UF International Review is a founding member of:

The Network of Global Affairs Journals

The Network of Global Affairs Journals is a consortium of student journals of global affairs.

**Participant Universities Include:**
- Rutgers University, *Global Affairs E-Journal*
- University of Florida, *International Review*
- New York University, *Journal of Human Rights*
- New York University, *Journal of Global Affairs*
- University of Michigan, *Michigan Journal of Political Science*
- Duke University, *Erudito*
- Columbia University, *Undergraduate Journal of Politics and Society*
- San Francisco State University, *IR Journal*
- Wellesley College, *IR Council Journal*

Staff may be reached at:

ufinternationalreview@gmail.com


**EDITING STAFF:**

**JOSE O. PEREZ, Editor-in-Chief**

Jose Perez is a junior Political Science and Latin American Studies double major at the University of Florida. He is also pursuing minors in Anthropology and History. Perez aspires to work for the State Department one day as a policy assistant. His research interests include globalization, Latin American/U.S. relations, and Brazilian foreign economic policy. He is President of UF’s Brazilian Portuguese Club and Coordinator of Project Family Books, an organization dedicated to tutoring migrant farm workers’ children. His hobbies include movies, languages, world travel, and hanging out with friends.

**MARIELENA DIAS, Associate Editor**

Marielena Dias is a Political Science and International Studies double major at the University of Florida with a minor in European Union Studies. She is also working on a certificate in Public Affairs. Dias’s research interests include identity formation in the European Union, Portuguese colonization and development in Portugal. She plans on pursuing a career in public affairs and law and working for a government organization. Her hobbies include: writing, reading, and dancing.

**JAE W. JANG, Associate Editor**

Jae W. Jang is a first-year Political Science major. He is an editor for the University of Florida’s The Political Voice and has written op-ed columns for The Gainesville Sun. His academic and research interests include agricultural and food policy, international trade and development, and US foreign policy. He is also involved in UF’s all-male a capella group, The Staff, and is a rapper/producer/manager for his rap group Burra Katha. His outside interests include reading and movies, and he is an addicted soccer player.

**ILSE PANIAGUA, Associate Editor**

Ilse Paniagua is a first-year honors student majoring in Political Science and Anthropology, with an emphasis on international relations and cultural studies. After finishing her undergraduate studies, she plans to pursue a career in humanitarian assistance as an international lawyer. She currently serves as an operations ambassador for the Multicultural and Diversity Affairs Department, and she will be interning for the Breakthrough Collaborative this summer in an effort to help reduce the educational inequality in Miami. Her outside interests include running, gardening, and doing construction work.

**GRACE J. PARK, Associate Editor**

Grace J. Park is double majoring in Political Science & Linguistics, with emphases on International Relations & Psycholinguistics. Her academic interests revolve around international security, humanitarian efforts, public diplomacy, and foreign policy. Under the Bureau of International Security & Nonproliferation of the State Department, Grace assisted the preparation for the five-year Biological Weapons Convention held in Geneva, Switzerland. Upon graduation, she intends to dedicate herself to public service, and American interests abroad. Additionally, Grace allots time for: reading, writing literature, philosophy, and exploring music/languages.

**IDO OREN, Faculty Advisor**

Dr. Oren is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida.
Table of Contents

Chinese Students’ Dilemma: Remain Abroad, or Return to China?
Stacy Asch 5

Arab Militaries: Forces of Oppression or Support?
Sarra Lajnef 16

Cuban Immigration and Transnationalism: Generational Changes
Jose O. Perez 28

Populist Parties of the Right in Western Europe: A Case Study Comparing France and the Netherlands
Dimitrios Peteves 38

Globalization and Deforestation: Brazil and the Amazon
Kari Reed 49
Chinese Students' Dilemma: Remain Abroad, or Return to China?

Stacy Asch

The Institute of International Education reports that China is the number one place of origin for international students who study in the West. In 2001, 96% of Chinese students decided to stay abroad after completing a degree (Alberts et al. 2005, 133). Since 2011, the amount of students that have opted to return to China has risen by 38% (Thomas 2012). What factors might contribute to Chinese students' decisions to remain abroad or return to China after a Western academic exchange experience?

As these students decide where they will live, they impact China's ability to develop economically and compete in the global arena. The "brain drain," a flow of educated individuals from developing countries to Western societies, is controversial in regard to fairness in the development of states. Students' unique perspective having been exposed to both Chinese values and Western modernity gives their decisions more weight, and their comparative experience has implications for both China and the West.

Scholars have suggested that numerous factors contribute to a student's ultimate decision. These factors can be categorized as personal, societal, and professional influences. The evidence presented here will confirm that those factors relating to professional interests are most influential on students accounting for the sharp increase in returnees in the last year, and take priority over personal and societal factors combined.
The first step in examining the decision process of a Chinese student abroad is to determine the original inspiration to study abroad initially. Interview studies report that the primary goal is to gain a skill set necessary for a particular career, with exposure to foreign culture as an exciting but secondary benefit (Alberts et al. 2005, 137-138). Many of these students are traveling abroad at a fairly young age, having only just graduated from high school less than one-year prior. Therefore, it can be argued that much of the excitement of studying in the West comes simply from leaving home, and having a short-lived fun experience enjoying independence.

Chinese students are often fascinated, verging on obsession, with popular Western clothes, music, and culture. The relaxed atmosphere of university life, and the prospect of less obedience to superiors attract them. Yet, even with those mesmerizing characteristics, students agree that the Western Powers' foremost identifiable characteristic is the role of hegemon. Particularly in the case of the United States, Chinese students feel that the United States become involved in conflicts with the main purpose of maintaining the hegemonic position (Shengluo 2003, 7-13). There is a strong clash of attitudes towards the West, all existing at the same time, and one person can hold multiple views equally.

However, these contradictory views do not hinder students from continuing to study abroad so that they might enjoy the availability of funding for international students, and the more comprehensive educational programs. Some are drawn abroad in search of disciplines that are not offered in China. For example, many social science programs were cancelled when the Chinese Communist Party came to
power (Alberts et al. 2005, 137). The one view most students who enroll in an academic program in the West do share is the intention to return to China post-graduation (Alberts et al. 2005, 138-139).

Contrary to original intention, 96% of students in 2001 did not return to China after completing their degree (Finn 2001, 1). Various student interviews confirm that students' main objective after graduation is to secure a job where their newly earned skill set can be used to its full potential (Alberts et al. 2005, 142). Gaining a skill set was previously mentioned as the primary reason for studying abroad in the first place. Students in specialized fields seek industry bases, such as Silicon Valley, where the most current work is being practiced and updated equipment and facilities are available (Enze 2003, 8). Many students are also under financial pressure to pay student loan debts, and therefore want to obtain a position where they might make a substantial salary. By choosing to seek work abroad in a democratic state with standardized labor laws and political stability, a graduate has a significant chance of receiving higher wages than in China (Melik, 2012). Western democratic states also offer a student more freedom in terms of research topics and individual work areas, without being monitored by the Chinese government and extremely structured hierarchies (Alberts et al. 2005, 141). All of these factors can be classified as the various "professional" motives that might persuade someone to remain abroad.

The concern for freedom in research and work areas can also be included in the "societal" factors category. Other societal factors include Chinese cultural
values such as collectivism and strong family orientation, as well as general feelings of alienation and the language barrier in the host country. Students are torn between the freedom and high living standards in the West, versus the need for the personal comfort zone of home. Many students are frustrated with materialism and the host culture's lack of understanding in terms of Chinese "backwards" practices. As a visitor to a Western country, these students take on a role of "ethnic ambassador," which can be challenging, especially for undergraduates (Radclyffe-Thomas 2007, 44).

The New York Times reports an instance at a 2008 student rally in the United States in which Chinese students were "forced to confront an image of their homeland that they neither recognize nor appreciate" (Dewan 2008). During that time, large numbers of American students were protesting the Beijing Summer Olympic Games due to humanitarian conflicts between China and Tibet. Chinese students were stunned by the depiction of their homeland in the media and were frustrated with the West's "blind" views in support of Tibet. Minna Jia, a graduate student at the University of Southern California explains, "I believe in democracy, but I can't stand for someone to criticize my country using biased ways. You are wearing Chinese clothes and using Chinese goods (Dewan 2008)." She goes on to say, "We are misunderstood as either brainwashed or manipulated by the government (Dewan 2008)." Chao Wu, a student at Notre Dame agrees with Jia saying, "We thought Western media was objective, but it is more biased than Chinese media (Dewan 2008)." As the conflict with Tibet is still a current topic in
the media, with fairly consistent coverage of Tibetan monks committing self-immolation, some Chinese students feel offended by the opinions of support groups in the West.

There are also societal factors that can be described as "culture shock." For a student in particular, much of the culture shock experience is felt in the classroom. Western education expects students to think critically and participate in discussions, while Chinese education is traditionally test-driven and teacher-centered. The West encourages creativity while China stresses obedience (Huang 2012, 139). Many scholars agree that this can be a difficult adjustment when studying abroad, and might even impact a student's view of the West enough to dissuade them from making a permanent move.

In addition to culture shock, students might be persuaded to return to China by strong feelings of nationalism and hopes of playing a role in the building of China as a hub of innovation (Lai 2004, 16). In contrast, others say that students are highly persuaded by democratic ideas, the free economy, and political stability with less corruption offered by the West. Some argue that after being exposed to these ideas, students become more pragmatic and less idealistic, suggesting that they might be more apt to prefer life abroad (Silin 2003, 94). However, the International Monetary Fund reports that there is no evidence to suggest that foreign-educated individuals do in fact promote democracy at home (Spilimbergo 2007). Therefore, these societal and political factors are not significantly influential.
"Personal" motivations compose a third category of factors that contribute to a student’s decision-making process. This category of factors is always present regardless of country of origin or professional goals. These factors include loneliness, longing for familiarity of home, and family and friendship bonds (Radclyffe-Thomas 2007, 44-45). Another point to consider is the logistical challenges associated with obtaining the proper immigration documents and becoming a legal resident of another country. This process alone can be daunting enough to discourage permanently moving abroad.

Other personal factors that might influence Chinese students involve dedication to Confucianism, obligations towards elders, and moral code of honoring ancestors. Distance from home is a common worry because children want to fulfill their cultural obligations of caring for their parents both physically as well as financially (Huang 2012, 139). Some students express concern about marriage, worrying that they might not find a suitable Chinese spouse abroad (Alberts et al. 2005, 146). Pressure to marry early in life causes distress, especially for women, as age 30 is considered the peak of eligibility for Chinese women. Those who remain single are devoid of honor (Huang 2012, 142).

Both men and women express concern about raising children in a less discipline-oriented society, fearing that the children might have less respect for elders and traditions. Numerous student interviewees agreed that returning to China would be close to impossible after having children in the United States or Europe, as they would not want to put a child through such drastic cultural
changes. Many students experience a feeling of identity crisis while abroad, and anticipate difficulties in re-assimilating into Chinese society. Those students hope to protect their children from this type of personal confusion as well. Overall, students are conflicted over their moral obligations in China, while fearing that they might not fully fit-in at home after spending time in the West (Alberts et al. 2005, 147).

Personal factors can also lead a student to prefer living abroad as well. Some scholars maintain that the relaxed nature of a Western social environment fosters personal development and exploration, which can be very appealing (Shengluo 2003, 15). Also, relationships and friendships that develop in the host country can be equally motivational. Should a student meet a Western spouse, it is unlikely that the couple will return to China. Graduate and doctoral students in particular often act on the cultural pressure to marry early, and start to build families before their studies are completed (Lai 2007, 17). China's one child policy might make the ultimate decision, depending on the size of family a student might desire or develop while abroad.

Of the three categories stated above, some scholars (including Ying Huang, Mark Lai, and Duan Silin) argue that societal and personal factors are the driving forces in a student's decision process. In regard to both options, returning to China or remaining abroad, societal factors such as nationalism might encourage return, while democracy and freedom might persuade others to stay in the host country. Personal factors can also be applied to the argument of either returning to China,
depending on the circumstance. However, while all students surely consider these factors, evidence is clear that the professional factors shape the outcome of the dilemma.

Even with all of the factors that might convince a student to return to China, only 33% of students actually returned in 2003, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of students who intended to return at the start of their exchange experience (Enze 2003, 7). Since then, the rate of return has increased dramatically to 71% in 2011 (Alberts et al. 2003, 133). The following evidence will show that professional factors only account for this drastic change.

In 2003, the United Nations Development Programme reported that specialized talent from developing countries flow to developed countries at a rate of 100,000 people annually (Huiyao 2010). In an effort to retain high skilled individuals within China, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and State Council issued the National Talent Development Plan on June 6, 2010 (Huiyao 2010). The goal of this plan is to transform China from a manufacturing hub to an innovation center, and to encourage enterprises to make better use of educated workers. China's focus is shifting to building a new intellectual community. The concentration is now on developing software as opposed to physical structures, such as the World Expo or Olympic Facility large-scale building projects of the last decade.

One aspect of the National Talent Development Plan is a newly rigorous selection process for government officials, with a study-abroad experience as one of
the conditions in choosing these future leaders. The plan also stipulates that the appropriate experts must approve all major government decisions, as determined by this process (Huiyao 2010). The result will be more highly paid jobs where students can apply their degrees.

Six million Chinese college graduates were unemployed in 2010, and this number is predicted to climb to 195 million by 2020 (Huiyao 2010). Historically, Chinese companies paid low wages and expected compliance with all policies, and were fairly economically successful by exploiting their unskilled workers. As more people are receiving higher education, labor unrest has grown, and Chinese workers have started to go on strike (Huiyao 2010). The Industrial and Commercial Management Disciplines of the State Council's Academic Degrees Commission maintains that China will only succeed by catering to the abilities of their educated population, and developing industry bases (using Silicon Valley as a model) (Enze 2003, 10). China's poor working conditions used to be the cause for students to remain abroad, but more students are enticed to return due to higher salaries, new government incentives, and a shift towards a more flexible, Western company structure (Melik, 2012).

Before these government incentives were developed, the majority of students opted to remain overseas in order to seek employment in an environment where they could reach their full potential. The various social and personal factors were not enough to convince 96% of students to return home in 2001, even though those factors represent one third of all the possible considerations (Alberts et al. 2003,
The professional factors carried more weight than the societal or personal. This holds true today. More students are choosing to return to China to take advantage of the government opportunities, and are willing to leave behind the various advantages that may have served as reason to stay abroad in earlier years. For example, in order to pursue a specific career or degree, students were willing to leave behind family obligations, cultural traditions and nationalistic feelings. Other students who might feel strongly about democracy, individualism and creativity are equally able to abandon those ideas in pursuit of the professional opportunities at home. It is clear that the professional needs must be met in order for a student to act on any of the other possible factors.

Another possibility to consider might be the economic downturn that is currently affecting the United States and Europe. Western unemployment rates are high, and the recession has shrunk the large financial gap. With continued modernization and an even further increase of government incentives, I predict that the number of Chinese returnees will continue to grow in the future.

The personal and societal factors stay constant, regardless of where a student travels to study, while the professional factors serve as a variable. In the past, the personal and societal factors were not sufficient to draw students back to China. Now, with the professional goals satisfied, students can stay true to their original intentions, and return home. The evidence is clear to support the assumption that the professional goals are most important regarding a Chinese student's decision to return to China or remain abroad after completing a Western academic experience.
Works Cited


Stacy Asch is a junior studying Anthropology and International Relations. Prior to attending UF, she spent four years as a professional ice skater performing around the world with Disney On Ice. In 2012, she completed an internship with the Institute of International Education in Washington, D.C., working to facilitate professional exchanges for International Leaders. Stacy is passionate about understanding the diverse cultures of the world in order to create an inclusive and global society. Upon graduation, she hopes to pursue a career in International Education and cultural exchange programs.
ARAB MILITARIES: FORCES OF OPPRESSION OR SUPPORT?

Sarra Lajnef

The military can play a big role in shaping the outcomes of an uprising or a revolution in a country. We saw that happening in many Arab countries during the spring of 2011. This paper's focus will be to study the reasons why the Arab militaries act the way they do. Why would they side with the government under certain conditions and side with the protestors under other conditions? In this paper, I separate the factors contributing to the military behaviors into two divisions: internal and external.

First, two of the internal factors that determine whether the military will choose to side with the government or with the people protesting in a revolution or domestic conflict are the ethnic and religious cleavages among it. The military will generally side with the government if it is mostly composed of the same ethnicity as the government in place. Soldiers will also be willing to fight for the government if they are appointed in highly ranked military positions according to family ties or because of religious affiliations. In order for the government to guarantee the loyalty of its military it appoints relatives or same religious division in the military command (Quinlivan). As Silverman states, “Ethnic favoritism may lead soldiers to remain loyal to the regime through at least three distinct mechanisms: (1) their desire to see the regime retain power due to ethnic affinity, (2) their ability to repress other ethnic groups with less sympathy and resulting desire to defect, and (3) their fear of ethnic reprisals targeting the privileged groups if the regime
collapses, a concern that can easily be manipulated by framing the conflict in ethnic terms” (15). On the other hand, the military could side with the protestors if they are of a different ethnicity than the government and feel like they want to gain control. The military could also side with the protestors when it is composed of ethnic or religious majority and does not have any power under the actual government (Finer).

The economic situation of the military is also a very important factor that determines whose side the military will choose. If the military has a good financial situation and they are happy with it, they will side with the government because they have no need to change the way it works. Governments will often times try to keep their military happy by devoting sizable funds to paying considerable salaries, buying new equipment, and giving several advantages to officers (Silverman). They will keep the military busy with “toys” (Huntington) so they can shift its – the military-- attention from the important stuff. However, if the military is disfavored and the officers are not well paid they will side with the protestors and look for a change of government hoping that their overall economic situation will change. For example in Tunisia, “Unlike many other states, the military was not a means of social advancement. School teachers and taxicab drivers made more than some officers, a constant source of embarrassment for the officer ranks” (Parsons and Taylor, 13). Also as Cook notes in his article, “Defense spending in Tunisia under Ben Ali was a relatively low 1.4 percent of GDP, which reflects... part of a Ben Ali strategy to ensure that the armed forces could not threaten his rule” (1). Regulated
patronage [benefits across the board for the military forces] and unregulated patronage [more advantages to high ranked officers] were the two way governments tried to keep their militaries loyal (Silverman). Governments even paid retired officers that they knew could be influential (Cook) in order to keep the troops loyal.

The hierarchy inside the military itself matters and its social/class composition are very important. Whether the military in composed more from a middle class or the bottom and poor class will be a major factor. When the military is mostly composed of a middle class that is educated and has social advantages, it will most likely side with the government because they will not identify with the civilians and do not feel their problems, as they are living in good conditions. However, if the military is composed from the poor class which most likely they joined the military because it was the only job that they could get in a highly restricted economy, the troops will most likely side with the protestors because they know the problems that they are facing and they are living them (Shils).

Also, whether the military officers had a domestic or international education is a very important factor. If the officers are locally educated they will tend to have a certain affinity to the government in place because their education has been influenced and probably dictated and controlled by the government. A cult of personality, especially in authoritarian regimes, might be educated to the military and the importance of being loyal to the government is emphasized. However, if they get to go overseas and study abroad they will be influenced by democratic teaching and tend to turn toward the protestors and try to do the right thing and
what they think is best for their countries. “International military students have played positive supporting roles in remarkable national political transformations over the past five years. ... What these officers share in common is an experience in the United States that changed their thinking about democracy” (Atkinson, 519).

This last factor segues nicely into the next section, which will present the external factors that influence the military decision-making. Although internal factors are important in the explanation of the military behaviors, they are closely tied to external factors.

The relationship between the military and the civilians is very important. The way the civilians view the military will influence their decision. In the Tunisian case for example, “Tunisians widely respected the armed forces prior to the anti-government protests” (Parsons and Taylor, 13). If the military and troops identify themselves as “part of the people and from the people”, they will most likely side with the protestors and refuse to fire on them. That is to say, if they identify themselves as part of the society and even if they have to defect and disobey orders, they will. For example, as Barany states in his article, in Egypt “conscript army has so many ties to society at large that, even had the generals been willing to shoot demonstrators, many officers and enlisted men would probably have refused to obey such an order” (32). Stated in the previous section, the class composition of the military matters. If the military is mostly composed from the least favored class soldiers will feel the pain that the civilians feel. They can identify with it. Among the society, they have their families and friend that suffer everyday from the
government.

On the other hand, when the military does not relate to the civilians; it will fire and follow the orders of the government no matter what. Moreover, it has been shown that in order to make sure of that the government may employ mercenaries that have no ties to the civil society, reasoning that they would be more efficient and less sensitive to the people. Most likely the mercenaries will be of different nationalities so they will not relate to the people of the country. Many scholars argue that the use of mercenaries will detach the military from having any sympathy to the civilians and would follow orders without thinking how it would affect the civilians. Although the problem with this argument is that it is hard to find data on the mercenaries as it is supposed to stay confidential and they are not supposed to be identifiable. Nevertheless, it has been shown that Gaddafi and other authoritarian leaders implanted mercenaries groups in their armies. Barany claims, “In order to compensate for the resulting shortage of loyal troops, Qadhafi allegedly brought in mercenaries from sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and Latin America” (34).

The level of involvement of the military in politics is important. Is the military distinct from the government or is it very tied to it? If it is autonomous, the military might not hesitate turning against the government especially if they were cut out of the political scene deliberately and out of fear of military coup. The Tunisian case illustrates well this argument. Both –and only- presidents adopted the same politics in dealing with the military. “Habib Bourguiba, had deliberately kept soldiers out of politics during his three decades as president (1957–87), even banning them from
joining the ruling party...Ben Ali... continued the policy of keeping the armed forces on the political sidelines” (Barany, 31). However, if the military is tied to the government and the process of decision-making is shared between the government and the military, there would be lower chances of seeing the military turning against its government. For example, the Algerian military is very involved in the political life of the country. “Algeria differs from Tunisia’s situation in several ways. Key among them is the role played by Algeria’s military, which is seen as an arbiter of domestic politics”(4). Algeria achieved its independence via a bloody revolution and emerged as a republic with military or military-influenced governments (Arieff, 12). Officers and soldiers in general would be less likely to come against their government. The military in Algeria acts as an invisible hand, it has to agree upon political appointments (especially presidential) and sits on the biggest budget of the state so it has ties to all industries and invisibly interferes with politics. The military fights against terrorism, which gives it more strategic standing and thus political importance domestically and regionally.

This point takes us to another point very related that is the status of the military compared to other institutions. As for Tunisia for example, the military was kept very small with no power whatsoever. In addition, it always came second to the police forces and other security institutions that were preferred by the government such as secret intelligence forces. “He [Bourguiba] denied them a role of first instance in the suppression of internal dissent and has relied instead on the separate forces of a gendarmerie, a national guard, and a special paramilitary
Brigade of Public Order” (Ware, 37). This unfavorable situation made it hard for the Tunisian military to stay loyal to the government and they decided to side and support the protestors. On the other hand, if the military is privileged and considered as the primary force in the country, they are likely to support the status quo and stay loyal to their government. As Barany states in his article: the Syrian army “has not had to accept de facto second-place status behind other security formations... As is common among armies of authoritarian states, the Syrian military is heavily politicized; loyalty to the regime often outweighs skill or professional merit in determining who gets promoted” (36).

Whether or not the military had participated in previous fights and the legitimacy of the military are two related and important factors that determine which side they will take. When the military does not have any history of former civil wars and did not at any point of their country’s history represent a threat it will be most likely loved and respected by the civil society and be willing to keep that respect and image that it has. “The Egyptian military choose not to use force is that it wanted to preserve its image as a legitimate and professional institution, as well as maintain its high level of popularity among the Egyptian people. This argument could also be used for the Tunisian military, which is also popular among average Tunisians” (Steiman, 1). To the political power in place it will most likely be favorable to keep its image and legitimacy.

However, when the military has a history of violence [old or recent] with the civilians, scholars argue that the soldiers would not mind using violence and force
against their own people. This is the case in Syria, as the military had a bloody history under its former president Hafez al Assad (father of the current Syrian president Bashar Al Assad) who, in 1982, ordered to kill an uprising of the Muslim Brotherhood in the city of Hama at all costs. This bloody fight was known as the massacre of Hama during which the military killed between 20 to 40,000 civilians (Lawson, 982). And as Barany argues, it is hard for a military that was involved in previous fights against their own people to switch sides, because they already lost their legitimacy and do not care about gaining it back anymore. They already made their decision to oppress the civilians while siding with the ruling power, actions that make the situation too late to be reversed even if some officers would want to back off or change sides.

In this section, I aim at exploring existing argument stated by some scholars that are very convincing but fail to explain many cases across the board, the fact that weakens the argument and makes it less reliable than the arguments discussed above. Some scholars argue that the decision of the military could be influenced by international intervention. Whether or not the international community will intervene in a certain country will influence the decision of the highly ranked officers of whether they would side with the protestors or support the government. These assumptions can be true in some cases as they were for the case of the Bahraini uprising when the military forces were supported by outside forces from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) that helped the local forces end the uprising and control the situation (Katzman). This also could be true in the case of
Libya when forces of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] intervened in the country in favor of the rebels.

However this argument cannot be extrapolated to explain all the cases. In some situations, the international community will interfere into the internal affairs of certain countries because of their geo-political position or regional importance but in other cases it will not. If a certain country, is for example, landlocked, without natural-resources or wide diplomatic significance, or if the big powers do not have regional or global interest in intervening, the argument based on international intervention might thus prove somewhat weakened because of the conditionality that it requires in order to be true, and thus narrow range of the cases it can capture.

Another argument that some scholars present is that the military does not act out of pure good “bonté de coeur”. They argue that there is always a hidden side of the story and that the military will calculate the elements for and against before siding with the government or the civilians. They will act in a way that will strengthen their position or give them more advantages. As William and William argue “the military as a rational actor formulating decisions in the context of a continual reevaluation of its interests and restraints” (5). Even if their assumptions are somewhat solid they study the matter from a western point of view that to some extend is biased and does not cover everything. For example, their argument fails to explain why the Tunisian military acted the way it did. First, they sided with the protestors but following the argument they should have profited from the situation
and taken control, which they could have done after the president Ben Ali fled the country, on January 14th, however, they did not. Instead, they gave the power back to the civil society represented in the person of the chief of parliament Fouad Mebazaa. As Barany addresses in his article, “After the dictator fled, General Rachid Ammar found himself easily the most popular figure in the land and could have expected widespread support had he seized a political role” (Barany, 37).

Military involvement in the political life and the role of the military in countries is not a well-developed field of study, especially in the Middle East and North Africa. After the Arab spring and the global publicity that it had, politicians and researchers became a little more interested in the politics of the region and the role of the military. Nevertheless, this field of study remains neglected despite its importance. In this paper, I tried to give some explanation to why the military will act the way they do in a given revolution or uprising. I divided my argument into two sections, one stating the internal factors looking at the military from the inside, and the other presenting the external factors looking at the military position and relationships with other institutions of its given country.
Works Cited


Cook, Steven A. "The Calculations of Tunisia’s Military." Foreign Policy January 20 2011.


Sarra Lajnef is a senior majoring in Political Science with an International Relations minor/certificate. After graduation, she plans on pursuing a graduate degree in international business along with swimming professionally and preparing for the 2016 Olympics. Currently, she is conducting research for her honors thesis on the differences and similarities between the Tunisian military behavior during the two major uprisings of 1978 and 2010. She enjoys traveling, shopping, cooking/baking, and has been on the UF swim team since 2009.
Cuban Immigration and Transnationalism: Generational Changes

Jose O. Perez

Since the Castro brothers took power on January 1st, 1959, thousands of Cubans have been prompted to leave the island for a myriad of different reasons, ranging from politics to economic opportunities. Although consisting of many different people and stories, Cuban immigrants to the United States (U.S.) since the revolution can be divided into two distinct generations. The first are those that came between the triumph of the revolution in 1959 to the Mariel Boatlift of 1980; and those that came during the Mariel and after. Cuban-American transnationalism can also be divided into two stages, which fall roughly along the same timeline. During the first stage, we see little if any transnationalism; whereas in the second stage we see thriving transnational connections. The two phases of transnationalism were caused by the differences in the two generations of migrants, and the changes brought about in Cuba by the end of the Cold War. Cuban transnationalism is also astounding in its ability to overcome U.S. policy, making it very different from other countries.

The generation of Cubans that immigrated to the U.S. between the fall of Fulgencio Batista and the Mariel Boatlift almost entirely represented the elite echelon of pre-revolutionary Cuba. A close-knit elite, they lived in luxury, and almost exclusively socialized and married within themselves (The Immigrant Divide, 14). These social clubs were so exclusive they even refused Batista admission because of his humble and mixed-blood origins (The Immigrant Divide,
14). Furthermore, they had the most knowledge about the U.S. because most of them had studied or travelled in the U.S. private schools (The Immigrant Divide, 15). Out of these immigrants, 81% of them had held professional, clerical, or skilled labor posts in Cuba, meanwhile only 4% of them had been farmers (The Immigrant Divide, 16). Thus most of Cuba’s bankers, engineers, doctors, professors, lawyers, and so forth emigrated the island during this wave, constituting a tremendous brain drain.

Along with the class and economic leaning of these emigrants also came a racial component. According to writer Susan Eckstein, one demographic study found that of Cubans who came to the U.S. during the 1960s, 97% of them self-identified as “white” (The Immigrant Divide, 19-20). These immigrants were also predominantly Catholic, and rebuilt a thriving Catholic community in Miami that became very politically involved in its opposition to Fidel Castro (Perera Pintado, 162). By the early 60s, the Catholic Church and the Cuban immigrant community were so intertwined that the Vingin de la Caridad became, as writer Ana Celia Perera Pintado explains, “more than a religious symbol, the paramount expression of the relation between Cubanía, opposition to the Revolution, and Catholicism” (Perera Pintado, 163).

Finally, this first generation of Cuban immigrants became almost entirely Republican, after dissatisfaction with the failed Bay of Pigs invasion and the Kennedy Administration (Transnational Networks, 320). This wave of migrants is stalwart in its opposition to the Castro regime and has influenced American politics
to ensure a continued embargo (Stepick, 7). Finally, these migrants are the most likely to self-identity as “exiles” and refuse to travel back to the island as long as the Communist party is in power (The Immigrant Divide, 21).

In stark contrast, the second generation of Cuban migrants begins with the Mariel boatlift. Between April 15th and October 31st of 1980, about 125,000 Cubans left for the U.S. from the port of El Mariel (Transnational Networks, 321). The Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that, “half were operators and laborers, 16 % were service workers, and 13 % were craft and repair workers, whereas only 9% of them has been executives” (Cuban Americans, 269). Mariel immigrants were mainly lower and working class people, making them an antithesis to the first generation of migrants (Cuban Americans, 269). And although, most of them still considered themselves “white” we also begin to see more racial diversity within the post-Mariel Cuban immigrants (The Immigrant Divide, 19-20). Also, this generation shows more religious diversity than the previous generation. Having lived through Castro’s attempts of creating an atheist society, many considered themselves secular (Perera Pintado, 164). While many others practiced Santería, which gave rise to the Regla Ocho and Rincón de Hialeah communities in Miami (Perera Pintado, 164).

This more recent wave of immigrants was even discriminated upon by the more-established elitist wave that left after Castro’s coming to power. Susan Eckstein recounts the story of a 1994 rafter:

Although trained in Cuba as an electrical engineer, he felt stigmatized by older émigrés in the US. Oldtimers referred to him as a rafter, even years after he resettled and has established himself anew professionally (The Immigration Divide, 36).
The schism between pre- and post- *Mariel* Cuban immigrant to the U.S. is also felt in their political leanings. The Democratic Party, most notably Bill Clinton, began to make in-roads with this generation of Cubans, winning 40% of the Cuban vote in 1996 thanks to them (Stepick, 7). These Cubans are also more likely to support lifting the U.S. Embargo on the island, normalizing trade relations, and travelling to the island to see loved ones (*The Immigrant Divide*, 97). Perera Pintado said it best:

> Migrants in that wave [*El Mariel*] were mostly working class, and many practiced popular traditions, including Spiritism and African-based religions. They brought with them, in short, divergent, expectations and ways of interpreting life, as well as attitudes influenced by the Revolution (Perera Pintado 164).

The split perception of the world, between pre- and post-*Mariel* immigrants, created by fleeing Cuba or having grown up there for part of the revolution also influenced and divided Cuban-American transnationalism into two distinct phases. Transnationalism, as explained by author Peggy Levitt is, “processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Levitt, 6). Although many people and scholars debate the extent to which transnationalism is possible, since we can only physically be in one place at a time, most still view transnationalism as an inevitable thing. As Levitt’s book argues in the case of Dominican migrants, they quickly overcame some resistance from those back home and established a “transnational village” (Levitt, 11). The case of Cuban-American transnationalism is, however, distinct because we see an initial phase that is characterized by very little, if any transnationalism, followed by a secondary phase of extreme
transnationalism. This shift was caused by the differences between the two different generations of Cuban-American migrants and by the position that Cuba found itself in at the end of the Cold War. Furthermore, the shift in transnationalism is also miraculous because in order to forge these connections Cubans, although aided by relaxed Cuban policies, still had to overcome state policies from the U.S.

As stated earlier, the first generation of Cuban immigrants to the U.S. were more likely to view themselves as “exiles” than “immigrants.” They bore the deepest resentment against Castro’s regime and had no intent of returning while he remained in power. In their exile communities, most noticeably Miami, they established themselves economically and politically (Stepick, 45). They then wielded all of their power to ensure the destruction of the Castro regime. Through such organizations as the Cuban-American National Foundation (CANF) the exile community was able to exercise considerable lobbying power in Washington and influence U.S. policy towards Cuba (Stepick, 47). This generation had little contact with family members left back on the island, and the little contact they had could not escape the political dilemma in which Cubans found themselves. For instance, Eckstein notes a prevailing “culture of consumerism” among this generation of Cubans:

The impersonal manner in which family in the Diaspora occasionally sent goods and sometimes money... further strained cross-border relations. Islanders were miffed when items arrived without notes (Transnational Networks, 323).

However, disconnect of the first generation with Castro and the island can be contrasted to the more nuanced view of the post-Mariel generation of migrants. This
generation had partly lived through Castro’s revolutionary experiment. Thus they had a first-hand account of the issues the island faced in post-revolutionary times and found it more difficult to break ties with those left behind. Although most would still want to see Castro out of power, they lived the adverse effects of the U.S. embargo and failed government planning, and could not enter the realm of “exiles” and never look back. As one Cuban tells:

We [Marielitos] are more tolerant and more human... Those who came in the 1960s are disconnected, but we who came in the 1980s know what it was like to grow up in Castro's Cuba (The Immigrant Divide, 37).

This latter generation of Cuban, who were more reconciliatory towards the revolutionary regime, or at least their fellow family members still on the island, at first found it difficult to send back economic assistance (Transnational Networks, 325). Both U.S. and Cuban policies stood in the way of transnationalism. As the Soviet Union crumbled and the Cold War came to an end, that all changed. With the Soviets in perestroika and glasnost, Cuba began to see a future of economic isolation (Back from the Future, 91). Cuba first saw 15% of its annual trade vanish as Eastern European countries became capitalist, most of this trade were key products such as: buses, electric generators, centrifuges for sugar mills, and so forth (Back from the Future, 89). After the fall of the Soviet Union, Cuba then saw most of its imports and financing options vanish, while at the same time the newly formed Russian state demanded repayment of its 15 billion rubles debt (Back from the Future, 93). The Castro regime needed money fast, before the country collapsed.

Facing this economic reality, the regime softened its tone towards Cubans who had left the island. Emigrants who in official documents had been refered to as
“worms” (gusanos) and “scum” (escoria) were renamed “residents abroad” (residentes en el exterior) (Perera Pintado 170). For the first time since the revolution, in the early 1990s, Castro welcomed Cuban-American remittances and travel. The post-Mariel migrant population who had been settled for about a decade, jumped at the chance to aid their loved ones back home. In 1990, 7,000 Cuban immigrants visited the island, by 2000 some 100,000 immigrants were visiting per year (Transnational Networks, 335). Furthermore, by the early 2000s migrants were sending back into the economy about $1 billion a year, more than all foreign direct investment, aid, and loans combined (Transnational Networks, 326). Economic transnationalism extends beyond money remittances, however, as seen in Cuban return visitors who brought gifts of Colgate toothpaste, soap, shampoo, televisions, VCRs, brand name clothing, and other consumer products (Transnational Networks, 333). This resulted in Cuba having one of the highest awareness’s of U.S. brand names of any non-English speaking country (Transnational Networks, 333). Transnationalism, thanks to altered state policies on the island and a post-Mariel immigrant generation who had lived first-hand through Castro’s Cuba, helped the populous and the regime survive the fall of the Soviet Union.

This feat is also stunning in its ability to overcome the state policies that existed in the U.S. at the time. The formidable embargo aside, Cubans also had to deal with the Torricelli Act (“Cuba Democracy Act”) of 1992 and the Helms-Burton Act (“Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act”) of 1996. The Torricelli Act made it illegal for subsidiaries of U.S. companies operating in other nations to
invest or trade with Cuba (Pérez, 289). The law also denied ships, which had engaged in trade with Cuba, access to U.S. ports within six months of their last visit to Cuba (Pérez, 290). The Helms-Burton Act sought to punished businesses, banks, and governments that aided or traded with Cuba (Pérez, 290). As historian Louis Pérez states:

> It further banned sugar products from countries that imported Cuban sugar... denied aid to Russia and other former Soviet states equal to the amount of assistance they provided Cuba... the U.S. president was authorized to fund the activities of “democratic and human rights efforts”... (Pérez, 299-300)

Along with these pieces of legislation came even stricter restrictions on remittances and travel to the island that continued until the Obama administration. Cuban-American transnationalism’s ability to overcome all of these legislative hurdles, and a hostile older generation of Cuban-American immigrants, demonstrates that transnationalism is not an assured course of events but rather one that must be fought for. Furthermore, the commitment of the post-Mariel Cuban immigrants to help their loved ones back home, because they lived the adverse effects of the embargo and Castro’s Cuba, personifies how strong transnationalism can be once it commences.

Post-revolutionary Cuban migration to the United States can be divided between two generations: those who came between 1959 and the Mariel, and those who came during and since the Mariel. These two generations are polar opposites in every way possible, specifically class and economic standing. These differences also created two distinct phases of Cuban-American transnationalism, which roughly fall within the same time frames. However, the later phase prompted by Cuban
immigrants who wanted to help their loved ones back on the island, was aided by the economic situation in which the Castros found themselves at the end of the Cold War. Cuban-American transnationalism is amazing in its ability to overcome the state-imposed policies of the U.S. that attempted to isolated Cuba, when the regime was most in need of remittances. It has been difficult for Cuban-Americans to establish a transnational community, but now it seems unstoppable.

Transnationalism was able to overcome the renewed efforts of George W. Bush to limit remittances and travel to the island (Pérez, 326-327). The tide is now changing as the Obama administration has taken steps towards improving relations with Havana, most notably opening the Tampa airport for direct flights to the island (“Tampa International”). If both nations enter a phase where their state policies promote Cuban-American transnationalism, then the connections between the two would only deepen further. This would also provide the best foundation for beginning to heal the ruptures between the two countries.

Jose Perez is a junior Political Science and Latin American Studies double major. He is also pursuing minors in Anthropology and History. Perez aspires to work for the State Department one day as a policy assistant. His research interests include globalization, Latin American/U.S. relations, and Brazilian foreign economic policy. He is President of UF’s Brazilian Portuguese Club and Coordinator of Project Family Books, an organization dedicated to tutoring migrant farm workers’ children. His hobbies include movies, languages, world travel, and hanging out with friends.
Populist Parties of the Right in Western Europe: A Case Study Comparison of France and the Netherlands

Dimitrios Peteves

Political Party Abbreviations (Translations in brackets)

France

FN = Front National (National Front)
UDF = Union pour la Démocratie Française (Union for French Democracy)
RPR = Rassemblement pour la République (Rally for the Republic)
UMP = Union pour un Movement Populaire (Union for a Popular Movement)

The Netherlands

LPF = Lijst Pim Fortuyn (Pim Fortuyn List)
VVD = Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy)
PvdA = Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party)
PVV = Partij voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom)

In their work West European Politics in the Age of Globalization, Hanspeter Kriesi et. al examined the extent to which the processes of globalization have implications on the domestic politics of West European countries. Noting that “political reactions to economic and cultural globalization are bound to manifest themselves above all at the national level” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 3), Kriesi et. al operate under the assumption that a new structural conflict of integration versus
demarcation will emerge between the so-called winners and losers of globalization. With the radical left and populist right capitalizing on the winners and losers sides respectively, Kriesi et al. argue that under their adaptation hypothesis mainstream parties are expected to “take up the new preferences, identities, values and interests, and interpret and articulate them in their own specific ways” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 14). Accordingly, due to this new structural conflict the perceived differences between the winners and losers in a given country will result in a transformation of the political space.

In this paper I present a case study comparison of two West European countries, France and the Netherlands, and aim to confirm the notion that the “parties that most successfully appeal to the interests and fears of the ‘losers’ of globalization [are] the driving force of the current transformation of the Western European party systems” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 19) and pay particular attention to the role of the societal contexts and political opportunity structures of both countries with respect to the facilitation of this transformation. France and the Netherlands provide for compelling examples primarily for two reasons, the first of which is that they are both signatories of the 1957 Treaty of Rome and as a result have had largely similar experiences with globalization as a result of EU integration. Additionally however, they are also relevant insofar that they are both former colonial powers which have seen a rise in the populist right, with the Front National in France and the LPF and eventually PVV in the Netherlands.

*Societal Context Conditions*
In order to demonstrate how parties of the populist right are able to capitalize on the desires of the losers of globalization, I must first present an analysis of the societal conditions that allow for such party mobilization to occur. Kriesi et. al explain that the openness of a political system for new cleavages can be determined by “the relative strength of the traditional cleavages and the new cleavage” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 24), the traditional cleavages being concerned with class and religion and the new cleavage being concerned with integration\(^1\). With respect to the religious cleavage, levels for church attendance in France and the Netherlands are both below average when compared with other West European countries (Kriesi et. al 2008, 26). Similarly, the percentages of the population unaffiliated to any church are comparatively above average for both countries (Kriesi et. al 2008, 26).

Looking at measures of class conflicts, the Netherlands scores comparatively below average for all measures of this cleavage (Kriesi et. al 2008, 26), illustrating that in combination with the weak strength of the religious cleavage, the Netherlands is particularly open to a new political cleavage. France however, scores comparatively high for all measures of class cleavage, despite the fact that “the saliency of the traditional class conflict has been decreasing during the 1990s” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 27). As such, whilst the societal context in the Netherlands provides ample political space for a new cleavage, in France the class cleavage acts to reduce the impact of the integration/demarcation cleavage to the extent that “the

---

\(^1\) Kriesi et.al note that for West European countries “globalization means, first of all, European integration (…) however, this aspect of the European context is not essential” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 3).
French political parties are expected to put a heavier accent on its economic aspects than their counterparts in the other countries” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 27).

Political Opportunity Structures

In their analysis of the success of right wing parties in Europe, van der Brug et al. supported the argument that “success of anti-immigrant parties\(^2\) depends to a large extent upon the opportunity structure in each country” (Van der Brug et al. 2005, 568). As such, having demonstrated that political space for a new cleavage has indeed been present in both France and the Netherlands, I will now outline the structural conditions that allow for parties of the populist right to take advantage of this space. One aspect of the political opportunity structure in a country that is especially important for the success of emerging parties such as those of the populist right is the electoral system. Whether or not a country uses a plurality or proportional method of distributing votes can have a direct impact on the number of parties that come to power. Arend Lijphart, for instance, notes that whilst “the plurality method favors two-party systems (...) conversely, PR and two-ballot systems (...) encourage multipartism” (Lijphart 1999, 165). Therefore, considering that the Netherlands employs a PR system and that France uses a two-ballot system, we would not expect this aspect of their opportunity structures to negatively impact the success of emerging populist parties. Similarly, for systems utilizing proportional representation, the electoral threshold in a country is also relevant for the success of right wing populist parties, due to the fact that large

\(^2\) Van der Brug et al. define “anti-immigrant parties as political parties that employ the immigration issue as the core political concern in political campaigns or that are considered by elites of other parties to do so” (Van der Brug et al. 2005, 538).
thresholds “constitute significant barriers to small parties (Lijphart 1999, 153). In the Netherlands, where since 1956 the threshold has been “relatively low and hence innocuous” (Lijphart 1999, 153), we would not expect any barriers to representation. In France, where a two-ballot system is used, there is no explicit threshold but we can expect a comparatively higher implied threshold. (Lijphart 1999, 153).

Transformation of the Political Space: Front National in France

In France the populist right has been represented by the Front National since 1972, when it was founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen. In analyzing the success of the FN and how it has transformed the political space in France, two separate factors are of guiding importance. The first of these factors concerns the strategies employed by already established parties to respond and adapt to the changing political space. Concurrently, the second factor concerns the extent to which the FN itself experienced change throughout the transformation of the political space.

With regards to the first factor, Kriesi et al. note that “France clearly is one of the countries whose political landscape has been profoundly altered in the past two decades” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 77). As predicted, the Front National was able to mobilize based on the new globalization cleavage resulting not only in their gradual rise to prominence but also in a transformation of the French political space. Achieving its electoral breakthrough in the European elections of 1984, the FN showed signs of Euroscepticism at a time when “virtually the entire political spectrum had turned pro-European” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 86). Four years later, the FN reinforced its position of Euroscepticism when it devoted significant attention to
the issue in its new electoral program. Thereafter, as a result of the FN’s increased negative focus on European integration “a much more widespread opposition to the integration project emerged in the 1990s” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 86). As such, through capitalizing on the issue of European integration the FN was able not only to bolster its own support, but was also able to “[fuel] an astonishing fragmentation of the party system” (Kriesi et. al 2008, 86).

Following the Front National’s increasing success in the early 90’s, the established parties of the right reversed their position on immigration. Originally accommodating the claims of the FN, both major parties of the right, the RPR and the UDF, “switched to an adversarial strategy, distancing themselves from the exclusionist stances of their challenger” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 101). The reversal was not without consequence, the FN ended up beating the UDF in the first round of the presidential elections of 2002 coming in second place (Kriesi et al. 2008, 81). As a result of the established right’s decision to undertake an adversarial strategy, the FN was left alone to present its differentialist viewpoint, a decision which “may well have contributed to Le Pen’s unprecedented success” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 101).

Following the 2002 election, the RPR was merged into the UMP, whose candidate Nicolas Sarkozy chose instead to adopt an accommodating strategy during the 2007 elections. This decision is cited as potential explanation for the FN’s subsequent decline from second place with 16.9% of the vote in the first round in 2002, to fourth place with 10.4% of the vote in the first round in 2007 (Kriesi et al. 2008, 104).
With regards to the second factor, we can certainly see that the FN has also had to adapt itself in the face of the changing political space. As mentioned earlier, Kriesi et al. noted that due to the mobilizing capacity of the class cleavage in France, we would expect the impact of the new integration/demarcation cleavage to be reduced. Accordingly, it would also be expected that the ability of the FN to mobilize based on the new cleavage would be negatively impacted by their opposing parties putting heavier accents on economic aspects of this cleavage. As such and in response to this threat, we can see the FN using “its organizational capacity skillfully to redraw the dimensions of conflict structuring the party system” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 89). By declaring that an economic cleavage was no longer relevant, claiming instead it had been replaced by “the opposition between the proponents of a cosmopolitan and those of a national identity” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 89), Le Pen was able to weaken the impact of an economic cleavage and support the new integration/demarcation cleavage from which his party lends its support.

Transformation of the Political Space: LPF & PVV in the Netherlands

As with the analysis of the political transformation in France, I will use the same two guiding factors in my explanation of the political transformation in the Netherlands. As opposed to France’s history with the Front National, the “new right-wing populist challenge came late to the Netherlands” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 163), and did not emerge until the success of the LPF in the general election of 2002. Despite the murder of party leader Pim Fortuyn prior to the elections, the LPF ended up winning “26 of the 150 seats in the Dutch parliament (...) an
unprecedented result for a new party” (Van Kessel 2011, 74). However, the resulting coalition government collapsed only months after the elections and in the subsequent 2003 elections “the LPF lost two-thirds of its vote” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 165). Despite its brief success, the emergence of the LPF in 2002 played a large role in the transformation of the political space in the Netherlands. The controversial nature of Fortuyn’s stance on immigration and integration was no secret (Van Kessel 2011, 74). Nevertheless, during their campaigns for the 2002 general election the parties of the ruling purple coalition “had originally agreed to ignore Fortuyn and to [instead] focus on issues of which they had been traditional owners” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 177). Disregarding their initial intentions and faced with attacks from Fortuyn on the issue of immigration, ruling parties VVD and PvdA were unable to ignore the LPF and ultimately “adopted an accommodating strategy with respect to immigration” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 178). The accommodating strategies of the LPF’s opponents ended up working in their favor with the resulting electoral failure of the LPF in 2003.

Although it is clear that the LPF was able disturb and transform the Dutch political space, its short-lived nature provided little room for an assessment of the second guiding factor of my analysis - the extent to which the LPF itself experience change as a result of the transformation of the political space in the Netherlands, and also left Kriesi et al. questioning whether a new challenger outside of the established parties would come to replace Fortuyn (Kriesi et al. 2008, 181). However, this question was soon answered in 2006 when Geert Wilder’s PVV
“obtained 5.9% of the vote, inheriting part of the former LPF support” (Kriesi et al. 2008, 182).

Similar to the rise of Pim Fortuyn and his party the LPF, Geert Wilders was able to capitalize “on the perception among a considerable share of the electorate that the mainstream political parties did not sufficiently take into account salient social issues (Van Kessel 2011, 80). Achieving close to the amount of support the LPF garnered in 2002, the PVV earned 15.5% of the vote and 24 seats in the 2010 general elections (Van Kessel 2011, 75). Although the LPF was not around long enough to experience change itself in response to its opponents’ accommodating strategies and the transformation of the political space in the Netherlands, the PVV can be considered its logical successor and thusly we can expect it to adapt to the political space in the same way we would have expected the LPF to respond. De Lange argues, for instance, that one of the primary reasons for the PVV’s electoral success “is that Wilders specifically avoided the errors in party-building that Fortuyn and his successors committed” (De Lange 2012, 1230), and Geert Wilders himself claims also “because of the LPF I learned my lesson” (De Lange 2012, 1237).

Conclusion

Through an analysis of both their societal context conditions and their opportunity structures, it is clear that both France and the Netherlands were ripe for the capitalization of the integration/demarcation cleavage outlined by Kriesi et al. (Martin 2000; Van Kessel 2011, 69). As such, it should come as no surprise that parties of the populist right were able to mobilize themselves on the basis of this
cleavage. Both in France, and in the Netherlands, parties of the populist right were able to position themselves in what they saw as vacancies in the political space, forcing their opponents to either adapt, reject, or ignore the issues relating to the new cleavage. At the same time, in forcing their opposing parties to respond these new issues, parties of the populist right transform the very party system in which they operate.

Under Le Pen, the Front National in France was able to challenge traditional notions concerning European integration, and force its opponents to assume an adversarial strategy towards the issue. Similarly, under Fortuyn, the Lijst Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands was able claim ownership of the issue of immigration, forcing its opponents who chose to initially ignore the issue to adopt an accommodating strategy. Additionally, in both countries we can see the right wing populist parties themselves changing in response to ongoing transformations. In France, Le Pen reacted to attempts to capitalize on class cleavage by reinforcing the integration cleavage favored by his party. In the Netherlands, Geert Wilders was able to adapt his Freedom Party as a result of the lessons learned from his predecessor Pim Fortuyn. As such, we can conclude from this analysis that in both France and the Netherlands, the populist parties of the right have constituted the driving force of the transformation of their respective party systems.


Dimitrios Peteves is a senior with a double major in Political Science and Criminology. His academic interests include populist parties and immigration policy in the European Union. Upon graduation, he hopes to attend law school in Florida.
Deforestation is the process in which trees from forested areas are removed and afterwards, the land is then converted for non-forest usage. Often this is due to agricultural or urban expansion. This process has recently gained awareness in the global community as an environmentally detrimental practice. One of the major affected areas is the Amazon rainforest in Brazil, where a large percentage has been destroyed. The problem of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon persists largely due to economic pressures and incentives. The multitude of exports that they are able to produce with the deforested land contributes to their economy and helps them become a more developed country. As a result, more land is being converted for commercial and industrial uses, as well as highways to make the process more efficient and prosperous. However, there are efforts by the global community to lower the rates of deforestation such as: “debt-for-nature” swaps, the REDD/REDD+ program, support of pre-existing indigenous territorial claims, and changes in the programs funded by the World Bank. These efforts have shown recent success in lowering the levels of Brazilian Amazon deforestation, but the problem is far from being solved.

Deforestation is a growing environmental issue in the world. Forests are being cleared and degraded by timber harvesting, agricultural conversions, human-caused fire, road building, and many other causes. Industrialization and development are fueling the forces behind deforestation. It is estimated that about
50 percent of the forests that once covered the earth are now gone, and that each year approximately 16 million hectares of forest disappear (“Deforestation”, 2010). The rate of deforestation is accelerating, and while mankind used to have a relatively minor impact, the impact today is enormous, resulting in human and ecological costs. It is attributed to being one of the major causes of the enhanced greenhouse effect (tropical deforestation being responsible for approximately 20 percent of world greenhouse gas emissions, according to the International Panel on Climate Change) and a contributing factor to global warming. In areas of deforestation, the land reaches higher temperatures because it heats up faster; this enhances cloud formation and leads to more rainfall (NASA, 2004). Soil erosion, flooding, and landslides due to a reduction of soil cohesion are also major risks (Casciani, 1999).

The Amazon rainforest is one of the largest forests in the world, and has one of the richest biodiversities. Unfortunately, approximately 20 percent of the Amazon rainforest is already gone, and there has been a loss of biodiversity in the region (Wallace). Almost all of this loss has occurred since the 1960’s. Prior to the 1960’s, entrance to the Amazon rainforest was essentially completely restricted (with the exception of around the rivers) (Kirby et al., 2006; 433). However, during the 1960’s, farmers began to colonize the area and implemented slash-and-burn techniques for crop cultivation. Farmers quickly realized that the Amazon soil is only productive for crops for a short period of time, causing a further migration of farmers into the Amazon, and more slash-and-burning of the forest (Watkins and Griffiths, 2000; 15-
The fires created during this process are only meant to burn and clear a limited area, but, unfortunately, they frequently get out of control and escape the intended plot, burning pristine rainforest as well. The consistent burnings also release large amounts of carbon dioxide, which contributes further to the global warming crisis (Butler, 2010).

The trees that are torn down can then be sold locally and internationally, as there is always a demand for more wood. Logging in the Amazon is strictly controlled by licensing laws, which allow timber to only be harvested in specific zones. In reality, illegal logging is widespread throughout the Amazon, but the timber can be sold for a profit to local and international buyers (Butler, 2010). The property that is cleared can then be developed and used for cattle pastureland, agricultural farmland, or some other industrial purpose.

Cattle ranches are one of the principle forces of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon, and they have been since the 1970’s; approximately 70 percent of all of the Amazon deforestation is due to cattle ranches (Butler, 2010). According to the Center for International Forestry Research, by 2001, 74 percent of Europe’s processed meat imports came from Brazil (and approximately 80 percent of Brazil’s cattle production was in the Amazon). The Brazilian economy relies on the money it gets from exporting beef to other countries.

There are several factors that have caused recent growth in Brazil’s beef industry. One of these is the devaluation of Brazilian currency; farmers were getting less money for their beef and so they had to produce more if they wanted to
make a certain amount of money. Buyers also could get good deals on the beef they bought from Brazil, so they ended up buying more. The abolition of foot-and-mouth disease throughout most of Brazil has helped increase the price and demand for their beef. Another contributor is the land tenure law in Brazil that allows colonists and developers to acquire title to Amazon lands if they simply clear forest and place a few head of cattle on the land; cattle are used as a mechanism to gain ownership of Amazonian land (and are also a relatively low-risk investment). The improved infrastructure in Brazil and road constructions allows ranchers and developers to easily access Amazon land, as well as reducing the shipping and packing costs of beef (Butler, 2010).

A lot of the Amazon is cleared to make room for agricultural purposes. In recent years, the farming of soybeans has become a major contributor to deforestation in the area. Brazil is now one of the largest soybean exporters in the world, and appears to be on its way to supplanting the United States as the leading exporter (Butler, 2010). Due to the industry’s economic strength, soybean farming has become a major impetus for infrastructure projects and the building of new highways that make the land in the Amazon accessible (making it easier for soy farmers to access and export their crops).

The construction of the Transamazônia Highway road system in Brazil, which began in 1970, is another important factor that contributed to the rise of Amazonian deforestation. Initially, the World Bank had agreed to fund road extensions in the Amazon region, but they eventually backed out after
multinational protests against the massive deforestation that was taking place because of them. This Highway is often considered to be the “beginning of the end of the rainforest’s protection” (Trapasso, 1992; 316). The interior of the rainforest had become accessible and, therefore, vulnerable to human exploitation. Cuttings, burnings, and mining operations are common in the land that runs along the roads that cut through the Amazon rainforest.

Deforestation in Brazil has a strong correlation to the economic prosperity of the country. For instance, during the economic slowdown in Brazil during 1988-1991, there was also a downturn in deforestation rates. On the other hand, the rate of deforestation in Brazil rapidly grew, along with their economic health. This is because it costs the farmers money to expand pasturelands, farmlands, and/or operations and it also costs the government a lot to sponsor highways and colonization programs and award tax breaks and subsidies to forest explorers; so, when the economy is bad neither farmers nor the government can afford such projects, but when the economy is good, both the local community and the government invest the money in developing so they can compete with global markets.

Then again, in times of economic decline, the lure of the large quantities of mineral wealth in the Amazon becomes quite strong (it is estimated that anywhere from 300-400 tons of gold, 4 million carats of diamonds, 1.2 billion tons of copper, and 110 million barrels of oil remain in the Amazon) (Trapasso, 1992; 317). This promotes the development of mining areas (for minerals, oil, precious metals,
diamonds, etc.). International corporations are also interested in exploiting the mineral wealth, and have purchased rights to build their own mines in the region.

One way that has been recommended to aid Brazil with their economic difficulties and help the environment and rainforests at the same time: a “debt-for-nature” program. This is a program in which banks that hold loans sell them at a big discount to countries that they doubt will be able to repay. The buyers then donate them to the nature conservation efforts; this swap program has been successful in other countries, including Costa Rica. For a while it did not seem that Brazil would be willing to accept this program; none of their representatives supported it and, instead, viewed it as a trick to allow outside forces, such as other governments or multinational businesses, to obtain control of Brazilian land and territory and as a way for “industrial nations to preserve their economic supremacy at the expense of the developing world” (Trapasso, 1992; 315).

However, over the years, Brazil has changed its opinions on the debt-for-nature swaps, and in 2010 they signed an agreement with the United States to turn approximately $21 million of debt into a fund to protect certain areas of their tropical ecosystems (BBC News - US-Brazil Debt for Nature Swap to Protect Forests, 2010). Their program will take place over the next five years and will mainly focus on the Atlantic coastal rainforests, as well as Cerrado and Caatinga. While these regions are separate from the Amazon, they also suffer from severe deforestation, and the cooperation shown by the Brazilian government for these
regions could indicate the move towards future cooperation regarding the Amazon rainforests.

The Coalition for Rainforest Nations was created in order to help reduce deforestation and degradation by increasing environmental sustainability. They are attempting to cover areas they feel the Kyoto Protocol has failed to properly address (Butler, 2009). While multiple forest states became members, Brazil never did (according to the Coalition for Rainforest Nations homepage). In 2005, the Coalition of Rainforest States began to push the consideration for a “Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries” act (REDD). Eventually, in 2007, it was agreed that the issues of deforestation and forest degradation were urgent matters and a deadline of late 2009 was set for reaching an agreement on an international REDD program (Butler, 2009).

The REDD program was designed to use market/financial incentives to persuade countries to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases released during deforestation and forest degradation. The program was set up as a type of “offset” scheme of the carbon markets and was intended to help produce carbon credits. Emission-saving projects, such as REDD, are meant to compensate for the polluters’ emissions. The carbon credits that they can earn through these projects can be used to help corporations/governments in meeting their target emissions and/or can be traded to other corporations/governments within the carbon market. This program was quickly improved and adjusted to include the options of offsetting carbon emissions through conservation, reforestation, and sustainable forest management,
and is now referred to as the REDD+ program. Again, Brazil has not yet committed to this program by becoming a member.

However, Brazil has shown some support for REDD+ by agreeing to reduce their emissions by 36 percent (to a total of 39 percent) by the year 2020. Brazil has also passed “national climate legislation that requires an 80 percent cut in deforestation by [the year] 2020” (Boucher, 2010; 7). Despite these improvements and commitments, they are still not official members of REDD/REDD+. One of the reasons that Brazil is not an official member is that social movements and NGOs questioned the “market-oriented approach proposed for the REDD program and argued instead for comprehensive land reform in the country, including the demarcation of indigenous lands” (Zhouri, 2010; 253).

International conservation efforts have been made to work with Brazil to help preserve the Amazon rainforest. Yet, there have been many difficulties in the process. The state itself is pushing to develop the land and turn it into pastures and crop fields in order to help their economy, and multinational corporations are contending for contracts to exploit the natural resources in the area. There is also a third obstacle in these conservation efforts: pre-existing indigenous territorial claims. During the 1980’s, the Coordinating Body of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) argued that the global conservation agenda should include the indigenous areas that were occupied and ecologically managed by tribal sovereignty, instead of undermining the indigenous claims.
Many conservation organizations had made some level of commitment to protecting indigenous rights in the 1990’s. However, much of these efforts have faded with time; indigenous peoples have never been a central part of their agenda, and in time have moved farther and farther into their peripherals. Now it almost seems as if the groups for indigenous rights are fighting against the biodiversity-based conservation groups, and it is the conservation groups that are coming out ahead. They have better “integrated themselves into decision-making processes at national and multi-lateral levels, and have entered into a dialogue and collaboration with key corporate agents in the Amazon region” (Pieck, Moog, 2009; 423), while the indigenous movements are essentially on the sidelines. However, the indigenous rights groups continue to fight, and they are regaining strength and support as they inject their agenda into the decision-making processes.

In the past, the World Bank funded many projects that helped contribute to rapid deforestation in many areas, including the Amazon. The World Bank funded developmental projects to help under-developed countries become more developed (Brazil being one of them), and they used to do this without considering the environmental degradation that the projects were causing. An example of such a project was their initial funding of the expansion of the Highway system that cut throughout the Amazon (the Planafloro development project).

However, it was during this time that the international community pushed the World Bank to be more conscientious of the types of projects they fund and the environmentally detrimental consequences of such projects; they eventually pulled
their funding and backed out of the Transamazonia highway expansion project. A big indicator of the World Bank’s commitment to funding more environmentally friendlier projects is their approval of a US$1.3 billion loan to Brazil for the First Programmatic Development Policy Loan for Sustainable Environmental Management in 2009. This loan supports Brazil’s efforts in improving their environmental management system and integrating the concerns of sustainability in the development agendas of all key sectors. Deforestation in the Amazon rainforest, as well as conservation of the remaining Atlantic Forest, are key environmental issues in Brazil that are to be addressed by this program.

Deforestation is a major environmental issue many forested countries battle with, especially Brazil. While there are known hazards of the process, there are still strong motivating factors that can convince a state to continue with projects that cause deforestation. The ability to export goods produced on the deforested land to foreign states is a strong push for Brazil: it helps build their economy and gives them the funding needed for the development projects they wish to complete, making them a stronger state in the global arena. Nevertheless, there does seem to be recent improvement in the rates of deforestation in the Amazon, and significant declines have occurred since 2004. Much of this is due to multinational efforts to persuade Brazil to take on more environmentally friendly practices and policies. These global efforts include: debt-for-nature swaps, the REDD/REDD+ program, support of pre-existing indigenous territorial claims, and the recent World Bank loan to Brazil to finance an improvement in their environmental management.
system. Despite these efforts, the problem still persists, and as long as the demands for these products exist, there will always be pressures for deforestation.

Works Cited


Kari Reed is an honors Anthropology and Political Science double major. Reed plans on going to Law School for environmental law after graduation. She is a member of Alpha Omicron Pi and enjoys: swimming, concerts, and travelling.