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I N S I D E

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Brexit: A Revolt of the 'left behind' by Globalization and Europeanization

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Contents

<i>Editor's Note</i>	v
The Islamic State in the Philippines After the Liberation of Marawi <i>Rommel C. Banlaoi, PhD</i>	1
Social Media and Authenticity: Global Security Challenges <i>Aamna Rafiq</i>	12
Understanding the Concept and Vision of BRI: The Economic, Cultural and Historical Aspects <i>Professor Lailufar Yasmin</i>	24
Brexit: A Revolt of the 'left behind' by Globalization and Europeanization <i>Raian Hossain</i>	40

Editors Note

In a world of globalization and modern state interconnectedness, both development as well as crime know no boundaries and are essentially transnational. The doors of globalization, trade liberalization, exclusive dynamics of technology and the endless role of the internet and media have opened passages for endless opportunities, and also contemporary transnational crimes that take full advantage of both national and international structures and systems. In this scenario, ups and downs proceed to exist with the exercise of cooperated state mechanisms to enhance the possibilities of development and also to combat crises. With a multi-dimensional flavor, this review is enriched with elements adjacent to modern-day extremism, as well as pathways to sustaining components for a better tomorrow.

The first article, "The Islamic State in the Philippines After the Liberation of Marawi", by Rommel C. Banlaoi, portrays in his article the essence of the threat of terrorism, backed by religious extremist ideas of infamous international terrorist organization Islamic State (IS), still prevalent in the Philippines even after the "full liberation" of Marawi City from the captivity of multiple insurgent groups inspired by Islamic State in East Asia. On October 17, 2017, the city targeted to be the next main hub for the IS, was freed from the "Soldiers of the Caliphate in East Asia," and yet terrorist attacks continue to erupt in the region even after Marawi is in the process of rehabilitation. The author in his article ensured to examine the post-Marawi terrorist threat situation in Mindanao emanating from the Islamic State with his personal field research. The article has empirical analyses of why the Philippines can be deemed as an appealing destination for extremists, giving an in-depth picture of the Mindanao area as a terrorist breeding ground with supporting reasons. The post-Marawi period may not have as many active groups as the pre-Marawi stance, but radical groups still are prevalent in Philippines that still believe that an Islamic State province in East Asia can be established in the Southern Philippines with the support of local and foreign jihadists, allowing the threat to be certainly one that needs predominant caution.

The second article, authored by Amna Rafiq and titled “Social Media and Authenticity: Global Security Challenges”, has tried to explore the various conceptions of the term social media and the contextualization of what it could mean to be authentic with reference to social media. The author endeavored to establish the correlation between authenticity of social media and the challenges posed by it in the current setting of globalization and modern communication, which has shrunk the world. A news or extremist ideology blooming from one region can easily travel to any part of the world and encourage security instability, and hence be used to mould political and economic scenarios all over the world. Following this trend the author highlighted “authenticity” is only declared as an ultimate desired goal but it is merely a channel to achieve the higher political and economic objectives. She brought to the fore the contribution of social media in conducting virtual wars, in hardening of ideological, religious, political difference and extremists radical philosophies leading to violent extremism, colonization 2.0, digital paradox, and a crisis of legitimacy and faith in security institutions are the worrisome challenges which are emerging out of this interaction at the global security landscape. The challenges that social media and its authenticity pose with its overexposure and over-access in the tunnels of global security are of concerning matters in the global international arena, and are likely to have much implications in the future, as they have now.

The third article by professor Lailufar Yasmin, titled “Understanding the Concept and Vision of BRI: Economic, Cultural and Historical Aspects”, highlights the emergence of Asian countries in the current decade of “Asian Age.” The silent rise of China with the changing political and economic prowess, framed as a threat to the West, particularly in the form of a looming war between the US and China, has gained continual attention from the international arena for quite a long time. With the installation of the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013, along with the Maritime Silk Route (MSR), both initiatives undertaken under the leadership of the Chinese President Xi Jinping, the mega-infrastructure projects are empowering the many cities of many participating nations across the region. These, of course, have resulted into political implications, despite the fact China denies them. The author liked to impose that the essence of BRI is learning from the history and culture, as she brought the relation of the traits of the historical Silk Road and the 21st century BRI. The many corridors of economy, culture and historical bindings that the BRI has brought into scene have been summoned in the article. BRI has been seen by the author as a potent economic weapon for China to access strategic regions, with China continuing her political, as well as economic growth steadily. In terms of the future of the BRI, a

Chinese initiative on the global scale is an indication of China's rise as a global power.

The fourth and the last article, titled "Brexit: A Revolt of the 'left behind' by Globalization and Europeanization" authored by Raian Hossain attempts to evaluate the phenomenon of "Brexit", which is the exit of Britain from the European Union. The paper endeavors to take a different spin on it and assess the one-of-a-kind situation with four different lenses as its root causes: Populism, de-alignment of political parties, English nationalism and demographics. The author shortly elaborates the common phrases used to explain the cause of Brexit to fill in the gaps and give a concise picture of what the author understand to be the central political and structural reasons for the unique case. The paper then reflects the assessments made by the author on the past issues that made the EU-UK relationship such a problematic one, that it ultimately led to the divorce of the two in 2016. The essence of this article can be found in historical aspect, which defines the disturbed relation that found its roots in the post Second World War period and the post-Cold War period encouraged the notion that EU-UK relationship was never stable, and the current political and structural state in the UK. This led to "Euroscepticism", i.e. criticism of the European Union and European integration, among the British people and the eventual evaporation of the neoliberalist explanation of the EU-UK relations.

The review brings about an inclusive vision of contemporary global issues related to security, threats and enhancement. With the dynamics of changing global relations, the policies continue to morph and adapt according to requirement. The non-state involvement and the exponential changes that technology has brought into global systems carries with it the threats and challenges that the world must combat for a healthier, easier and more feasible tomorrow.

Major General ANM Muniruzzaman, ndc, psc (Retd.)
Editor

The Islamic State in the Philippines After the Liberation of Marawi*

Rommel C. Banlaoi, PhD¹

Abstract

After the liberation of Marawi City on October 17, 2017 against what the Islamic State calls as the “Soldiers of the Caliphate in East Asia,” the Philippines still confronts the virulent threats of terrorism. The Islamic State still has significant numbers of local followers in the Philippines represented by armed groups associated with the siege of Marawi City on May 23, 2017. Continuing arrivals to the Philippines of foreign terrorist fighters of the Islamic State encourage local terrorist fighters to mount violent attacks in order to protect the “East Asia Wilaya” – the Islamic State East Asia Province, which is essential to the Islamic State’s persistent jihadist activities in Asia.

Introduction

Although the Philippine government has declared Marawi City as “fully liberated” from the Islamic State on October 17, 2017, the country continues to experience various terrorist attacks from local terrorist fighters (LTFs) claiming to be part of the Islamic State’s East Asia Wilaya or the province of

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the Islamic State in East Asia. One major attack claimed by the Islamic State in the post-Marawi period was the suicide bombing in Lamitan, Basilan in the Southern Philippines on July 31, 2018. The suicide attack, considered to be a regional game-changer after Marawi siege, killed 11 persons including the suicide bomber identified as Abu Khatir Al-Maghribi, a Moroccan national.¹ The attack also demonstrated the strong presence of foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) in Mindanao, a restive island beset by almost five centuries of Muslim armed rebellions.²

This article is based on the author's field research in Mindanao in May 2018 marking the first year of Marawi City siege. The field research aimed to examine the post-Marawi terrorist threat situation in Mindanao emanating from the Islamic State. The field research enabled the author to visit the Main Battle Area of Marawi City and interviewed various civilians and local officials directly affected by the siege, particularly those internally displaced persons (IDPs) staying in three major evacuation camps in Lanao provinces and home-based IDPs in Iligan City, Cagayan de Oro City and Cotabato City. The field research also allowed the author to receive security briefings from the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) deployed in the provinces of Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao and Misamis Oriental. The author also conducted dialogues with religious leaders (both Christians and Muslims), local academics, and key officials of leading civil society organizations from those aforementioned provinces.

The Islamic State in the Philippines: Down but Not Defeated, Alive and Still Kicking

One year after the Marawi liberation, the Islamic State in the Philippines is still alive and kicking. While many followers of the Islamic State East Asia Province, otherwise known as the Islamic State East Asia (ISEA) based in Mindanao have been neutralized after the Marawi City siege, five important local branches still persist in the provinces of Basilan, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, Sarangani, and Sulo.

The Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in Basilan represents the Islamic State activities in the province under the leadership of two local commanders: Furuji Indama and Radzmil Jannatul. These two commanders used to be the sub-commanders of Isnilon Hapilon, the former Amir of the ASG in Basilan and the known Amir of the Daula Islamiya Wilayatul Mashriq (DIWM: the Islamic State Province in East Asia) responsible for the Marawi City siege. Hapilon's death saw the

rise of Indama as the de-facto leader of the ASG in Basilan with Jannatul as his deputy. The Indama Group, which the Philippine military sometimes calls as Daula Islamiya-Indama Group (DI-Indama Group) is composed of remnants of DIWM in Basilan. The group has 50 to 70 armed followers associated with the ASG in Basilan fighting on behalf of the Islamic State.³ With the help of Moroccan and Malaysian FTFs, this group masterminded the July 2018 Lamitan suicide bombing in Basilan.

The Abu Dar Group (ADG) operates on behalf of the Islamic State in Lanao del Sur. The ADG refers to the remnants of the Maute Group now being led by Humam Abdul Romato Najid/Owayda Marohombsar, *alias* Abu Dar. He is the only surviving leader of DIWM that planned and executed the Marawi City siege in order to establish the Islamic State East Asia Province in Mindanao. Abu Dar is still at large re-grouping the pro-Islamic State followers in Lanao provinces.

The ADG claims to be the Daula Islamiya Fi Ranao or the Islamic State in Lanao provinces composed of Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte. Military sources state that this group, also called Daula Islamiya Maguid Group (DI-Maguid Group), has more than 90 armed followers if combined with the total remnants of the Maute Group operating in Lanao provinces.⁴ This group is responsible for a series of bombing attacks in the said provinces, including the violent armed encounter with the military in Tuburan, Lanao del Sur on June 17, 2018. The group has been conducting training and recruitment activities in Lanao del Sur towns of Lumbaca Unayan, Marogong, Pagayawan, and Tubaran. The ADG has intentions and capabilities to conduct bombing activities in Marawi City, Iligan City, Davao City and Cagayan de Oro City.

In the province of Maguindanao, the main group fighting on behalf of the Islamic State is the Jamaah Mujahideen Wal Ansar, a faction of the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF) headed by Esmael Abdulmalik, *alias* Abu Turaipe. His followers call themselves as members of the Daula Islamiya Maguindanao (DIM) or the Islamic State in Maguindanao. The Philippine military describes this group as Daula Islamiya Turaipe Group (DI-Turaipe Group) with around 60 armed men at present.⁵ This group initiated the attempted siege of Datu Paglas town in Maguindanao on July 3, 2018 through its sub-leader, Commander Sulaiman Tudon.

The Philippine police identified the DI-Turaipe Group to be responsible also for the Isulan, Sultan Kudarat bombings on August 28, 2018 and September 3, 2018, both claimed by the Islamic State. Its over-all operational leader in

orchestrating all these bombing activities has been identified as Salahuddin Hassan, a long-time colleague of the late Malaysian-born Zulkipli bin Hir, *alias* Marwan, who was killed in Mamasapano, Maguindanao on January 25, 2015.⁶ Hassan is now being viewed to be the replacement of a local militant, the late Abdul Basit Usman, the master-bomber of the Islamic State in Mindanao, who was killed in Maguindanao on May 3, 2015.⁷

Because of the influence of the Islamic State, the two other factions of the BIFF headed by Ismael Abu Bakar (*alias* Commander Bungos) and Mohaiden Minimbang (*alias* Commander Karialan) are now presently uniting to consolidate their forces against the establishment of Bangsamoro Government as mandated by the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) signed by the Philippine President on July 26, 2018. The BOL implements the peace agreement entered into by the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) on March 27, 2014. Most members of the BIFF used to be part of the MILF. In fact, the DI-Turaipe Group is currently recruiting some members of the MILF to oppose the establishment of the Bangsamoro Government and to support instead the creation of a Islamic State in Mindanao.

In the province of Sarangani, remaining members of the Ansar Khalifa Philippines (AKP) continue to operate on behalf of the Islamic State. AKP members call themselves part of the Daula Islamiya Sarangani. But the Philippine military describes the group as Daula Islamiya Maguid Group (DI-Maguid Group), referring to the group led by its late founder, Mohammand Jaafar Maguid, *alias* Commander Tokboy. The AKP has been responsible for facilitating entry to Mindanao of Indonesian and Arab FTFs coming from Manado. Jeoffrey Nilong, *alias* Commander Momoy, *has* been identified to be the current leader of the group assisted by Commander Tokboy's brother. Commander Momoy is believed to be holding his makeshift camp in Polomolok, South Cotabato with the intention to conduct bombing activities in the said province as well as in General Santos City and Cagayan de Oro City.⁸

In Sulo, the main leader of the Islamic State there is Hajan Sawadjaan, an ASG sub-commander working under the leadership of Commander Radullan Sahiron. He is the father-in-law of Amin Baco, a Malaysian-born militant who participated in the Marawi City siege and once rumored as the leader of the Islamic State in Southeast Asia.⁹ Sawadjaan has more than 30 armed followers fighting on behalf of the Islamic State. Sawadjaan was responsible for facilitating entry to Mindanao of some Malaysian and Arab FTFs coming from Sabah. His group was responsible for a series of bombs attacks and kidnap-for-ransom activities in the provinces of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

KEY MINDANAO-BASED LEADERS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE IN EAST ASIA



ABU DAR

ABU DAR GROUP
DAULA ISLAMIYA
LANAO
 (Remnants of
MAUTE GROUP)



ABU TURAIFIE

TURAIPE GROUP
DAULA ISLAMIYA
MAGUINDANAO
BANGSAMORO ISLAMIC FREEDOM
FIGHTERS (BIFF) TURAIPE GROUP



FURUJI INDAMA

INDAMA GROUP
DAULA ISLAMIYA
BASILAN
ABU SAYYAF GROUP
IN BASILAN



HAJAN SAWADJAAAN

SAWADGANN GROUP
DAULA ISLAMIYA
SULO
ABU SAYYAF GROUP
IN SULO

Source: Armed Forces of the Philippines, September 2018.

Aside from Mindanao, the Islamic State also operates in Metro Manila through the Suyuful Khilafa Fi Luzon (SKFL) or the Soldiers of the Caliphate in Luzon. Most members of SKFL come from the Rajah Solaiman Islamic Movement (RSIM), a militant organization of Muslim converts responsible for the 2004 SuperFerry 14 bombing that killed 116 passengers and injured 300 others.¹⁰ In cooperation with some members of the Maute Group and Abu Sayyaf Group operating in Manila, the SKFL was responsible for several bomb threats and foiled bombing activities in Metro Manila during the Summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in November 2017 and the Summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in November 2016 as well as the visit to Manila of Pope Francis in January 2015. On April 26, 2018, the PNP arrested two members of the SKFL. During the arrest, the police confiscated pairs of Islamic State flags and materials for making improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The arrest also confirmed the links of the SKFL with personalities associated with the ASG, Maute Group and the AKP who also operated in Metro Manila to sow terror.¹¹

ALLEGED MEMBERS OF SKFL



Sources: CIDG, PNP and UNTV News, April 26, 2018.

Foreign Terrorist Fighters

Confounding the threat of terrorism in the Philippines from the Islamic State is the continuing entry of FTFs to the country. After the Marawi City siege, the AFP identified 32 bodies of foreign nationals who fought for the Islamic State.¹² Most of these foreign nationals were from Indonesia, Malaysia and others from the Middle East and Europe.

In the aftermath of the Marawi City siege, entries of FTFs to the Philippines continued unabated. Since January 2018, the Bureau of Immigration (BI), with the intelligence information coming from the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), has arrested and deported several foreign nationals believed to be working for the Islamic State.¹³ These foreign nationals carried Egyptian, French, Iraqi, Spanish, Tunisian, and Yemeni passports, among others. On September 22, 2018, BI denied the entry of a Pakistani national for his alleged involvement with the activities of the Islamic State in Southeast Asia.¹⁴

While Philippine immigration authorities have arrested and deported some FTFs associated with the Islamic State, others were able to get through successfully to Mindanao using the backdoor. According to military intelligence sources, FTFs used two major routes to enter Mindanao through the backdoor. The first route is from Manado, Indonesia to Davao City. The second route is from Sandakan, Malaysia to Tawi-Tawi.

Two Major Routes of FTFs to Mindanao



Source: Armed Forces of the Philippines, September 2018.

Most FTFs, however, were able to enter Mindanao not through the backdoor but through the immigration. According to interrogation report of Muhammad Ilham Sayaputra, an Indonesian militant arrested on November 1, 2017 in connection with his participation in the Marawi City siege, many FTFs who joined the siege were able to enter the Philippines using budget airlines landing in Manila or Clark International Airports.¹⁵ Sayaputra claimed that most of them were already in Mindanao as early as 2014 when the Islamic State declared the existence of the Caliphate. Sayaputra entered the Philippines in 2015 passing through Manila International Airport.

ARREST OF MUHAMMAD ILYAM SYAHPUTRA



Source: Philippine National Police, November 2017.

In fact, recruitment of FTFs to the Philippines was considered an organized crime. The arrest of Karen Aizha Hamidon on October 11, 2017 disclosed that she systematically recruited foreign fighters to the Marawi City siege.¹⁶ Hamidon was the widow of AKP leader, Commander Tokboy. The arrest of Hussein Azo Alddhafiri and Rahaf Zina Dhafiri on March 25, 2017 also revealed the financing of FTFs entering the Philippines.¹⁷ Aldhafiri was the brother while Dhafiri was the widow of the Islamic State No. 2 man Abu Muhammad al-Adnani who was killed in Syria by the coalition forces in August 2016.

ARREST OF KAREN HAMIDON



Source: National Bureau of Investigation, October 2017.

There are three main reasons why FTFs go the Philippines, particularly to Mindanao:

First, the Islamic State has declared Mindanao as the “new land of jihad” because of existing Muslim rebellions.¹⁸ Thus, the Islamic State systematically recruited FTFs for the Philippines, instead of Syria suffering setbacks as a result of intensified military operations by the Coalition Forces.¹⁹

Second, FTFs have considered Mindanao as a safe haven because of the strong support of several pro-Islamic State groups there.

Third, FTFs have regarded Mindanao as an alternative home base, particularly to those FTFs who could not return to their home countries due to aggressive law enforcement pressures.

As argued by Colin P. Clarke of RAND:

In many ways, the Philippines could prove to be an appealing destination for ISIS fighters to relocate and establish a home base.

The geography of the country – the Philippines is an archipelago consisting of more than 7,600 islands – makes counterinsurgency and maritime security difficult for the Filipino government. Moreover, the presence of longstanding insurgent groups that already embrace a radical Islamist agenda could allow ISIS to gain a foothold as it works to champion local grievances. Muslim insurgents in the area often clash with Christian militias, which would provide ISIS with the sectarian angle it often seeks to exploit in countries where its affiliates have been fighting.²⁰



Source: *Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research*, October 2018.

Conclusion

The liberation of Marawi City from the Islamic State last year was no doubt a great achievement in countering terrorism. However, there is no reason to be complacent as threats from the Islamic State have not been totally eliminated in the Philippines. There are still armed groups in the Philippines, particularly in Mindanao, with strong intentions and acquired capabilities to sow terror on behalf of the Islamic State.

Though these groups have smaller membership compared to the pre-Marawi period, they continue recruit followers in the post-Marawi period. These groups still believe that a Islamic State province in East Asia can be established in the Southern Philippines with the support of local and foreign jihadists. The Islamic State itself spreads the narrative that it has a wilaya in East Asia that is based in Mindanao.

The Islamic State in the Philippines is down, but it is not yet defeated. As such, the Islamic State in the Philippines is not yet a spent force. In fact, it continues to be a lethal force with its capabilities to mount terror attacks anywhere in the Philippines. The Islamic State in the Philippines is broken with the liberation of Marawi. But it is not yet dissolved. Its followers continue to wreck havoc a year after the Marawi liberation.

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Social Media and Authenticity: Global Security Challenges

Aamna Rafiq¹

ABSTRACT

The disruptive innovation of internet-based Web 2.0 technology in the 21st century has revolutionized the avenues of communication and security by giving rise to the globally networked and hyper empowered homo digitalis. Social media – a subset of Web 2.0 technology- has emerged as a platform where information and ideas are penetrating much faster and deeper as compared to electronic and print media, making it a primary source of up-to-date news around the globe. The success of social media relies on the perceived authenticity of its content as well as the platform itself. Recently, the manipulation of user's private data without prior permission by these platforms for financial gains has raised grave security and privacy concerns. Furthermore, the role played by this new media in the upsurge of fake news and controlled narrative building during the political processes and decision-making at national and international level has produced far-reaching effects on global security. These shifts in the communication environment where the objective facts are less influential than an emotional appeal in shaping the public opinion have made an insight into the idea of authenticity more imperative than ever. With this background, the research papers aims to explore the amplified usage of various types of social media in contemporary communication ecosystem. It delves into the conceptual analysis and significance of authenticity. The objective of this analysis is to identify the nature and dynamics of interplay between social media and

¹ **Ms. Aamna Rafiq** is a Research Associate at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI). Prior to this she served the Senate's Standing Committee on Defence Production and Senate's Forum for Policy Research (SFPR) at the Parliament of Pakistan. As a researcher, she worked at the Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs (ACDA) Branch, Strategic Plans Division, Pakistan and the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS). She is also a member of Pakistan Information Security Association (PISA). She has done M.Phil. International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

authenticity. It also addresses the challenges emerging out of this interaction at the global security landscape.

Keywords: Social Media, Global Security, Authenticity, Security Challenges, Fake News

Introduction

Joseph Nye said that “in the information age, it’s not just whose army wins, but whose story wins.”² So, what kind of stories exist these days? These stories are not what is being aired on television screens or printed in newspapers. These are the Facebook stories, Instagram stories, Snap Chat stories and millions of other stories that appear on the timelines of social media accounts, which users share on daily basis believing that they are capable of differentiating between real and fake content. Today, social media is not the subset of the internet, social media is a *defacto* Internet and fake stories travel six times faster, farther and deeper than the truth on this internet.³ This is making the international strategic environment vulnerable and various state and non-state actors are posing challenges to the global security more than ever by taking advantage of these vulnerabilities.

This research paper is an endeavour to explore the various conceptions of the term social media. What does it mean to be authentic with reference to social media? This paper also discusses the dynamics of interplay between social media and authenticity in a contemporary communication ecosystem to understand the implications of this interplay on the global security landscape.

Conceptualizing Social Media

According to Michael Mandiberg⁴, social media is a phenomenon with diverse conceptions. The most common notion is the “user-generated content” given by the corporate media. Jay Rosen called social media a “politically

2 This research paper was originally presented at the “Colombo Defense Seminar 2018 – Security in an Era of Global Disruptions” (30 – 31 August, 2018) by the author.

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3 Zoe Kleinman, “Fake news ‘travels faster’, study finds,” *BBC*, last modified March 9, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43344256>.

4 Michael Mandiberg, *The Social Media Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 2.

infused participatory media” while for Henry Jenkins; it is an “industrialized convergence culture.” Tim O’Reilly perceives it as a “computer-programming-oriented Web 2.0” and Yochai Benkler as a “process-oriented peer production.”⁵ Graham Meikle and Sherman Young called social media a convergence of public media with personal communication. Tiziana Terranova and Joan Donovan termed it a “new typology of information distribution” based on “algorithmic connections.” Clay Shirky defined social media as a software tool which enhanced the human capability of collective cooperation beyond the traditional organizational framework.⁶ A most comprehensive definition is given by Andreas Marcus Kaplan and Michael Heinlein who viewed social media as a set of “internet-based applications”- designed keeping in view the ideology of Web 2.0 technology which permits the production and mutual “exchange of user-generated content.”⁷ Similarly, José van Dijck defined social media as a communication ecosystem based on “platform sociality” and culture of connectivity” with multiple smaller and bigger stakeholders.⁸ Every conceptualization above represents a specific dimension of the social media and interests of the specific stakeholder within the communication ecosystem. However, there are three inter-related phenomena which almost all the conceptualizations addressed directly or indirectly: Web 2.0; user-generated content; and sociality. For comprehensive conceptualization of social media, it is imperative to understand the gist of these concepts.

Web 2.0 is a creation of Tim O’Reilly during the O’Reilly Media’s Web 2.0 Conference 2004. This popular buzzword denotes an advanced stage in the development of the internet. It’s the second generation of the World Wide Web (www) that transited from the static and publishing to the more dynamic and participatory nature. Web 2.0 is a tool or a mean that is an imperative constituent of the social media construction but not a process, product and audience. The “user-generated content” is actually a product generated by the users as an individual component of the audience who has adopted a dual role. The similar audience is participating in the creation of the content that it is consuming. This interchange ability of the roles denotes the cognitive surplus that contributed to shaping the modern make-up of social media.⁹

5 Ibid.

6 Christian Fuch, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (London: Sage, 2014), 35 – 36.

7 Andreas Marcus Kaplan and Michael Heinlein, “Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media,” *Business Horizons* 53(2010): 61, accessed October 16, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2009.09.003>.

8 José van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4.

9 Sankar Krishna, *Enterprise Web 2.0 Fundamentals* (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2010), 161; Michael Mandiberg, *The Social Media Reader*, 4-7.

Sociality refers to the human tendencies to forms, groupings or assemblies for survival and defence against evolutionary pressures.¹⁰ With reference to media, the concept of sociality always remained an important element directly or indirectly but why sociality became so significant in the 21st century especially for social media? There are various forms of sociality: information and cognition; communication; community and collaborative work.¹¹ Social media for the first time integrated all these forms of sociality to provide users with a unique experience.

Types and Usage of Social Media

For this study, social media is categorized into five types¹²:

1. Networking Platforms – Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Google +;
2. Creative Content – YouTube, Flickr, Myspace;
3. Messaging Applications – WhatsApp and Viber
4. PlayBox Zone – Farm Ville, Angry Birds, Candy Crush, Ludo Star;
5. Business Platforms – Amazon, eBay, Ali Express, Groupon.

Approximately 3.5 billion population of the world have access to the internet and among them, there are roughly 2.62 billion active social media users. The number was around 1.22 billion in 2010 and is expected to reach 2.7 billion and 3.02 billion at the end of 2019 and 2021 respectively (Figure 1).¹³ At present, the global average social network penetration rate is 42%. North America is at the top position with a social network penetration rate of 70% and Northern Europe is at second position with 66% rate.¹⁴ With 2.1 billion active users, Facebook is the largest social networking platform. YouTube is in the second position with 1.9 billion active users and WhatsApp is in the third position with 1.5 billion active users (Table 1).¹⁵

10 Definition of Sociality, Collins Dictionary, accessed November 25, 2018, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/sociality>

11 Fuch, *Social Media*, 4-6.

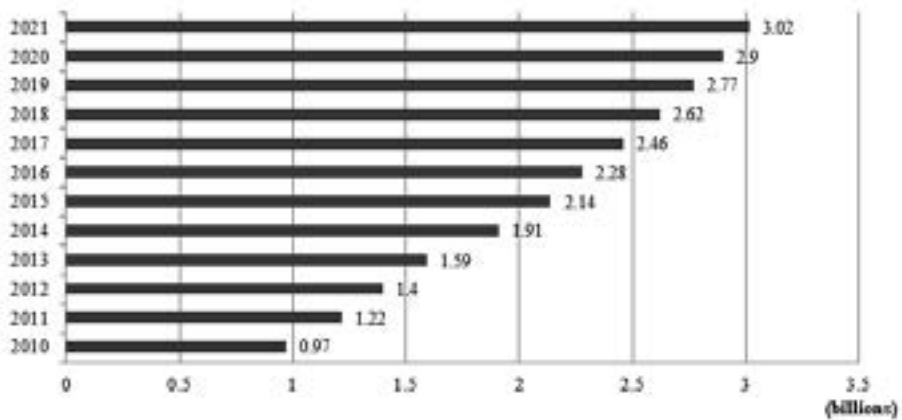
12 Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity*, 8-9.

13 "Number of social media users worldwide from 2010 to 2021 (in billions)," The Statista Portal, accessed November 29, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/>

14 "Social network penetration worldwide from 2014 to 2021," The Statista Portal, accessed November 29, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/260811/social-network-penetration-worldwide/>

15 "Most famous social network sites worldwide as of July 2018, ranked by number of active users (in millions)," The Statista Portal, accessed November 29, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

Figure 1: Worldwide Social Media Users (2010 - 2021)



Source (s): “Number of social media users worldwide from 2010 to 2021 (in billions),” The Statista Portal, accessed August 20, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/>

Table 1: Top 10 Social Media Platforms 2018

Global Ranking	Platforms	Number of Active Users (Billion)
1	Facebook	2.234
2	YouTube	1.9
3	WhatsApp	1.5
4	Facebook Messenger	1.3
5	WeChat	1.058
6	Instagram	1.0
7	QQ	0.803
8	Qzone	0.548
9	Douyin/Tik Tok	0.5
10	Twitter	0.335

Source (s): “Most famous social network sites worldwide as of July 2018, ranked by number of active users (in millions),” The Statista Portal, accessed August 20, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

Contextualizing Authenticity

Like sociality, the concept of authenticity always existed but why the need for authenticity gained so much prominence now? The answer is the transition of the global economy from “manufacturing economy” to “experience economy.” In this contemporary experience economy, individuals are more interested in investing their time, energy and money into the experiences. They prefer and consider products and services as authentic which provide them unique and high quality of individual and collective memorable experiences.¹⁶ The initial success of the social media platforms was based on the superior quality and exceptional networking that made it authentic. Due to this authentic networking, social media emerged as a medium where information and ideas penetrated much faster and deeper as compared to electronic and print media, making it a primary source of up-to-date information around the globe. This has led to the commodification of the social media platforms as well as the information. The pages of history show that almost all major wars and conflict ranging from the American Revolution to the Gulf War were about the commodities. The 21st century is an information age where conflicts revolve round the information – the major commodity of this century. Consequently, the international system is driven by the information warfare and social media has become a major tool of this warfare which has led to the manipulation of information on these platforms. This inauthenticity of the information and platforms are posing serious challenges at the global security landscape.

Global Security Challenges Violent Extremism and Crisis of Authority

The inauthenticity of social media is producing a paradox. Apparently, it creates an illusion that as members of the nation, society and individuals have multiple options but in reality, there is no viable solution. This trend is extremely dangerous and posing challenges to global security in this contemporary post-truth information environment, where an emotional appeal is more influential than the objective facts in shaping the public opinion. The social media is becoming synonymous with contradiction. It is simultaneously about freedom and control, empowerment and exploitation, satisfaction and frustration. It is acting as a centripetal as well as a centrifugal force. The results of the Pew

¹⁶James H. Gilmore, B. Joseph Pine II, *Authenticity: What Consumers Really Want* (Boston, Harvard Business School Press, 2007), 1-2.

Research Centre's State of the Media 2016 study illustrate this in the best way. This research states that one-third social media users in the United States (US) do not like much diversity of opinion in their news feeds and 30 – 40 % is okay with one-sidedness. 59 % say that their "social media interactions... are stressful and frustrating," and 64 % say these encounters "leave them feeling as if they have less in common than they thought."¹⁷ There are two reactions to this situation:

- i. The users limit themselves to echo chambers on social media. The managers of these echo chambers are continuously generating fake content to steel-clad the existing mindsets which they won't be able to control in future.
- ii. In order to avoid cognitive dissonance, the principle of homophily get activated and social media users report the authentic but opposite views as fake.

Both reactions are strengthening the existing social, economic and cultural prejudices, increasing the ideological fault lines and dramatic political polarization resulting in intolerance and violent extremism. Fake content in the form of conspiracy theories circulating on social media provides support to the anti-globalism, liberty obsession, ethnic and national supremacy. All these phenomena falls under the category of violent extremism in accordance with the Global Terrorism Database.¹⁸ In addition to the fake content, the basic design of the social networking platforms is adding fuel to the fire. Through the built-in features like 'Recommended for You', 'People you may know', 'Suggested', 'You might like' the networks are not only providing more toxic content but also exposing new users to old users with extreme ideologies. Social media users are becoming victims of cyber-utopianism. This has blurred the boundary between war and peace. The tug of war between authenticity and inauthenticity of social media has made peace more unstable and stressful than the war.¹⁹

The University of Warwick conducted a research to identify the causes of increasing anti-refugee attacks in Germany. In the span of last two years

17 Aaron Smith and Monica Anderson, "Social Media Use in 2018," Pew Research Center: Internet and Technology, last updated March 1, 2018, <http://www.pewinternet.org/2018/03/01/social-media-use-in-2018/>

18 "The New Radicalization of the Internet," *The New York Times*, November 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/24/opinion/sunday/facebook-twitter-terrorism-extremism.html>.

19 David Patrikarakos, *War in 140 Characters: How Social Media is Reshaping Conflict in Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

approximately 3,335 anti-refugee attacks were reported. The research takes into account multiple variables like print media distribution, criminal record, social media usage, the number of refugees and protests, annual income, etc. The shocking results held the one main variable of social media usage especially Facebook as the leading factor behind the nation-wide anti-refugee violence in Germany. The research data suggests that wherever in Germany the per-person use of Facebook is “one standard deviation above the national average,” the anti-refugee attacks are 50% higher.²⁰

In the US, social media is also playing a critical role in increasing violent events linked to right-wing extremism. Social media networks have become tools of promoting fanaticism, Neo-Nazism and Whiteman supremacy especially “Whites don’t kill whites” ideologies which killed more Americans than any other terrorist organization. Right-wing extremists are responsible for almost 71% of killings in the US including the recent shooting incidents like Florida School, Kentucky, and Pittsburgh. The investigation revealed the shocking similarities of social media ideologies and usage among the perpetrators.²¹

In developing countries, the violence eruption because of the inauthenticity of social media is worse than the US and Europe. Myanmar is a country with 18 million internet users and social media is their primary source of information. There misinformation is circulating on social media which incited violence against the Rohingya Muslims at large scale and deepened the existing religious fault lines. The misinformation content includes messages of Muslim shootings and extermination, anti-Muslim pornographic images and videos in addition to the posts where dehumanizing language was used against the Muslim population, comparing them with animals and maggots. The videos of attacks on Muslim population which are recently deleted by the Facebook authorities remained on the platform since 2013. According to the UN investigators; Facebook is being used in Myanmar as a vehicle for spreading conflict.²²

The riots in the Kandy District, Sri Lanka in March 2018 is another case of hate speech and radicalization through social media. Over the last year, communal

20 Amanda Taub and Max Fisher, “Facebook Fueled Anti-Refugee Attacks in Germany, New Research Suggests,” *The New York Times*, August 21, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/21/world/europe/facebook-refugee-attacks-germany.html?module=inline> .

21 “The New Radicalization of the Internet,” *The New York Times*, November 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/24/opinion/sunday/facebook-twitter-terrorism-extremism.html> .

22 Olivia Solon, “Facebook struggling to end hate speech in Myanmar, investigation finds,” *The Guardian*, August 16, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/aug/15/facebook-myanmar-rohingya-hate-speech-investigation> .

tensions in Sri Lanka are escalating between the Sinhala Buddhist and Muslim minority over the accusations of increasing population growth rate of Muslims and forcing locals to convert. The extremist Buddhist groups like Bodu Bala Sena (BBS) and Sinhala Ravaya are technologically advance and promoting their extremist ideology through videos, images, memes and live broadcasting on various social media platforms encouraging people to attack mosques, homes and businesses belong to Muslims. They are inciting violence by using the slogans “protect your race”, “Kill Muslim infants.” They regularly update their pages which have ten thousands of followers. However, the Sri Lankan Government took down many posts and blocked the profiles and pages of these extremist groups.²³

As a result, a crisis of authority for state institutions at the global level is another challenge posed by the inauthenticity of social media. It has introduced the new kind of power decentralization in communication. Previously state exercised the exclusive control on the communication system and dissemination of information in accordance with the national security interests, especially during the war or conflict. Social media changed the power hierarchies and facilitated the diffusion of power from the state institutions to non-state actors or individuals.²⁴ Due to the amplification of fake news, social media is predominantly becoming anti-state. Fake content on social media is challenging the writ of security institutions. Despite enormous resources and state apparatus, the governments worldwide sometimes seemed powerless in controlling the amplification of fake news and mainly relying on blocking these networks to stop the violence from spreading.

Virtual Battles

In April 2016, different stories, images and videos went viral on social media in different parts of the world showing hospitals have been attacked in Aleppo (Syria). The western part of the social media showed the stories that the hospitals specifically the Al-Kudus Hospital was destroyed by the Russia - Syria Coalition²⁵ but on the other hand, Eastern or more specifically the Middle Eastern social media accounts were sharing the images showing the

23 Zaheena Rasheed & Amantha Perera, “Did Sri Lanka’s Facebook ban help quell anti-Muslim violence?” *Al Jazeera*, March 14, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/sri-lanka-facebook-ban-quell-anti-muslim-violence-180314010521978.html>

24 David Patrikarakos, *War in 140 Characters: How Social Media is Reshaping Conflict in the Twenty First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 5.

25 “Syria: Airstrikes Destroy Aleppo’s Al Quds Hospital, Killing 14,” *Doctors Without Borders*, April 28, 2018, <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/news/syria-airstrikes-destroy-aleppos-al-quds-hospital-killing-14> .

similar hospital in perfectly working condition.²⁶ In reality, the audience who shared the content on both sides was not fully aware of the exact on the ground situation. So, it is not just a war propaganda, it's the recreation of reality by the different stakeholders of the conflict and social media is at its centre. Old images, fiction films and the clips from video games have all been used to spread fake news stories not only in Syria but in all other conflict zones for constructing a specific narrative targeting the global audience. Social media has made the differentiation between combatants and non-combatants difficult. Due to social media, everyone can now become a stakeholder in conflict. All a single person need is a twitter account, few thousand followers and these social media could be turned into an exclusive news channel amplifying the distribution of the fake content.

Colonization 2.0

According to Facebook, the main objective of this platform is to ensure the value of transparency across the globe by giving out the people more authority over extensive connectivity, efficient communication and sharing. Furthermore, the platform also declared "authenticity as its cornerstone" and controlling the false news as the serious responsibility.²⁷ However, in an information age where information is a commodity, the values like transparency, authenticity, and efficiency are also high premium products. Today, authenticity is only declared as an ultimate desired goal but it is merely a channel to achieve the higher political and economic objectives. In the 19th century, colonialism was the policy of seeking and maintaining the control over other territories, exploiting their resources for the development and modernization of the colonizer but in the 21st century, these colonial empires are born on social media. Through the manipulation of the personal data of their users, these platforms are modernizing, making profits and exerting a new brand of political power in this physical world which has raised grave security and privacy concerns. The role played by the social media in the upsurge of fake news and controlled narrative building during the political processes and decision-making at the national and international level has produced far-reaching effects on global security.

26 "Independent Canadian journalist challenges MSM, explains what actually is going on in Syria," YouTube, December 14, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6utDs1b_TU

27 "Community Standards," Facebook, accessed November 25, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards/integrity_authenticity .

The most significant case that changed the entire global political landscape is “the Cambridge Analytica Scandal.” The Cambridge Analytica is a political consultancy firm that ran the digital campaigns for various candidates during the elections across the globe. Facebook sold the private data of its 87 million users to this firm which in turn harvested this data to design the election campaign of US President Donald Trump in 2016. The provided data includes the likes, dislikes, political ideologies and social preferences. On the basis of this data, firm formulated an individual voter’s profile and designed the fabricated stories and targeted messages to convince the users to vote for Donald Trump.²⁸

An Interim Report on the investigation of the disinformation and fake news campaign during the Brexit vote by “the Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) Committee” at the United Kingdom (UK) Parliament²⁹ concluded that that manipulation of private data and fictitious stories are responsible for the Brexit crisis in the country. This report further states that there are “disturbing evidence” of the disinformation campaigns which targeted and influenced the political ideologies for the Brexit vote. This report also exposed an extensive disinformation campaign across the EU and NATO, especially in Spain. There is evidence of a social media campaign against the national sovereignty and democratic system of Spain. The targeted messages and advertisements not only played a decisive role in the Catalonian Referendum but also provoked massive violence.

In 2018, fake news circulating on social media directly or indirectly affected 50 elections in various countries across the globe. This global wave of inauthentic social media content hit the countries like Brazil and Colombia in Latin American region hard. The Mexican elections were the real test for the Facebook credibility where the corruption of government and electronic media has made the social media too much influential. In Mexico, the penetration rate of Facebook and WhatsApp is 98% and 91% respectively.³⁰ The fake images misrepresenting the family of one of the Presidential candidate went

28 Court Stroud, “Cambridge Analytica: The Turning Point In The Crisis About Big Data,” *Forbes*, April 30, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/courtstroud/2018/04/30/cambridge-analytica-the-turning-point-in-the-crisis-about-big-data/#a06434048ecc> .

29 UK Parliament. House of Commons. Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee. *Disinformation and ‘fake news’: Interim Report Fifth Report of Session 2017–19* (HC 363 17/19). London, July 24, 2018, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmcdmeds/363/363.pdf> .

30 “Reach of leading social networks in Mexico as of April 2018,” The Statistica Portal, accessed August 25, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/449869/mexico-social-network-penetration/> .

viral which severely damaged the presidential campaign and before the disapproval, these images were shared more than 8000 times.³¹

Conclusion

In this information age, the inauthenticity of social media platforms, as well as the false content available on it is causing disruptions at the global security landscape. The involvement of social media in waging virtual wars, intensification of ideological, religious, political difference and instigating the extremist violence, colonization 2.0, digital paradox, and a crisis of legitimacy and faith in security institutions are the worrisome challenges which are emerging out of this interaction at the global security landscape. These challenges require a comprehensive, calculated, and practical response to ensure the development of information technology in the right direction.

31 Elizabeth Dwoskin, "Facebook's fight against fake news has gone global. In Mexico, just a handful of veters are on the front lines," *The Washington Post*, June 22, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/in-mexico-facebook-faces-challenges-as-it-seeks-to-keep-democracy-honest/2018/06/22/098d5f3a-7624-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e_story.html?utm_term=.e8fb3913e40f.

Understanding the Concept and Vision of BRI: The Economic, Cultural and Historical Aspects

Professor Lailufar Yasmin¹

Abstract

China, a civilization-country, has emerged in the 21st century² as a game-changer in international politics. At the heart of emergence lies its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) proposed by President Xi Jinping in 2013 and it is gradually taking a concrete shape. The BRI proposes a new ordering of international system where China aims to connect Asia, Europe and Africa in a singular thread through infrastructure building. In this 'Project of the Century', as President Xi calls it, all the participants are seen as winners and are voluntary members. In this article, I outline the historical, economic and cultural aspects of BRI. While doing so, I have contextualize the emergence of BRI in the contemporary setting. This article, thus, is divided in a few sections to score the purpose of understanding how BRI stands as a cornerstone of China's foreign policy.

"Peaches and plums do not speak, but they are so attractive that a path is formed below the trees".

— President Xi Jinping in the keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation on May 14, 2017.³

"For thousands of years, the Silk Road spirit of "peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit"—has been

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2 The concept of China's emergence or China's rise shall be discussed in the next section.

3 "Full text of President Xi's speech at opening of Belt and Road forum", *Xinhua*, May 17, 2017, located at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1046925.shtml>, accessed on September 10, 2018.

passed from generation to generation, promoting the progress of human civilization, and contributing greatly to the prosperity and development of the countries along the Silk Road”.

—National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People’s Republic of China, with State Council authorization, *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*, March, 2015.⁴

Contextualizing the BRI and the Rise of China

President Xi proposes the concept of BRI in a century where we do not find a clear picture about global polarity. With the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, we find the first unipolar world emerging from Europe with Great Britain as a clear leader. With the British power gradually waning since the end of the 19th Century and coming under serious challenge after the end of the World War II, the era of *pax Britannica* was replaced by the ascendancy of the United States (US) into global power. Soon, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) caught her up and the world saw a bipolar distribution of power unfolding with the globe roughly divided into two camps—the US leading the Western block while the USSR leading the Eastern bloc. A number of countries aimed to create a middle ground with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) where countries like former Yugoslavia, India and China, among others, played a vital role. With the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of USSR, the US briefly played the role of the ‘Sheriff of the world’ in a unipolar world.

The post-Cold War era heralded the championing of globalization. Economic liberalization and linking with the global economy seemed to be the order of the day. However, the September 11, 2001 bombing on the US soil also unfolded the dangers of globalization. The decade of 1980s also witnessed the rise of other state actors who gradually became assertive in international politics. This is the decade when we find a number of Asian countries rising both in economic and political arenas. This syndrome was more acute in the 21st Century when we find global power polarity was shifting from the West to the East. Amidst the growing Easternization of the world⁵, we see China rising and asserting itself in a *leaderless* world with its economic plan of BRI.

4 National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People’s Republic of China, with State Council authorization, *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*, March, 2015, located at <http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html>, accessed on October 3, 2018.

5 ‘Easternization’ was first popularized by Gideon Rachman in his book, *Easternisation: War and Peace in the Asian Century*, Bodley Head, 2016.

BRI's emergence therefore has special significance in this particular historical juncture where for the first time in global history we find no definite polarity of power existing. It is in this context, I discuss the concept of the rise of China.

The Rise of China:

In international relations, we see the rise of a power with the changing political and economic prowess reflect the global reality of contemporary time. China's rise, however, is being heralded in international politics for quite some time, especially since the end of the Cold War and more particularly in the latter part of the 1990s. This rise of China was considered as a threat to the West, particularly in the form of a looming war between the US and China.⁶ Despite such predictions in the West, China rather took a slow but steady path to stand up in international politics. With the formal opening up of reforms process in 1978 in the Eleventh Plenary session of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Deng Xiaoping proposed his famous 'biding time, hiding intentions' (*Tao Guang Yang Hui*), which recognized that China sets its objectives to rise but not until its fully prepared. Thus, Deng set China towards the path of modernization, liberalization and economic openness with pragmatism in his policies:

One must learn from those who are more advanced before one can catch up with and surpass them...Independence does not mean shutting the door on the world, nor does self-reliance mean blind opposition to everything foreign.⁷

Deng was one of the foremost leaders to foresee the rise of China in 1978. While meeting with Konosuke Matsushita, a Japanese industrialist and the founder of Panasonic, in 1978, Deng reportedly have said, "The 21st Century will be the era of Asia, including Japan and China".⁸ Then we saw China became a member of the Bretton Woods financial institutions and embracing a capitalist economy.⁹ Despite this, the Chinese policymakers as well as scholars

6 Lailufar Yasmin, "China's Nationalism and China's 'Peaceful Rise': A Political Yin-Yang in the Making?", *Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10-11, No. I & II, 2012-2013, Dhaka: University of Dhaka.

7 Deng Xiaoping quoted in Jeffrey E. Garten, *From Silk to Silicon: The Story of Globalization through Ten Extraordinary Lives*, HarperCollins, 2016, p. 329.

8 Cai Hong, "The Study Tour that Helped Change a Nation", in *China Daily*, August 9, 2018, p. 7.

9 Yong Deng, "The Chinese Conception of National Interests in International Relations," *The China Quarterly*, No. 154, 1998.

did not conceptualize the concept of China's rise until 1998, which appeared primarily in Yan Xuetong's writings. Yan first used the expression in the title of his book, *International Environment of China's Rise* and later published an article in English titled, "The Rise of China in Chinese Eyes". This created an internal debate if China was prepared to use the phrase 'rise of China'. Gradually, it created a contested debate inside China and later on, Chinese President Jiang Zemin forbade the use of the word 'rise' (*jueqi*).¹⁰ A number of articles published later gave credit to Zheng Bijian for coining the concept of 'peaceful rise of China'.¹¹ Later on the concept emerged in various elaborations—from Zheng Bijian's '*heping jueqi*' (emerging precipitously in a peaceful way) to President Hu Jintao's 'peaceful development'.

China of the second decade of 21st Century is different than the China of 20th Century and the first decade of 21st Century. The difference lies in China letting the rest of the world decide issues for itself, as authors have pointed out. In other words, China still did not deem itself mature to take up global responsibility. This passiveness of Chinese foreign policy stance drastically changed with Xi Jinping's ascendancy to power in 2012. With the massive economic success, Xi's strategy is articulated as,

[U]ntil such time as one was in a position of power, it was important to maintain a low profile—this was crucial to surviving. But once one had attained power, it was important to assert oneself, to make sure that potential danger did not survive.¹²

In other words, to ascertain China's own rise, it needs to be capable enough to ensure a safe environment conducive to its rise as well. Thus, Xi reroutes these ideas towards the 'great rejuvenation of the Chinese society' with offering 'China dream' or Chinese dream (*Zhongguo meng*) in 2012,¹³ which according to President Xi, "is a dream of the whole nation, as well as of every

10 Sujian Guo, "Introduction: Challenges and Opportunities for China's "Peaceful Rise"", in Sujian Guo (ed.), *China's 'Peaceful Rise' in the 21st Century: Domestic and International Conditions*, Routledge, 2006, p. 1.

11 Robert L. Suettinger, "The Rise and Descent of "Peaceful Rise," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 12, 2004, p. 2, located at <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/clm12_rs.pdf>, accessed on October 21, 2018.

12 Sulmaan Wasif Khan, *Haunted by Chaos: China's Grand Strategy from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping*, Harvard University Press, 2018, 210.

13 Ane Bislev, "The Chinese Dream: Imagining China", in *Fudan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2015.

individual".¹⁴ The Chinese dream also incorporates the vision of China as a 'responsible power' which shall undertake global responsibility as well as embody "a correct handling of justice and benefits" in international politics.¹⁵ It has been argued by Chinese scholars that the mantle of leadership at this particular historical juncture befell on China as,

China is diverse—a combination of its time-honored culture and its status as an emerging country, a developing country with developed regions, an example of Eastern culture and a nation that embraces cultures of the globe, and a socialist country with market economy.¹⁶

Thus, 'great rejuvenation of Chinese society' has become the cornerstone of President Xi's foreign policy, which is often seen as 'peaceful rise 2.0'¹⁷ or the beginning of a 'third revolution' in Chinese society, as Elizabeth Economy has called it.¹⁸ The grandiose plan of the BRI is the reflection of China's preparedness to embrace global responsibility.

Belt and Road Initiatives at a Glance:

President Xi was elected as the General Secretary of the Communist Party in November 2012 and became the President of China in 2013. In a number of state visits in 2013, President Xi first outlined his grandiose plan of BRI, also known as One Belt, One Road (OBOR), in Chinese *yi dai yi lu*. First in his speech at Nazarbayev University on September 7, 2013 in Astana, Kazakhstan and later on October 3 in Indonesian Parliament, President Xi unveiled his plans to integrate China with Eurasian countries as well as ASEAN countries through Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Road. Keeping the ideas proposed by President Xi, the National Research Institute of Tsinghua University conducted a special research on the Belt and on December 1st, submitted the National Situation Report which was titled *Building a Strategic*

14 "Background: Connotations of Chinese Dream" in *chinadaily.com.cn*, March 5, 2014, located at <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014npcandcppcc/2014-03/05/content_17324203.htm>, accessed on October 21, 2018.

15 Jyrki Kallio, "Dreaming of the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation", in *Fudan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2015, p. 529.

16 Honggang Wang, "Emerging International Order and China's Role", in B.R. Deepak (ed.), *China's Global Rebalancing and the New Silk Road*, Springer, 2018, p. 243.

17 Jian Zhang, "China's new foreign policy under Xi Jinping: towards 'Peaceful Rise 2.0'?", *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 2015, Vol. 27, No. 1.

18 Elizabeth Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, Oxford University Press, 2018.

*Artery for China's Westward Opening-up: Strategic Significance and Paths of the Silk Road Economic Belt.*¹⁹ The Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in November, the same year, confirmed the strategies of the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Road which emphasized constructing infrastructure to develop the strategies.²⁰ The crux of the plan lies in creating connectivity – physical as well as digital – among Asia, Europe and African countries so that it can contribute to uninterrupted trade among the BRI partners. Under the BRI, it is expected that more than 65 countries will join together that will cover over 62% world population, around 35% of global trade and over 31% of world's GDP.

BRI was later formally declared by China's National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce jointly, as "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road" on March 28, 2015. Under the plan, the BRI aims to connect China's underdeveloped hinterlands with their near and adjacent neighborhood – on the European as well as the Asian part. The Silk Road Economic Belts (SREB) include:

1. Linking China to Europe through Central Asia and Russia;
2. Connecting China with the Middle East through Central Asia;
3. Bringing together China and Southeast Asia, South Asia and the Indian Ocean.

The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, meanwhile, focusses on using Chinese coastal ports to:

4. Link China with Europe through the South China Sea and Indian Ocean;
5. Connect China with the South Pacific Ocean through the South China Sea.²¹

¹⁹ Angang Hu, "The Belt and Road: Revolution of Economic Geography and the Era of Win-Winism" in Wei Liu (ed), *China's Belt and Road Initiatives: Economic Geography Reformation*, Singapore: Springer, 2018, p, 17.

²⁰ Winglok Hung, "One Belt One Road, China and Europe: Economic Strategies and Pragmatic Economies" in Lim Tai Wei, Henry Chan, Katherine Tseng Hui-Yi and Lim Wen Xin, *China's One Belt One Road Initiative*, London: Imperial College Press, 2016, p. 246.

²¹ National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, with State Council authorization, *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*, March, 2015, located at <http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html>, accessed on October 3, 2018.

The BRI identifies six strategic International Cooperative corridors such as:

1. The New Eurasia Land Bridge
2. The China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor
3. China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor
4. China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor
5. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
6. Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor

BRI Goals and Objectives:

BRI sets out five areas of goals and objectives such as:

1. Policy co-ordination;
2. Facilities connectivity;
3. Unimpeded trade;
4. Financial integration; and
5. People-to-people bonds.

Historical Context of BRI: *The Ancient Silk Roads*

It was the German founder of modern geography Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen, who first coined the term *Seidenstrasse* and *Seidenstrassen*—the Silk Road in singular and plural²²—in 1877 to describe the web of connections between Inner Asia that linked the Han China with the Mediterranean World.²³ The historical Silk Road was established during the period of the Hun dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD). The commercial road was driven by the need of Chinese luxurious silk in Egypt, Greece and especially in Rome. Thus, as China has established itself as the ‘factory of the world’²⁴ in contemporary times, it was seen as the ‘textile manufacturing center of the world’²⁵ in ancient times as well. The trade route was effective until the rise of the Ottoman Turks who severed

22 James D. Sidaway & Chih Yuan Woon (2017): Chinese Narratives on “One Belt, One Road” (一带一路) in *Geopolitical and Imperial Contexts*, *The Professional Geographer*, 2017, p. 6.

23 Kwa Chong Guan, “The Maritime Silk Road: History of an Idea”, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper Series No.23, October 2016, located at <<https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/nscwps23.pdf>>, accessed on October 2, 2018.

24 Zhang Wenmu, “Sea Power and China’s Strategic Choices,” *China Security*, Summer 2006, p. 19

25 Doris Naisbitt, John Naisbitt and Laurence Brahm, *Creating Megatrends: The Belt and Road*, China Industry and Commerce Associated Press Co., Ltd, 2017, p. 31.



Source: Xinhua

trade relations with the West and that affected the trade between China and the West. On the other side, China was the first supplier of tea to the South Asian subcontinent, especially *Pu-erh* tea from Southern Yunnan to India and Nepal. This was known as the tea Horse Road from Yunnan through Dali, Lijiang to Lhasa to the rest of South Asia. The third road, not in chronological order however, was predominantly used by the Arab traders which traversed through Turkey and Eastern Europe.

During this period of ancient China’s domination in Asia and Europe, it has been pointed out, “[S]ilk became an international currency as well as a luxury product”.²⁶ However, the ‘Silk’ Roads were not only about transporting silks but the roads carried a number of other items as argued by Hansen. She points out,

“Silk” is even more misleading than “road,” inasmuch as silk was only one among many Silk Road trade goods. Chemicals, spices, metals, saddles and leather products, glass, and paper were also common. Some cargo manifests list ammonium chloride, used as a flux for metals and to treat leather, as the top trade good on certain routes.²⁷

26 Peter Frankopan, *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World*, Bloomsbury, 2016, p. 19.

27 Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History*, The Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 5.

The ancient Silk Roads connected major cities of the contemporary time that was the true beginning of globalization—trade and commerce tying cities together. Thus, it shows that the ancient Silk Roads created some irreversible impacts which manifests not only in the expansion of trade and commerce but also culture and religion. One of the observations argue,

Historical accounts typically cast large Silk Road oasis cities, political capitals, or market towns as dominant nodes within trans-continental trade and economic networks across Asia...Yet these sources also describe the participation of itinerant craftsmen, merchants, nomads, monks, and others whose Silk Road experiences unavoidably took them outside the orbits of these lowland oases into mountainous realms, where alternative logics of mobility and sociality had dominated for millennia.²⁸

The ancient Silk Road thus was much more than being only about trade and finances. It also manifested in resettlement of people and cultural exchanges among various ethnic and linguistic groups that are documented in archeological research.²⁹ Frankopan argues that the intermixture of culture and religion influenced in such a vast scale that the cult of Apollo in fact provided incentives for giving a visual representations to Buddha.³⁰ Thus, the ancient Silk Roads created a web of religion, culture and trade relations that established an economic order only to be broken with the onset of European colonization in 19th century. President Xi pointed out that the ancient Silk Roads' ideals are the guiding principles and reflections of ancient East-West cooperation in the contemporary world—peace and development; openness and inclusiveness; mutual learning and mutual benefits. He adds, “[H]istory is our best teacher. The glory of the ancient silk routes shows that geographical distance is not insurmountable”.³¹

28 Kevin Loria, “New research reveals secrets of how the ancient trade routes of the Silk Road were formed”, *Business Insider*, March 8, 2017, located at <<https://www.businessinsider.com/silk-road-map-origins-sites-routes-trade-2017-3>>, accessed on October 16, 2018.

29 Daniel C. Waugh, “The Silk Roads in History”, in The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, located in <<https://www.penn.museum/documents/publications/expedition/PDFs/52-3/waugh.pdf>>, accessed on October 16, 2018.

30 Peter Frankopan, *The Silk Roads*, p. 18.

31 “Full text of President Xi’s speech at opening of Belt and Road forum”, *Xinhua*, May 17, 2017, located at <<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1046925.shtml>>, accessed on September 10, 2018.

BRI and China's Foreign Policy: *Game-Changer?*

The People's Republic of China, after its consolidation in 1949, found itself under a difficult turf in terms of international relations. The global bipolarity would unfold soon where China, following a communist ideology, had to align with the policies of Soviet Union. The father-son relationship between Soviet Union and China however did not last long; China rather went on to embrace isolationism during the Mao era. Gradually, Chinese policy makers rerouted China's earlier foreign policies towards a new direction, particularly when Deng promoted the idea of peace and development discarding the revolutionary principles of Chinese foreign policy of the Mao era.³² This era of the end of isolationism also led to the end of an era of relative insularity of Chinese society, which is described as, "[C]hinese domestic affairs have begun to be better understood outside China and that Chinese diplomacy reflects a sharper appreciation of the perspectives and interests of others".³³ This ushers in the era of 'New China', the crux of which is found in Deng's policy of pragmatism as he maintained, "who cares if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice".³⁴

The decade of the nineties saw China integrating gradually with the global economy. It became a member to a number of Bretton Woods institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreements on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). As the Chinese economy grew and China needed to diversify its sources particularly for meeting energy needs, its 'go out' (*zhouchuqu*) policy developed since 1999.³⁵ However, despite the increasing volume of China's economy, its political assertion was yet to be realized under President Hu Jintao, whose ten years of leadership is often considered as a 'lost decade'³⁶ in China's recent history. Gradually President Xi's leadership took into account of several contexts that led to transforming China's economic

32 Stuart Harris, "China's Strategic Environment: Implications for Diplomacy", in Pauline Kerr, Stuart Harris, Qin Yaqing (eds.), *China's "New" Diplomacy: Tactical or Fundamental Change?*, palgrave mcmillan, 2008, p. 16.

33 Michael Yahuda, *Towards the End of Isolationism: China's Foreign Policy after Mao*, The Macmillan Press LTD, 1983, p. 170.

34 Quoted in Jim Hammond, *New China: Reflections, Analysis and Conclusions of a Layman*, AuthorHouse, 2014, p. 12.

35 Christina Lin, "China's Strategic Shift toward the Region of the Four Seas: The Middle Kingdom Arrives in the Middle East", *ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security*, Issue No. 226, April 2013, located at <mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/163381/.../226_Lin.pdf >, accessed on October 21, 2018.

36 "China's Approach to Governance Reform" in Jonathan R. Stromseth et al, *China's Governance Puzzle: Enabling Transparency and Participation in a Single-Party State*, Cambridge University Press, 2017, p. 2.

might to a discernible political plan by undertaking the BRI. In the next section, I discuss two particular areas that find BRI will make fundamental contributions.

Examining BRI-I: *Reimagining the International Order*

The Westphalian international order is based on the understanding of anarchy—in other words, absence of a world government. States are the supranational authority and therefore, no hierarchy above states exists in international system. This lack of ordering instrument of international system has become the ordering principle of the international system where conflicts have generally become a perennial feature of the system. Thus, states' capabilities have become determining feature of the system as well as the determinant of transition to a great power status. The 19th Century has seen the emergence of the first 'great power', a concept developed by German scholar Leopold von Ranke,³⁷ after the overwhelming defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The era of *pax Britannica* was supplanted by the rise of overwhelming power of the US with the Soviet Union closely following, which gradually led to a bipolar world order. The end of the bipolar rivalry gradually led to a decline of unchallenged supremacy of the US with the rise in populism in America and a growing American isolationism in its international engagements. As discussed before in this chapter, a clear polarity of power has remained absence in the face of the decline of American power and the rise of China.

The contemporary international order thereby has led many in the West to fall back to the classical explanation of the power transition theory, whereby rise of a power leads to tumultuous international system and often leads to war. This has led scholars also to revisit the Guru of realism—Greek General Thucydides and his explanation how the rise of Athens lead to systemic instability and thereby lead to the Peloponnesian War. The 'Thucydides trap', thus has become a famous theory to argue the inevitability of war between the US and China, originally popularized by Graham T. Allison in 2012. Since then, it has caught much academic as well as policymakers' attention. While Allison pays attention to a rising China's dissatisfaction, it has been argued that in Thucydides' analysis emphasis is given rather on effect on fear, hubris and honor that may lead to hurting the ego and thereby lead to war.³⁸ However, Allison later argues, that the US and the Chinese leaders must need

37 Torbjørn L. Knutsen, "A Lost Generation? IR Scholarship before World War I", in *International Politics*, 2008, 45, p. 45.

38 Leon Whyte, "The Real Thucydides' Trap", in *The Diplomat*, May 6, 2015, located at

to put serious thoughts on a number of issues but thinking of an inevitability of clash and asserts, “officials would discover that devising a way to “share the twenty-first century in Asia” was not their most serious challenge”.³⁹

It is in this context that the Chinese policymakers as well as scholars answer to Allison’s idea. President Xi responds,

[t]he argument that strong countries are bound to seek hegemony does not apply to China...This is not in the DNA of this country, given our long historical and cultural background...China fully understands that we need a peaceful and stable internal and external environment to develop ourselves. We all need to work together to avoid the Thucydides trap - destructive tensions between an emerging power and established powers ... Our aim is to foster a new model of major country relations.⁴⁰

Similarly, Chinese scholars also argues how the BRI particularly addresses this issue of avoiding confrontation in international politics. Honggang Wang of Institute of World Politics of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), Beijing argues, “[A]ny individual country can ramp security dilemmas up, where communication mechanisms are in place, these tensions seem manageable”.⁴¹ Moreover, China has a history of expedition, most famously carried out by Admiral Zheng He in his seven voyages during the period of Ming Dynasty under Emperor Yongle. Admiral Zheng was constructed as a semi-mythical figure in different commercial accounts where he was depicted as, “[t]his Ming Dynasty admiral was over eight feet tall, and said to be five feet around the middle ... Most likely, he is also the real source of the legend of Sindbad the Sailor”.⁴² However, although Admiral Zheng’s expedition carved a comprehensive maritime trading routes through

<<https://thediplomat.com/2015/05/the-real-thucydides-trap/>>, accessed on October 16, 2018.

39 Graham T. Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides Trap?*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017, p. 153.

40 President Xi Jinping quoted in Mark J. Valencia, “China needs patience to achieve a peaceful rise”, in *South China Morning Post*, February 7, 2014, located at <<https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/1422780/china-needs-patience-achieve-peaceful-rise>>, accessed on October 16, 2018.

41 Honggang Wang, “Emerging International Order and China’s Role”, p. 240.

42 Lim Tai Wei, “Narratives Related to Zheng He: Explaining the Emergence of Ethnic Chinese Communities Overseas and the Rise of a Regional Trading Network”, in Tai Wei Lim, Henry Chan, Katherine Tseng, *China’s One Belt One Road Initiative*, ICP, 2016, p. 66.

Southeast Asia towards the Horn of Africa, his missions were not intended for expanding Chinese hegemony over the places he visited. This stands as a cornerstone of contemporary Chinese policy of BRI where expanding trading route and connecting economies do involve policy harmonization keeping political and cultural imperialism out of trading practices. This brings us to the next argument of how BRI aims to improvise globalization—or in other words, address the pitfalls of globalization.

Examining BRI-II: *Globalization 2.0*

China's effort to integrate the world islands of Asia, Europe and Africa has a greater plan to address—the rising challenges of globalization and integrated economies. In the fashion of Chinese Scholar Jian Zhang, I call it 'Globalization 2.0. The discussion here follows from the previous section of Admiral Zheng's voyages—what would have happened, asks Steven Radelet if China would not have embraced isolationism.⁴³ He quotes a Chinese scholar Liu Yingsheng who argues if China would not have retreated from the world scene, it would have "changed history, stopped short what might have been a very different future for Asia and the world".⁴⁴ What unfolded in the era of westernization a rather different kind of globalization, where globalization and westernization stood synonymously. In such a structure of world order, a dichotomous relationship between 'the West versus the rest' emerged where Eurocentrism prevailed and the destiny of the humankind was sought to be modelled after a culture of *cocacolization* and *McDonaldization*. Thus, Eurocentrism did not tolerate celebration of indigenous culture rather creates orientalism in the binary opposition of the west. Thus, *western* globalization does not only have economic aspects but also has exceptional implications for the rest of the world—that this often ignores or denies indigenous cultural expressions and rather strives to devour alternative cultural claims. As liberalism ascends after the fall of communism, this was seen as the definitive proof of this undeniable western logic of assimilation—the best of which was celebrated in Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man*.⁴⁵ Amidst the cheer for liberalism emerged a volatile world where ethno-religious claim to identity resurfaced in different parts of the world including at the heart of Europe. The 9/11 and American invasion to Iraq and Afghanistan at the immediate

43 Steven Radelet, *The Great Surge: The Ascent of the Developing World*, Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2015, p. 151.

44 Ibid, p. 151.

45 Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Free Press, 1992.

aftermath of 9/11 and the gradual global reach of Islamist terrorists made hard-earned stability shaky. Globalizations loopholes started to unfold where liberalism failed to provide answer to emerging identity questions. Fukuyama revisits his original proposal and argues “[Critics] probably didn’t read to the end of the actual book [The End of History], the Last Man part, which was really all about some of the potential threats to democracy”.⁴⁶ He provides his new arguments in *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* where he highlights the demand for recognition as fundamental to human beings and that,

[W]e cannot get away from identity or identity politics...
But if the logic of identity politics is to divide societies
into ever smaller, self-regarding groups, it also possible to
create identities that are broader and more integrative.⁴⁷

China, the ‘Cradle of the East’, keeping this offshoot of globalization proposes how to celebrate the difference yet integrate and create a whole—connectivity of people; not just that of economies. The rise of new forms of terrorism—that is, violent extremism and populism threatens the processes of globalization as well as peace and security of the world. During this uncertain time, identity matters and identity drives human decisions—a plea that philosophers from G.W. Hegel to Axel Honneth have reminded us periodically. Thucydides also pointed out clearly how a hurt ego may lead towards conflicts among nations, as pointed out in this article earlier. That is why scholars point out that Chinese BRI provides that breathing space to people where civilizations connects yet upholds their unique contribution. In other words, it promotes the idea of Ms. Evelyn Beatrice Hall’s remark on tolerance—I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it—often misattributed to Voltaire. Thereby, globalization promoted through BRI is substantially different than the western version of globalization which asks for sameness. Instead, Chinese philosophy of Yin-Yang, which values plurality promotes the idea of economic policy harmonization as well of valuing indigenous identities atop. Martin Jacques, thus, identifies that China shies away from

46 Francis Fukuyama in an interview given to *New Statesman America*, in George Eaton, “Francis Fukuyama interview: “Socialism ought to come back””, in *New Statesman America*, October 17, 2018 located at <https://www.newstatesman.com/culture/observations/2018/10/francis-fukuyama-interview-socialism-ought-come-back?fbclid=I-wAR3qlvY5mjqpfdYYSBapj_UTwL37287rurm9S-PPjgR3CmJavwS52rmazPk>, accessed on October 19, 2018.

47 Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018, pp. 163 & 165.

the Western concept of singularity and offers promoting variations of cultural prisms. This is also manifested in a number of speeches delivered by President Xi on the occasion of the United Nations 70th anniversary in 2015, when he declared, “[C]ivilizations must accept their differences. Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world maintain its diversity and thrive”.⁴⁸

The fifth goal of BRI thus stands as the most valuable and significant cornerstone of the whole project which would provide sustainability to BRI. As peoples and civilizations connect, there are lesser risks of misunderstanding and miscalculations that may lead to conflict in international system. Moreover, with the rising inequality globally, yet another pitfall of globalization, a developed state cannot remain a bystander and let its region and consequently the rest of the world to fall prey to instability. Whereas the UN proposes the idea of sustainable development in 1987 through the Brundtland Commission, it soon finds out how the idea cannot fully comprehends the multifaceted challenges popped up due to increasing integration of the world. Gradually, the idea of sustainable co-development was launched keeping this idea in mind. In Jean Fried’s words:

Sustainable co-development aims at setting new relationships between regions, populations and countries emphasizing the ethical and cultural dimensions of sustainable development more than the purely commercial aspects of international exchanges. Sustainable co-development strongly emphasises capacity building in each partner country on the one hand, and, on the other hand, culture as both a factor of confidence building and a component of creative economy.⁴⁹

An in-depth analysis of BRI shows that it has fundamentally adopted and advanced the idea of sustainable co-development where a developed and forward-looking China aims to lead not only in its own region but also to share its development with the rest of the world too. Thus the five goals of BRI are interwoven in an unbreakable manner and complement each other.

48 Speech by Xi Jinping at 70th UN General Assembly, located at <<http://www.voltairenet.org/article188880.html>>, accessed on October 21, 2018.

49 Jean Fried, “International Cooperation and Water Resources Management: Hydrophilanthropy, Sustainable Development, and Sustainable co-Development”, in *Journal of Contemporary Water Research & Education*, Issue 145, August 2010, p. 62.

Concluding Observations:

The rise of China and the launching of the BRI has created much analyses and observation by political commentators and policymakers all around the world. There has been much apprehensions as well as much enthusiasms surrounding the BRI project. The project itself is only on its fifth year. It becomes a uniquely Chinese in the sense that it is built on China's glorious past, when China used to be the most powerful nation and introduced and created a complex web of globalization. Learned people remind us—“[N]othing is ever lost”⁵⁰ or “[T]he farther backward you can look, the farther forward you can see”.⁵¹ The ancient Silk Roads thus become the guide to the future of China. In the process, China brings forward ‘the rest’, not in terms of hierarchical relationship rather as partners in the BRI project. Here, the partners own the project as their own, where China acts as the guide. Thus, BRI turns into a global project with a global ownership. China also argues that at this particular historical juncture, the onus befell upon China. Thereby, gradually we can see a rising China reshaping the international order that has long been dominated by and perpetuated the idea of ‘conflict as inevitable’ with ‘cooperation as inevitable. A globalization that started with China's ‘silk’ is now driven by China's ‘silicon’ is the motto of BRI.

50 Robert Bellah, *Religion in Human Evolution: from Paleolithic to Axial Age*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011, p. ix.

51 Winston Churchill quoted in Jeffrey E. Garten, *From Silk to Silicon*, p. xxxi.

Brexit: A Revolt of the 'left behind' by Globalization and Europeanization

Raian Hossain¹

ABSTRACT

While European Union (EU) is suffering from multi-dimensional crisis, such as the Eurozone crisis, migration crisis and the legitimacy challenge of its political institutions, the Brexit referendum has added more complexity to the EU which has turned out to be one of the major debates in the international politics today. The paper is designed in a way that presents the authors argumentation - UK vote to leave the European Union caused by a revolt of those 'left behind' by globalization and Europeanization to someone who has minimal idea about British politics and EU. The paper is written to make sense of Brexit by analyzing the longstanding paradox in UK-EU relation and why the UK has failed to integrate into the EU like any other member states. The paper brings up the domestic political factors, like the under representation of center left political believers and provides structural evidences in establishing the authors argumentation. The paper concludes that the British citizens' vote to leave the EU was not accidental but rather a longstanding fracture in the UK-EU relation and several domestic political factors also played an important role in their decision making.

Keywords: Brexit, Europeanization, Euroscepticism, European Union, Globalization, Populism.

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Introduction

On 23rd of June 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union with the margin of 52 to 48 percent. The outcome of Brexit referendum has sent a shockwave not only to member states of EU but rather to the whole world. Brexit has shown the power of populism and nationalism and challenged the viability of EU in a liberal globalized world. After the end of world war II due to need of economic development, maximum of the European countries increased its political integration under the umbrella of EU. The vote to leave the European Union by the United Kingdom marks a departure from such a trend. Britain leaving the EU's supernormal political institutions will definitely cause trouble in exchanging goods and services with other 27-member states of EU.

This paper answers some major questions like "Why did Britain vote for Brexit?", "Why are certain factors such as age, education, immigration, the rise of UK independence party so important understanding Brexit". Were there any social changes that shaped Britain's historic vote to leave the European Union, was it something new, or does it root back to something decades ago. This paper begins with defining of key terms: 'globalization', 'Europeanization' and 'left behind'. The paper will progress by providing political and structural evidence of 'Brexit' such as Populism, De-alignment of the political parties, English nationalism and demographics which are backed by academic understanding and factual statistics to support the argumentation. Finally, the paper will adopt a broader approach to discuss the unfavorable UK-EU relationship throughout history that coerced the British citizens to vote in favor of Brexit.

Understanding 'Globalization', 'Europeanization' and 'left behind'-

In order to comprehend and bridge the argument between the four evidences (Populism, Dealignment of political parties, English Nationalism and Demographics), it is necessary to grasp the gist of related concepts such as 'globalization', 'Europeanization' and 'left behind'. According to Marginson "Globalization refers to the formation of world systems, as distinct from internationalization which presupposes nations as the essential unit".² This is believed to be a process which not only changes and affects the political

2 Simon Marginson, "After Globalization: The Emerging Politics of Education," *Journal of Education Policy* 14, no. 1 (1998): 19.

dynamics but also adversely affects the environment, culture, economic development and prosperity. Although globalization was observed since the start of 19th century, recent technological advancements and policy implementation have spurred an increase in cross border trade, investment and migration.³ Since the end of World War II and Cold War, a good number of countries started to adopt a free market economy. The effect of globalization was more notable since the formation of different international organizations like United Nations or European Union(EU).

Secondly, Europeanization can be defined as, “a process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policymaking”.⁴ Europeanization provides a theoretical thinking of the effects of European integration on a country’s politics and policy making. Notably, British citizens started to bring up fundamental questions such as is Westminster parliament subordinate to EU parliament or not.⁵ Also, the British citizens’ perception was that political parties in UK are losing their decision-making power over Brussels bureaucracy, hence giving rise to Euroscepticism.

Euroscepticism is an ideology which is a critique of European integration.⁶ Euroscepticism has played an important role in the UK’s decision to leave the EU, which will be highlighted in three ways. Firstly, there is a group of people who strongly opposed European integration which is mainly for cultural or political reasons, where people wanted to take their country out of European Union, which was derived from a research conducted in ‘Sussex School’.⁷ In contrast to ‘Sussex School’ is the research from University of North Carolina focusing on party management rather than ideological debates.⁸ In contrast to ‘Sussex School’ the research from University of North Carolina focused on party management rather than ideological debates.⁹ Thirdly, another group of scholars discussed that based on a historical perspective, ‘Euroscepticism’

3 Daniel Verdier and Richard Breen, “Europeanization and Globalization: Politics against Markets in the European Union,” *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 227-62.

4 Maarten Vink, “What Is Europeanisation? And Other Questions on a New Research Agenda.” *European Political Science* 3, no. 1 (2003): 63.

5 Rosamond, Ben. The Political Economy Context of EU Crises, In *The European Union in Crisis*, Palgrave Macmillan, European Union Series(2017)| 33-53.

6 Yves Meny and C.Leconte, “Understanding Euroscepticism,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, no. 5 (2011): 1144-145.

7 Sofia Vasilopoulou, “UK Euroscepticism and the Brexit Referendum,” 2016, 219-27. ISSN 0032-3179.

8 *ibid*

9 *ibid*

was embedded and persistent among few to simply oppose the European integration.¹⁰ On the other hand, policy, perception and tactics of Eurosceptic parties got into the ideology of critique without substance.

Next, the phrase 'left behind' refers to a group of people who have been marginalized to a common value or understandings against multiculturalism, neoliberalism or global politics. Also, "left behind includes a shared 'ethnic' or 'ancestral' conception of national identity and citizenship that is inherited by blood and birth, defense of sovereignty of this distinct ancestral identity from foreign cultures, ideas, and peoples"¹¹

Political and structural factors behind Brexit

Now, it is important to provide some political and structural evidences to support the argumentation that UK vote to leave the European Union was caused by a revolt of those 'left behind' by globalization and Europeanisation. The relationship of 'populism' with Brexit, will be presented at first. Populism "is an ideology that considers society to be separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, the 'pure people' verses the corrupt elite and which argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of people".¹² The concept challenges another concept of globalization which asks for increased interaction between people, economics and politics. Populism has an important notion with democracy as it proposes people to choose governments but with a different content, process and way of engagement.¹³ So, the populism critique about Brexit reflects on the Brussels bureaucracy where the European commission has a distant relationship with direct representative democracy hence challenges the Input legitimacy.¹⁴ EU institutions, such as European parliament suffers a lack in direct and representative democratic practice in the way they operate which can be said to be a factor of 'democratic deficit'.

10 Simon Usherwood and Nick Startin, "Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon*," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, no. 1 (2013): 1-16.

11 Corbett, Steve, "The Social Consequences of Brexit for the UK and Europe: Euroscepticism, Populism, Nationalism, and Societal Division," *The International Journal of Social Quality* 6, no. 1 (2016): 12.

12 Cas Mudde, The Problem With Populism | Cas Mudde", *The Guardian*, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/17/problem-populism-syriza-podem-os-dark-side-europe>.

13 Koen Abts and Stefan Rummens, Populism versus Democracy," *Political Studies* 55, no. 2 (2007): 405-24.

14 Dinan Desmond Nugent, Neill and Paterson, William E., *The European Union in Crisis*. European Union Series (Palgrave Macmillan (Firm)), 2017.

Notably, the drop in the EU parliament turnout decreased from 62 percent in 1979 to 42 percent in 2014, which made the populist standpoint stronger.¹⁵

As part of their relationship with the EU, Britain had influx of immigrants from other EU countries, which would have not been the case if it were part of the Schengen region. Many think that due to this influx of immigrants, a strong economy like Britain's began to suffer. This related to the suffering of Greece which was coincidental with the rising levels of immigration. Besides the economical explanation, these huge influxes of immigrants from neighboring EU member states continued to affect the British lifestyle, language and culture, which the populists successfully 'framed' as loss of British culture to the general people and convinced them towards Brexit.¹⁶

Public debate also played a significant role in establishing an exaggerated fear of immigration which encouraged the people to vote "leave".¹⁷ This resulted in the people believing that population of immigrants and the effects of immigration are higher than what they were originally. According to Zoega "In a Mori poll published on 9 June 2016, two weeks before the referendum, respondents thought on average that EU citizens made up 15% of the total UK population (around 10.5 million people), whereas the actual figure is 5% (3.5 million people)".¹⁸ Classic populist figures such as Farage, Gove & Johnson, played a key role in the leave campaign, especially with the help of the sensationalist media which expressed the "popular voice".¹⁹ This highlights the "performative" or "articulatory" aspect of populist politics, where the use of a serious element involves finding the suitable speech - the catalogues of vernacular voice. The campaign in favor of Brexit was successfully able to utilize these susceptibilities- of being disregarded, abandoned and of loss.²⁰ Clarke and Newman quoted "Take back control proved an impressively clear,

15 Martin Banks. 2014, "Voter Turnout In May's European Elections Was Lowest Ever"., *Telegraph.Co.Uk*. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11015823/Voter-turnout-in-Mays-European-elections-was-lowest-ever.html>.

16 Lee McGowan and David Phinnemore, 'The UK: Membership in Crisis' in, *The European Union in crisis*, European Union Series (Palgrave Macmillan (Firm) (2017).

17 Zoega, Gylfi, "Brexit: Economic Prosperity And Voting Behaviour | VOX, CEPR Policy Portal". 2016. *Voxeu.Org*. <https://voxeu.org/article/brexit-economic-prosperity-and-voting-behaviour>.

18 *ibid*

19 John Clarke and Janet Newman, "'People In This Country Have Had Enough Of Experts': Brexit And The Paradoxes Of Populism", *Critical Policy Studies* 11 (1): 101-116. 2017. doi:10.1080/19460171.2017.1282376.

20 *ibid*

yet multifaceted, call to action".²¹

To create bitterness about cultural tendencies, an organizational channel for expression is needed.²² According to Inglehart and Norris "Populist movements, leaders, and parties provide a mechanism for channeling active resistance".²³ UKIP's rhetoric about the "Leave" campaign creates feelings of nostalgia amongst the dissatisfied public, especially forty years back when the UK was not a part of the EU, with the Westminster parliament being sovereign, majority of the country was white Anglo-Saxon, steel, coal and cars factories and industries provided the people in the Midlands and North with better pays and job security, and even after its fall from the glorious days of the British empire, they were still reputed as a military and economic leader in the Commonwealth.²⁴ Also, Inglehart and Norris stated "This nostalgia is most likely to appeal to older citizens who have seen changes erode their cultural predominance and threaten their core social values, potentially provoking a response expressing anger, resentment, and political disaffection".²⁵

Secondly, the underrepresentation of the public opinion by the center left political parties in Britain is believed to have played a major role in building up frustration leading to Brexit.²⁶ When representative democracy fails to represent public opinion and preferences, referendums are used to counter this incapability and a means of extending the practice of democracy when the public demands for constitutional change.²⁷ According to Paddison and Rae "Thus, resorting to the use of referendums has become more common in western democracies in recent decades, often mirroring the de-alignment of electoral voting patterns and the tapering of support for established political parties, trends which in the United Kingdom (UK) were emergent

21 *ibid* pg 108

22 Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash," *IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc*, 2016, IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc, 2016.

23 *ibid*

24 *ibid*

25 *ibid* pg 16

26 "Science - Political Science; Researchers from University of Texas Report Details of New Studies and Findings in the Area of Political Science (Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote)," *Politics & Government Week*(Atlanta), 2017.

27 Ronan Paddison and Rae Norman,"Brexit And Scotland: Towards A Political Geography Perspective", *Socialspacejournal.Eu*, 2012: pg. 1-18.

<http://socialspacejournal.eu/13%20numer/Brexit%20and%20Scotland%20towards%20a%20political%20geography%20perspective%20-%20Paddison%20Rae.pdf>.

in the 1970s".²⁸ Following the 1990s, Political parties of the center left in Britain stopped representing according to their political ideologies. Due to rise of neoliberalism in a globalized world center left political parties stopped criticizing capitalism and neoliberalist ideas. That was a time especially when the debate between capitalism and communism did not exist much by the end of cold war. Majority of the eastern European countries, who were communists started to adopt much liberalized economic policies under European integration. As support to remain in EU was equivocal between the two major parties in England, the Conservatives and Labor, it allowed United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) to establish and gather support for UK to leave EU, more political space to attract more support.

Not only in UK, but left wing political parties around Europe also became less vocal about anti common market or European integration. Which left center left supporters without a choice to vote for the preferred political parties. Hence, citizens that were in favor of either left or right wing, particularly left wing weren't represented by their supported political parties. Center left political parties stopped criticizing the concept of neoliberalism or capitalism, which made the British citizens vote for parties which support neoliberalist ideas or parties which stopped criticizing neoliberalism.²⁹ Even though people continued to vote center left political parties as a habit, but their frustration of not been properly represented kept increasing.³⁰ This gave the opportunity for nationalist or right-wing parties like 'UK Independence party' which was founded in a professor's room at London school of Economics to grow its support over those who strongly opposed European integration. Even though having a very small beginning, the party continued to increase their popularity in national elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014.³¹ Hence, politically unrepresented, frustrated supporters of the center left had taken an uncompromising stance to vote for Brexit. Party established to gather support for UK to leave EU, more political space to attract more support. Not only in the UK, but left wing political parties around Europe also became less vocal about anti-common market or European integration, so supporters of center left were left without a choice to vote for political parties.

28 *ibid* pg 2

29 Rosamond, Ben. The Political Economy Context of EU Crises, In *The European Union in Crisis*, Palgrave Macmillan, European Union Series(2017) 33-53.

30 Rosamond, Ben. The Political Economy Context of EU Crises, In *The European Union in Crisis*, Palgrave Macmillan, European Union Series(2017) 33-53.

31 Amir Abedi and Thomas Lundberg, "Doomed to Failure? UKIP and the Organisational Challenges Facing Right-Wing Populist Anti-Political Establishment Parties," *Parliamentary Affairs* 62, no. 1 (2009): 72-87.

Key for the success of political parties in UK was how they would manage the issue of immigration and deliver successfully.³² The Conservative Party previously had the reputation of having strong control on immigration, however, with the rise of UKIP, Conservative Party's lead on immigration deteriorated.³³ According to Jennings and Stoker "the most obvious expression is the emergence of United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) as a political force providing a platform for right-wing populism".³⁴ Though the current findings show us that UKIP has been able to gather large support because of its anti-EU/immigration rhetoric, other findings also prove that UKIP's support was strengthened by the people's discontent with the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition Government.³⁵ Also, "UKIP benefited from the populist argument that the Coalition's austerity policies privileged socio-economic elites while imposing widespread hardships on ordinary people".³⁶ Even though the British economy was moving in positive direction in the year of 2013, people were still worried and unsure of their financial future under the governance of the current political system. Economic uncertainty, along with the current government's performance in key service areas such as the National Health Services, further aggravated the negative attitude of the public regarding the political system.³⁷

Furthermore, understanding it through demographics – age, education and inequality – provides further evidence toward UK vote to leave EU. Based on statistics only 36 percent of voters who were aged between 18-24 years participated in the Brexit referendum vote.³⁸ Whereas, people who were aged above 55 years, 83 percent among them participated in the voting,

32 Jane Green and Will Jennings, "Conceptual Problems and Solutions," Chapter. In *The Politics of Competence: Parties, Public Opinion and Voters*, 1–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. doi:10.1017/9781316662557.002.

33 Jonathan Mellon, Geoffrey Evans, Edward Fieldhouse, Jane Green, and Christopher Prosser, "Brexit Or Corbyn? Campaign And Inter-Election Vote Switching In The 2017 UK General Election", *Parliamentary Affairs* 71 (4) (2017): 719-737. doi:10.1093/pa/gsy001.

34 Ibid pg 380

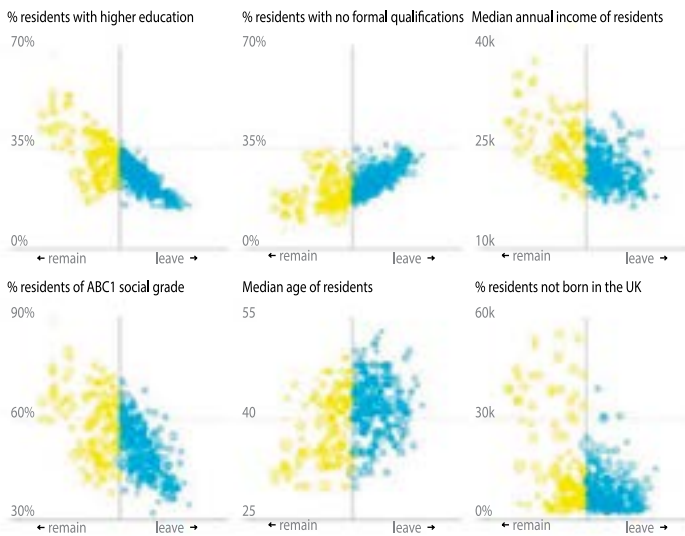
35 Harold Clarke, Paul Whiteley, Walter Borges, David Sanders and Marianne Stewart, "Modelling the Dynamics of Support for a Right-wing Populist Party: The Case of UKIP," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 26, no. 2 (2016): 135-54.

36 Harold Clarke, Paul Whiteley, Walter Borges, David Sanders and Marianne Stewart, "Modelling the Dynamics of Support for a Right-wing Populist Party: The Case of UKIP," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 26, no. 2 (2016): 149.

37 Ibid

38 Brexit, Inequality And The Demographic Divide | British Politics And Policy At LSE", 2017, *Blogs.Lse.Ac.Uk*. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/brexit-inequality-and-the-demographic-divide/>.

which easily reveals that the older the individual, the more likely they have voted. Stemming from limited knowledge of technology, IT and modern-day machinery, and lost jobs, they formed a prejudice against immigrants.³⁹ Zoega states that old people and those with less tertiary education and low income did not have a favorable opinion of immigrants and the EU, resulting in them voting for Brexit.⁴⁰ Nikolka and Poutvaara state that over 60% of those aged 65 and above voted “leave”, while only 27% of those aged 18 to 24 voted to leave the EU.⁴¹ This shows that young voters were mainly in favor of UK staying in the EU, while majority of the older generations were against the idea of remaining in the EU. Hence, it can be claimed that old aged people were more



inclined towards voting to leave the EU.

Source: The Guardian, 2016⁴²

39 “How Much of A Generation Gap Is There?”, 2016, *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-36619342>.

40 Gylfi Zoega, “Brexit: Economic Prosperity And Voting Behaviour | VOX, CEPR Policy Portal”. 2016. *Voxeu.Org*. <https://voxeu.org/article/brexit-economic-prosperity-and-voting-behaviour>.

41 Till Nikolka and Panu Poutvaara, “BREXIT - THEORY AND EMPIRICS,” *CESifo Forum*17, no. 4 (2016): 68-75.

42 Caelainn Barr, “The Areas And Demographics Where The Brexit Vote Was Won”, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2016/jun/24/the-areas-and-demographics-where-the-brexit-vote-was-won>.

Also, 30 percent people who voted for leave had GCSE or below educational qualifications, which is different than who at least held a university degree.⁴³ According to Nikolka and Poutvaara "While 72 percent of voters with only primary education and 64 percent of those with only secondary education voted for Brexit, the corresponding vote share was 36 percent among university graduates".⁴⁴ Geographically, regions which have higher educational reputation like Oxford or Cambridge had shown stronger response to stay in EU. London had lowest leave vote at 28.09%, whereas Lincolnshire had highest leave vote at 65.16%, differing by 37.07%. This explains Lincolnshire had a higher population with less tertiary education, giving 10.5% higher leave vote, and larger group of people over 65 years of age, giving a higher 9.1% leave vote.⁴⁵

The factor of inequality also has to be understood in relation with age of the citizens. The elderly citizens, having experienced the economic boom of post-world war period before joining the EU, express such disgruntlement through a vote to leave.⁴⁶ Out of all those who voted to leave, 59% belonged to the middle class, and the percentage of leave voters belonging to the lowest two social classes was 24%.⁴⁷ Another factor which have continued to build frustration among British citizens was the rise of economic inequality and reduction in public spending due to austerity measures. Comparatively, while other European countries have been much more systemic and efficient in taxation or making sure economic equality, Britain continued to suffer from highly expensive housing, increasing student loan and debt, introducing insecure work contract etc. Rather than realizing the problem being their own, leave campaigners with the help of media were successful to frame the problem and blame it on immigration which proves 'domestic politics' matter. Hence, it was of no surprise that the 51.9 percent who voted for Brexit had mostly belonged to middle class who were hit by the austerity measures and decided to vote for Brexit. Lastly, there were regional variations in the Brexit

43 Harold Clarke, Paul Whiteley, Walter Borges, David Sanders and Marianne Stewart, "Modelling the Dynamics of Support for a Right-wing Populist Party: The Case of UKIP," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 26, no. 2 (2016): 135-54.

44 Till Nikolka and Panu Poutvaara, "BREXIT - THEORY AND EMPIRICS," *CESifo Forum* 17, no. 4 (2016): 70.

45 *ibid*

46 Harold Clarke, Paul Whiteley, Walter Borges, David Sanders and Marianne Stewart, "Modelling the Dynamics of Support for a Right-wing Populist Party: The Case of UKIP," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 26, no. 2 (2016): 135-54.

47 Danny Dorling, 2016, "Brexit: The Decision Of A Divided Country" ,*BMJ*, i3697 (2016) doi:10.1136/bmj.i3697.

vote, with the probability of voting to “leave” as well the voter turnout being higher in rural areas as compared to large urban areas.⁴⁸

The concepts of English nationalism can be thought as a defense of “British sovereignty,” which is often meant to be against the European countries, where Britain is not ready to give up their sovereignty through shared parliamentary democracy.⁴⁹ The build of English nationalism can be related to good old days of British Empire and World War II which had been diluted by excessive number of immigrants and loss of jobs through deindustrialization.⁵⁰ While Thatcher led Conservative party promoted neoliberalist idea based on European integration, it conflicted with the English nationalism idea of social conservative base. Also, English nationalism is not only observed among traditional British right wing but also among core working labor class in factories and industries especially in northern UK.⁵¹ All of these causes a rise in Euroscepticism and formation of right-wing nationalist parties like UK Independence Party (UKIP) lead by Nigel Farage.⁵² As these anti-European party’s viewpoints were overlooked for long, they successfully grabbed older, white, and low educated citizens vote using nationalist viewpoint.

Historical Overview: UK-EU relation

Following the political and structural perspectives behind the Brexit decision, a historical approach is necessary to unfold the EU-UK relationship problems that stem from the past, which led to the separation in 2016 as an aftermath. The idea of ‘Missing the Bus’, emanated during the early phase of European integration particularly from 1948 to 1957 when the British were hardly involved in the European integration process. The British government was busy implementing their national agenda, like national economic policies and nationalizing their own industries.⁵³ Even though Britain’s status in Europe

48 Till Nikolka and Panu Poutvaara, “BREXIT - THEORY AND EMPIRICS,” *CESifo Forum* 17, no. 4 (2016): 68-75.

49 Ben, Wellings, “Losing the Peace: Euroscepticism and the Foundations of Contemporary English Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism* 16, no. 3 (2010): 488-505.

50 Corbett, Steve, “The Social Consequences of Brexit for the UK and Europe: Euroscepticism, Populism, Nationalism, and Societal Division,” *The International Journal of Social Quality* 6, no. 1 (2016): 11-31.

51 *ibid*

52 Robert Ford and Goodwin Matthew, “Understanding UKIP: Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind,” *The Political Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (2014): 277-84.

53 Correlli Barnett, “The British Illusion of World Power, 1945-1950.” *The RUSI Journal* 140, no. 5 (1995): 57-62.

post-world war II situation was relatively high, they had failed to take the lead diplomatically in Europe, being least interested in European integration.⁵⁴ Although Britain showed certain interest in the security alliances like NATO, their main interest was predominantly Commonwealth. During the formation of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) even though Britain was invited to join with West Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands, Britain decided to stay out of it. Hence, as Britain did not take the European integration seriously and were left outside the cloud like in European Economic Community (EEC), that coincided the important shift in UK status as an international power.

United States and Soviet Union became two super powers of global dominance which destroyed the dominance of European power of Britain and France. The decline in British influence over the world was again proved through the Suez crisis.⁵⁵ The outcome of this crisis was a clear indication that Britain and France were no longer major powers.⁵⁶ This led to a significant reappraisal where the most important foreign policy the Anglo-US "Special Relationship"; toward Commonwealth and Europe were amended.

After 'missing the bus' and realizing they are no longer major power, the British government decided to enter the 'common market' which was vetoed twice by the French President Charles de Gaulle. After President Charles De Gaulle's departure from the office, Britain finally managed to sign the Treaty of Rome in 1973 under the Conservative government with the hope to improve UK's relative economic decline and saw it as a vehicle to restore a place in world politics. The 'Brexit' referendum in 2016 was not the first in UK regarding the stay in European Union. It was first done in 1975 under the support of a new labor government left-wing which was turned down by 2:1 majority to remain in EEC market. However, with the passage of time Margaret Thatcher became more doubtful about the benefits of joining the single market and was unenthusiastic in the agreement for a monetary union as it would have affected the sovereignty of the UK. Margaret Thatcher's political career ended due to the failure of her own party's agreement on the issue of Europe, which dominated British politics for the coming years.⁵⁷ UK was without help in its

54 *ibid*

55 "Special Report: An Affair to Remember - The Suez Crisis; 8The Suez Crisis," *The Economist* 380, no. 8488 (2006): 23.

56 *ibid*

57 Rosamond, Ben. The Political Economy Context of EU Crises, In *The European Union in Crisis*, Palgrave Macmillan, European Union Series(2017) | 33-53.

disapproval of a greater economic and political integration and its resistance hindered the agreement of the Maastricht Treaty.

Also, one of the key elements to increase 'Euroscepticism' among British citizens was due to the 'Beef Wars'. This 'Beef Wars' was when the European Union scientists determined the British cows were suffering from mad cow disease which they were not sure would affect humans due to eating.⁵⁸ Eventually the EU denied taking any cows which caused the whole British industry to suffer. Despite efforts of different labor government for European integration, due to crisis such as the Iraq invention, tensions continued to rise among the British and EU members. All of these incidents furthered the notion that EU-UK relationship was never stable. Finally, the referendum, as promised by the Conservative led government brought the issue of 'Brexit'.⁵⁹ From 1997 onwards, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown formed a majority in the parliament, and were less aggressive in their dealings with the EU as compared to their previous conservative governments. However, the UK was still unenthusiastic over discussions on the formation of the EU constitution, with Brown declaring that he was "too busy" to attend the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can easily be claimed that each of the factors: the political, structural and historical EU-UK relation aspects, had vital effect on UK vote to leave EU. Despite economic development due to neoliberalist ideas and European integration, British citizens failed to adopt changes in their lifestyle due to influx of immigrants from EU member states which challenged their value of sovereignty. The underrepresentation of center left supporters in British politics during the 1990-2000 gave rise to populism and nationalist based politics. This paper has also provided with the longstanding unhealthy UK-EU relationship to understand the Brexit referendum. Hence, using the evidence backed argumentation provided in this paper, it can be deduced that Brexit was indeed caused by a revolt of those 'left behind' by globalization and Europeanization.

58 Julie, Wolf, "EU to Support U.K. Beef Trade After New Steps," *Wall Street Journal*(Brussels), 1996.

59 Lee McGowan and David Phinnemore, 'The UK: Membership in Crisis' in, *The European Union in crisis*, European Union Series (Palgrave Macmillan (Firm) (2017).

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Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS) is a leading institute in Bangladesh for informed analysis on all aspects of broad spectrum of peace and security studies in the region and beyond. It is a non party, non profit organisation and independent think tank which provides significant platform for the leading strategic thinkers, academics, former members of the civil, foreign and armed services and media persons to chalk out a comprehensive framework for peace and security issues. The Institute is headed by the President of BIPSS, Major General ANM Muniruzzaman, ndc, psc (Retd). He directs and coordinates all research and administrative activities of the Institute. A team of highly qualified full time researchers with varied social science background conduct research activities. BIPSS also maintains a pool of affiliated experts whom we engage frequently for different assignments.

BIPSS has also established two specialised centres within its framework named Bangladesh Centre for Terrorism Research (BCTR) and Bangladesh Centre for China Studies (BCCS). BCTR is the first centre of its kind in Bangladesh dedicated to the study and research on terrorism related issues. The Centre is headed by BIPSS President who has been engaged with various specialised centres on terrorism in the Asia Pacific region as well as other parts of the world. BCTR has been working in partnership with a number of international centres on terrorism research in South Asia, South East Asia, Europe and USA. On the other hand, Bangladesh Centre for China Studies (BCCS) has been established to understand, study and analyse Chinese Foreign Policy and Chinese strategic and security posture. It also aims to study Chinese economic advancement with a view to advocating greater economic and development cooperation between Bangladesh and China as well as China and the greater South Asian region.

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