Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, accessed April 10, 2020, https://www. avrupa.info.tr/en/accession-negotiations-720; Gabel, "European Union."

55    Shields, "From socialist Solidarity to neo-populist neoliberalisation? The paradoxes of Poland's post-communist transition," *Capital & Class* 31, no. 3 (2007): 163, https://doi-org.ezproxy.liberty.ed u/10.1177%2F030981680709300110; Umut Korkut, "Hungary," in *Life in Post-Communist Eastern Europe after EU Membership*, eds. Donnacha O. Beachain, Vera Sheridan, and Sabina Stan (New York: Routledge, 2012) 74, 86, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/liberty/detail.action?docID=982122.

56    Nadia Kaneva, "Nation Branding in Post-Communist Europe: Identities, Markets, and Democracy," in *Branding Post-Communist Nations,* ed. Nadia Kaneva (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5, 10.

57    Kulcsár and Yum, "One Nation," 197-198.

The 1998 Hungarian elections witnessed the rise of the Alliance of Young Democrats, also known as Fidesz, led by Viktor Orbán. Originally professing a liberal orientation, Fidesz shifted towards conservatism after a poor electoral showing in 1994 and in response to the consolidation of the Hungarian political left under the communist-successor MSZP. Similar to the MDF, Fidesz stressed the importance of Christian democracy and the nation, but it went a step further by defending the middle class from alleged attacks by left-wing elites.[58] As signaled in one of Orbán's speeches in 1999, the party soon departed from the MDF's centrism, which the prime minister declared could not "implement the changes for the future of the country."[59] Seeing that the malintegrated society that was Hungary did not respond to the MDF, Fidesz pursued more drastic measures to set the country back on what it believed to be the right course.

# "IN THE CONTEXT OF DIALECTICAL FUNCTIONALISM, ORBÁN REPRESENTS BOTH A FORCE OF "REVOLUTIONARY" OPPOSITION, TO RECALL VAN DEN BERGE, AND A PROTECTOR OF SOCIETAL EQUILIBRIUM."

In 2002, however, Fidesz lost the elections to the Socialists, who would lead the country through its accession to the EU two years later.[60] The lead-up to integration revealed Hungary's underlying economic deficiencies, so Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány initiated a series of reforms in order to help the country catch up with the rest of the Union. The government took action to raise taxes, cut subsidies for public utilities, and institute fees for higher education and healthcare. But Hungary only descended further into the economic hole that it had dug for itself, teetering on the edge of bankruptcy and reaching the highest deficit in Europe, at almost ten percent of its GDP, in 2006. That same year, the press leaked a private speech in which the prime minister admitted that he misinformed the electorate about the true state of the economy, and in 2008, a public referendum blocked any further reforms. These two events led to a collapse of the left-wing coalition and Gyurcsány's resignation the next year. The successor government of Gordon Bajnai attempted to resume reforms, but with equally dismal results. His administration sought to implement the harshest austerity measures since the fall of communism, and the public voiced their opposition by voting out the MSZP in the 2010 elections.[61] While other factors were most certainly at play, the popular response confirms that the liberal elites did not act in accordance with what the majority of Hungarians wanted.

---

58    Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 47.
59    Viktor Orbán, *20 év, 1986–2006: Beszédek, írások, interjúk*, ed. Szilárd Szõnyi (Budapest: Heti Válasz Kiadó, 2006), 181, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 47.
60    Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 48.
61    Korkut, "Hungary," 75-76, 82.

Once again, the failures of the Hungarian left allowed Fidesz to regroup and return to power. Emboldened by the ineffectiveness and corruption of the previous governments, Orbán positioned himself and his party as the true agents of reform and progress. Even the MDF, along with the transitional Hungarian Liberal Party (SZDSZ), was completely ushered out of the Hungarian National Assembly, a defeat that sealed what Orbán had proclaimed in 1998, saying, "We can't be forced back into the past."[62] The returning prime minister also set his sights on restoring Hungary to its former glory. "For decades we have let the nation, our pre-communist past and our thousand-year-old statehood to be disparaged [sic]," he wrote in 2007. "It has become customary to conceal shamefacedly our being Hungarian, our love for the country and the pride in our history."[63] After Fidesz won the majority of seats in the parliament, Orbán took the advantage to launch his national crusade.

Simultaneously, however, Fidesz has not opposed the European Union—an inherently supranational organization—outright. Even before 2010, while Fidesz was still an opposition party, the Young Democrats worked openly and often with EU officials. For example, when Franco Frattini (then-European Commissioner of Justice, Freedom, and Security) visited Hungary in 2006, Fidesz representatives reported human rights violations and appealed to the EU's obligation to address such gross misconduct in member states. Furthermore, as the official opposition party, Fidesz secured numerous seats in the European Parliament, increasing the party's presence on the international stage. When Hungary served its turn in the Presidency of the EU in 2011, Prime Minister Orbán seized the opportunity to push conservative policy ideas that favored Hungary. Orbán also deferred to the Union when challenged on his economic policies, saying that his goals for cutting the budget deficit were originally dictated by the EU.[64] This reveals a larger trend within Orbán's government, in that he has pragmatically turned to the EU for legitimization *vis-à-vis* his political opponents. More importantly, Fidesz's strategy demonstrates that instead of the EU acting as a neutral arbiter for member states, it can serve as an equally effective platform to advance national interests.

In the context of dialectical functionalism, Orbán represents both a force of "revolutionary" opposition, to recall van den Berge, and a protector of societal equilibrium.[65] On the one hand, Fidesz has taken the MDF platform to a more radical extent, accentuating class differences and the importance of the nation, as a response to the liberal-left MSZP. On the other hand, Fidesz also operates within the current structure—the EU—to effect change. Instead of openly criticizing the Union, the Young Democrats utilize Hungary's member status to both promote their own objectives and to elevate themselves over other opposition parties in the National Assembly. As the country endeavored to integrate further, moderate transition parties such as the MDF were cast aside, and the system became more polarized. Such were the conditions that produced the strong conservative opposition in the form of Orbán and Fidesz.

## THE "NEW" GERMANY AND THE AFD

The late 1990s and early 2000s tested the resolve of the united Germany. In 1998, the SPD seized the general elections, and Gerhard Schröder became the German chancellor. Amidst the ongoing economic repercussions of

---

62  Korkut, "Hungary," 76; Orbán, *20 év*, 283, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 49.
63  Orbán, *Egy az ország* (Budapest: Helikon, 2007), 94-95, quoted in Egedy, "Political Conservatism," 51.
64  Korkut, "Hungary," 77-78, 86.
65  Van den Berge, "Dialectic and Functionalism," 698.

unification and integration with the EU, the administration grappled with making the necessary reforms. Backed by the Green Party, the SPD barely garnered enough parliamentary votes to commit German military forces in Yugoslavia, and then in Afghanistan. In order to reinvigorate the economy, Schröder introduced new austerity measures known as the Hartz reforms, which severely cut welfare benefits in an attempt to spur employment. In 2004, the last installment of this legislation, called Hartz IV, once again triggered the *Montagsdemonstrationen* across the former East, which was hit particularly hard by the economic crisis. After the elections the following year, the CDU-CSU took over, with Angela Merkel as the new chancellor.[66]

The economic turbulence exacerbated the divide that persisted between the former East and West, as evidenced by the *Ostalgie* phenomenon. Derived from the German words for "east" (*Ost*) and "nostalgia" (*Nostalgie*), this concept is often defined as the longing of eastern Germans for the years lived under the GDR. However, anthropologist Dominic Boyer contends that *Ostalgie* drew from an older German national narrative. Citing memories of Bismarckian "blood and iron" (*Blut und Eisen*) and the Holocaust, modern society has condemned German nationalism as a symptom of "the German sickness" (*die deutsche Krankheit*), an alleged ethnic zeal for authoritarian domination and racial superiority. Such ethnic labeling increased after the Second World War, particularly among Germans themselves. Given the ideological (and later physical) divide between the FRG and the GDR, citizens deferred their nation's authoritarian streak to the other side: *Wessis* pointed to the East's totalitarian government, while *Ossis* believed that the capitalist, imperialistic West carried on the tradition of intrinsic German evilness. Therefore, in an odd twist of logic, they assigned "Germanness" to the opposite side of the political chasm. People from both East and West perceived their own "Germany" as a symbol of progress and the future, chiefly on account of an attachment to an international collective—the global proletariat for Easterners versus the liberal, cosmopolitan West for Westerners—that supplanted national identities and thus could stamp out oppressive Germanness. As long as there existed an "over there" upon which one could heap national shame, the consciences of Germans rested at ease.[67]

Consequently, as unification approached, the fragile national psyches felt threatened, because the narrative of blaming the other could no longer apply in a consolidated Germany. As their half subsumed the East, western Germans continued the "othering" discourse, if only subconsciously, by drawing attention to the failure of the socialist GDR. Indeed, Boyer argues that, if *Ostalgie* existed in any real sense, Easterners were grieving the demise of what the GDR promised would be an egalitarian and perfect society.[68] Regardless of whether this was truly the case, the fact remains that the lifestyle to which many people had grown accustomed in the East quickly evaporated after unification. But *Wessis* did not criticize their eastern neighbors for lamenting a crushed dream, but instead for praising a nightmare that was all too real. Instead, as described by Michael Dreyer, *Wessis* imagined the GDR as an *Unrechtsstaat*, "a state in

66    Patton, "Monday," 483; Gook, "Backdating German neoliberalism," 43; "Timeline of Germany's Green Party," *Reuters*, published November 18, 2012, https://www.reuters.com/article/germany-greens-politics/timeline-of-germanys-green-party-idUSL5E8MI3T320121118; David P. Conradt, "Social Democratic Party of Germany," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published March 5, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Social-Democratic-Party-of-Germany.
67    Dominic Boyer, "*Ostalgie* and the Politics of the Future in Eastern Germany," *Public Culture* 18, no. 2 (2006): 369-370, doi: 10.1215/08992363-2006-08.
68    Ibid, 371-72.

which the rule of law was superseded by political considerations and the police and Stasi permeated the very fabric of everyday life." While this was true in many respects, Dreyer notes that this "evil empire" mentality was also extended to the citizens of the GDR as well as to the government.[69] Boyer similarly argues that the source of many Easterners' trauma was "not the collapse of the GDR and its lifeworld but, rather, the discovery that postunification public narratives reduced the GDR to the prison camp of a criminal regime and reduced them to this camp's abject inmates."[70] *Ostalgie*, then, connotes not only a longing for the past, but also the struggle to appropriately account for an unjust history that could not be allowed to repeat itself.

In turn, the *Ostalgie* discourse has enabled western German elites to subdue people from the former East. Boyer argues that "the discourse on *Ostalgie* is itself symptomatic of a postunification West German utopia of East Germans' natural affinity to the past, thus indicating, in the still animate logic of Cold War identification, that West Germans have a natural affinity to the future."[71] That is, *Ostalgie* has been converted into a political weapon: Because of their *Ossi* "inmate" status, Easterners should not be allowed—should not be trusted—to have a say in the future of Germany, a country whose Western liberal-capitalist values triumphed once and for all over authoritarian socialism.[72] Put another way, history should not merely be written by the victors; it should be made by them. The *Ostalgie* narrative thus provides the perfect psychological justification for the same politicians and captains of industry who dominated the unification process to continue asserting their agenda over the *Ossis*. The East, then, has only transitioned from one oppressive government to another.

In 2013, disaffected members of Chancellor Merkel's center-right CDU founded the Alternative for Germany (AfD; *Alternative für Deutschland*). Initially, under the leadership of Bernd Lucke, an economics professor at the University of Hamburg, the party confined its platform to Euroscepticism. Much like Fidesz in Hungary, the AfD viewed with a wary eye the increasingly supranational character of the EU and protested financial bailouts of other Union members, at Germany's expense, in the wake of the 2007-2009 global financial crisis. At its first congress in Berlin, the party officially committed itself to abolishing the euro, supported by a formidable network of economists, journalists, businesspeople, and political figures. In spite of its popular traction, the AfD garnered only 4.7% of the vote in the 2013 elections, preventing them from joining the *Bundestag*. Nevertheless, the party secured seven seats in the European Parliament the following year.[73]

As the Syrian refugee crisis intensified in 2015, however, the AfD took a more severe turn in its stance on immigration. Representing the party's national

## "THE ECONOMIC TURBULENCE EXACERBATED THE DIVIDE THAT PERSISTED BETWEEN THE FORMER EAST AND WEST, AS EVIDENCED BY THE OSTALGIE PHENOMENON."

69    Dreyer, "Ongoing Significance," 169.
70    Boyer, "*Ostalgie*," 377.
71    Ibid, 373.
72    Ibid, 374, 378.
73    Charles Lees, "The 'Alternative for Germany': The rise of right-wing populism at the heart of Europe," *Politics* 38, no. 3 (2018): 299-301, doi: 10.1177/0263395718777718.

conservative wing, Frauke Petry succeeded Lucke as chairperson, and she soon pressed for border closures, as well as the construction of additional refugee camps in the Middle East in order to keep migrants from entering Germany. The ideological shift under Petry emphasized the dominance of German values and, in the specific context of immigration, cultural assimilation. Thus began the AfD's engagement in "culture war" (*Kulturkampf*) rhetoric, which galvanized German voters in the 2017 elections. The new campaign style was so successful that the AfD netted 12.6% of the electorate, thus situating itself as the new opposition party in the *Bundestag*.[74]

Interestingly, the AfD's message fared particularly well in the former GDR states, even though the region, on the whole, receives fewer immigrants and possesses a smaller Muslim population than the West.[75] Across the six eastern *Bundesländer*, there was, on average, a 20% increase in votes for the AfD in 2017, compared to the results in 2013. In terms of nationwide voter demographics, the party drew support from working-class individuals who experienced economic hardship, as well as from middle-class Germans who felt "cultural discomfort" in the liberal, multicultural society that Merkel and others had aspired to build in the years since unification.[76] If one were to combine these factors, the resulting picture would show that citizens in the former East—a region that had endured economic turmoil and cultural alienation for almost three decades, due largely to *Wessi* influence—responded favorably to a party that promised to defend national economic interests and to prevent what it deemed a cultural upheaval by outsiders. It is also worth noting that many party leaders—including Petry, along with Alexander Gauland, André Poggenburg, and Björn Höcke—have come from or hold positions in eastern states such as Saxony, Brandenburg, and Thuringia.[77]

In light of the AfD's strategy and electoral performance, more pieces of the dialectical functionalist puzzle fall into place. During the Cold War, when the East pitted itself against the West and vice versa, Germans used the language of difference in order to shift the historical guilt that they believed their nation bore. This dichotomous, "us-versus-them" mentality endured through unification and was, in fact, bolstered by the liberal FRG's absorption of the socialist GDR. The lack of true integration in German society has given rise to the *Ostalgie* discourse, which frames Easterners as the children of a failed socialist utopia, denizens who cannot be trusted to guide a progressive, liberal republic. This has clearly been borne out in post-unification politics, since very few *Ossis* have reached the upper echelons of the federal government, or even positions of leadership in the former East.[78] "The domination of West Germans in the elites is still felt as cultural colonialism," stated Thomas Krüger, President of the Federal Agency for Civil Education and the only *Ossi* to preside over a governmental agency that does not directly pertain to the East.[79] In response to the Western elites' neglect of the East, many Eastern voters in 2017 signaled their belief that the AfD stood for their interests as German citizens and represented a force for change in national politics.

74    Ibid, 304-306.
75    Patton, "Monday," 487.
76    Lees, "'Alternative for Germany,'" 301-303.
77    Patton, "Monday," 489.
78    Ben Knight, "Angela Merkel last East German standing in new cabinet," *Deutsche Welle*, September 2, 2018, https://www.dw.com/en/angela-merkel-last-east-german-standing-in-new-cabinet/a-42523130; Knight, "East Germans still victims of 'cultural colonialism' by the West," *Deutsche Welle*, January 1, 2017, https://www.dw.com/en/east-germans-still-victims-of-cultural-colonialism-by-the-west/a-41199804.
79    Knight, "East Germans."

"DURING THE COLD WAR ... GERMANS USED THE LANGUAGE OF DIFFERENCE IN ORDER TO SHIFT THE HISTORICAL GUILT THAT THEY BELIEVED THEIR NATION BORE."

**CONCLUSION**

As illuminated by dialectical functionalism, national-populist movements symbolize the drastic action required to overturn the malintegration in Central and Eastern European societies. After the fall of communism, the MDF rose up to advocate real political and economic change in Hungary, in contrast to the parties of the left. However, its centrist views were soon eliminated from the national political discussion and replaced by those of the former Communist Party. Similarly, in East Germany, reform movements worked to transform the socialist government into one that truly safeguarded the freedom and prosperity of its people, only to be denied a seat at the negotiating table during the unification with the West. Consequently, more fundamentalist groups emerged in the place of Hungarian and German moderates, namely the right-wing Fidesz and AfD. In the face of the EU's domination of the continent's political and economic affairs, these groups claim that they will restore power to individual countries and their peoples.

This set of circumstances was created in large part by Western liberal elites. In their dedicated pursuit of total privatization, Western economists bulldozed more gradual methods of reform because those measures did not immediately align to capitalist standards. Consequently, CEES experienced severe economic distress for several years, which also undermined political stability. Liberal elites also stressed the importance of membership in their international project, the European Union, as the highest level of success that CEES could attain. But the EU—whether by design or simply in practice—has stripped member countries of their rights as free, self-determining states. Amid these changes, ordinary citizens have not been granted the opportunity to participate in the drastic transformation of their countries. For these reasons, liberalism has effectively hollowed out its own grave by attempting to enlarge its influence over Central and Eastern Europe.

The argument presented here is intended to be neither a defense of nor an attack on national populism. As Eatwell and Goodwin observe, "[we] need to understand national-populist voters better, not simply denounce them."[80] Contrary to popular conceptions, national populists on the whole are not fascists or neo-Nazis. They do not seek to retreat to the days of ranting dictators and secret police agencies. National-populist movements do not resist change, as did socialist and liberal bureaucrats; but rather they endeavor to simply slow the rate of change in order to more effectively manage its impact on the various facets of society. They seek to preserve stability, allowing gradual changes without altering the positive elements of the national culture. In

"IN THEIR DEDICATED PURSUIT OF TOTAL PRIVATIZATION, WESTERN ECONOMISTS BULLDOZED MORE GRADUAL METHODS OF REFORM BECAUSE THOSE MEASURES DID NOT IMMEDIATELY ALIGN TO CAPITALIST STANDARDS."

---

80    Eatwell and Goodwin, *National Populism*, 77.

many ways, they advocate a return to what have been traditionally thought of as liberal principles, such as genuine democratic representation of the people.

Opposing societal forces will likely struggle back and forth *ad nauseam*, but it is the conflict between them that produces change. The question remains, then, as to what type of change will result. In an interview that took place in 2017, Francis Fukuyama—the same commentator who announced that the year 1989 marked "the end of history"—argued that modern democracy necessitates the control of elites.[81] The fact that society requires some form of order and direction cannot be denied. Moreover, in countries as large as the United States, for example, centralized authority is often warranted. However, when a society is led by insulated individuals who no longer put the needs and concerns of the people whom they represent above their own, then that society has not reached the end of history, but rather has opened the door to its own undoing.

---

81    Alexander Görlach and Francis Fukuyama, "Francis Fukuyama: Democracy Needs Elites," *New Perspectives Quarterly*, no. 34 (2017): 13, doi: 10.1111/npqu.12075.

**Greyson Hoye** is a senior at Pacific Lutheran University, with majors in Global Studies, History, and German, as well as a minor in French. His previous academic research has concentrated on the Second World War and the Holocaust, but he now focuses primarily on the modern political structures of Eastern Europe and Russia as he prepares to pursue a career in international diplomacy. Greyson's work has also been featured in the University of Alabama's *Crimson Historical Review*.

# Works Cited

Antall, József. *Modell és valóság*. Vol. 2. Budapest: Atheneum, 1994. Quoted in Egedy, Gergely. "Political Conservatism in Post-Communist Hungary." *Problems of Post-Communism* 56, no. 3 (2009): 45, doi: 10.2753/PPC1075-8216560304.

Boyer, Dominic. "*Ostalgie* and the Politics of the Future in Eastern Germany." *Public Culture* 18, no. 2 (2006): 361-381, doi: 10.1215/08992363-2006-08.

Buss, Terry F. "Economic Development in Hungary: The Transition Years--1989 to 1998." *International Journal of Economic Development* 2, no. 1 (2000): 12-34, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A176368804/AONE?u=vic_liberty&sid=AONE&xid=a1797c22.

Conradt, David P. "Social Democratic Party of Germany." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published March 5, 2018. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Social-Democratic-Party-of-Germany.

Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. "Accession Negotiations." Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. Accessed April 10, 2020. https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/accession-negotiations-720.

Dreyer, Michael. "The Ongoing Significance of East Germany and the Wende Narrative in Public Discourse." In *Virtual Walls?: Political Unification and Cultural Difference in Contemporary Germany*, edited by Franziska Lys and Michael Dreyer, 166-182. Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2017. doi: 10.1017/9781787441682.

Eatwell, Roger, and Matthew Goodwin. *National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy*. London: Pelican, 2018. Kindle.

Egedy, Gergely. "Political Conservatism in Post-Communist Hungary." *Problems of Post-Communism* 56, no. 3 (2009): 42-53, doi: 10.2753/PPC1075-8216560304.

Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, no. 16 (1989): 3-18, www.jstor.org/stable/24027184.

Gabel, Matthew J. "European Union." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published January 31, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Union.

Gook, Ben. "Backdating German neoliberalism: Ordoliberalism, the German model and economic experiments in eastern Germany after 1989." *Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2018): 33-48, doi: 10.1177/1440783318759085.

Görlach, Alexander, and Francis Fukuyama. "Francis Fukuyama: Democracy Needs Elites." *New Perspectives Quarterly*, no. 34 (2017): 9-13, doi: 10.1111/npqu.12075.

Hazony, Yoram. *The Virtue of Nationalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2018.

Janos, Andrew C. "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes." *East European Politics and Societies* 15, no. 2 (2001): 221-249, doi: 10.1177/0888325401015002002.

Kaneva, Nadia. "Nation Branding in Post-Communist Europe: Identities, Markets, and Democracy." In *Branding Post-Communist Nations: Marketizing National Identities in the "New" Europe*, edited by Nadia Kaneva, 3-22. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Knight, Ben. "Angela Merkel last East German standing in new cabinet." *Deutsche Welle*, September 2, 2018. https://www.dw.com/en/angela-merkel-last-east-german-standing-in-new-cabinet/a-42523130.

———. "East Germans still victims of 'cultural colonialism' by the West." *Deutsche Welle*, January 1, 2017. https://www.dw.com/en/east-germans-still-victims-of-cultural-colonialism-by-the-west/a-41199804.

Korkut, Umut. "Hungary." In *Life in Post-Communist Eastern Europe after EU Membership*, edited by Beachain, Donnacha O., Vera Sheridan, and Sabina Stan, 73-94. New York: Routledge, 2012. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/liberty/detail.action?docID=982122.

Kornai, János. *The Road to a Free Economy: Shifting from a Socialist System: The Example of Hungary*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Kozarzewski, Piotr, and Maciej Bałtowski. "Change in the Ownership Policy Paradigm in Poland: State Control vs. Privatisation." *Acta Oeconomica* 67, no. 1

(2017): 1-20, doi: 10.1556/032.2017.67.1.1.

Kulcsár, László J., and Young-ok Yum. "One Nation, One Brand?: Nation Branding and Identity

Reconstruction in Post-Communist Hungary." In *Branding Post-Communist Nations:*

*Marketizing National Identities in the "New" Europe*, edited by Nadia Kaneva, 193-212. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Lees, Charles. "The 'Alternative for Germany': The rise of right-wing populism at the heart of Europe." *Politics* 38, no. 3 (2018): 295-310, doi: 10.1177/0263395718777718.

Macartney, Carlile Aylmer, George Barany, Nicholas A. Vardy, Steven Béla Várdy, and Ivan T. Berend. "Hungary." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published October 15, 2019. https://www.britannica.com/place/Hungary.

Miller, Vaughan. *The EU's* Acquis Communitaire. House of Commons Briefing Paper no. 5944. London: House of Commons Library, 2011. http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN05944/SN05944.pdf

Office of the Historian. "A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: East Germany (German Democratic Republic)." U.S. Department of State. Accessed April 20, 2020. https://history.state.gov/countries/german-democratic-republic.

Orbán, Viktor. *20 év, 1986–2006: Beszédek, írások, interjúk*. Edited by Szilárd Szönyi. Budapest: Heti Válasz Kiadó, 2006. Quoted in Egedy, Gergely. "Political Conservatism in Post-Communist Hungary." *Problems of Post-Communism* 56, no. 3 (2009): 47, doi: 10.2753/PPC1075-8216560304.

———. *Egy az ország*. Budapest: Helikon, 2007. Quoted in Egedy, Gergely. "Political Conservatism in Post-Communist Hungary." *Problems of Post-Communism* 56, no. 3 (2009): 51, doi: 10.2753/PPC1075-8216560304.

Patton, David F. "Monday, Monday: Eastern Protest Movements and German Party Politics since 1989." *German Politics* 26, no. 4 (2017): 480-497, doi: 10.1080/09644008.2017.1365136.

Quint, Peter E. *The Imperfect Union: Constitutional Structures of German Unification*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rrrn.13.

Reagan, Ronald. "Evil Empire Speech." Voices of Democracy. Accessed April 16, 2020. https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/reagan-evil-empire-speech-text/.

Reich, Jens. *Rückkehr nach Europa: Zur neuen Lage der deutschen Nation*. Munich: Carl Hanser, 1991. Quoted in Quint, Peter E. *The Imperfect Union: Constitutional Structures of German Unification*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rrrn.13.

Sachs, Jeffrey. "What is to be done?" *The Economist*, January 13, 1990. https://www.economist.com/europe/1990/01/13/what-is-to-be-done.

Shields, Stuart. "From socialist Solidarity to neo-populist neoliberalisation? The paradoxes of Poland's post-communist transition." *Capital & Class* 31, no. 3 (2007): 159-178, https://doi-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/10.1177%2F030981680709300110.

———. "How the East Was Won: Transnational Social Forces and the Neoliberalisation of Poland's Post-Communist Transition." *Global Society* 22, no. 4 (2008): 445-468, doi: 10.1080/13600820802366409.

Slay, Ben. "The Polish economic transition: outcome and lessons." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 33, no. 49-70 (2000): 49-70, http://online.ucpress.edu/cpcs/article-pdf/33/1/49/3975/cpcs_33_1_49.pdf.

Smith, Nicola. "Neoliberalism." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., published June 28, 2019. https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoliberalism.

"Timeline of Germany's Green Party." *Reuters*, November 18, 2012. https://www.reuters.com/article/germanys-greens-politics/timeline-of-germanys-green-party-idUSL5E8MI3T320121118.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L. "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis." *American Sociological Review* 28, no. 5 (1963): 695-705, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2089908.

Amy Tong
Tufts University

# China's Information and Communications Technologies Engagement in Africa

## A Comparative Analysis

*A*s a rising global power seeking to challenge the United States' hegemonic dominance of the international world order, China has rapidly extended its influence around the globe since its economic liberalization in the late twentieth century, transforming itself from a largely agrarian society to the second most powerful economy in the world.

The twenty-first century, however, has ushered in a new stage of global development: the information age. In a burgeoning arena of interpersonal interaction upon which global individuals, societies, and economies hinge, information and communications technologies, or ICTs, have stepped up to become an indispensable player, serving to connect the disparate inhabitants of this increasingly interconnected world. Because of the state's extensive control over the private sector, it is difficult to clearly distinguish between private and public interests or actions. Thus, in this paper, both actors will simply be referred to as "China."

In recent decades, China has expanded into the digital realm, where it

is competing with the West to establish spheres of technological influence. While China's potential to build digital connectivity for more people is indisputable, especially in underdeveloped countries, many scholars and organizations in the West also fear that it may spread authoritarianism. They therefore urge the US and other Western democracies to compete against it to prevent China from establishing an illiberal technological hegemony in the form of "digital Leninism."[1]

This paper will attempt to analyze the validity of these concerns in the context of China's penetration into African development of ICTs, with a heavy focus on the telecommunications sector. China and Africa have had a long history of engagement through trade, diplomatic cooperation, and economic aid. In a period of growing Chinese expansion, it has paid special attention to development in Africa. Under the direction of the state, Chinese firms have increased their foreign direct investment (FDI) to African countries by 7,239 percent between 2003 and 2008 alone.[2] In recent years, China has also greatly increased its level of support for technological and ICT development in Africa. Through both foreign aid and developmental loans, it has invested in indigenous companies and digital infrastructure such as cellular networks, big data, fiber-optic cables, e-commerce, artificial intelligence, and "smart cities."

"IT HYPOTHESIZES THAT CHINESE EMPHASIS ON ICT STEMS FROM ITS DESIRE TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A GREAT POWER, BOTH THROUGH SOFT POWER AND ECONOMICALLY."

The objective of this paper is two-fold. First, it aims to provide a better understanding of the methods and extent of China's investment in ICTs internally and externally, and the importance of ICT investment to China's rise. It hypothesizes that Chinese emphasis on ICT stems from its desire to establish itself as a great power, both through soft power and economically. Second, it will analyze case studies of Ethiopia and South Africa, two countries with significant levels of engagement with China but with different levels of ICT maturity. This regional focus allows it to compare China's presence in the ICT sectors through the lens of two structurally different countries, from which it can compare methods of Chinese engagement. This paper hypothesizes that China will not be as involved in the Ethiopian ICT sector than it is the South African, as South Africa has a stable government, a stronger international voice, a more advanced market economy, and more natural resources. China can derive greater benefit from all of these factors than it can in Ethiopia.

However, the findings do not entirely hold up the hypotheses. This paper argues that analyses of Chinese actions in the two countries and the broader African continent reveal that though China's rising role in the ICT world does stem from its objectives of economic growth and soft power expansion, its interests in ICT investment in Africa expand beyond basic consideration of wealth of natural resources, economic stability, and political motives, as it penetrated deeper into the Ethiopian telecommunications industry than what conventional wisdom may have suggested. Furthermore, from the cases of

1    Clayton Cheney, "China's Digital Silk Road: Strategic Technological Competition and Exporting Political Illiberalism," *Pacific Forum* 19, no. 8 (July 2019), 2, 22.
2    Munyaradzi Mawere and Costain Tandi, "'A New Form of Imperialism?' Interrogating China-Africa Relations and Development Prospects in Africa," in *Development Perspectives from the South: Troubling the Metrics of [Under-]Development in Africa* (Langaa RPCIG, 2016), 394.

Ethiopia, South Africa, and other countries in Africa, it appears that although Western concerns of the spread of political illiberalism are legitimate, in reality, China's intentions are more economically focused. Its actions brought about tangible economic and skills-development benefits to the populace and is met with much more positive reception.

## HISTORY OF CHINESE AID AND ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA

China and Africa, historically, have had high and consistent levels of economic engagement with each other. Even before China's economic liberalization in the 1980s, the country contributed to the economic development of newly independent African countries after centuries of Western colonial plunder. It saw their experiences as similar to what China itself had gone through following its "Century of Humiliation" from the 1830s to the 1940s, when Western powers and Japan subjugated China to a series of unequal treaties that forced it to relinquish territory and sovereignty.

China was the first developing country to establish aid programs of its own. Its aid, such as its financing of the 2,000-kilometer Tanzania-Zambia Railway in the early 1970s with a zero-interest loan, helped it garner favor with aid recipients. This was a contributing factor to its seizure of diplomatic recognition by these countries away from Taiwan, allowing its entry into the United Nations. By 1978, it had aid programs in more African countries than the United States. Deng Xiaoping's rule in the 1980s then paved the way for not just aid, but what became known as "south-south cooperation" between developing countries of the Global South, laying the groundwork for its contemporary methods of engagement in Africa, securing investment and business ties despite its rampant domestic economic troubles. Gradually, it began joining international institutions including the World Bank and the African Development Bank, and the Chinese Red Cross also channeled humanitarian aid for disaster and famine relief in various African countries.[3]

Flourishing trade relations quickly accompanied China's economic boom. Between 1989 and 2011, China's GDP grew at a rate of 9.3 percent annually, allowing it to become the second-largest economy in the world by 2010 and one of its largest industrial powerhouses.[4] Trade then surged: the decade between 1999 and 2009 saw a 28 percent growth rate in trade between the two parties, and by 2010, Africa had become China's top trading partner.[5] The relationship, however, proved imbalanced. China mainly exported manufactured goods to populous countries with large markets, and imported raw materials, 70 percent of which came from four resource-rich countries.[6] This then led to the widespread view that Sino-African economic relations was designed to be exploitative, providing benefits only for China itself.[7]

Investment patterns seem to mirror this. Data collected by the China Africa Research Initiative show that between 2003 and 2018, the total stock of FDI from China in Africa had risen from 491 million USD to over 46 billion USD, an increase of more than 9,368 percent. At the same time, the

---

3    Deborah Brautigam, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 33-70.
4    Phineas Bbaala, "Emerging Questions on the Shifting Sino-African Relations," in *Inclusive Development in Africa: Transformation of Global Relations* (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2018), 228.
5    Bbaala, "Emerging Questions," 233.
6    The four countries were Angola, South Africa, Sudan, and Congo. Bbaala, "Emerging Questions," 233-36.
7    Bbaala, "Emerging Questions," 241.

annual outflow of FDI to Africa rose from 74 million USD to 5.4 billion USD—a 7,294 percent increase. Over the same period, the total stock of US FDI in Africa increased from 19.8 billion USD to 47.8 billion USD, and the outflow actually decreased from 2.7 billion USD to -2.5 billion USD, after a short spike following the 2008 financial crisis.[8] In this area, China was able to successfully fill in the gap left by the United States. However, research by Catherine Boone and Dhawal Doshi found that since the late 1990s, China's FDI to Africa has been mainly directed toward extractive industries such as oil.[9] This investment trend became known as the "Angola Model," in which China provides low-interest loans to resource-rich countries in order to secure access to those resources. Between 2004 and 2011, China's investment deals with seven of these countries reached a total value of 14 billion USD.[10]

Lastly, the 2013 launching of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) fundamentally transformed China's investment relations with Africa and the rest of the world. China opened its view to encompass more than just traditional sectors like mining and energy, and adapting to modern demands, now also encompasses areas of technology and communications.[11] Hence, the "Digital Silk Road" came about, and though still minimal compared to other

> **"LASTLY, THE 2013 LAUNCHING OF THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI) FUNDAMENTALLY TRANSFORMED CHINA'S INVESTMENT RELATIONS WITH AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD."**

sectors, investment in science, technology, innovation, and ICT has begun rising in importance in China's economic strategy in Africa.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

There has been plenty of attention given to Sino-African relations in investment, aid, and trade in the current scholarship, and less given to the aforementioned new informational and technological forms.

In the traditional sphere, one of the most authoritative works is Brautigam's *The Dragon's Gift*, in which she explores trends in Sino-African economic engagement. She traces the history of the two's economic engagement, assesses how it works, and concludes that China, in its effort to portray itself as a responsible stakeholder in the international system, has used its own developmental experiences to offer a "win-win" approach of non-interference in domestic affairs. This strategy competes with Western aid's

---

8    "China-Africa Foreign Direct Investment Data, Country by Country, 2003-2018," Excel data (Johns Hopkins China Africa Research Initiative (CARI), February 2020).
9    See Catherine Boone and Dhawal Doshi, "The China Model in Africa: A New Brand of Developmentalism," in *Development Models in Muslim Contexts* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 47–82.
10    Yun Sun, "China's Aid to Africa: Monster or Messiah?" (The Brookings Institution, February 7, 2014).
11    Rong Wang, François Bar, and Yu Hong, "ICT Aid Flows from China to African Countries: A Communication Network Perspective," *International Journal of Communication* 14 (February 24, 2020), 1498-99.

condition-based paternalism, offering "green shoots of new opportunities."[12] There is much scholarly debate surrounding her work.[13] Critics argue that China's non-interference policy is overstated, as there is proof of Chinese interference in Zambian elections, for example.[14] Others also agree with her that China offers a different model of aid and cooperation from the West, and that its model is complex and its role cannot be reduced to that of a "hegemonic recolonizer."[15]

Surrounding the reach of Chinese ICTs, Li Ling, Clayton Cheney, Hong Yu, Shen Hong, and Gianluigi Negro all discuss China's digital and technological ambitions and capacities. Li examines China's role in the fourth industrial revolution and its "Made in China 2025" plan of moving up the production chain, comparing it to Germany's "Industry 4.0."[16] Cheney's, Hong's, and Shen's works address China's Digital Silk Road and how its investment in digital infrastructure allows it to challenge the United States while strengthening its ties with other major Afro-Eurasian powers.[17] Negro analyzes the globalization of Chinese internet as part of its "going out" strategy of expansion.[18] There is also a comparison of Chinese telecommunications investment in Denmark and Africa.[19] For Chinese ventures in Africa specifically, two studies analyze the general trends of ICT developmental aid allocation from China to Africa and the role of Chinese telecommunications companies in molding Africa's digital future.[20] This paper builds off the above works, but it additionally examines how China addresses ICT aid and investment in Ethiopia and South Africa specifically, tailored to different needs and circumstances.

**"BY 2017, ICT EXPENDITURES HAD RISEN TO NEARLY 6 PERCENT OF ITS TOTAL GDP, AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS REVENUE HAD GENERATED AN ADDITIONAL 2.88 PERCENT OF GDP."**

---

12    Brautigam, *The Dragon's Gift*, 312.
13    See Barry Sautman, review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam, *The China Journal* 66 (July 2011); Jonathan Munemo, review of *Review of The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam, *Political Science Quarterly* 126, no. 4 (2011): 721–3; Philip Liu, review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam, *The China Quarterly* 202 (June 2010): 444–46; Brian Levy, "The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa – By Deborah Brautigam," *Governance* 24, no. 1 (2011): 186–88; Jane Golley, review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam, *Economic Record* 87, no. 278 (2011): 501–2.
14    Suresh George, review of *The Dragon's Gift. The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam, *Regional Studies* 45, no. 6 (June 1, 2011): 870–72.
15    See Boone and Doshi, "The China Model in Africa"; Sam Moyo, "Perspectives on South-South Relations: China's Presence in Africa," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 58–67.
16    See Ling Li, "China's Manufacturing Locus in 2025: With a Comparison of 'Made-in-China 2025' and 'Industry 4.0,'" *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 135 (October 1, 2018): 66–74.
17    See Cheney, "China's Digital Silk Road"; Yu Hong, *Networking China: The Digital Transformation of the Chinese Economy* (University of Illinois Press, 2017); Yu Hong, "Reading the 13th Five-Year Plan: Reflections on China's ICT Policy," *International Journal of Communication* 11 (April 14, 2017): 1755–1774; Hong Shen, "Building a Digital Silk Road? Situating the Internet in China's Belt and Road Initiative," *International Journal of Communication* 12, no. 0 (June 29, 2018): 2683–2701.
18    Gianluigi Negro, "Chinese Internet Companies Go Global: Online Traffic, Framing and Open Issues," in *Chinese Social Media: Social, Cultural, and Political Implications* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
19    See Yang Jiang, Aki Tonami, and Adam Fejerskov, "Chinese Investment in Overseas Telecommunications Infrastructure," Nuclear Power and Telecommunications (Danish Institute for International Studies, 2016): 29-43.
20    See Wang, Bar, and Hong, "ICT Aid Flows From China to African Countries"; "China's Telecommunications Footprint in Africa," in *China in Africa: A Strategic Overview* (IDE - JETRO, 2009).

## RESEARCH DESIGN

First, this paper will evaluate the importance of the ICT industry for China's growth, explaining the roles of ICT globally, in Africa, and in China. Then, it will briefly discuss the role ICT plays in China's Africa strategy specifically, and some of the resulting international reactions. Then, it will delve into the specific case studies of Ethiopia and South Africa. These two states were chosen for this comparative analysis because as per the ICT Development Index of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Ethiopia's ICT readiness in 2011 was ranked at 150 out of 155 states surveyed and was the lowest-ranking African state. South Africa, on the other hand, ranked fifth highest among African states.[21] In addition to their starkly contrasting ICT infrastructure and technology in place, both have received significant amounts of investment from China. In 2018, they were among the top three African states with the most FDI stock, with South Africa being the top and Ethiopia in third.[22] The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was second, but this paper chose not to focus on it as it does not constitute an extreme case of ICT development on the continent, and unlike the former two, it has run a consistent trade surplus with China every year since 2002, adding more variables to consider when examining differences.[23] In each of these two countries, then, this paper will give an overview of the state of its economy and ICT sector, examine the means and extent of Chinese involvement in its ICT sector, and discuss the implications of this involvement.

The sources used in this paper include data published by organizations including CARI, AidData, the World Bank, the ITU, the United Nations, Statista, Huawei, as well as governmental sources of China, South Africa, and Ethiopia. It also borrows data from various secondary reports and extrapolates the findings of some of those reports to form its own conclusions.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF ICT FOR CHINA'S NATIONAL STRATEGY
## ICT: WHAT AND WHY? RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to tackle the issue, one must first understand what ICTs are, as well as their role in global development. This paper uses the definition of ICT by UNESCO:

> *A diverse set of technological tools and resources used to transmit, store, create, share or exchange information. These technological tools and resources include computers, the Internet, live broadcasting technologies, recorded broadcasting technologies and telephones.[24]*

According to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, ICTs "are crucial in spurring development, dignity, and peace." Rwandan President Paul Kagame agrees, declaring that "the role of ICTs in national, regional, and continental development, and specifically, in wealth creation, employment generation, and poverty reduction cannot be over-emphasized."[25] The 2007 UNECA's "E-Strategies" report emphasizes that while ICTs are "among the driving forces of globalization," a digital divide of unequal access to and awareness of ICTs exists among developing and developed communities. Because they play

---

21    Lishan Adam, "Understanding What is Happening in ICT in Ethiopia" (Research ICT Africa, 2012), 4.

22    CARI, "China-Africa Foreign Direct Investment Data."

23    CARI, "China-Africa Foreign Direct Investment Data"; "China-Africa Annual Trade Data, Country by Country, 1992-2018," Excel data (Johns Hopkins China Africa Research Initiative (CARI), February 2020).

24    "Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)," UNESCO Institute of Statistics, May 2, 2017.

25    "E-Strategies: National Information and Communication Infrastructure: Best Practices and Lessons Learnt" (Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, November 2007), 2.

such a crucial role in sustainable growth acceleration and poverty eradication, it is crucial for developing countries to adopt and implement ICT policies.[26] In an emerging global world order dominated by digital capitalism, ICTs are key to integrating developing countries into the global economy.[27]

## THE STATE OF ICT IN AFRICA

Over the past decade, significant strides have been made in ICT development. Between 2005 and 2019, global internet users increased from less than 17 percent to over 53 percent. However, while Europe had a nearly 87 percent internet usage rate in 2019, the figure in Africa remained a mere 19 percent. Asian states hovered at around 48 percent.[28] Both mobile-broadband and mobile-cellular subscriptions have continued to grow steadily at over 18 percent per year. However, fixed-broadband subscriptions have climbed up more slowly, and African countries continue to lag behind. In 2019, there were only 0.4 fixed-broadband subscriptions per 100 inhabitants, compared to Europe's 31.9 and Asia's 14.4. The gap is significantly smaller for mobile-cellular subscriptions, but the disparity is still noticeable.[29]

Thus far, most countries have not been able to successfully close the gap. They are missing ICT manufacturing and infrastructural capacity, and most governments, despite lacking economies of scale and commercial expertise, have followed the recommendations of liberal international institutions to privatize state-owned ICT operators, inhibiting significant growth.[30] Still, countries have not allocated sufficient research and development (R&D) expenditures toward improving the sector. In 2016, sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab states had only allocated 0.4 percent and 0.6 percent of their GDP toward R&D, respectively, compared with East Asia's 2.1 percent and the West's 2.4 percent.[31] In 2018, as a percentage of total manufactured exports, high-tech exports constituted 8.4 percent of the Arab states' total manufactured goods and 4.1 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's, compared to 31.1 percent of East Asia's.[32] The number of African states actively implementing ICT strategies is also extremely low considering that those strategies are essential for their integration into the world.[33] The lack of development poses a huge problem for economic progress: there is a strong positive correlation between teledensity and growth, for the real GDP in Africa per capita increases by 0.5 to 0.8 percent with an increase of 10 people per 100 inhabitants of teledensity.[34] Africa has thus become marginalized in this international digital economy.

## THE STATE OF ICT IN CHINA

Meanwhile China, as a result of its economic surge in the past decades, has had considerable success in ICT development. By 2017, ICT expenditures

26    "E-Strategies," 2.
27    Wang, Bar, and Hong, "ICT Aid Flows From China to African Countries."
28    "Facts and Figures 2019," (Geneva: ITU Telecommunication Development Bureau, 2019), 1.
29    "Facts and Figures 2019," 5.
30    Ewan Sutherland, "China and Africa: Alternative Telecommunication Policies and Practices," *The African Journal of Information and Communication*, no. 17 (2016): 165–95.
31    "Global Investments in R&D" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, June 2019), 2.
32    "World Development Indicators: Science and Technology," (The World Bank Group, 2017).
33    John Forje and Yazini April, "Rethinking Africa's Development Through Science and Technology: A Partnership Opportunity for South Africa and China," in *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years* (Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014), 89.
34    Michael Enowbi Batuo, "The Role of Telecommunications Infrastructure in the Regional Economic Growth of Africa," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 49, no. 1 (2015): 322.

"IN DIRECTING ICT AND TECHNOLOGICAL AID AND INVESTMENT, [CHINA] CONTINUES TO TOUT ITS FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE..."

had risen to nearly 6 percent of its total GDP, and telecommunications revenue had generated an additional 2.88 percent of GDP.[35] In 2014, Chinese telecommunications companies also received 14.8 billion USD in FDI, though it remained a small part of total FDI.[36] Furthermore, between 2000 to 2017, the percentage of internet users in China grew from 1.78 percent to 54.3 percent, mobile-cellular subscriptions rose from 6.61 per 100 inhabitants to 103.44, and fixed broadband subscriptions, from 2001 to 2017, rose from 0.03 to 27.74.[37] Its exports of automatic data processing equipment, high-tech products, and mobile phones have all surged as well, and in 2017, export of ICT goods constituted over 27 percent of its total exports, though that percentage has decreased slightly since its peak in 2006.[38] In 2015, its e-commerce transactions reached 21.8 trillion RMB, ranking first in the world.[39]

Because of these successes, in recent years, China has placed ICT development at the forefront of its development and expansion strategies. Its BRI blueprint from 2015 specifically called for the creation of an "information Silk Road," including bilateral cable networks, transcontinental submarine cable projects, and improved satellite passageways.[40] As part of its thirteenth Five-Year Plan published in 2016, China placed ICT development and "informatization" as one of its top priorities. By 2020, its goals were to have achieved significant successes in the construction of a "digital China," with leading informatization capabilities in areas such as big data, e-government, e-commerce, complete commercial deployment of 5G networks, and increased financial support for other informatization areas.[41]

## CHINA'S ICT FOOTPRINT IN AFRICA

For the ICT developmental gap in Africa, especially with the Western retreat in investment ventures, China has eagerly stepped in to fill in the vacuum. In directing ICT and technological aid and investment, it continues to tout its Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, specifically that of non-interference in internal affairs, which, as Brautigam proved, many African countries have embraced. China has become the largest foreign ICT investor in Africa, and between 2001 to 2007, it pumped over 3 billion USD into the sector.[42] In December 2015, President Xi Jinping pledged to inject another 60 billion USD into development projects on the continent, which included ICT development.[43] The presidents of South Africa and Zimbabwe both have praised Xi's plan as a "healthy counterbalance to the West." In leveraging these loans, China has made itself into an epicenter of global ICT development and digital soft power.

Chinese telecommunications giants Huawei and ZTE have been central players in the modern African "mobile revolution."[44] In 2019 alone, Huawei

---

35    "China - ICT Goods Exports" (Trading Economics, May 2020).
36    Yu Hong, "Reading the 13th Five-Year Plan: Reflections on China's ICT Policy," *International Journal of Communication* 11 (April 14, 2017), 1768.
37    "Country ICT Data," Excel data (ITU, 2019).
38    "China - ICT Goods Exports".
39    "'十三五'国家信息化规划 (13th Five-Year Plan for National Informatization)" (State Council of the People's Republic of China, December 15, 2016).
40    Shen, "Building a Digital Silk Road?"
41    "13th Five-Year Plan."
42    See Iginio Gagliardone, Nicole Stremlau, and Daniel Nkrumah, "Partner, Prototype or Persuader?: China's Renewed Media Engagement with Ghana," 2012; "China's Telecommunications Footprint in Africa."
43    Joe Brock and Stella Mapenzauswa, "China's Xi Cheers African Leaders with Pledge of $60 Billion for Development," *Reuters*, December 4, 2015.
44    Jiang, Tonami, and Fejerskov, "Chinese Investment in Overseas Telecommunications Infrastructure," 38.

generated 858.83 billion RMB worldwide, an increase from 146.6 billion RMB in 2009, and occupied around 30 percent of global market share of IT network vendors, a large plurality.[45] ZTE is China's second-largest telecommunications equipment manufacturer after Huawei, and the two have become the most influential Chinese telecommunications manufacturers in Africa. Huawei entered the African market in Kenya in 1998, and as of 2016, it had sixteen regional offices and operated in over 40 countries on the

## "FROM OFFICIAL STATE DOCUMENTS AND STATEMENTS BY OFFICIALS, IT IS CLEAR THAT CHINESE AMBITIONS GREW ALONG WITH THE ICT SECTOR."

continent. It now is Africa's largest telecommunications provider; in Nigeria, it shares over 90 percent of the market with ZTE.[46]

The two are largely funded by the Chinese National Development Bank (CDB) and the Export-Import Bank of China (EXIM), state-owned institutions providing financial support for developmental projects of Chinese enterprises, particularly in underdeveloped countries. For instance, they have received over 45 billion USD in authorized export credits to conduct loans to foreign markets from the CDB.[47] The rise of Huawei, ZTE, and other transnational telecommunications companies has accompanied China's own digital innovation rise over the years. Through the establishment of economic-political ties with the Chinese state in an era demarcated by unprecedented ICT and economic growth, it comes as no surprise that it rose up to face the evolving demands and forces of digital globalization.

### INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

China's rapid growth in the ICT sector has transformed it into a leading world player that has reached far beyond its borders, forging full-speed ahead into the age of digital information. From official state documents and statements by officials, it is clear that Chinese ambitions grew along with the ICT sector. Fears like "digital Leninism" voiced by the critics mentioned at the beginning of this paper emerged from China's increasing presence in the global ICT market. A basic scan of Western media also reveals the prevalence of such sentiment among the public. In 2012, the US House Intelligence Committee released the "Investigative Report on the U.S. National Security Issues Posed by Chinese Telecommunications Companies Huawei and ZTE." The report, citing American national security interests, essentially denounced the companies as Trojan horses for CCP infiltration and espionage of the United States, warning private sector companies against conducting business with them and recommending Congress and the administration to further

---

45    "Huawei," dossier (Statista, 2020).
46    Jiang, Tonami, and Fejerskov, "Chinese Investment in Overseas Telecommunications Infrastructure," 39; Wang, Bar, and Hong, "ICT Aid Flows From China to African Countries," 1502.
47    Jiang, Tonami, and Fejerskov, "Chinese Investment in Overseas Telecommunications Infrastructure," 49.

investigate their trade practices.[48] In August 2019, the Trump administration signed into law a bill barring Huawei and ZTE, along with other Chinese telecommunications firms, from use by the government and its contractors.[49] Japan issued a similar ban in December 2018, and many other countries have also articulated similar concerns over cybersecurity and backdoors that may lead to the loss of sensitive information.[50]

These conflicts have intensified competition between Chinese and Western ICT providers in Africa. Hence, the rapid expansion of the Chinese telecommunications industry has greatly intensified geopolitical struggles among different powers vying for control upon a heavily-contested continent richly endowed with resources and ripe with untapped market potential.

### CASE STUDY: ETHIOPIA

The latter half of this paper will investigate Sino-African cooperation and relations in the ICT sector through the case studies of two countries, Ethiopia and South Africa. As explained previously, the two countries were chosen because of China's high levels of economic engagement with both through FDI and because they are at opposite ends of the ICT readiness spectrum.

The AidData dataset was especially helpful in assessing the case studies. It included all official Chinese aid projects from 2000 to 2013, with 4,373 records totaling 354 billion USD. It did not have ICT-specific categorization in its coding, and for the purposes of this paper, all projects related to technological innovation, research, and development, and communications were recorded as ICTs for the two countries in the study.

**"IN A DATASET OF CHINESE AID PROJECTS IN AFRICA BETWEEN 2000 AND 2013, 96 PROJECTS WERE ASSOCIATED WITH ETHIOPIA."**

### OVERVIEW

Since 2004, Ethiopia has been experiencing relatively rapid and stable economic growth. It has had an average GDP growth rate of around 10 to 11 percent annually from 2009 to 2021, with a steep rise in GDP per capita in the past decade as well. Meanwhile, its R&D expenditures averaged around 0.27% of its total GDP from 2010 to 2018.[51] Nonetheless, with a population of nearly 96 million people in 2019 and GDP per capita of around 950 USD, it ranked 173 out of 189 countries in the 2019 UN Human Development Index, among the lowest.[52]

The Ethiopian political system has been fairly stable since March 1991, when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the current ruling party, took power. Though the EPRDF has made efforts of political decentralization, it has maintained state control on much of its

48    See "Investigative Report on the U.S. National Security Issues Posed by Chinese Telecommunications Companies Huawei and ZTE" (U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Intelligence, October 8, 2012).
49    Emily Stewart, "The US Government's Battle with Chinese Telecom Giant Huawei, Explained," Vox, December 11, 2018.
50    Simon Denyer, "Japan Effectively Bans China's Huawei and ZTE from Government Contracts, Joining U.S.," The Washington Post, December 10, 2018.
51    H. Plecher, "GDP Growth Rate in Ethiopia 2021," Statista, May 2020; "World Development Indicators: Science and Technology."
52    "Human Development Report 2019" (United Nations Development Programme, 2019).

core infrastructure, including the ICT sector, and has historically resisted the influence of neoliberal institutions such as the International Monetary Fund.[53] For most of its history, Ethio-Telecom, the state-owned telecommunications provider, has maintained an unchallenged monopoly in the country. In 2016, the EPRDF finalized its National ICT Policy and Strategy, addressing strategic obstacles and issues in the area.[54] However, as shown by its dismal rankings on the ICT Development Index and the Networked Readiness Index, it still lags severely behind most other African countries.[55] From 2000 to 2017, the percentage of internet users increased from 0.02 percent of the population to 18.6 percent, a low statistic compared to its neighbors. Its mobile-cellular subscriptions increased from 0.03 per 100 inhabitants to 37.2, and its fixed-broadband subscriptions rose only from 0.03 per 100 inhabitants to 0.06, both of which are also incredibly low in the region.[56] Because of this, Ethiopia has largely been embracing economic relations with China commercially, through trade, and as an aid recipient.

## CHINESE ENGAGEMENT

China and Ethiopia have had close economic ties: in 2017, China was Ethiopia's largest import partner and third largest export partner.[57] In line with Brautigam's analysis, the threats of political democratization conditions attached to Western aid and institutions have pushed Ethiopia toward another partner espousing non-interference.[58]

In a dataset of Chinese aid projects in Africa between 2000 and 2013, 96 projects were associated with Ethiopia. These projects consisted of direct aid to Ethiopia, aid to Ethiopia as part of a group of African aid recipients, or projects that took place on Ethiopian territory.[59] Among those, a plurality of fifteen projects went to education, ICT followed with twelve, and ten each went to energy generation and supply, government and civil society, and transport and storage.

Out of all ICT-related projects for all countries during this time period, the largest was a 2006 ICT infrastructure project to Ethiopia with ZTE, funded by EXIM Bank, that amounted to a 1.5 billion USD loan for equipment. ZTE first entered the Ethiopian market in 1996, and this project marked the first time Ethio-Telecom had reached a stage of substantial cooperation with another telecommunications provider.[60]

After this initial point of aid, Chinese telecommunications companies continued to entrench themselves into the Ethiopian market. In 2013, Ethio-Telecom signed a 700 million USD agreement with Huawei to expand 4G and 3G cellular service throughout the country, half of a 1.6 billion USD project financed by Huawei and ZTE.[61] In more recent years, Huawei has further

53    Adam, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in Ethiopia;" Téwodros W. Workneh, "Chinese Multinationals in the Ethiopian Telecommunications Sector," *Communication, Culture & Critique* 9, no. 1 (March 2016), 127.
54    See "The National Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Policy and Strategy" (Addis Ababa: The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, September 2016).
55    "The National ICT Policy," 11-12.
56    "Country ICT Data."
57    H. Plecher, "Most Important Import Partners of Ethiopia 2017," Statista, July 22, 2019; H. Plecher, "Most Important Export Partners for Ethiopia in 2017," Statista, July 22, 2019.
58    Workneh, "Chinese Multinationals in the Ethiopian Telecommunications Sector," 128-29.
59    A. Dreher et al., "AidData's Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, 2000-2014," Excel data (Williamsburg: AidData, October 2017).
60    Lili Zhao, "Contributing to the Development of Ethiopia with Wisdom and Strength," *ZTE*, June 12, 2009.
61    Aaron Maasho, "Ethiopia Signs $700 Mln Mobile Network Deal with China's Huawei," *Reuters*, July

aided Ethiopia in the ICT sector in bridging the digital divide through skills development programs, including its initiatives "Seeds for the Future," the "ICT Talent Ecosystem," and ICT competitions. Working closely with the Ethiopian Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the company conducts educational exchanges and opportunities involving thousands of university students, and according to Huawei, brought technology into hundreds of schools.[62] Outside of telecommunications, another significant ICT project planned is a memorandum of understanding with Alibaba to create a new e-commerce platform, the Electronic World Trade Platform, aimed to foster coordination among international organizations and enterprises.[63]

## IMPLICATIONS

In 2007, after the keystone 2006 developmental agreement between Ethio-Telecom and ZTE was put into action, the two collaborated on a project designed to roll out 10,000 kilometers of fiber-optic network and expand mobile and wireless network coverage.[64] Though one cannot entirely attribute the following results to this project alone, the following growth was considerable: between 2007 and 2012, the number of mobile subscriptions grew from 1.2 million to 17.5 million, and between 2009 and 2012, the number of internet subscribers grew sevenfold.[65]

Though it is too early and not within the scope of this paper to assess other quantitative impacts these projects have had on Ethiopian telecommunications infrastructure, there are a few other factors and changes they have brought that are telling of China's motivations in and contributions to the region.

First, China's involvement has brought about tangible, though not precisely quantifiable, economic benefits to Ethiopians by laying down the foundations for further skills and knowledge accumulation. In the Ethiopian government's National ICT Policy, one of the key objectives it lists for further growth and development is the acquisition of ICT human capital.[66] No matter how invested Chinese ICT companies are in the country, or how much it spurs digital connectivity and cellular network coverage, the benefits that Ethiopians can derive from such involvement are unsustainable and limited if Ethiopians find it difficult to partake in the process themselves and spur more indigenous growth. ICT infrastructure, systems, services, applications, and hardware cannot be utilized to their maximum potential without a skilled labor force operating those systems and digitally literate citizens taking advantage of them.[67] Education is therefore a crucial step in ICT development, as well as in the nurturing of professionals and technologically competent members of the workforce.

The work that Huawei is doing with its establishment of ICT Academies seems to be a correct first step toward this direction, in taking on corporate social responsibility for the society in which it operates. It reports that it has launched courses at over twenty universities, training over 1,500 students in ICT. Its implementation of the SchoolNet Education Cloud initiatives

25, 2013.

62   "China's Huawei to Make More Contribution in 2020 to ICT Capacity Building in Ethiopia," *Xinhua*, February 17, 2020.

63   Xuequan Mu, "Alibaba, Ethiopia Sign MoU on EWTP to Boost Digital Economy," *Xinhua*, November 25, 2019.

64   Adam, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in Ethiopia," 15.

65   Adam, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in Ethiopia," 15.

66   "The National ICT Policy."

67   "The National ICT Policy."

has brought cloud desktops to 365 schools in the area, and it claims to have directly assisted in the digital education of over 300,000 college students.[68] Whether the numbers are as accurate and impactful as it touts, or if they have been exaggerated for the sake of public relations, Huawei's actions in digital training and education are noteworthy. These efforts show that the form of Chinese aid does seem to include, to a limited extent, working directly with locals and the government, heeding attention to the Ethiopian National ICT Policy, and tailoring the program to Ethiopia's specific needs in network coverage and talent development. This supports the theory that Chinese aid in Africa is favored because many may perceive it as less paternalistic than standard Western models.

However, along with the benefits it brings to the populace come caveats, specifically, in the Ethiopian government's use of Chinese telecommunications technology for surveillance of its citizens and potential suppression of political dissent. The Ethiopian ruling party has explicitly expressed their support of the Chinese approach of non-interference to ICT aid. In a 2013 interview, the Deputy Prime Minister at the time, Debretsion Gebremichael, communicated the following:

> *The Chinese approach doesn't compromise our sovereignty. It doesn't interfere with our policy. It doesn't deploy a prescription. It is purely business. The partnership we have with them is not only free from political conditionalities but also from business conditionalities. It is a very attractive deal that allows us to develop our capacity to implement our development policies.*[69]

Western aid givers often may include stringent regulations on standards of surveillance, privacy, and free speech. Despite the lack of Chinese "political conditionalities" in its aid that Gebremichael praises, it is difficult to tell whether China truly abides by its non-interference principle or if it also wishes to help prop up a fellow illiberal regime.

With the capability to construct the "Great Firewall" within its own borders, many are concerned that China's technology has the potential to assist others in doing the same, especially given Ethiopia's lack of a "comprehensive legal framework governing civil society," as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace puts it.[70] In 2009, Ethiopia's adoption of the "Charities and Societies Proclamation" and the "Anti-Terrorism Proclamation" led to increased governmental freedom to use counterterrorism, a venture supported by China, as a pretext to crack down on human rights and civil society organizations.[71] The expansion of cellular networks across the country also made it possible for the state to expand surveillance in rural areas. In turn, the reduction of space in which civil society could operate—coupled with enhanced surveillance capacities—resulted in barriers to further development and reduction in monitoring by both international organizations and domestic human rights groups.

Though ICT advancements with Chinese aid did make this more possible, these concerns do not apply specifically to the Ethiopian

**"WITH THE CAPABILITY TO CONSTRUCT THE 'GREAT FIREWALL' WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS, MANY ARE CONCERNED THAT CHINA'S TECHNOLOGY HAS THE POTENTIAL TO ASSIST OTHERS IN DOING THE SAME..."**

---

68    "China's Huawei to Make More Contribution in 2020 to ICT Capacity Building in Ethiopia."
69    Workneh, "Chinese Multinationals in the Ethiopian Telecommunications Sector," 131-32.
70    "Surveillance and State Control in Ethiopia - Civil Society Under Assault: Repression and Responses in Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 18, 2017.
71    "Surveillance and State Control in Ethiopia."

government, as technology can be and is used by both liberal and illiberal regimes in control and discipline of their societies. Téwodros Workneh also argues that despite the threats of governmental oppression, for poor countries like Ethiopia, the benefits of expanded connectivity for the ordinary Ethiopian to the world heavily trumps an "unhelpful elitist discourse" focusing solely on surveillance.[72]

## CASE STUDY: SOUTH AFRICA
## OVERVIEW

The South African economic and political structures and maturity differ drastically from those of Ethiopia. Its electrification, education, financial, and healthcare systems soar ahead most others in sub-Saharan Africa.[73] As a result, one would expect to see a different form of Chinese engagement in the country. First, South Africa has one of the highest-performing economies on the continent. Though the growth rate of its GDP has leveled out and fallen lower than Ethiopia's, averaging around 1 to 2 percent each year, South Africa's GDP has climbed fairly steadily since the 1980s, with a slight downturn after 2011, reaching around 360 billion USD in 2019.[74] This puts it as the African country with the second-highest GDP, following Nigeria, perhaps because of South Africa's endowment of natural resources and minerals.[75] Its expenditures for R&D from 2010 to 2018 were 0.82 percent of its total GDP, four times that of Ethiopia, and on the Human Development Index, it ranked at 113 under the category of "high human development," 60 spots above Ethiopia.[76] Hence, it has assumed a leadership role within the African Union as a model that many others look to for development.

Though national GDP has risen slowly, the growth rate of the ICT sector is double the national rate, contributing roughly 6 percent to total GDP.[77] Despite this, the ICT policy and regulatory environment lags behind other countries with comparable economies and sector development levels in ICT preparedness, such as Turkey and Chile.[78] In June 2009, the South African Communications Forum (SACF) launched its "ICT Vision 2020," in which it set goals to become a "leading country in the information era." Finally, Research ICT Africa found that the two core obstacles impeding ICT development for South Africa are a weak regulatory environment for the industry due to the government's hands-free approach, as well as a lack of ICT skills development—as in Ethiopia.[79]

## CHINESE ENGAGEMENT

South Africa's economic engagement with China has been strong. In 2017, China was South Africa's largest import and export partner, and South Africa has remained China's largest African trade partner since 2010.[80] In its

72    Workneh, "Chinese Multinationals in the Ethiopian Telecommunications Sector," 140-41.
73    Alison Gillwald, Mpho Moyo, and Christopher Stork, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in South Africa," Evidence for ICT Policy Action (Cape Town: Research ICT Africa, 2012), 1.
74    H. Plecher, "GDP in South Africa 2024" (Statista, November 25, 2019); H. Plecher, "GDP Growth Rate in South Africa 2024" (Statista, November 25, 2019).
75    "GDP Africa" (Trading Economics, 2020).
76    "Human Development Report 2019"; "World Development Indicators: Science and Technology."
77    Gillwald, Moyo, and Stork, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in South Africa."
78    Gillwald, Moyo, and Stork, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in South Africa," 3.
79    Gillwald, Moyo, and Stork, "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in South Africa," 75.
80    H. Plecher, "Most Important Export Partners for South Africa in 2017" (Statista, July 23, 2019); H. Plecher, "Most Important Import Partners of South Africa 2017" (Statista, July 23, 2019); "China-Africa Trade Data."

interactions with Chinese ICT companies, both the southern African regional headquarters of Huawei and ZTE are situated within its borders, a sign of its perceived stability and importance to China. Huawei first entered the country in 1998, and by 2015, it had employed 1,028 in the country, over 60 percent of whom are local South Africans.[81] Unlike Ethiopia, South Africa's ICT sector has not been monopolized by the state since it was deregulated in the 1980s to 1990s. Rather, it is an oligopoly, in which the main competitors for Huawei and ZTE include the popular Western vendors Ericsson, Nokia, and CISCO. The two largest domestic players are Vodacom and MTN, followed by Cell C and Telkom Mobile.[82] To wiggle their ways into the market, the Chinese companies used intense price competition, offering prices up to 50 percent less than their Western counterparts. They were able to do this with ease because of their state-backed funding; however, the two still remain fierce competitors with each other.[83]

When analyzing the AidData dataset for Chinese aid projects in South Africa from 2000 to 2013, there were 44 projects total directed toward or involved South Africa, significantly fewer than there were in Ethiopia.[84] Among those, educational aid was by far the most frequent. Industry, mining, and construction, as well as trade and tourism projects tied for second, both of which are to be expected given South Africa's profitable mining and tourism industries from which China could extract economic benefit. However, unlike in Ethiopia, there was no large, extensive aid project devoted for ICT; among the two listed, one was an agreement on the exchange of expertise rather than a direct loan for a development project.

Other forms of Chinese ICT engagement in the country include educational and skills development initiatives by Huawei, such as the ICT Academies and Talent Development Programs also established in Ethiopia. Huawei also is currently working with Rustenburg, a city known for unsustainable platinum mining, to develop a "Smart City." It is building a system that implements, integrates, and employs tools of ICT, including the Internet of Things, big data, geographic information systems (GIS), and other forms of communications technology in order to secure access to urban resources that seeks to put the city on a more long-term path of economic growth.[85] Thus, even though South Africa has not received the same level of direct attention in its ICT development endeavors as Ethiopia did in 2006 and 2013, Chinese ICT corporations still occupy a significant part of the market and have engaged with South African firms and the state in other ways.

## IMPLICATIONS

The first thing to consider is the discrepancies in Chinese ICT penetration strategy in these two countries and the motivations behind them. Unlike Ethiopia, which falls behind tremendously in economic strength and ICT readiness compared to the states around it, the South African economy is the second largest on the continent and serves as one of its premier manufacturing

---

81    Benjamin Tsui, "Do Huawei's Training Programs and Centers Transfer Skills to Africa?" (Washington, D.C.: China Africa Research Initiative, 2016).
82    Tsui, "Do Huawei's Training Programs," 1.
83    June Sun, "Technology Transfer in Telecommunications: Barriers and Opportunities in the Case of Huawei and ZTE in South Africa" (China Africa Research Initiative, 2016), 2.
84    Dreher et al., "Global Chinese Finance Dataset."
85    "2018 Sustainability Report" (Huawei Investment & Holding Co., Ltd., 2018).

"THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY AND CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE ICT SECTORS MAY HAVE ALREADY GROWN TO A POINT OF DIMINISHING MARGINAL RETURNS, FOR BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND CHINA."

and mining hubs. Thus, it is likely that South Africa received fewer aid projects related to ICT development than did Ethiopia, a poor, densely populated country in the midst of growth, during this time span simply because it had a lower level of demand for them. In contrast, the South African economy and certain aspects of the ICT sectors may have already grown to a point of diminishing marginal returns, for both South Africa and China.

What, then, can characterize the nature of the relationship between China and South Africa? Liu Guijin, in *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*, argues that the bilateral development and growth of relations in the past two decades has been one of mutually advantageous benefit. As the top economies in Asia and Africa, they had often acted in consensus with each other in developmental issues in international organizations such as the UN and the WTO. Gradually, as trade and diplomatic relations tightened, the relation had evolved from a "partnership" in 2000, to a "strategic partnership" in 2004, and finally, to a "comprehensive strategic partnership" in 2010.[86]

This lens can perhaps also shed insight on the two countries' digital interaction. As Chinese companies like Huawei and ZTE inject themselves in the South African telecommunications markets, they are met with a lot more resistance than they were by Ethio-Telecom. Through competition, South Africa treats the Chinese presence as a more equal business partner in a market-oriented industry, compared with more direct Chinese dealings with the state-owned monopoly of Ethio-Telecom. Furthermore, local companies and government departments often are hesitant to cooperate with Chinese telecommunications firms due to a lack of trust. Not only is there the "Made in China" stigma, but many found Huawei lacking in business professionalism, partly in bias against the language barrier of some employees, but it has also been unwilling to share information which leads to contestations over transparency and accountability.[87] These factors highlight the competition that is indicative of a "strategic partnership" based on principles of equality and balance.[88]

Despite all this, as seen in other forms of engagement above, China and South Africa have taken many steps toward cooperation in the realm of ICTs. A panel on ICT policy hosted by the South African Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services in 2015 emphasized the importance of relying on public-private partnerships and coordination as well as ensuring the stable development of ICT skills and job opportunities in the sector.[89] Thus, this is an opportunity for China to further demonstrate its social corporate responsibility while forging closer partnerships with South Africa. In fact, Huawei seems to already be attempting to fill in the gap of skills training with not only its signature academies, but also in free 5G courses at local universities, and working with Vodacom to introduce 5G services to the country beginning this year.[90] Such a strategic partnership, then, not only may bring about tangible benefits to South African citizens, but in Forje

86    Liu Guijin, "Fifteen Years of South Africa-China Relations and Beyond," in *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years* (South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014), 26–37.
87    Sun, "Technology Transfer in Telecommunications," 3.
88    See Liu, "Fifteen Years of South Africa-China Relations and Beyond," 26–37.
89    "ICT Policy Review Recommendations and Implementation Plan: Briefing by Minister of Telecommunications and Postal Services & Panel Members" (Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services, 2015).
90    Idris Abubakar, "Huawei Launches Free 5G Courses at Two Popular South African Universities," *Technext*, May 28, 2019; Simnikiwe Mzekandaba, "Huawei Reveals Massive 5G, 4IR Training Ambitions in SA," *ITWeb*, August 22, 2019; "Vodacom to Launch 5G Services in South Africa in 2020," *Reuters*, February 4, 2020.

and April's views, may pave the path for larger collaboration between South Africa and China in integrating indigenous knowledge to assist other African countries develop ICTs and make advances in science and technology.[91]

**CONCLUSION**

This is not an endorsement of China's ICT investment and cooperation abroad. China's actions do not constitute selfless acts of altruism undertaken in accordance with the genuine interests of the country and its people. China may see Ethiopia, a country lacking in resources but populous with an underdeveloped industry, as possessing a huge, untapped market from which it can extract potentially ludicrous economic gains through business partnerships and market influence. Despite the use of surveillance methods by the EPRDF, China's actions in the country are less politically motivated than they are in line with economic interests. Rather than exporting "digital Leninism" through regulations attached to its aid, it seems that China trends toward a fundamentally more Smithian pursuit of self-interest, whereby both illiberal controls taken by the Ethiopian state and the economic and social benefits to Ethiopian people resulted from its actions.

On the other hand, in South Africa, a state with a strong, stable economy with which it has had long-standing investment and trade ties, China's ability to penetrate deeply into the ICT sector and gain economically is as limited by institutional barriers of competition as it is in the West. It then needed to adapt its approach, turning instead toward policies of strategic partnership and mutual cooperation, through which it hopes to extend its soft power in the international arena and break into a new market—that of 5G—that undoubtedly will sculpt the future of the global digital economy.

Therefore, the nature and motivations behind China's penetration in Africa's burgeoning ICT industry are multifaceted, with complex circumstances of different actors and societies that may serve to advance or thwart its interests, to which it adjusts its strategies accordingly. A simple, dichotomous narrative of political ideology and hunger for resource extraction is no longer sufficient to colorize China's actions, nor can it entirely eclipse the positive empirical outcomes that these actions effect. Instead, practicality and adaptability in face of divergent local environments in the form of soft power seems to prove more fruitful in both achieving and assessing economic and political security.

---

91    Forje and April, "Rethinking Africa's Development Through Science and Technology," 92-97.

**Amy Tong** is a recent graduate from Tufts University who double majored in International Relations and History and minored in Economics. She is entering law school soon and is interested in pursuing a career in public international law.

# Works Cited

"2018 Sustainability Report." Huawei Investment & Holding Co., Ltd., 2018. https://www-file.huawei.com/-/media/corporate/pdf/sustainability/2018/2018-csr-report-en.pdf?la=en-us.

Abubakar, Idris. "Huawei Launches Free 5G Courses At Two Popular South African Universities." *Technext*, May 28, 2019. https://technext.ng/2019/05/28/huawei-launches-free-5g-courses-at-two-popular-south-african-universities/.

Adam, Lishan. "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in Ethiopia." Evidence for ICT Policy Action. Cape Town: Research ICT Africa, 2012. https://www.researchictafrica.net/publications/Evidence_for_ICT_Policy_Action/Policy_Paper_3_-_Understanding_what_is_happening_in_ICT_in_Ethiopia.pdf.

April, Yazini, and Garth Shelton, eds. *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*. Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh8r25v.

Batuo, Michael Enowbi. "The Role Of Telecommunications Infrastructure In The Regional Economic Growth Of Africa." *The Journal of Developing Areas* 49, no. 1 (2015): 313–30.

Bbaala, Phineas. "Emerging Questions on the Shifting Sino-African Relations: 'Win-Win' or 'Win-Lose.'" In *Inclusive Development In Africa: Transformation of Global Relations*, 228–50. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2018. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh8r26b.18.

Boone, Catherine, and Dhawal Doshi. "The China Model in Africa: A New Brand of Developmentalism." In *Development Models in Muslim Contexts*, 47–82. Chinese, "Islamic" and Neo-Liberal Alternatives. Edinburgh University Press, 2009. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1r29vj.6.

Brautigam, Deborah. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Brock, Joe, and Stella Mapenzauswa. "China's Xi Cheers African Leaders with Pledge of $60 Billion for Development." *Reuters*, December 4, 2015. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-africa-idUSKBN0TN0MD20151204.

SAIIA. "Building on Progress? Chinese Engagement in Ethiopia." Accessed May 8, 2020. https://saiia.org.za/research/building-on-progress-chinese-engagement-in-ethiopia/.

Cheney, Clayton. "China's Digital Silk Road: Strategic Technological Competition and Exporting Political Illiberalism." *Pacific Forum* 19, no. 8 (July 2019). https://www.pacforum.org/sites/default/files/issuesinsights_Vol19%20WP8FINAL.pdf.

"China - ICT Goods Exports." Trading Economics, May 2020. https://tradingeconomics.com/china/ict-goods-exports-percent-of-total-goods-exports-wb-data.html.

"China-Africa Annual Trade Data, Country by Country, 1992-2018." Excel data. Johns Hopkins China Africa Research Initiative (CARI), February 2020. http://www.sais-cari.org/data-china-africa-trade.

"China-Africa Foreign Direct Investment Data, Country by Country, 2003-2018." Excel data. Johns Hopkins China Africa Research Initiative (CARI), February 2020. http://www.sais-cari.org/chinese-investment-in-africa.

"China's Huawei to Make More Contribution in 2020 to ICT Capacity Building in Ethiopia." *Xinhua*, February 17, 2020. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-02/17/c_138792008.htm.

"China's Telecommunications Footprint in Africa." In *China in Africa: A Strategic Overview*. Institute of Developing Economies - Japan External Trade Organization, 2009. https://www.ide.go.jp/English/Data/Africa_file/Manualreport/cia_09.html.

"Chinese FDI in Ethiopia: A World Bank Survey." the World Bank, November 2012. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/26772/NonAsciiFileName0.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

"Country ICT Data." Excel data. ITU, 2019. https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/stat/default.aspx.

Denyer, Simon. "Japan Effectively Bans China's Huawei and ZTE from Government Contracts, Joining U.S." *The Washington Post*, December 10, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/japan-effectively-bans-chinas-huawei-zte-from-government-contracts-joining-us/2018/12/10/748fe98a-fc69-11e8-ba87-8c7facdf6739_story.html.

Dreher, A., A. Fuchs, B.C. Parks, A. Strange, and M.J. Tierney. "AidData's Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, 2000-2014." Excel data. Williamsburg: AidData: A Research Lab at William & Mary, October 2017. https://www.aiddata.org/data/chinese-global-official-finance-dataset.

"E-Strategies: National Information and Communication Infrastructure: Best Practices and Lessons Learnt." Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA),

November 2007.

"Facts and Figures 2019." Measuring Digital Development. Geneva: ITU Telecommunication Development Bureau, 2019. https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Documents/facts/FactsFigures2019.pdf.

Forje, John, and Yazini April. "Rethinking Africa's Development Through Science and Technology: A Partnership Opportunity for South Africa and China." In *Perspectives on South Africa-China Relations at 15 Years*, 83–104. Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh8r25v.16.

Gagliardone, Iginio, Nicole Stremlau, and Daniel Nkrumah. "Partner, Prototype or Persuader?: China's Renewed Media Engagement with Ghana," 2012.

"GDP Africa." Trading Economics, 2020. https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/gdp?continent=africa.

George, Suresh. Review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam. *Regional Studies* 45, no. 6 (June 1, 2011): 870–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2011.585841.

Gillwald, Alison, Mpho Moyo, and Christopher Stork. "Understanding What Is Happening in ICT in South Africa." Evidence for ICT Policy Action. Cape Town: Research ICT Africa, 2012. https://researchictafrica.net/publications/Evidence_for_ICT_Policy_Action/Policy_Paper_7_-_Understanding_what_is_happening_in_ICT_in_South_Africa.pdf.

"Global Investments in R&D." UNESCO Institute for Statistics, June 2019. http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/fs54-global-investments-rd-2019-en.pdf.

Golley, Jane. Review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam. *Economic Record* 87, no. 278 (2011): 501–2. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4932.2011.00753.x.

Hong, Yu. *Networking China: The Digital Transformation of the Chinese Economy*. University of Illinois Press, 2017. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctt1kc6hhz.

———. "Reading the 13th Five-Year Plan: Reflections on China's ICT Policy." *International Journal of Communication* 11 (April 14, 2017): 1755–1774.

"Huawei." Dossier. Statista, 2020. https://www.statista.com/study/24309/huawei-statista-dossier/.

"Huawei Announces Q1 2020 Business Results." *Huawei*, April 21, 2020. https://www.huawei.eu/press-release/huawei-announces-q1-2020-business-results.

"Human Development Report 2019." United Nations Development Programme, 2019. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdro_statistical_data_table7_15.pdf.

"ICT Policy Review Recommendations and Implementation Plan: Briefing by Minister of Telecommunications and Postal Services & Panel Members." South Africa: Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services, 2015. https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/20996/.

UNESCO Institute of Statistics. "Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)," May 2, 2017. http://uis.unesco.org/en/glossary-term/information-and-communication-technologies-ict.

"Investigative Report on the U.S. National Security Issues Posed by Chinese Telecommunications Companies Huawei and ZTE." U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Intelligence, October 8, 2012. https://fas.org/irp/congress/2012_rpt/huawei.pdf.

Jiang, Yang, Aki Tonami, and Adam Moe Fejerskov. "Chinese Investment in Overseas Telecommunications Infrastructure." Chinese Investment in Overseas Telecommunications Infrastructure: Nuclear Power and Telecommunications. Danish Institute for International Studies, January 1, 2016. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep17366.5.

Levy, Brian. "The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa – By Deborah Brautigam." *Governance* 24, no. 1 (2011): 186–88. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2010.01517_4.x.

Li, Ling. "China's Manufacturing Locus in 2025: With a Comparison of 'Made-in-China 2025' and 'Industry 4.0.'" *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 135 (October 1, 2018): 66–74. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2017.05.028.

Liu, Guijin. "Fifteen Years of South Africa-China Relations and Beyond." In *Perspectives on South Africa–China Relations at 15 Years*, 26–37. South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2014. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh8r25v.

Liu, Philip. Review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam. *The China Quarterly* 202 (June 2010): 444–46. https://doi.org/10.1017/S030574101000038X.

Maasho, Aaron. "Ethiopia Signs $700 Mln Mobile Network Deal with China's Huawei." *Reuters*, July 25, 2013. https://www.reuters.com/article/ethiopia-mobile-huawei-idUSL6N0FV4WV20130725.

Mawere, Munyaradzi, and Costain Tandi. "'A New Form of Imperialism?' Interrogating China-Africa Relations and Development Prospects in Africa." In *Development Perspectives from the South: Troubling the Metrics of [Under-]Development in Africa*, 393–414. Langaa RPCIG, 2016. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvk3gmk9.16.

Munemo, Jonathan. Review of *Review of The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam. *Political Science Quarterly* 126, no. 4 (2011): 721–23.

Mzekandaba, Simnikiwe. "Huawei Reveals Massive 5G, 4IR Training Ambitions in SA." *ITWeb*, August 22, 2019. https://www.itweb.co.za/content/xA9POvNYVjeqo4J8.

Negro, Gianluigi. "Chinese Internet Companies Go Global: Online Traffic, Framing and

Open Issues." In *Chinese Social Media: Social, Cultural, and Political Implications*. New York: Routledge, 2017. https://www.academia.edu/35000642/Chinese_Internet_Companies_go_Global_Online_Traffic_Framing_and_Open_Issues.

Plecher, H. "GDP Growth Rate in South Africa 2024." Statista, November 25, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/370514/gross-domestic-product-gdp-growth-rate-in-south-africa/.

———. "GDP in South Africa 2024." Statista, November 25, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/370513/gross-domestic-product-gdp-in-south-africa/.

———. "Most Important Export Partners for Ethiopia in 2017." Statista, July 22, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/455172/most-important-export-partner-countries-for-ethiopia/.

———. "Most Important Export Partners for South Africa in 2017." Statista, July 23, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/578973/most-important-import-partners-of-south-africa/.

———. "Most Important Import Partners of Ethiopia 2017." Statista, July 22, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/455170/most-important-import-partners-of-ethiopia/.

———. "Most Important Import Partners of South Africa 2017." Statista, July 23, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/578974/most-important-export-partner-countries-for-south-africa/.

———. "Total Population of Ethiopia 2024," May 2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/455071/total-population-of-ethiopia/.

Sautman, Barry. Review of *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, by Deborah Brautigam. *The China Journal* 66 (July 2011): 221+.

Shen, Hong. "Building a Digital Silk Road? Situating the Internet in China's Belt and Road Initiative." *International Journal of Communication* 12, no. 0 (June 29, 2018): 2683–2701.

Stewart, Emily. "The US Government's Battle with Chinese Telecom Giant Huawei, Explained." Vox, December 11, 2018. https://www.vox.com/technology/2018/12/11/18134440/huawei-executive-order-entity-list-china-trump.

Sun, June. "Technology Transfer in Telecommunications: Barriers and Opportunities in the Case of Huawei and ZTE in South Africa." China Africa Research Initiative at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, 2016. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/578e8f0be3df282899301e08/1468960523721/Sun+brief+v.6.pdf.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Surveillance and State Control in Ethiopia - Civil Society Under Assault: Repression and Responses in Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia," May 18, 2017. https://carnegieendowment.org/2017/05/18/surveillance-and-state-control-in-ethiopia-pub-69960.

Sutherland, Ewan. "China and Africa: Alternative Telecommunication Policies and Practices." *The African Journal of Information and Communication*, no. 17 (2016): 165–95. https://doi.org/10.23962/10539/21624.

"The National Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Policy and Strategy." Addis Ababa: The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, September 2016. http://www.mcit.gov.et/documents/20181/22562/The+National+Information+and++Communication+Technology++%2528ICT%2529+Policy+and+Strategy/45d74e1f-6eff-4607-bba9-342462a7be13.

Tsui, Benjamin. "Do Huawei's Training Programs and Centers Transfer Skills to Africa?" Washington, D.C.: China Africa Research Initiative at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, 2016. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/578e94e83e00be65954feb3f/1468962026573/Tsui+brief+v.5.pdf.

"Vodacom to Launch 5G Services in South Africa in 2020." *Reuters*. February 4, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-vodacom-grp-safrica-5g-idUSKBN1ZY1PM.

Wang, Rong, François Bar, and Yu Hong. "ICT Aid Flows From China to African Countries: A Communication Network Perspective." *International Journal of Communication* 14 (February 24, 2020): 1498–1523.

Wong, Samantha. "Revenue of the Telecommunications Industry in China from December 2018 to February 2020." Graph. Statista, May 4, 2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/277943/china-telecommunications-industry-revenue-by-month/.

Workneh, Téwodros W. "Chinese Multinationals in the Ethiopian Telecommunications Sector." *Communication, Culture & Critique* 9, no. 1 (March 2016): 126–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/cccr.12129.

"World Development Indicators: Science and Technology." World Development Indicators. The World Bank Group, 2017. http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/5.13.

Zhao, Lili. "Contributing to the Development of Ethiopia with Wisdom and Strength." ZTE, June 12, 2009. https://www.zte.com.cn/global/about/magazine/zte-technologies/2009/6/en_414/172517.html.

"'十三五'国家信息化规划 (13th Five-Year Plan for National Informatization)." State Council of the People's Republic of China, December 15, 2016. http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2016-12/27/content_5153411.htm.

Coleman Lambo
Rice University

# Thailand's Military-Industrial Complex:
## A Case Study of the Thai Military Bank

*The installation of Thailand's National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) in 2014 by a military coup represented a major regression in the democratic aspirations encapsulated in Thailand's 1997 Constitution. The NCPO was the military junta that directly controlled the Thai government from 2014 until 2019.*

### INTRODUCTION

In Thailand, military interference in its political process is not abnormal. The first representative government was inaugurated in 1932. Since then, constitutional order has been interrupted 18 times, with 12 disruptions being successful coups.[1] The military effectively maintained control over the country's politics through the NCPO until its official dissolution in 2019. In many countries, the military is a powerful political force. It provides guidance for foreign policy, determines a nation's perceived and real strength in the world, and–at times–assumes direct control over national governments. What is less typical is strong military control over the day-to-day economic activities

---

1    Naruemon Thabchumpon, "Contending Political Networks: A Study of the "Yellow Shirts" and "Red Shirts" Thailand's Politics," Southeast Asian Studies 5, no. 1 (April 2016): 95.

of a nation for a sustained period of time. Yet this interconnection between the military and economy is a defining characteristic of Thailand today. This paper will examine the structural and institutional interactions between the Royal Armed Forces and the Thai economy. Its principal finding comes from a case study of the Thai Military Bank (TMB), which demonstrates that the current military regime reconstructed its bank to positively influence economic development and reduce socioeconomic ills.

## OVERVIEW OF THE THAI MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The Thai junta's power is now codified through both the 2017 Constitution and the continuation of former General Prayuth Chan-ocha's reign as Prime Minister after the resuming of elections in 2019. Prayuth is seen as the architect behind the 2014 coup.[2] However, the political landscape remains contentious. The "Red Shirts," supporters of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra ousted in 2006, and anti-military groups continue to challenge the "Yellow Shirts," supporters and members of the monarchy, military, judiciary, and bureaucracy.[3] It is crucial to note that undergirding the military's turbulent relationship with the Thai political system is the military's persistent presence in Thailand's economy.

Historically, the Thai military elite has had a crucial economic role. In 1940, the Thai government created the Thai Navigation, Co. to promote international shipping and trade as one of the three main domestic steamboat companies in the 20th century. Naval officers and the military Prime Minister served on the company's board of directors.[4] As of 2017, of the "56 active state enterprises, 42 had military members on their board of directors. They occupy close to 20% of all board membership."[5] These state-owned enterprises include the State Railway of Thailand, the Mass Rapid Transit Authority, and the Metropolitan Waterworks Authority.[6] Military officer membership extends beyond military-related industries into a wide range of sectors. As a result, the military is not solely a purchaser in Thailand's military-industrial complex; it is also involved in selling non-military services ranging from airport operations, radio, television, hotels, convenience stores, and recreational services, such as golf courses.[7]

Furthermore, the Thai armed forces have a hand in the financial sector. The TMB Bank (previously known as the Thai Military Bank) was established to manage the financial wellbeing of officers in the 1960s. But, it soon became a crucial means for the military elite to manage and expand their financial gains outside of their payroll.[8] The influence of the military can still be felt

---

2  Richard C. Paddock, "Thailand Junta Leader Named Prime Minister After Contentious Vote" New York Times, June 5, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/05/world/asia/thailand-prayuth-prime-minister.html

3  Naruemon Thabchumpon, "Contending Political Networks: A Study of the "Yellow Shirts" and "Red Shirts" Thailand's Politics," Southeast Asian Studies 5, no. 1 (April 2016): 93.

4  Kanda Naknoi, "The Thai Military As a Business Group, 1940-2016," Institute of Economic Research, February, 2020, 18.

5  Ukrist Pathmanand and Michael K. Connors, "Thailand's Public Secret: Military Wealth and the State," Journal of Contemporary Asia, (July 2019): 15.

6  "SRT Chief, Board Get the Chop," Bangkok Post, February 24, 2017, https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1203741/srt-chief-board-get-the-chop; "Mass Rapid Transit Authority: Annual Report 2018," Mass Rapid Transit Authority, 32, https://www.mrta.co.th/media/550619/mrta-annual-report-2018-en.pdf?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1; "Board of Directors," Provincial Waterworks Authority, 2018, https://en.pwa.co.th/contents/about/board

7  Kanda Naknoi, "The Thai Military As a Business Group, 1940-2016," 2; "Major Business Interests of the Army," Nation, February 18, 2020, https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382312

8  Deniz Kocak and Johannes Kode, "Impediments to Security Sector Reform in Thailand" in Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia: From Policy to Practice, edited by Felix Heiduk (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

in the TMB Bank despite internal reforms following its mismanagement of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. In 2005, the bank was renamed and became a civilian institution, with the Ministry of Finance now being the largest shareholder instead of the Royal Thai Armed Forces (RTARF). However, the head of the army still retains the privilege of serving on the Board of Directors.[9]

It is outside the scope of this paper–which will look at the structural and institutionalized interactions between the Royal Armed Forces and the Thai economy–but it is still important to note the effects of illicit revenue streams. There are incidences of Thai military personnel profiting off of illegal arms-smuggling by accepting bribes at border crossings or actively selling firearms and military hardware.[10] There is also the lucrative human trafficking trade. High-ranking military officials have been convicted by the Thai government for their profiteering on sexual exploitation and forced labor.[11] In 2017, a group of 62 people–including army Lieutenant General Manas Kongpaen–were convicted for trafficking Rohingya Muslims.[12] Illicit trade networks are not in the purview of this analysis because, while pecuniary opportunism is endemic in border regions, military leadership does not endorse or systematically protect it. In fact, the sentence for Lieutenant General Kongpaen was tripled in length last October, two years after his conviction.[13]

This paper investigates the role of the Royal Thai Armed Forces in Thailand's economy, and the implications for the country's economic development, which is especially salient due to political changes in Thailand like the official dissolution of the National Council for Peace and Order, and the resuming of national elections. Furthermore, the extent that the military guides the future of the Thai economy–both directly and indirectly–is currently in question. After a Sergeant Major committed a mass shooting over a disputed business deal in February 2020, the Thai Army Chief, Apirat Kongsompong, pledged a multitude of army reforms.[14] These included transferring control of 160,000 hectares of commercial land to the Ministry of Finance, and a promise to "clean up" the army's business activities,

## "THE INFLUENCE OF THE MILITARY CAN STILL BE FELT IN THE TMB BANK DESPITE INTERNAL REFORMS FOLLOWING ITS MISMANAGEMENT OF THE 1997 ASIAN FINANCIAL CRISIS."

9    "Khaki Capitalism," Economist, December 3, 2011, https://www.economist.com/business/2011/12/03/khaki-capitalism; Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat, "Arch-Royalist Rent: The Political Economy of the Military in Thailand," in Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia, edited by Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2017), 72.

10    Rafidah Dahari, Nor Azizan Idris and Zarina Othman, "Influencing External Factors for Small Arms Light Weapon Smuggling at Malaysia-Thailand Border," Canadian Center of Science and Education: Asian Social Science 15, no. 3, (2019): 21; "Is Thailand Still in the Arms-smuggling Trade?" Nation, June 6, 2017, https://www.nationthailand.com/opinion/30317394

11    Ethan Yang, "Human Trafficking in Southeast Asia and Economic Empowerment," Trinity College Digital Repository: The First-Year Papers (2010 - present), 2016. 1.

12    Kaweewit Kaewjinda, "Thai Army General Convicted in Human Trafficking Trial," Associated Press, July 19, 2017, https://apnews.com/eaa174075aa14f0e9355e557d9255954/Army-general-among-Thais-convicted-of-human-trafficking

13    Nontarat Phaicharoen, "Judge Triples Ex-General's Sentence in Thailand's Biggest Human Trafficking Case," BenarNews, October 31, 2019, https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/thai/thailand-myanmar-10312019165048.html

14    "Army Chief Seeks End to Military Business Deals," Nation, February 12, 2020, https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382038

which could be worth up to an estimated one billion baht ($32 million as of February, 2020) in annual income.[15] This may signal a devolution of economic power from the military to the public sphere, which is significant considering the recent re-emergence of popular protests in Thailand with economic grievances as a principal motivator.[16]

## THEORIES OF MILITARY-ECONOMY INTERACTIONS

To analyze the interaction between the Royal Thai Armed Forces and economic development in Thailand, this paper will utilize existing theories of military expenditures from defense economics and the microeconomic theory of the firm for state-owned enterprises (SOEs). These two theoretical approaches' suitability correlates to the unique political economy of Thailand. These theories compose the framework for a qualitative analysis utilizing secondary sources and open-source government and news reports on the Thai military and economy.

Defense economics is a sub-category of economics that analyzes domestic micro- and macro-economic effects of defense policies and industries. The application of traditional economic tools is modified by the unique market conditions a military and its industries operate within, such as a monopsony buyers and institutionalized monopolies.[17] There are four statistically relevant variable categories econometric studies utilize to estimate the determinants of military expenditures in emerging economies: 1) indicators of economic development, such as income per capita and urban population share and growth; 2) budgetary and financial restraints derived from GDP growth, natural resource availability, and the growth of foreign exchanges; 3) political and military influence based on regime type, the utilization of state violence, the presence of war, and security interest groups such as arms suppliers; and 4) societal factors, including total population and the country's demographics.[18]

The theory of the firm is a fundamental microeconomic concept. It is rooted in neoclassical thinking that assumes a firm's behavior and decisions will be profit-maximizing in a perfectly competitive environment. The theory of the firm for state-owned enterprises obfuscates the ownership structure of a firm. The incorporation of state-ownership reshapes the original model due to match policy priorities, creating utility for behaviors that deviate from profit-maximizing or cost-minimizing behavior. Furthermore, the behavior of the SOE is dependent on its structure and whether it is state-owned and state-controlled, state-owned and manager-controlled, or state-owned but private-controlled. The theory of the firm for state-owned enterprises recognizes the diversity in SOEs, which is pertinent in the context of Thailand, where the military government can control SOEs directly or indirectly.

The connection between SOE corporate governance and Thailand's military government is also apparent when incorporating the principal-agent theory, an economic theory based on a hierarchical structure with a principal

15    Panarat Thepgumpanat and Panu Wongcha-um, "Thai Army to Transfer Control of Land After Mass Shooting," Reuters, February 17, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-military/thai-army-to-transfer-control-of-land-after-mass-shooting-idUSKBN20B178
16    Hannah Beech, "Almost Like Clockwork, Talk of a Military Coup Follows Thai Protests," New York Times, November 2, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/asia/thailand-protests-military.html
17    Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley, "Defense in a Globalized World: An Introduction" in the Handbook of Defense Economics: Defense in a Globalized World, Vol. 2, edited by Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 2007), 611
18    Saadet Deger and Somnath Sen, "Military Expenditure and Developing Countries," in the Handbook of Defense Economics, Vol. 1, edited by Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1995), 298-299.

actor and a subordinate agent. The main relationship in this model is defined by a principal actor delegating limited decision-making powers to an agent with the assumption that the agent will then uphold the specific goals of the principal actor.[19] The goal of this model is to determine decision-making factors and the extent of principal-agent cooperation. For the principal, decision-making factors include surveillance cost to ensure cohesive goals, resource commitments from the state, and opportunity costs in the market.[20] Principal-agent cooperation is complicated by the variation in state actors interacting with an SOE, from regulators to political leaders.[21]

The nexus of government policy, security considerations, and economic performance in the Thai political economy requires a multidimensional theoretical approach. Analysis of the intersection of defense economics and SOE behavior addresses the unique military-industrial complex in Thailand.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Thailand attracts scholarly attention due to its economic prominence as an emerging economy and regional power player. However, Thailand remains a neglected subject within the study of defense economics. As a field, defense-economic literature is largely defined by the Cold War. The National Bureau of Economic Research's 1967 Issues in Defense Economics epitomized the popularization of the field amid the prolonged standoff between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Bloc. Economists studying defense economics primarily applied its theories to improve military production, alliance efficiency, the maximization of public spending, and strategies of deterrence.[22] The scope of defense economics expanded in the Post-Cold War world to incorporate social, cultural, developmental, and legal considerations with economic and security implications.[23]

Dr. Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley attempted to capture and consolidate the advances in defense economics in their 1995 Handbook of Defense Economics, addressing the unipolar world and peace dividends. This was then followed by their second volume in 2007, Handbook of Defense Economics: Defense in a Globalized World, which considered the issues of terrorism, globalization, and the role of the military in the context of decreasing interstate wars.[24] In the second volume, Dr. Martin C. Mcguire recognizes in his chapter that both the field of defense economics and global security concerns are in a state of transition. The structure of economic and security incentives in rising powers–particularly in Asia–needs to be researched given the emerging multipolar world. Moving forward, "defense economics can no longer represent merely effective self-serving defense resource allocations by Western countries."[25]

There is considerable research on the military's economic ventures

19    Janet Xuanli Liao, "The Chinese government and the National Oil Companies (NOCs): Who is the Principal?" in Managing China's Energy Sector: Between the Market and the State ed. T. Hongyi Lai and Malcolm Warner (New York: Routledge, 2016), 4.
20    Younes Belfellah, "The State Owned Enterprise Governance: Literature Review and State Roles Propositions," Association Internationale de Management Stratégique, June, 2016, 16.
21    Ibid, 5
22    Roland N. McKean, Issues in Defense Economics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), ix-x.
23    Martin C. Mcguire, "Concepts of Defense Economics for the 21st Century," Defence and Peace Economics 11, no. 1 (January 2000): 17-18.
24    Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley, "Defense in a Globalized World: An Introduction," 611-614.
25    Martin C. McGuire, "Economics of Defense in a Globalized World" in the Handbook of Defense Economics: Defense in a Globalized World, Vol. 2, edited by Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 2007), 625.

"THAILAND ATTRACTS SCHOLARLY ATTENTION DUE TO ITS ECONOMIC PROMINENCE AS AN EMERGING ECONOMY AND REGIONAL POWER PLAYER."

and influence in the Thai economy. This is in part because Thailand is an ASEAN-4 nation alongside Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philippines. All are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) who have experienced high export-driven growth and are now transitioning to middle-term growth.[26] ASEAN-4 is a popular grouping because they operate within the same ASEAN trade environment.[27] There are also extensive economic analyses on the Thai economy because it is one of the few countries that experienced a military coup in the 21st century, and is by far the wealthiest military regime in the world.[28]

## CASE STUDY: THE TMB BANK

The Thai Military Bank (now renamed the TMB Bank) is a strong example of how the Thai Military influences the economy. The TMB Bank was originally established in 1957 under General Sarit Thanarat's military regime.[29] At the time, General Thanarat and Police General Phao Siyanon were in a power struggle. The strategic placement of supporters was a key mechanism for both military leaders to garner support and compete for political influence.[30] The TMB Bank evolved into the Thai military's 'cash cow' by dominating commercial banking, with the support of the military regime, despite being a market-averse institution that did not trust market mechanisms alone to produce desirable outcomes.[31] The TMB, living up to its namesake, primarily served the interests of Thai military. It provided loans to dummy companies owned by officers, offering a discrete means to hide capital from the public.[32]

Near the turn of the century, the TMB Bank was a medium-sized commercial bank. But, due to poor loan practices and its military orientation, it was unprepared for the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. By 1998, the bank's total assets shrunk by almost 10%. In the aftermath of the crisis, military and government leadership pledged to reduce the military's direct hand in the economy. This included the Thai military reducing its stake in the TMB Bank from 29% to 12%.[33] The bank's connection to the military allowed it to escape the serious reforms and possible nationalization that other banks faced.[34]

TMB Bank eventually underwent internal reforms to survive in the 21st century. In one sense, the bank's character noticeably changed after the Asian Financial Crisis. It diversified its shareholders by selling shares to foreign investors, such as the Dutch ING Bank in 2007. Furthermore, its principal shareholder shifted from the Royal Thai Army to the Ministry of Finance after

---

26    "ASEAN-4," International Monetary Foundation: Finance & Development, Vol. 3, No. 2,  June, 2006.
27    Satoru Kumagai, "The Middle-Income Trap in the ASEAN-4 Countries from the Trade Structure Viewpoint" in Emerging States at the Crossroads, ed. Keiichi Tsunekawa and Yasuyuki Todo (Singapore: Springer, 2019), 49.
28    Prajak Kongkirati and Veerayooth Kanchoochat, "The Prayuth Regime: Embedded Military and Hierarchical Capitalism in Thailand," Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia, Vol. 6, No. 2, July, 2018.
29    Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat, "Arch-Royalist Rent: The Political Economy of the Military in Thailand," 70-71.
30    Pichai Kouwsomran, "The Military Regime: A Case Study of Political Clientelism in Thailand from 1947 to 1963" (PhD thesis, McMaster University, 1984), 124-126.
31    Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat, "Arch-Royalist Rent: The Political Economy of the Military in Thailand," 70-71; George L. Harris et al., *U.S. Army Area Handbook for Thailand* (Washington D.C.: American University, 1963), 445-446.
32    Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat, "Theorizing Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of Security" in *Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia*, ed. by Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat. (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2017), 9.
33    Tai Ming Cheung, *China's Entrepreneurial Army* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), 267.
34    Ukrist Pathmanand, "Globalization and Democratic Development in Thailand: The New Path of the Military, Private Sector, and Civil Society," Contemporary Southeast Asia 23, no. 1 (April 2001): 27.

it was bailed out following the financial crisis.[35] However, the Thai Military is still a noteworthy top ten shareholder in the TMB Bank. And, the bank remains at the center of political developments. It is an important member of the Thai Bankers Association, which publicly called for the removal of Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra prior to the 2014 coup.[36] The current Prime Minister and architect of the coup, General Prayuth Chan-ocha, was also a TMB Bank board member before resigning after the successful installation of the NCPO.[37]



## "THE TMB, LIVING UP TO ITS NAMESAKE, PRIMARILY SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THAI MILITARY."

The theories of defense economics and "the firm" for state-owned enterprises illuminate the new role of the TMB Bank and military political-economic influence in the Thai economy. Economic development indicators, budgetary and financial constraints, political-military influence, and demographic trends heavily determined the deployment of the junta's expenditures. The Thai economy faces increasingly unequal growth, with Thailand having the widest income disparity in ASEAN and a 2019 GINI Index of 0.846.[38] The financial resources of the TMB Bank are relatively limited, compared to other Thai banks operating in the competitive domestic financial market. Unlike in neighboring ASEAN countries, Thailand's financial sector has not consolidated and remains fragmented.[39]

However, the bank maintains an advantage because of its tight connection to the military. Furthermore, the current TMB Bank chair, Boontuck Wungcharoen, possesses strong ties to the junta.[40] Lastly, Thailand is facing a unique demographic problem of an aging working population in a still developing economy. More than a quarter of the population will be over the age of 60 by 2030. Expectations are low for future retirement savings to support the baby bust.[41]

Using these considerations in defense economics calculus, barring a new pressing security crisis, Thailand's military can reasonably be expected to apply resources to exigent socioeconomic issues. This matches historical expenditures trends in Thailand where the military, when in control, voluntarily directs

35    Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat, "Arch-Royalist Rent: The Political Economy of the Military in Thailand," 70; "Asia: Thailand: Bank Bailout," *Bloomberg News*, July 26, 2003.
36    Veerayooth Kanchoochat, "Reign-Seeking and the Rise of the Unelected in Thailand," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46, no. 3 (March 2016): 486.
37    Wassana Nanuam, "Coup Leader Quits TMB Board," *Bangkok Post*, June 26, 2014.
38    Sheith Khidhir, ""Growing Gap between Richest and Poorest Thais," *ASEAN Post,* October 25, 2019. https://theaseanpost.com/article/growing-gap-between-richest-and-poorest-thais; Camilo Maldonado, "Credit Suisse: Top 1% Own Nearly 50% Of Global Wealth And China's Wealthy Now Outnumber America's," *Forbes*, October 23, 2019, https://www.forbes.com/sites/camilomaldonado/2019/10/23/credit-suisse-top-1-own-nearly-50-of-global-wealth-and-chinas-wealthy-now-outnumber-americas/#359fd5532ede
39    Ben Davies, "Thai Banking: Middleweight Merger Won't Make Heavyweight Hitter," *Asia Money*, September 27, 2019. https://www.euromoney.com/article/b1hbmypwk8cwr4/thai-banking-middleweight-merger-wont-make-heavyweight-hitter
40    Eric Ellies, "Thailand's Apisak Tells Foreign Banks They Can't Compete," Euromoney, October 6, 2015, https://www.euromoney.com/article/b12km4jdzstlk1/thailands-apisak-tells-foreign-banks-they-cant-compete; Mr. Wungcharoen was also the chairman of the Thai Bankers' Association at the time of the 2014 coup when the organization supported the ousting of Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra. See: "Thai Coup Has Little Effect on Economic Growth," *Today*, June 3, 2014, https://www.todayonline.com/world/asia/thai-coup-has-little-effect-economic-growth
41    Margo Towie, Jason Clenfield and Hannah Dormido, "Thailand Has a Developing Economy and a Big First World Problem," *Bloomberg*, July 25, 2019, https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2019-thailand-baby-bust/

public funds to combat economic issues at the expense of military funding.[42] An examination of the TMB Bank's shareholder percentages further reinforces this trend. Following the military coup in 2014, the Royal Thai Army's financial investments in the TMB Bank did not increase substantially. Viewing the TMB Bank as an agent of the government (with the Ministry of Finance and the Royal Thai Army being two of the top ten shareholders), there does not appear to be strictly a financial-gain objective for military personnel. There are significant foreign shareholders, but domestic shareholders have disproportionate control over bank operations due to restructuring following the Asian Financial Crisis and influence from the financial authority.[43] The military regime is in an opportune position to enrich its officers through the government, but there is no financial movement, suggesting that the TMB Bank is returning to its older practice of abetting illicit gains. In fact, the 2014 coup corresponded with a decline in the military's share in the bank. Overall, the Royal Thai Army and the Ministry of Finance's share has since remained relatively stable under NCPO control.

# "OVERALL, THE ROYAL THAI ARMY AND THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE'S SHARE HAS SINCE REMAINED RELATIVELY STABLE UNDER NCPO CONTROL."

The TMB Bank's recent institutional objectives, evaluated with respect to the theory of the firm for state-owned enterprises, reveal that the organization is still not a completely profit-oriented firm. Rather, it appears that in the principal-agent relationship, the military government (principal) seeks to positively influence the economy, using the bank (agent) to lead financial consolidation and a deposit-oriented banking strategy.

Currently, the bank is merging with the unlisted Thanachart Capital (TCAP).[44] The final result in 2021 will be a bank with assets totaling "THB 1.9 Trillion, with over 10 million customers, and will be ranked as the sixth-largest bank in the Thai commercial bank industry."[45] A key economic goal of the Thai military government is to consolidate the banking industry to become competitive with neighboring ASEAN banks. While this merger will only produce Thailand's sixth-largest bank, it is the first banking merger and

---

42    Gregory Vincent Raymond, *Thai Military Power: A Culture of Strategic Accommodation* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2017), 219.

43    Wanxue Lu and Fumiharu Mieno, "Impact of Foreign Entry into the Banking Sector: The Case of Thailand in 1999–2014," Pacific-Basin Finance Journal 64, (December 2020): 3.

44    "TMB Bank, Thanachart to Create Thailand's Sixth-Largest Lender," Reuters, August 8, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/thanachart-bank-ma-tmb-bank/update-1-tmb-bank-thanachart-to-create-thailands-6th-largest-lender-idUSL4N2551QK

45    "Information Memorandum on Business Restructuring and Merger Plan between Thanachart Bank Public Company Limited and TMB Bank Public Company Limited," Thanachart Bank Public Company Limited, September 23, 2019, 1.

acquisition in six years and the second-largest in the country's history.[46] It is a risky venture, but the Ministry of Finance Deputy Permanent Secretary Chumpol Rimsakorn stated that "this merger is in line with the government's policy to promote consolidation in the financial sector to enhance the scale and improve market position."[47] In the mindset of the Thai government, TMB Bank's merger will hopefully encourage Thailand's larger privately run banks to consider merging as well.

As per the theory of the firm for state-owned enterprises, the realization of the principal's goals is dependent on the ability to surveil the agent, provide resources, or reconfigure opportunity costs. The military government directly encouraged this merger through incentives passed last year by Thailand's Board of Investment.[48] Furthermore, the Ministry of Finance's substantial shares in the TMB Bank allow it to surveil the merger and provide input in the direction of the bank. The Ministry of Finance is raising capital to prevent share dilution and maintain its dominant position among the bank's shareholders.[49] The head of the army also still serves on the TMB Bank Board of Directors.[50] In the first quarter of 2020, the integration of TMB Bank and TCAP was proceeding on schedule for 2021.[51]

Moreover, the Thai government appears to be supporting the TMB Bank's deposit-oriented banking strategy. The manifestation of unequal economic growth and an unprepared generation of retirees is low deposits among Thai citizens. A third of Thais had less than 500 baht (~$15 USD) in their bank account despite an average yearly disposable income of 8,312,890 baht (~$26,000 USD) in the same year as the study.[52] This is only a piece of the economic inequality in Thailand. However, the bank's deposit-based strategy aims to directly address this issue. A deposit-oriented strategy means the bank will focus on retail consumers and small-enterprises, rather than making dividends from asset acquisition. As a result, the bank  is not prioritizing lucrative higher-risk ventures.[53] Instead, it is offering attractive interest rates for savings accounts, lowering their costs to match the larger Thai banks.[54] This approach is distinct from the risky—and often fraudulent—practices used prior to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. In our model, this can be seen as a reconfiguration of opportunity cost since the TMB Bank is no longer encouraged by shareholders (e.g.the Ministry of Finance and the Royal Thai Army) to embrace moral hazards. Rather, the bank is fulfilling its company's mission statement to "Make the Difference."

46    Davies, "Thai Banking: Middleweight Merger Won't Make Heavyweight Hitter."

47    "TMB Bank, Thanachart to Create Thailand's Sixth-Largest Lender."

48    *Ibid.*

49    "How Mergers are Changing Thailand's Banking Sector," *Oxford Business Group*, April 24, 2019, https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/how-mergers-are-changing-thailand%E2%80%99s-banking-sector

50    "Khaki Capitalism," *Economist*, December 3, 2011, https://www.economist.com/business/2011/12/03/khaki-capitalism; Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat, "Arch-Royalist Rent: The Political Economy of the Military in Thailand," 72.

51    "TMB Announced 1Q20 Operating Results," *TMB Bank*, April 20, 2020, https://www.tmbbank.com/en/newsroom/news/pr/view/financial-results-Q1-20.html

52    Boris Sullivan, "33% of Thais Have Less Than 500 Baht on Their Bank Account," *Thailand Business News*, December 23, 2019, https://www.thailand-business-news.com/banking/77384-33-of-thais-have-less-than-500-baht-on-their-bank-account.html; "Thailand Households Disposable Income," *Trading Economics*, 2020, https://tradingeconomics.com/thailand/disposable-personal-income

53    "Investor Presentation - TMB 5-Year Plan," *TMB Bank*, 2017, 18, https://media.tmbbank.com//uploads/ir_fininfo_present/file/media/402_file_th.pdf?180313024027

54    "Investor Presentation," *TMB Bank*, May, 2014, 5, https://media.tmbbank.com//uploads/ir_fininfo_present/file/media/83_file_th_140714055251.pdf

## CONCLUSION

Thailand's history of military influence in the economy continued under the National Council for Peace and Order. This influence will likely persist through the NCPO's dissolution due to the entrenched network of military officers in Thai state-owned enterprises. Furthermore, the NCPO installed a legal and economic framework that will continue to guide Thailand's development. This paper worked to further explore the Thai military-industrial complex, melding defense economics for an emerging economy with the theory of the firm for state-owned enterprises. At this nexus of military governance and economic management, the Thai military is able to assist–or exploit–the Thai economy through its SOEs as per the country's security needs. The Thai military can operate SOEs in a non-optimal manner to serve its agenda through informal and formal control of SOEs boards, supportive government policies, or by reconfiguring opportunity costs. In the case of the TMB Bank, the military created, preserved, and reconstituted the institution based on the current goals of the Thai military and economic needs of Thailand.

"THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE IS RAISING CAPITAL TO PREVENT SHARE DILUTION AND MAINTAIN ITS DOMINANT POSITION AMONG THE BANK'S SHAREHOLDERS."

**Coleman Lambo** is a Senior at Rice University majoring in Economics and Asian Studies. He is interested in the intersection of security and economics in the Indo-Pacific region. Specifically, he researches this economic-security nexus within the context of regional economic integration and energy security.

# Works Cited

"Army Chief Seeks End to Military Business Deals." Nation, February 12, 2020. https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382038

"ASEAN-4," International Monetary Foundation: Finance & Development 3, no. 2, (June 2006).

"Asia: Thailand: Bank Bailout." Bloomberg News, July 26, 2003 .

Beech, Hannah. "Almost Like Clockwork, Talk of a Military Coup Follows Thai Protests." New York Times, November 2, 2020. phttps://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/02/world/asia/thailand-protests-military.html

Belfellah, Younes. "The State Owned Enterprise Governance: Literature Review and State Roles Propositions." Association Internationale de Management Stratégique, June, 2016.

"Board of Directors." Provincial Waterworks Authority. 2018. https://en.pwa.co.th/contents/about/board

Chambers, Paul and Napisa Waitoolkiat. "Arch-Royalist Rent: The Political Economy of the Military in Thailand." In Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia. Edited by Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2017.

Chambers, Paul and Napisa Waitoolkiat. "Theorizing Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of Security" in Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia. Edited by Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2017.

Cheung, Tai Ming. China's Entrepreneurial Army. London: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Dahari, Rafidah, Nor Azizan Idris and Zarina Othman. "Influencing External Factors for Small Arms Light Weapon Smuggling at Malaysia-Thailand Border." Canadian Center of Science and Education: Asian Social Science 15, no. 3 (2019).

Davies, Ben. "Thai Banking: Middleweight Merger Won't Make Heavyweight Hitter." Asia Money, September 27, 2019. https://www.euromoney.com/article/b1hbmypwk8cwr4/thai-banking-middleweight-merger-wont-make-heavyweight-hitter

Deger, Saadet and Somnath Sen. "Military Expenditure and Developing Countries." in the Handbook of Defense Economics. Vol. 1. Edited by Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1995.

Ellies, Eric. "Thailand's Apisak Tells Foreign Banks They Can't Compete." Euromoney, October 6, 2015. https://www.euromoney.com/article/b12km4jdzstlk1/thailands-apisak-tells-foreign-banks-they-cant-compete

Harris, George L. et al. U.S. Army Area Handbook for Thailand. Washington D.C.: American University, 1963.

"How Mergers are Changing Thailand's Banking Sector." Oxford Business Group, April 24, 2019. https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/how-mergers-are-changing-thailand%E2%80%99s-banking-sector

"Information Memorandum on Business Restructuring and Merger Plan between Thanachart Bank Public Company Limited and TMB Bank Public Company Limited." Thanachart Bank Public Company Limited, September 23, 2019.

"Investor Presentation - TMB 5-Year Plan." TMB Bank, 2017. https://media.tmbbank.com//uploads/ir_fininfo_present/file/media/402_file_th.pdf?180313024027

"Investor Presentation." TMB Bank, May, 2014. https://media.tmbbank.com//uploads/ir_fininfo_present/file/media/83_file_th_140714055251.pdf

"Is Thailand Still in the Arms-smuggling Trade?" Nation, June 6, 2017. https://www.nationthailand.com/opinion/30317394

Kaewjinda, Kaweewit. "Thai Army General Convicted in Human Trafficking Trial." Associated Press, July 19, 2017. https://apnews.com/eaa174075aa14f0e9355e557d9255954/Army-general-among-Thais-convicted-of-human-trafficking

Kanchoochat, Veerayooth. "Reign-Seeking and the Rise of the Unelected in Thailand." Journal of Contemporary Asia 46, no. 3 (March 2016).

"Khaki Capitalism." Economist, December 3, 2011.https://www.economist.com/business/2011/12/03/khaki-capitalism

Khidhir, Sheith. "Growing Gap between Richest and Poorest Thais." ASEAN Post, October 25, 2019.https://theaseanpost.com/article/growing-gap-between-richest-and-poorest-thais

Kocak, Deniz and Johannes Kode. "Impediments to Security Sector Reform in Thailand." In Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia: From Policy to Practice. Edited by Felix Heiduk. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.

Kongkirati, Prajak and Veerayooth Kanchoochat. "The Prayuth Regime: Embedded Military and Hierarchical Capitalism in Thailand." Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia 6, no. 2 (July 2018).

Kouwsomran, Pichai. "The Military Regime: A Case Study of Political Clientelism in Thailand from 1947 to 1963." PhD thesis, McMaster University, 1984.

Kumagai, Satoru. "The Middle-Income Trap in the ASEAN-4 Countries from the Trade Structure Viewpoint" in Emerging States at the Crossroads. Edited by Keiichi Tsunekawa and Yasuyuki Todo. Singapore: Springer, 2019.

Lu, Wanxue and Fumiharu Mieno. "Impact of Foreign Entry into the Banking Sector: The Case of Thailand in 1999–2014." Pacific-Basin Finance Journal 64, (December 2020).

"Major Business Interests of the Army." Nation, February 18, 2020. https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382312

Maldonado, Camilo. "Credit Suisse: Top 1% Own Nearly 50% Of Global Wealth And China's Wealthy Now Outnumber America's." Forbes, October 23, 2019. https://www.forbes.com/sites/camilomaldonado/2019/10/23/credit-suisse-top-1-own-nearly-50-of-global-wealth-and-chinas-wealthy-now-outnumber-americas/#359fd5532ede

"Mass Rapid Transit Authority: Annual Report 2018." Mass Rapid Transit Authority. https://www.mrta.co.th/media/550619/mrta-annual-report-2018-en.pdf?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

McGuire, Martin C. "Concepts of Defense Economics for the 21st Century." Defence and Peace Economics 11, no. 1 (January 2000).

McGuire, Martin C. "Economics of Defense in a Globalized World" in the Handbook of Defense Economics: Defense in a Globalized World. Vol. 2. Edited by Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 2007.

McKean, Roland N. Issues in Defense Economics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Naknoi, Kanda. "The Thai Military As a Business Group, 1940-2016." Institute of Economic Research, February, 2020.

Nanuam, Wassana. "Coup Leader Quits TMB Board." Bangkok Post, June 26, 2014.

Liao, Janet Xuanli. "The Chinese government and the National Oil Companies (NOCs): Who is the Principal?" in Managing China's Energy Sector: Between the Market and the State. Edited by T. Hongyi Lai and Malcolm Warner. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Paddock, Richard C. "Thailand Junta Leader Named Prime Minister After Contentious Vote." New York Times, June 5, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/05/world/asia/thailand-prayuth-prime-minister.html

Pathmanand, Ukrist. "Globalization and Democratic Development in Thailand: The New Path of the Military, Private Sector, and Civil Society." Contemporary Southeast Asia 23, no. 1 (April 2001).

Pathmanand, Ukrist and Michael K. Connors. "Thailand's Public Secret: Military Wealth and the State." Journal of Contemporary Asia (July 2019).

Phaicharoen, Nontarat. "Judge Triples Ex-General's Sentence in Thailand's Biggest Human Trafficking Case." BenarNews, October 31, 2019. https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/thai/thailand-myanmar-10312019165048.html

Raymond, Gregory Vincent. Thai Military Power: A Culture of Strategic Accommodation. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2017.

Sandler, Todd and Keith Hartley. "Defense in a Globalized World: An Introduction" in the Handbook of Defense Economics: Defense in a Globalized World. Vol. 2. Edited by Todd

Sandler and Keith Hartley. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 2007. "SRT Chief, Board Get the Chop." Bangkok Post, February 24, 2017. https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1203741/srt-chief-board-get-the-chop

Sullivan, Boris. "33% of Thais Have Less Than 500 Baht on Their Bank Account." Thailand Business News, December 23, 2019. https://www.thailand-business-news.com/banking/77384-33-of-thais-have-less-than-500-baht-on-their-bank-account.html

Thabchumpon, Naruemon. "Contending Political Networks: A Study of the "Yellow Shirts" and "Red Shirts" Thailand's Politics." Southeast Asian Studies 5, no. 1 (April 2016).

"Thai Coup Has Little Effect on Economic Growth." Today, June 3, 2014. https://www.todayonline.com/world/asia/thai-coup-has-little-effect-economic-growth

"Thailand Households Disposable Income." Trading Economics, 2020. https://tradingeconomics.com/thailand/disposable-personal-income

Thepgumpanat, Panarat and Panu Wongcha-um. "Thai Army to Transfer Control of Land After Mass Shooting." Reuters, February 17, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-military/thai-army-to-transfer-control-of-land-after-mass-shooting-idUSKBN20B178

"TMB Announced 1Q20 Operating Results." TMB Bank, April 20, 2020. https://www.tmbbank.com/en/newsroom/news/pr/view/financial-results-Q1-20.html

"TMB Bank, Thanachart to Create Thailand's Sixth-Largest Lender." Reuters, August 8, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/thanachart-bank-ma-tmb-bank/update-1-tmb-bank-thanachart-to-create-thailands-6th-largest-lender-idUSL4N2551QK

Towie, Margo, Jason Clenfield and Hannah Dormido. "Thailand Has a Developing Economy and a Big First World Problem." Bloomberg, July 25, 2019. https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2019-thailand-baby-bust/

Yang, Ethan. "Human Trafficking in Southeast Asia and Economic Empowerment." Trinity College Digital Repository: The First-Year Papers (2010 - present). 2016.

Price Phillips
American University

# "Music for the Many"

## A Quantitative Inquiry into Contextual Questions Surrounding National Anthem Adoption

> **I**n his 1987 essay "On Being Alive to the Arts and Religion," Trotter wrote that music "springs out of the very speech and soul of a person or a community."

### NATIONAL ANTHEMS: LEGISLATION WORTH EXPLORING

In his 1987 essay "On Being Alive to the Arts and Religion," Trotter wrote that music "springs out of the very speech and soul of a person or a community."[1] Music as the second art form is excellent at evoking feelings of ritualistic connection and lived communal identification, all the while serving as an accessible form of art to most audiences. National anthems have established a contemporary group ethos of music that various recognized international institutions have continued to standardize and reproduce since Argentina adopted the first continuous national anthem in 1816. Hummel finds that national anthems are among the most psychologically powerful state symbols insofar as they provide a means for countries to encourage their policy preferences and socialize their citizens.[2] Gilboa and Bodner corroborate these results in their study of the Israeli and Polish national anthems, reporting similar findings in their cases.[3]

---

1   F. Thomas Trotter, "On Being Alive to the Arts and Religion: Music – Religion Online," *Religion Online* (blog), 1987, https://www.religion-online.org/article/on-being-alive-to-the-arts-and-religion-music/.
2   Daniel Hummel, "Banal Nationalism, National Anthems, and Peace," *Peace Review* 29, no. 2 (April 2017): 225–30, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2017.1308736.
3   Avi Gilboa and Ehud Bodner, "What Are Your Thoughts When the National Anthem Is Playing? An Empirical Exploration," *Psychology of Music* 37, no. 4 (October 2009): 459–84, https://doi.

National anthems serve as both tools for and intertextual representations of the state, demanding solvent opposition to qualify their existence. Yet this endeavor is not always successful, notably observed by the Japanese national anthem's affixation to the state's militarism rather than the Japanese nation itself.[4] Therefore, it is important to consider how anthems exist in a liminal state and are constantly being reconstructed and embodied by subnational communities. These symbols represent the tense and quasi-dialectic relationship constituting the nation and the state. Domestically, governments declare their anthems a cohesive representation of the nation; internationally, they must build the distinctiveness of their nation through a unique anthem. Anthems represent a complex synthesis of uniformity and individuality: countries must resist external influence on their anthem's national character while also avoiding alienation of subnational groups. Yet anthems are not genealogies; relevant studies have not found former colonies to overwhelmingly adopt even similar anthems to those of their former colonizers.[5]

Recent research has found national anthems to be effective tools of national integration compared to other symbols, yet political scientists have registered scant interest in the research of national anthems comparatively.[6] For instance, a 2019 query of "national flags" in the JSTOR database results in 25,695 more journal articles than a similar search for "national anthems." Such a research gap motivates individual countries to avoid modifications to national anthems as well; forty-five countries have changed their flag since 2000, only eighteen have since modified their anthems.[7]

Contemporaneously, the constructed utility of anthems as tools of the state have themselves become victim to circular logic. There is often a pervasive, non-partisan feeling within the internationalized paradigm that an anthem is necessary for a country to harmonize the balance of nation and state. In the case of contemporary England, both Labour and Conservative Members of Parliament have called for an official national anthem in the last 20 years—evidencing the perceived non-partisan nature of anthems in British discourse.[8] In addition, throughout the twentieth century, both revolutionary and reactionary popular movements adopted their own anthems through differing forms of top-bottom social relations as a means of conveying their valued "symbols, rituals, and traditions."[9]

"RECENT STUDIES IN SEMIOTICS HAVE BLURRED THE LINES BETWEEN NATIONAL SYMBOLS SERVING AS CAPABLE TOOLS FOR MULTICULTURALISM OR FOR FASCIST AND AUTHORITARIAN COMMUNITIES."

org/10.1177/0305735608097249.

4    Raja Adal, "Interlude.: Mimesis and Seduction in National Anthems," in *Beauty in the Age of Empire*, Japan, Egypt, and the Global History of Aesthetic Education (Columbia University Press, 2019), 105–19, https://doi.org/10.7312/adal19120.11.

5    Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private*, Routledge Revivals (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1973).

6    Gilboa and Bodner, "What Are Your Thoughts When the National Anthem Is Playing?"

7    "The World Flag Database: What's New," accessed April 22, 2020, http://www.flags.net/whatsnew.htm.

8    Toby Perkins, "Toby Perkins MP: It is time to let England's voice be heard," PoliticsHome.com, January 27, 2016, https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/culture/opinion/house-commons/59108/toby-perkins-mp-it-time-let-englands-voice-be-heard.

9    Tim F. Liao, Gehui Zhang, and Libin Zhang, "Social Foundations of National Anthems: Theorizing for a Better Understanding of the Changing Fate of the National Anthem of China," *Journal for the Theory of Social*

Yet, national anthems do not exist independent of the international community. Instead, they represent texts actively embodied and changed by the state and constituency. As nations discursively recast their anthems domestically, Adal articulates the simultaneous international reification of anthems, writing that "like national cuisines, national anthems cannot exist outside of a world of other national anthems. It is the international that opens up the space in which the national can exist. In other words, the national is necessarily mimetic."[10]

This research interrogates the manufacturing of anthems as discourses, examining the relationship between an extant political history of fascism or authoritarianism, the level of cultural context, and the *de facto* or *de jure* constitutional secularity in relation to the time taken for a country to adopt a national anthem. To do so, I construct and examine anthologies of literature for each variable, operationalize and formulate hypotheses, and conduct a statistical analysis on the created data set.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Although the discipline of my research is established in discourse analyses and broader concepts of constructivism, neo-positivism lends a unique methodological approach to analyzing the incremental implementation of anthem adoption. Neo-positivist epistemology also acknowledges the importance of semiotics. Cunningham's synthesis of semiotics and educational psychology indicates a shift in the semiotics community from an entirely interpretivist epistemology towards the inclusion of quasi-positivist "empirical constructivists."[11] Representing the hardline interpretivists, Pressley et al. accuse Cunningham of being too forthcoming in his predictions of a mutual understanding connecting the psychological and semiotic communities. Yet even they acknowledge that his methods on the inferential policymaking semiotics "[had] the potential for permitting rapid progress in understanding and testing the instructional beliefs and practices consistent with the semiotic process."[12]

My research also utilizes the Soviet Tartu-Moscow School of neo-positivist semiotics by operating under the assumption that sovereign states collectively (either through mandate or suffrage) adopt communally understood symbols.[13] Although there are widespread differences in the mechanisms of adoption, the process of anthem adoption does not change the functional technocracy of national anthems. As argued by Mayo-Harp, "while national anthems are created by elites seeking to reach some specific goals, they are, at the same time, authentic expressions of popular identity."[14] Therefore, with the exception of stateless nations (which lack territorial sovereignty, itself a key facet of Mayo-Harp's argument), this study does not exclude cases on the basis of governance systems.

*Behaviour* 42, no. 1 (2012): 106–27, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2011.00480.x.
10   Adal, "Interlude."
11   Donald J. Cunningham, "Beyond Educational Psychology: Steps Toward an Educational Semiotic," *Educational Psychology Review* 4, no. 2 (1992): 165–94.
12   Michael Pressley, Marilyn B. Marks, and Pamela Beard El-Dinary, "Beyond Educational Semiotics: A Response to Cunningham," *Educational Psychology Review* 4, no. 2 (1992): 241–52.
13   Vyach. Vs. Ivanov and Doris Bradbury, "The Science of Semiotics," *New Literary History* 9, no. 2 (1978): 199–204, https://doi.org/10.2307/468569.
14   Maria Isabel Mayo-Harp, "National Anthems and Identities: The Role of National Anthems in the Formation Process of National Identities" (M.A., Canada, Simon Fraser University (Canada), 2001).

## FASCIST FUNCTIONALISM

Recent studies in semiotics have blurred the lines between national symbols serving as capable tools for multiculturalism or for fascist and authoritarian communities.[15] In particular, ethnomusicologists and political psychologists have studied the permeative effects of anthem components—such as tempo, lyrics, and tone—on native and non-native constituents. De Caprariis argues that Mussolini's *Partito Nazionale Fascista* found the most success in group building through their anthem *Giovenezza*, composed with a similar cadence and tone to that of the socialist standard-bearer *The Internationale*.[16] Doğan critiques this liberal and fascist dichotomy of anthem forms, arguing instead that fascist parties necessarily adopt anthems

> **"AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES REQUIRE STATE FUNCTIONS TO PRESERVE POWER, AND THUS ARE EXPECTED TO SWIFTLY ADOPT NATIONAL SYMBOLS."**

independent of the state, thus eliminating the "fascist" form of anthem.[17] Using *Giovinezza* as a case, Doğan claims that fascist parties avoid affixing themselves to the state apparatus, preferring instead to establish their own private bureaucracy as a means of crowding out previous state organizations. Similarly, by 1934, Hitler had established separate Nazi institutions parallel to the existing German state bureaucracy— a labor union, athletic organizations, and think tanks (*Ahnenerbe*)—all under the umbrella of The National Socialist People's Welfare (*Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt)*. Doğan asserts that fascist parties rely on anthems in the same way, discouraging legislative bodies from adopting a state anthem in favor of instead popularizing their party's anthem.[18] While Doğan intentionally limited her research to a case study of the Italian *Giovenezza* anthem instead of studying a broader range of fascist anthems, other semioticians have cited the Romanian Iron Guard party and their *"Sfântă Tinerețe Legionară"* anthem as an example of a fascist "unadopted anthem," further triangulating Doğan's theory.[19]

Opposite Doğan's functionalist school of thought sits the post-structuralists. Erol, himself of the school, argues that scholars can only dissect fascist political parties after examining their socio-historical contexts.[20]

15    Deborah Bradley, "Oh, That Magic Feeling! Multicultural Human Subjectivity, Community, and Fascism's Footprints," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 17, no. 1 (2009): 56–74; Carlos R. Abril, "Functions of a National Anthem in Society and Education: A Sociocultural Perspective," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, no. 172 (2007): 69–87.

16    Luca de Caprariis, "'Fascism for Export'? The Rise and Eclipse of the Fasci Italiani All'Estero," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (2000): 151–83.

17    Derya Karaburun Doğan, "The Role of Music in Fascism Propaganda: The Example of the Mussolini Italy / Faşizm Propagandasında Müziğin Rolü: Mussolini İtalyası Örneği," *Folklor/Edebiyat* 25, no. 97 (2019): 229–43, https://doi.org/10.22559/folklor.368.

18    Derya Karaburun Doğan.

19    Alexandru-Ovidiu Vintila, "TRAIAN BRAILEANU, GRUPUL DE LA CERNAUTI SI REVISTA 'ÎNSEMNARI SOCIOLOGICE' (DEBUTUL UNOR DEZBATERI) - ProQuest," *Revista Romana de Sociologie*, 9, 2012, 483–501.

20    Ali E. Erol, "The Internarrative State" (Ph.D., United States -- District of Columbia, Howard University,

Consequently, these scholars argue that national anthems are representative of distinct paradigms that match their relevant histories. Post-structuralism contradicts the functionalist claim that distaste towards national anthems is inherent to fascism; furthermore, several examples of fascism in Africa support this conviction.[21] I incorporate this conceptual disagreement into the research design by ensuring a rigorous coding process and maintaining elements of control between cases, here operationalized as the level of secularity.

## AUTHORITARIANISM AS A ROBUSTNESS CHECK

Epstein's 2011 comparison of the biopic film genre to national anthems and critique of both as "superficial iconographic symbols" reveals the commonplace discourse surrounding national anthems in liberal democracies.[22] This uncertainty of anthem adoption, though operationally different from Doğan's theory, produces the same outcome of fascist parties' hesitancy to adopt anthems. Furthering this observation, Daughtry argues that the mechanism that leads to authoritarian regimes embracing national anthems is opposite to the hesitation held by fascist and liberal states.[23] Whereas fascist parties necessarily operate in exclusive and collective social organizations independent of the state apparatus, authoritarian regimes require state functions to preserve power, and thus are expected to swiftly adopt national symbols.

In their aforementioned case study, Gilboa and Bodner find that 84% of respondents recollect historic national events and 74% report experiencing an emotional feeling after listening to their national anthem—compared to 46% and 68%, reporting respectively, for the national emblem.[24] Bradley used similar results in her study of national anthems serving as hegemonic discourse, ultimately finding that the discourse over anthems within fascist parties and liberal states are similar. Methodologically, I use the mechanism for Bradley's claim of anthem adoption in my operationalization of fascism: "The line separating a critical pedagogy [in deciding to adopt an anthem] based upon anti-racism principles and practices from the fascistic imposition is one that can easily be crossed…"[25] Bradley critiques Doğan's theoretical mechanism preventing fascist parties from adopting an anthem, arguing instead that she could apply the same argument to liberal states.

Lughofer finds similar results in his biography of Paula von Preradović, the lyricist of the Austrian national anthem. Although Von Preradović demonstrated sympathies for the Austrofascist movement—and even composed the anthem with fascism in mind—the postwar public never came to understand the anthem as inherently fascist.[26] Therefore, the anthem is still in place with minimal pushback, thereby displaying the similar perceptions of anthems compartmentalized as either liberal or fascist. Both Payne's comparison between Iberian fascism and authoritarianism and Daughtry's

2013), https://search.proquest.com/docview/1439925313/abstract/BF8654888B8D4439PQ/1.

21    Philip Roessler, "THE ENEMY WITHIN: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa," *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (2011): 300–346.

22    William H. Epstein, "Introduction: Biopics and American National Identity—Invented Lives, Imagined Communities," *A/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 26, no. 1 (2011): 1–33, https://doi.org/10.1353/abs.2011.0001.

23    J. Martin Daughtry, "Russia's New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity," *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 1 (2003): 42–67, https://doi.org/10.2307/852511.

24    Gilboa and Bodner, "What Are Your Thoughts When the National Anthem Is Playing?"

25    Bradley, "Oh, That Magic Feeling! Multicultural Human Subjectivity, Community, and Fascism's Footprints."

26    Johan Goerg Lughofer, "Cultural Diversity Vs. National-Socialist Positions. Paula Von Preradović: An Istrian and the Author of the Austrian National Anthem," *Acta Histriae* 29, no. 3 (2019): 495–512.

"IDEOLOGICAL BELIEFS OF FASCIST PARTIES OFTEN DIFFER FROM ONE ANOTHER BASED ON HISTORICAL CONTEXT, NECESSITATING A QUALIFICATION OF DATA TO FIND CONSENSUS ON FASCIST PARTIES."

discourse analysis of the Russian national anthem find that the established similarities between fascist parties and authoritarian regimes are outside the breadth of Doğan's theoretical reasoning.[27] Therefore, Bradley's argument that anthems serve as an effective tool for isolated fascist parties is actually more applicable to authoritarian regimes in this research.

## CONSTITUTIONAL SECULARISM

There exists a long-studied relationship linking the state's *de jure* secularity and adopted forms of national symbols.[28] Meizel finds that religious symbols are effective tools for anthem framers, though there is no present consensus on whether religious regimes are more or less likely to adopt anthems than secular nations.[29] Following a reading of each available country's constitution on the *Constitute Project*, I uncover two distinct binaural secular and non-secular categorizations.[30] In the first group, *de jure* non-secular states, such as Afghanistan and Ecuador, define their founding as one established in either the principles of a certain religious tradition or with the guidance of a specific religious organization. For an additional categorization, I expand the criteria to exclude any mention of a theist belief system that is coded as *de facto* secular, such as the phrase "so help me God". The lexical semantics of legal-social framing (how constituents perceive the constitution and the law) between *de jure* and *de facto* secular constitutions remain debated by legal scholars and political scientists.[31] To account for both arguments, my research includes the two categorizations— *de jure* and *de facto* secularity—as independent variables in the data collection process.

## CULTURAL CONTEXT AS A NORMATIVE METRIC

Sociologist Edward Hall's pioneering work in proxemics—the study of human perceptions of space—and extension transference—the reification process of social phenomena—serve as foundational texts in national semiotics.[32] Proxemics assists semiotic researchers in determining the factors of constructed spatial organizations—in this case, symbols assisting the creation of national communities.[33] Although my research aim shifted from a *post hoc* study on anthem semiotics to investigating the *a posteriori* state characteristics of anthem adoption, Hall's work is still valuable to understand as an independent variable due to its relationship to political symbols.[34]

In his books *Beyond Culture* and *Silent Language,* Hall operationalizes new demographic comparisons after measuring the nonverbal and implicit communication required to achieve cultural competency, creating the paradigm

27    Stanley G. Payne, "Fascism and Right Authoritarianism in the Iberian World - The Last Twenty Years," *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 2 (1986): 163–77; Daughtry, "Russia's New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity."

28    Liam D. Murphy, "Calling It Mammon: Instrumentalised Secularity and Religious Futures in Northern Ireland," *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 20, no. 2 (2011): 114–37.

29    Katherine Meizel, "A Singing Citizenry: Popular Music and Civil Religion in America," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 45, no. 4 (2006): 497–503.

30    "Constitute," accessed May 1, 2020, https://www.constituteproject.org/.

31    Matthew S. Holland, "'This Nation, Under God,'" in *Bonds of Affection*, Civic Charity and the Making of America--Winthrop, Jefferson, and Lincoln (Georgetown University Press, 2007), 200–218, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tt31g.13; Perry A. Zirkel, "Under God?," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 84, no. 10 (2003): 796–97.

32    Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture*, Anchor Books edition. (New York: Anchor Books, 1981).

33    Nelson González Ortega, "The Formation of Political Traditions and National Symbols in Nineteenth-Century Latin America," *Romance Studies* 35, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 59–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/02639904.2017.1306334.

34    Geert H. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*, Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series 5 (Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications, 1980).

of high- and low-context cultures.[35] Published in 1959, *Silent Language* follows the trend in American linguistics away from structuralism and towards nativism, critiquing the status quo *tabula rasa* understanding of linguistics.[36] Both Hall and Kittler et al. build on Chomsky's understanding of biolinguistics by referring to culture as an independent extension of humanity, thereby laying foundation in the semiotic community for the high and low culture dichotomy.[37] My research incorporates this work through Hofstede's operationalization of cultural context in a study of political organization, which ultimately argues that the nonverbal context of a culture is a significant factor in a person's perception of individualism and collectivism—and thereby affects their opinion of communal political symbols.[38]

> "BECAUSE SECULARITY IS A NEGATIVE IDEAL CONTINGENT ON THE ABSENCE OF RELIGIOSITY, I ADOPT THE INVERSE OF NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR RELIGIOUS CONSTITUTIONS."

## HYPOTHESES

I use the following hypotheses to test my explanatory variables of fascism and authoritarianism:

$H_A$: A country with a history of a significant fascist party will take longer to adopt a national anthem than a country without such a history.

$H_B$: A country with a history of authoritarianism will adopt an anthem sooner than a country without a history of authoritarianism.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

To investigate the association between regime type and time taken to adopt a national anthem, I select variables supported by causal theories relevant to *in situ* case studies of specific national anthems. I conduct a multiple-variate linear regression analysis with the constructed data set to determine the statistical relationship that each independent variable shares with the number of years that each case takes to adopt a national anthem, thereby executing a cross-sectional analysis to uncover the varying increasing, decreasing, directional, or magnitudinous outcomes. To best measure the sample of cases, I operationalize my dependent variable by calculating the difference of the year of autonomy and first year of anthem adoption for a country. Four countries' anthems do not feature official lyrics, all of which I include, due to a lack of literature detailing significant semiotic differences between anthems with and without lyrics[39].

I draw each date of autonomy from the CIA World Factbook and the date of *de jure* anthem adoption from each case's accessible legislative history. Then I further verify with the National Anthem Creative Commons Database.[40] I reach a rapprochement with my dependent variable through the test and

35    Hall, *Beyond Culture*; Edward Twitchell Hall, *The Silent Language* (Doubleday, 1959).
36    Hall, *The Silent Language*; Noam Chomsky, "Logical Structures in Language," *American Documentation* 8, no. 4 (1957): 284–91, https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.5090080406.
37    Hall, *Beyond Culture*; Markus G. Kittler, David Rygl, and Alex Mackinnon, "Special Review Article: Beyond Culture or beyond Control? Reviewing the Use of Hall's High-/Low-Context Concept," *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* 11, no. 1 (2011): 63–82, https://doi.org/10.1177/1470595811398797.
38    Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*.
39    Adal, "Interlude."
40    David Kendall, "National Anthem Database," nationalanthems.info, 2019, http://www.nationalanthems.info/.

eventual exclusion of various potential paths of inquiry. First, I exclude minor lyrical modifications made to an anthem—present in states such as Bahrain, Cambodia, Chile, and the former Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs)—and only consider the first year of adoption. Second, I limit countries with two *de jure* equal anthems to their state anthem—such as Denmark and New Zealand—and exclude anthems that are only used for regal occasions as to match the semiotics discipline-wide rejection of such anthems.[41] Third, I take the most recent date of autonomy, initially as a concern over autonomy dates of SSRs. I make this choice to match the date of anthem adoption to that of autonomy as to ensure multifinality in the dependent variable.

I operationalize fascist parties in the research using the Princeton Election Consortium's *Fascist Movement Project* coupled with Paxton's *Five Stages of Fascism*.[42] Ideological beliefs of fascist parties often differ from one another based on historical context, necessitating a qualification of data to find consensus on fascist parties.[43] For example, the anti-capitalist rhetoric of the Mobutu regime in Zaire contrasts to the *Partito Nazionale Fascista* corporatist tendencies. To formulate the metadata for fascist parties, I use the Donno and Lijphart election databases and analyze each case's electoral history to best ensure the veracity of the final data set.[44] Using these datasets, I mark fascist cases as countries with a history of a domestic fascist party holding a significant share of the government. Per Roberts' argument that the Nazi party's first meaningful policymaking came in 1930 with a 18.25% vote share of the *Reichstag*, I code any general election with a fascist party acquiring greater than 15% of the vote share as significant.[45]

Nevertheless, using fascism as the primary explanatory variable would limit the scope of the project, given its relatively recent emergence. Thus, I adopt authoritarianism as a robustness check and to functionally serve as an independent variable, following the methodological recommendations of Biderman and Batista.[46] Considering the political discourse of authoritarianism, there is a difficulty in operationalizing authoritarianism when using multiple primary source data sets.[47] To counter this, I use Geddes' history of authoritarianism data to find the regime history for every case.[48]

Because Hall's scale of cultural context exists as an ordinally scaled variable compared to the other independent dummy variables, I code cultural

41    Piet Strydom, "Philosophies of the Social Sciences," 2011, 95–125.

42    Wang Sam, "What Actions Are Shared to All Fascist Movements?," *Princeton Election Consortium* (blog), December 21, 2016, http://election.princeton.edu/2016/12/21/what-actions-are-shared-to-all-fascist-movements/; Robert O. Paxton, "The Five Stages of Fascism," *The Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 1 (1998): 1–23, https://doi.org/10.1086/235001.

43    Roessler, "THE ENEMY WITHIN."

44    Daniela Donno, "Replication Data for: Elections and Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science* (Harvard Dataverse, May 26, 2015), https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/UJYLT0; Gary Cox and Arend Lijphart, "Lijphart Elections Archive: Lijphart Country Catalog: Costa Rica" (Harvard Dataverse, January 19, 2009), https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/CUYGEY.

45    David D. Roberts, "Internal Interaction:: Fascists, Conservatives, and the Establishment," in *Fascist Interactions*, 1st ed., Proposals for a New Approach to Fascism and Its Era, 1919-1945 (Berghahn Books, 2016), 61–124, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvpj7hpg.7.

46    Ciro Biderman and Yuri Camara Batista, "Robustness Check," Is Progressive Property Tax Progressive? (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2018), JSTOR, https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep18616.7.

47    Jos D. Meloen, "Authoritarianism in The Netherlands: Mission Completed? Downward Trends in Authoritarianism in The Netherlands 1970-1992 with an International Comparison of World Data," *Social Thought & Research* 22, no. 1/2 (1999): 45–93.

48    Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz, *How Dictatorships Work – Autocratic Regimes* (Cambridge University Press), accessed March 19, 2020, https://sites.psu.edu/dictators/how-dictatorships-work/; Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz, "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set," *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 2 (June 2014): 313–31, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714000851.

context as a categorical set of dummy variables in STATA, a statistical analysis software. This methodological decision produces twelve different binary outcomes instead of a single sixteen-point scale. This coding allows me to examine the relationship of each level compared to the difference between state adoption of national anthems and autonomy. To account for statistical significance, I adopt a preliminary stepwise backwards elimination test as a method to determine the explanatory strength of statistically significant variables. I use Halverson's metrics to operationalize high- and low-context cultures as a sixteen-point scale, methodologically applied to each case using Hall's extension transferential analysis.[49] Halverson designs the scale as a positive relationship with the level of cultural context, an increase along the scale indicating a greater reliance on nonverbal communication. While this set is comprehensive compared to the other (primarily regional analytical) studies conducted using Hall's metric, Halverson leaves the South Pacific and Central Asia uncoded, which are thereby left out of the data set for this variable.

As addressed in the previous section, I operationalize constitutional secularity in two groups: *de jure* and *de facto* secular. Because secularity is a negative ideal contingent on the absence of religiosity, I adopt the inverse of necessary conditions for religious constitutions. Therefore, *de facto* secular constitutions feature references to theist systems, but cannot give special legal status to religious organizations; conversely, *de jure* secular constitutions cannot feature any references to religious organization or religious values.

I construct my research design with the purpose of exploring causal mechanisms that lead states to adopt anthems faster or slower compared to the arithmetic mean. In addition, I determine that placing a greater emphasis on statistical significance through a methodological commitment to *p*-values was less sufficient of an analysis than a procedural discussion of the resulting confidence intervals. I base this methodological decision on the findings of Wasserstein et al. and Amrhein et al., who advise instead to use a creative and pragmatic analysis of confidence intervals when the large number of independent variables in a cross-sectional analysis limits the utility of *p*-values.[50] Despite there being a large range in the difference between state adoption of national anthems to state autonomy, bucketing outcomes is unnecessary as to maintain each individual value and to not exacerbate existing differences through the use of subjective logarithmic or linear buckets.[51] The cross-sectional nature of the data set and implausibility of reducing anthems to a context-free researchable vacuum limits the implications of the variate *r*-squared values, as there is a high likelihood of including confounding variables. Wherry's empirical findings of the impracticality of the *r*-squared value while using many independent variables in a cross-sectional semiotic study additionally guides.[52] Thus, analyses of the variables' confidence intervals, coefficient directions, and magnitudes are used to determine the validity of my hypotheses.

Some neo-positivist scholars deal with concerns of multicollinearity with

49    Halverson C.B., *Cultural-Context Inventory: The Effects of Culture on Behavior and Work Style*, J.W. Pfeiffer, vol. Annual Developing Human Resources (Pfeiffer and Company, San Diego, CA., 1993), https://www2.pacific.edu/sis/culture/pub/context_cultures_high_and_lo.htm; Hall, *The Silent Language*.

50    Ronald L. Wasserstein, Allen L. Schirm, and Nicole A. Lazar, "Moving to a World Beyond 'p < 0.05,'" *The American Statistician* 73, no. sup1 (March 29, 2019): 1–19, https://doi.org/10.1080/00031305.2019. 1583913; Valentin Amrhein, Sander Greenland, and Blake McShane, "Scientists Rise up against Statistical Significance," *Nature* 567, no. 7748 (March 2019): 305–7, https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-019-00857-9.

51    B. D. Ripley, "Spatial Statistics: Developments 1980-3, Correspondent Paper," *International Statistical Review / Revue Internationale de Statistique* 52, no. 2 (1984): 141–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/1403097.

52    R. J. Wherry, "A New Formula for Predicting the Shrinkage of the Coefficient of Multiple Correlation," *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics* 2, no. 4 (1931): 440–57.

**Table 1:** Variance Inflation Factor Test for Multicollinearity

| VariableV | IF | 1/VIF |
|---|---|---|
| Context 12 | 16.06 | 0.062 |
| Context 13 | 8.61 | 0.116 |
| Context 10 | 5.82 | 0.172 |
| Context 8 | 5.12 | 0.195 |
| Context 14 | 3.92 | 0.255 |
| Context 7 | 3.79 | 0.264 |
| Context 11 | 3.73 | 0.268 |
| Context 4 | 3.15 | 0.318 |
| Context 9 | 2.96 | 0.338 |
| Context 6 | 2.42 | 0.413 |
| Context 5 | 2.16 | 0.463 |
| Context 3 | 2.13 | 0.469 |
| Authoritarianism | 1.92 | 0.521 |
| Context 15 | 1.79 | 0.557 |
| Context 2 | 1.73 | 0.579 |
| Secularity | 1.64 | 0.610 |
| Fascism | 1.60 | 0.625 |
| Legal Secularity | 1.52 | 0.658 |
| Context 16 | 1.35 | 0.739 |
| Mean VIF | 3.76 | 0.266 |

an automated pairwise backwards elimination of collinear variables.[53] However, as explained by Flom and Cassell and Breaux, there are genuine doubts about the efficacy of computational statistical programs in this effort.[54] Breaux finds that computational programs designed to automatically eliminate insignificant variables have a tendency to unintentionally remove methodologically significant variables that the researcher had previously re-coded as categorical dummy variables. The 16-level ordinally scaled variable of cultural context fits this criterion, bringing concerns of hidden point density to fruition and leading me to discount backwards elimination or any other pairwise selection method. To test for potential multicollinearity, I conduct a Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) test. I then convert the VIF score into tolerance, a metric more commonly used to test in the social scientific community.[55] Mirroring the discipline standard, I consider any tolerance level below 0.1 collinear.[56] I also conduct a pairwise scatterplot test on the cultural context and fascist variables to triangulate the results found from the VIF test for tolerance. Additionally, I construct a pairwise scatterplot test on the metadata; however, these findings were insignificant due to the challenges of analyzing such a large set, as addressed by Carr et al.[57] My operationalization quells concerns of multicollinearity between fascism and authoritarianism, as some significant fascist parties never came to power in their country.

### EFFECTS OF VARIABLES ON ANTHEM ADOPTION

Following my compilation of research methods, I begin with a VIF test as to test for multicollinearity. I calculate VIF by (where I draw R2 from the statistic in question), then convert into tolerance, as discussed in the previous section. In my test for multicollinearity, I adopt the standard .1 1/ VIF threshold in the VIF test displayed in decreasing order in *Table 1*.

The VIF test in *Table 2* presents the 12th cultural context level as multicollinear. This outcome is not surprising in the methodological analysis,

53    John D. Morris, Faye B. Morgan, and Wilbert Maynor, "On Selecting the Best Set of Regression Predictors," *The Journal of Experimental Education* 48, no. 2 (1979): 100–103.
54    Peter L Flom and David L. Cassell, "Stopping Stepwise: Why Stepwise and Similar Selection Methods Are Bad, and What You Should Use," *NESUG 2007*, 2007, 7; Harold J. Breaux, "A Modification of Efroymson's Technique for Stepwise Regression Analysis" (Association for Computing Machinery, August 1, 1968), https://doi.org/10.1145/363567.363580.
55    Edward R. Mansfield and Billy P. Helms, "Detecting Multicollinearity," *The American Statistician* 36, no. 3 (1982): 158–60, https://doi.org/10.2307/2683167.
56    Morris, Morgan, and Maynor, "On Selecting the Best Set of Regression Predictors."
57    D. B. Carr et al., "Scatterplot Matrix Techniques for Large N," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 82, no. 398 (1987): 424–36, https://doi.org/10.2307/2289444.
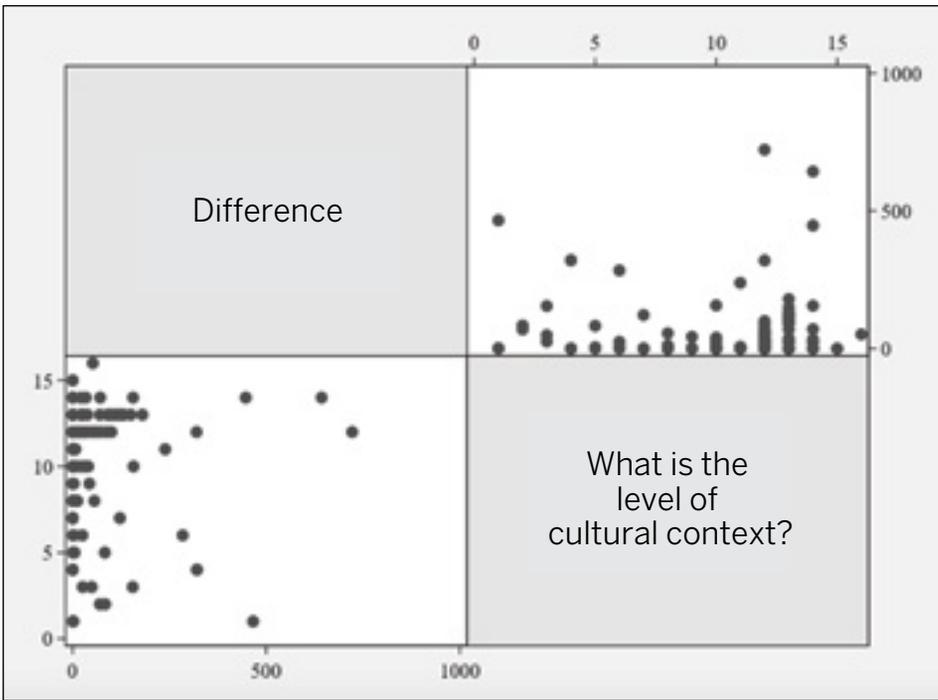
however, as the 12th level of cultural context controls one-third of the total number of cases, increasing the collinearity with other variables. Based on this test, I do not consider outcomes from the 12th cultural context level because it sits below the established tolerance threshold of .1.

To triangulate the findings of the VIF multicollinearity test regarding each level of cultural context and related outcome, I also conduct a pairwise scatterplot test on the two variables. This test, otherwise known as a scatterplot matrix, serves as an additional visual test of multicollinearity to corroborate where the correlation between the two variables lies *(Figure 1)*. Although the full data set is not independently sufficient to test multicollinearity on its own because of the challenges of hidden point density, it can serve as a visual supplement to the VIF test and the Cultural Context-Difference matrix.

*Figure 1* matches the variance inflation test seen in *Table 1*, only displaying high levels of multicollinearity with the 12th and 13th levels of cultural context. Testing the level of cultural context as an ordinally scaled variable instead of separate categorical variables is impossible due to the nonlinear and nonuniform nature of the cultural context data. In other words, the lack of a visible trend from context level 1 to level 16 indicates a variable-wide necessity of conversion to categorical dummy variables to further analyze each level, as displayed in *Table 2*.

The testable indices in the regression are coefficient, *p*-value, and confidence interval. The second column in *Table 2* establishes the coefficients for each variable, which are used to determine the number of years that a country is expected to take before adopting an anthem compared to the mean (labeled as "Constant") or Context Level 1 (in the measurements of cultural context). When comparing the variables to the difference in years of adoption and autonomy of each case, any of the variables existing as independently

present lead to a state adopting an anthem faster than average—except for *de facto* secularity.

I find split results between Hypothesis *A* examining fascism and Hypothesis *B* examining authoritarianism. As addressed in the research design, I put little procedural weight on *p*-values; the findings of fascism and authoritarianism still warrant analysis despite a lack of statistical significance due to the cross-sectional nature of the model and existence of many independent variables. The regression shows that countries with a history of fascism are expected to adopt anthems 16.782 years faster than average. According to this test, Doğan's theory about fascism's interaction with national anthems and my Hypothesis *A* fail to reject the null hypothesis. However, the confidence interval upper limit of 43.768 indicates that some countries with a history of fascism do take longer than average to adopt anthems, as seen with the Italian *Giovenezza* in Doğan's case-based observations.

Countries with a history of authoritarianism are likely to adopt anthems 15.539 years faster than the average, confirming Hypothesis *B*. However, similar to the outcome of the fascist variable, the confidence interval lower end of -66.887 and upper end of 37.810 indicates lack of significance for this variable. A noteworthy supplemental finding is the calculated difference between the fascist and authoritarian outcomes, wherein a state with a history of fascism is expected to adopt an anthem 2.243 years sooner than a state with a history of authoritarianism: resulting in the inverse direction of my

**Table 2:** Linear Regression with Cultural Context Coded as a Categorical Variable

| Difference between anthem adoption and autonomy | Coefficient | P>|t| | 95% Confidence Internval | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fascism | -16.782 | 0.585 | -77.332 | 43.768 |
| Authoritarianism | -14.539 | 0.584 | -66.887 | 37.810 |
| Cultural Context 2 | -90.046 | 0.345 | -278.043 | 97.950 |
| Cultural Context 3 | -102.778 | 0.237 | -273.814 | 68.258 |
| Cultural Context 4 | -73.910 | 0.326 | -222.179 | 74.358 |
| Cultural Context 5 | -162.735 | 0.064 | -334.816 | 9.346 |
| Cultural Context 6 | -100.663 | 0.211 | -259.087 | 57.760 |
| Cultural Context 7 | -156.393 | 0.031 | -298.220 | -14.566 |
| Cultural Context 8 | -156.245 | 0.025 | -292.559 | -19.932 |
| Cultural Context 9 | -159.225 | 0.030 | -303.072 | -15.377 |
| Cultural Context 10 | -151.044 | 0.029 | -286.381 | -15.708 |
| Cultural Context 11 | -144.425 | 0.059 | -294.308 | 5.458 |
| Cultural Context 12 | -141.053 | 0.030 | -268.448 | -13.658 |
| Cultural Context 13 | -113.778 | 0.086 | -243.776 | 16.219 |
| Cultural Context 14 | -15.279 | 0.825 | -151.743 | 121.186 |
| Cultural Context 15 | -167.471 | 0.086 | -359.065 | 24.122 |
| Cultural Context 16 | -98.689 | 0.407 | -333.311 | 135.932 |
| De facto Secularity | 26.629 | 0.205 | -14.683 | 67.941 |
| De jure Secularity | -7.694 | 0.716 | -49.394 | 34.006 |
| Constant | 182.010 | 0.006 | 53.612 | 310.408 |

**Note**: I omit Cultural Context to interpret the coefficients on all the other indicators as relative to the first level. I also omit standard error and t-score to maintain brevity and due to the lack of applicability of the metrics (Appendix B).

hypotheses. The lack of explanatory power between my hypotheses could indicate that systems of government are not effective determinants of national anthem adoption.

As discussed in the research design, I do not analyze the 12th level of cultural context. The other levels of cultural context show negative coefficients, indicating that each level is likely to adopt anthems faster than the first level of cultural context. The first level of cultural context includes three countries, one of which (Switzerland) took 433 years to adopt a national anthem. This information shifted the data in comparisons between levels of cultural context, leading to the negative heading of each coefficient. Nonetheless, I can still analyze the coefficients in relation to one another, with the results of levels 7-10 and level 14 worth analyzing because their confidence intervals exist measurably as lower than zero. The coefficient of level 14 is significantly greater than the rest, indicating that a country at this level is likely to adopt an anthem much faster than one of the other levels. Cultural context levels 7-10 are lower than the rest and are proximate to one another; countries operating at these levels  are likely to take longer to adopt anthems. Although there is no overall trend in the scale, the fact that these four levels exist so close to one another at one end of the scale is demonstrative of an additional factor. Cultural context levels 7-10 are made up of Britain and its former colonies, as well as Latin American, Slavic,  and Benelux countries; this displays a unique, unanticipated trend deserving of further exploration.

The variable of constitutional secularity presented interesting results. *De facto* and *de jure* secularity displayed oppositional outcomes in relation to the number of years taken to anthem adoption. Countries that give special constitutional status to a specific religion are likely to take, on average, 26.629 years longer to adopt an anthem than secular states, whereas countries that are constitutionally secular are likely to adopt an anthem 7.694 years sooner than secular states. Both measures of secularity include a small confidence interval surrounding zero. *De facto* secular constitutions were most commonly adopted in (or exported by) the period following the Enlightenment and introduction of the nation state, which also coincides with the creation of national anthems: visible here as Germany and the United Kingdom. *De jure* secular constitutions, such as in the cases of Oman and Thailand, were often written with a contemptuous attitude towards Enlightenment secularism, alongside an active rejection of Weberian norms such as the national anthem. Thus, the results of both *de jure* and *de facto* constitutions can be considered unsurprising.

### REFLEXIVITY AND SHORTCOMINGS

Because I root my research in semiotics, it is important to consider what areas of indexical semiotics differ from my analysis. This requires acknowledging elements of reflexivity most often reserved for research outside

"FASCIST PARTIES INTERTWINING THEMSELVES WITH OTHER ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT COUNTER GOOCH'S IMPLICATIONS FOR DATA COLLECTION IN THIS PROJECT."

of a neopositivist epistemology. First, a discipline-specific shortcoming: the adoption of national anthems is a recent phenomenon. Argentina adopted the first continuous national anthem in 1816, 546 years after the founding of the first continuous state. Although the pieces themselves were often composed centuries before, national anthems were first adopted out of the early 19th century nationalist wave seen in South America.[58] Therefore, in regard to time taken to adopt a national anthem, the data may be skewed towards countries with recent autonomy, such as former colonies.

There were two shortcomings with the operationalization of fascism and authoritarianism as variables. First, the 15% vote share for fascist countries is rooted in a subjective understanding of political influence. Dumasy argues that fascist parties are often far more influential than their specific vote share indicates; if true, fascist parties may command influence long before they attain this 15% vote share.[59] In my data, however, there are no cases of fascist parties with proximate enough electoral shares to 15% to consider including. Second, the quality of democracy in each fascist state is also relevant. Gooch found that under Italian fascism, political assassinations and overt or covert voter suppression ran rampant, limiting the validity of electoral data acting as a determinant of ideological party support.[60] This is additionally true for authoritarian regimes, though less universal than fascist states.[61] Fascist parties intertwining themselves with other aspects of social life outside of government counter Gooch's implications for data collection in this project; many parties claim to ideologically disagree while supporting the regime. The unpredictable nature of popular support regarding authoritarian regimes makes controlling for degrees of voter suppression difficult outside of the adoption of a large, well-represented data set.

To overcome a sampling challenge in how I code fascism (as many states adopted anthems before fascism became a plausible political project), I use founding dates for cases instead of previous dates of autonomy, such as the founding of Zaire. Besides the temporal exportation of national anthems, many anthems have compositionally similar characteristics and are almost universally built out of a Weberian rational-legal model.[62] In anthems that do not follow these characteristics, I recognize that the measurements of state metrics are not entirely explicative for adoption as the justification for anthem adoption may not follow the Weberian model this research attempts to understand.[63]

While each state in the data eventually legally adopted their anthems, potentially reflecting a comparable understanding of national symbols, there is

---

58    Mayumi Itoh, "Japan's Neo-Nationalism: The Role of the Hinomaru and Kimigayo Legislation," *Japan Policy Research Institute* Working Paper No. 79 (July 2001), http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp79.html.

59    François Dumasy, "Le Fascisme Est-Il Un 'Article d'exportation'? Idéologie et Enjeux Sociaux Du Parti National Fasciste En Libye Pendant La Colonisation Italienne," *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (1954-)* 55, no. 3 (2008): 85–115.

60    John Gooch, "Re-Conquest and Suppression: Fascist Italy's Pacification of Libya and Ethiopia, 1922-39," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 6 (2005): 1005–32, https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390500441024.

61    Peter Juviler, "Varieties of Authoritarianism," in *Freedom's Ordeal*, The Struggle for Human Rights and Democracy in Post-Soviet States (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 82–103, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fh7sb.10.

62    Stanford CCRMA, "Features of National Anthems," Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics, accessed April 20, 2020, https://ccrma.stanford.edu/~linford/features.html.

63    Donald Eugene Smith, "Religion and Politics in Burma," in *Religion and Politics in Burma* (Princeton University Press, 1965), 230–80, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt183pz1j.10; Karen A. Cerulo, "Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols: An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems," *Social Forces* 68, no. 1 (1989): 76–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/2579221.

an amount of normative tension surrounding understandings of what national anthems represent. There is not an effective way to proscribe an anthem value to each case, as the state may choose the date of adoption for other reasons if the embodiment of the national anthem differs from that of the Weberian model. In addition, my position within a country that quasi-organically developed within the Weberian rational-legal model may have influenced my choices and theoretical understandings of potential variables, which is in stark contrast to countries that this mode of social organization was violently forced upon. Some argue that the existence of the Weberian model is necessary for anthems to perform ritual social functions (such as membership requirements to the United Nations), to induce childhood socialization into a nation (either with the state or outside of it), to display sentiments of national solidarity, and to inspire enthusiasm in a group.[64] Some believe that this observation is not necessarily inherent to anthems themselves, but rather is a reflection of their environment. In her phenomenological study into the rapid understanding of the Japanese nation, Adal asserts that mimesis, or the interaction between nations, is often "inflected with inequalities of power."[65] She further argues that national anthems are one of the most observable examples of power dynamics that play a role in mimesis, especially in the reconstructed dialectic between East and West. Further research connecting the Edward Said brand of construction of the East using anthems would be interesting.[66] Because I did not consult anyone outside of comparable positionalities to myself, my variable selection may display preconceived notions of my socialization.

## CONCLUSION

This paper is a foray into the synthesis of national anthem adoption and adoption semiotics, considering the strength of anthems in conveying policy preferences and socializing citizens. As separatist movements compete with concentrations of power across the world, both right- and left-wing groups continue to find anthems as a useful tool for collective cohesion, thus displaying their continued relevance.[67] Although I only applied this research to the state adoption of anthems, the source of anthem meaning is often in an ethnic or sectarian identity that precedes the state.[68] Thus, further research should be considered on anthem semiotics through the continuation of an expansion or modification of the variables tested in my analysis. This research attempts to conceptualize differences between the rationales of states choosing to adopt national anthems. Doğan's functionalist theory of fascism was not displayed in the data. States with a history of fascism, Hypothesis *A,* took longer to adopt anthems on average than states without (though the confidence interval displayed a wide range).

The results of the authoritarian variable failed to reject Hypothesis *B,* finding that states with an authoritarian past adopt anthems sooner than those without, though there is a range of cases adopting both faster and

---

64    Aleksandar Pavkovic and Christopher Kelen, *Anthems and the Making of Nation States: Identity and Nationalism in the Balkans* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).
65    Adal, "Interlude."
66    Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).
67    Anderson Alves de Souza, "Investigating Prescriptions of Positive Behavior in Power-Consolidation National Anthems," *Signótica* 29, no. 2 (August 30, 2017): 575–601, https://doi.org/10.5216/sig.v29i2.44102.
68    Liao, Zhang, and Zhang, "Social Foundations of National Anthems"; Mayo-Harp, "National Anthems and Identities."

slower than non-authoritarian regimes. The outcomes are promising for further research within the anthem semiotics community as both fascism and authoritarianism show heterogeneous variation between their cases and the mean. This could result in a future disregard for these forms of government or political organization entirely from further inquiry. On average, countries with *de facto* constitutional religiosity are much more likely to take longer in adopting a national anthem than countries with an element of legal religiosity. Regarding cultural context, there was no cross-variate trend on the ordinal measurement, although levels 2-16 of cultural context were significantly more likely to adopt anthems faster than the first level.

This study offers a foundation for further research into the politics and semiotics of national anthems. I specifically encourage research into how other variables, such as economic indices or violent struggles for autonomy, interplay with anthem adoption. Until the nation-state ceases to serve as the foundational unit of international relations, national symbols such as anthems will continue to perform their role as instruments to forcibly aggregate the two moieties. Studying the development of national anthems across time and space can teach us about the early foundations of the nation-state and allow us to make inferences into the origins and future outlook of the imagined political community.

**Price Phillips** is a third-year senior at the American University School of International Service (SIS). He is finishing a degree in International Studies with thematic emphases on Peace and Conflict Studies and Comparative Governance. Outside of SIS, Price worked as the Chief of Staff at the American University International Relations Society and as an oversight intern at the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. For relevant replication data and additional appendices, you may contact the author at h.price.phillips@gmail.com

# Works Cited

Abril, Carlos R. "Functions of a National Anthem in Society and Education: A Sociocultural Perspective." *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, no. 172 (2007): 69–87.

Adal, Raja. "Interlude.: Mimesis and Seduction in National Anthems." In *Beauty in the Age of Empire*, 105–19. Japan, Egypt, and the Global History of Aesthetic Education. Columbia University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.7312/adal19120.11.

Amrhein, Valentin, Sander Greenland, and Blake McShane. "Scientists Rise up against Statistical Significance." *Nature* 567, no. 7748 (March 2019): 305–7. https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-019-00857-9.

Biderman, Ciro, and Yuri Camara Batista. "Robustness Check." Is Progressive Property Tax Progressive? Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2018. JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep18616.7.

Bradley, Deborah. "Oh, That Magic Feeling! Multicultural Human Subjectivity, Community, and Fascism's Footprints." *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 17, no. 1 (2009): 56–74.

Breaux, Harold J. "A Modification of Efroymson's Technique for Stepwise Regression Analysis." Association for Computing Machinery, August 1, 1968. https://doi.org/10.1145/363567.363580.

Caprariis, Luca de. "'Fascism for Export'? The Rise and Eclipse of the Fasci Italiani All'Estero." *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (2000): 151–83.

Carr, D. B., R. J. Littlefield, W. L. Nicholson, and J. S. Littlefield. "Scatterplot Matrix Techniques for Large N." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 82, no. 398 (1987): 424–36. https://doi.org/10.2307/2289444.

C.B., Halverson. *Cultural-Context Inventory: The Effects of Culture on Behavior and Work Style*. J.W. Pfeiffer. Vol. Annual Developing Human Resources. Pfeiffer and Company, San Diego, CA., 1993. https://www2.pacific.edu/sis/culture/pub/context_cultures_high_and_lo.htm.

CCRMA, Stanford. "Features of National Anthems." Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics. Accessed April 20, 2020. https://ccrma.stanford.edu/~linford/features.html.

Cerulo, Karen A. "Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols: An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems." *Social Forces* 68, no. 1 (1989): 76–99. https://doi.org/10.2307/2579221.

Chomsky, Noam. "Logical Structures in Language." *American Documentation* 8, no. 4 (1957): 284–91. https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.5090080406.

"Constitute." Accessed May 1, 2020. https://www.constituteproject.org/.

Cox, Gary, and Arend Lijphart. "Lijphart Elections Archive: Lijphart Country Catalog: Costa Rica." Harvard Dataverse, January 19, 2009. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/CUYGEY.

Cunningham, Donald J. "Beyond Educational Psychology: Steps Toward an Educational Semiotic." *Educational Psychology Review* 4, no. 2 (1992): 165–94.

Daughtry, J. Martin. "Russia's New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity." *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 1 (2003): 42–67. https://doi.org/10.2307/852511.

Derya Karaburun Doğan. "The Role of Music in Fascism Propaganda: The Example of the Mussolini Italy / Faşizm Propagandasında Müziğin Rolü: Mussolini İtalyası Örneği." *Folklor/Edebiyat* 25, no. 97 (2019): 229–43. https://doi.org/10.22559/folklor.368.

Donno, Daniela. "Replication Data for: Elections and Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science*. Harvard Dataverse, May 26, 2015. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/UJYLT0.

Dumasy, François. "Le Fascisme Est-Il Un 'Article d'exportation'? Idéologie et Enjeux Sociaux Du Parti National Fasciste En Libye Pendant La Colonisation Italienne." *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (1954-)* 55, no. 3 (2008): 85–115.

Epstein, William H. "Introduction: Biopics and American National Identity—Invented Lives, Imagined Communities." *A/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 26, no. 1 (2011): 1–33. https://doi.org/10.1353/abs.2011.0001.

Erol, Ali E. "The Internarrative State." Ph.D., Howard University, 2013. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1439925313/abstract/BF8654888B8D4439PQ/1.

Firth, Raymond. *Symbols: Public and Private*. Routledge Revivals. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1973.

Flom, Peter L, and David L. Cassell. "Stopping Stepwise: Why Stepwise and Similar Selection Methods Are Bad, and What

You Should Use." *NESUG 2007*, 2007, 7.

Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 2 (June 2014): 313–31. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714000851.

———. *How Dictatorships Work – Autocratic Regimes*. Cambridge University Press. Accessed March 19, 2020. https://sites.psu.edu/dictators/how-dictatorships-work/.

Gilboa, Avi, and Ehud Bodner. "What Are Your Thoughts When the National Anthem Is Playing? An Empirical Exploration." *Psychology of Music* 37, no. 4 (October 2009): 459–84. https://doi.org/10.1177/0305735608097249.

Gooch, John. "Re-Conquest and Suppression: Fascist Italy's Pacification of Libya and Ethiopia, 1922-39." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 6 (2005): 1005–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390500441024.

Hall, Edward T. *Beyond Culture*. Anchor Books edition. New York: Anchor Books, 1981.

Hall, Edward Twitchell. *The Silent Language*. Doubleday, 1959.

Hofstede, Geert H. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series 5. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications, 1980.

Holland, Matthew S. "'This Nation, Under God.'" In *Bonds of Affection*, 200–218. Civic Charity and the Making of America--Winthrop, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Georgetown University Press, 2007. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tt31g.13.

Hummel, Daniel. "Banal Nationalism, National Anthems, and Peace." *Peace Review* 29, no. 2 (April 2017): 225–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2017.1308736.

Itoh, Mayumi. "Japan's Neo-Nationalism: The Role of the Hinomaru and Kimigayo Legislation." *Japan Policy Research Institute* Working Paper No. 79 (July 2001). http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp79.html.

Ivanov, Vyach. Vs., and Doris Bradbury. "The Science of Semiotics." *New Literary History* 9, no. 2 (1978): 199–204. https://doi.org/10.2307/468569.

Juviler, Peter. "Varieties of Authoritarianism." In *Freedom's Ordeal*, 82–103. The Struggle for Human Rights and Democracy in Post-Soviet States. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fh7sb.10.

Kendall, David. "National Anthem Database." nationalanthems.info, 2019. http://www.nationalanthems.info/.

Kittler, Markus G., David Rygl, and Alex Mackinnon. "Special Review Article: Beyond Culture or beyond Control? Reviewing the Use of Hall's High-/Low-Context Concept." *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* 11, no. 1 (2011): 63–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/1470595811398797.

Liao, Tim F., Gehui Zhang, and Libin Zhang. "Social Foundations of National Anthems: Theorizing for a Better Understanding of the Changing Fate of the National Anthem of China." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 42, no. 1 (2012): 106–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2011.00480.x.

Lughofer, Johan Goerg. "Cultural Diversity Vs. National-Socialist Positions. Paula Von Preradović: An Istrian and the Author of the Austrian National Anthem." *Acta Histriae* 29, no. 3 (2019): 495–512.

Mansfield, Edward R., and Billy P. Helms. "Detecting Multicollinearity." *The American Statistician* 36, no. 3 (1982): 158–60. https://doi.org/10.2307/2683167.

Mayo-Harp, Maria Isabel. "National Anthems and Identities: The Role of National Anthems in the Formation Process of National Identities." M.A., Simon Fraser University (Canada), 2001.

Meizel, Katherine. "A Singing Citizenry: Popular Music and Civil Religion in America." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 45, no. 4 (2006): 497–503.

Meloen, Jos D. "Authoritarianism in The Netherlands: Mission Completed? Downward Trends in Authoritarianism in The Netherlands 1970-1992 with an International Comparison of World Data." *Social Thought & Research* 22, no. 1/2 (1999): 45–93.

Morris, John D., Faye B. Morgan, and Wilbert Maynor. "On Selecting the Best Set of Regression Predictors." *The Journal of Experimental Education* 48, no. 2 (1979): 100–103.

Murphy, Liam D. "Calling It Mammon: Instrumentalised Secularity and Religious Futures in Northern Ireland." *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 20, no. 2 (2011): 114–37.

Ortega, Nelson González. "The Formation

of Political Traditions and National Symbols in Nineteenth-Century Latin America." *Romance Studies* 35, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 59–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/02639904.2017.1306334.

Pavkovic, Aleksandar, and Christopher Kelen. *Anthems and the Making of Nation States: Identity and Nationalism in the Balkans*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015.

Paxton, Robert O. "The Five Stages of Fascism." *The Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 1 (1998): 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1086/235001.

Payne, Stanley G. "Fascism and Right Authoritarianism in the Iberian World - The Last Twenty Years." *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 2 (1986): 163–77. https://www.jstor.org/stable/260362?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

Perkins, Toby. "Toby Perkins MP: It is time to let England's voice be heard." *PoliticsHome.com*, January 27, 2016, https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/culture/opinion/house-commons/59108/toby-perkins-mp-it-time-let-englands-voice-be-heard.

Pressley, Michael, Marilyn B. Marks, and Pamela Beard El-Dinary. "Beyond Educational Semiotics: A Response to Cunningham." *Educational Psychology Review* 4, no. 2 (1992): 241–52. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23359343?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

Ripley, B. D. "Spatial Statistics: Developments 1980-3, Correspondent Paper." *International Statistical Review / Revue Internationale de Statistique* 52, no. 2 (1984): 141–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/1403097.

Roberts, David D. "Internal Interaction:: Fascists, Conservatives, and the Establishment." In *Fascist Interactions*, 1st ed., 61–124. Proposals for a New Approach to Fascism and Its Era, 1919-1945. Berghahn Books, 2016. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvpj7hpg.7.

Roessler, Philip. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (2011): 300–346. doi:10.1017/S0043887111000049.

Sam, Wang. "What Actions Are Shared to All Fascist Movements?" *Princeton Election Consortium* (blog), December 21, 2016. http://election.princeton.edu/2016/12/21/what-actions-are-shared-to-all-fascist-movements/.

Smith, Donald Eugene. "Religion and Politics in Burma." In *Religion and Politics in Burma*, 230–80. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt183pz1j.10.

Souza, Anderson Alves de. "Investigating Prescriptions of Positive Behavior in Power-Consolidation National Anthems." *Signótica* 29, no. 2 (August 30, 2017): 575–601. https://doi.org/10.5216/sig.v29i2.44102.

Strydom, Piet. "Philosophies of the Social Sciences." In *Historical Developments and Theoretical Approaches in Sociology,* edited by Charles Crothers, 95–125. Oxford: UNESCO Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems, 2011. https://www.eolss.net/sample-chapters/C04/E6-99A-03.pdf . 95–125, 2011.

The World Flag Database. "What's New." Accessed April 22, 2020. http://www.flags.net/whatsnew.htm.

Trotter, F. Thomas. "On Being Alive to the Arts and Religion: Music – Religion Online." *Religion Online* (blog), 1987. https://www.religion-online.org/article/on-being-alive-to-the-arts-and-religion-music/.

Vintila, Alexandru-Ovidiu. "Traian Braileanu, Grupul de la Cernauti si Revista 'Inseminari Sociologice (Debutul Unor Dezbatari)." *Revista Romana de Sociologie* 23, no. 5-6 (2012)*:* 483–501. https://www.revistadesociologie.ro/pdf-uri/nr.5-6-2012/09-OVIDIU-VINTILA.pdf

Wasserstein, Ronald L., Allen L. Schirm, and Nicole A. Lazar. "Moving to a World Beyond 'p < 0.05.'" *The American Statistician* 73, no. sup1 (March 29, 2019): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/00031305.2019.1583913.

Wherry, R. J. "A New Formula for Predicting the Shrinkage of the Coefficient of Multiple Correlation." *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics* 2, no. 4 (1931): 440–57. doi: 10.1214/aoms/1177732951.

Willson, Rachel Beckles. *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Zirkel, Perry A. "Under God?" *The Phi Delta Kappan* 84, no. 10 (2003): 796–97. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/003172170308401018.

# YRIS

## ESSAYS

**Care and Emotional Imperialism: Filipino Migrant Workers and the Ethics of Home Healthcare**
Arpita Wadhwa

**Confronting the Leviathan: National Populism and Integration in Central and Eastern Europe**
Greyson Hoye

**China's Information and Communications Technologies Engagement in Africa: A Comparative Analysis**
Amy Tong

**Thailand's Military-Industrial Complex: A Case Study of the Thai Military Bank**
Coleman Lambo

**"Music for the Many": A Quantitative Inquiry into Contextual Questions Surrounding National Anthem Adoption**
Price Phillips