



TRINITY TERM 2011

# INSPIRES

The Magazine for Oxford Politics and International Relations Alumni



## A LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *Inspires*, the alumni magazine of the University of Oxford's Department of Politics and International Relations (DPIR).

Inevitably, the contents of this first edition are selective. However, we hope that our choices will appeal to a wide spectrum of Politics and International Relations alumni – both those that did undergraduate degrees including Politics ('Philosophy, Politics and Economics' and 'Modern History and Politics'), and those who have done more specialised graduate degrees (MSc, MPhil and DPhil) in Politics and International Relations, at Oxford.

Many of you will be surprised to see just how much Politics and International Relations in Oxford has grown and developed over the years. Indeed, one of the purposes of this magazine is to convey the scale, variety and value of the teaching and research that is now undertaken in the Department. In particular, we have sought to provide a sense of the Department's contemporary impact on, and interaction with, the wider world.

*Inspires* will be an annual publication, and we hope that it will form part of a growing engagement with our alumni. However, our success in developing a conversation with readers will depend, in part, on your response. We hope that you will let us have your comments on this edition, make suggestions for future content and volunteer to contribute to future editions yourselves. Our contact details are set out opposite.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Kate Candy and David Leopold

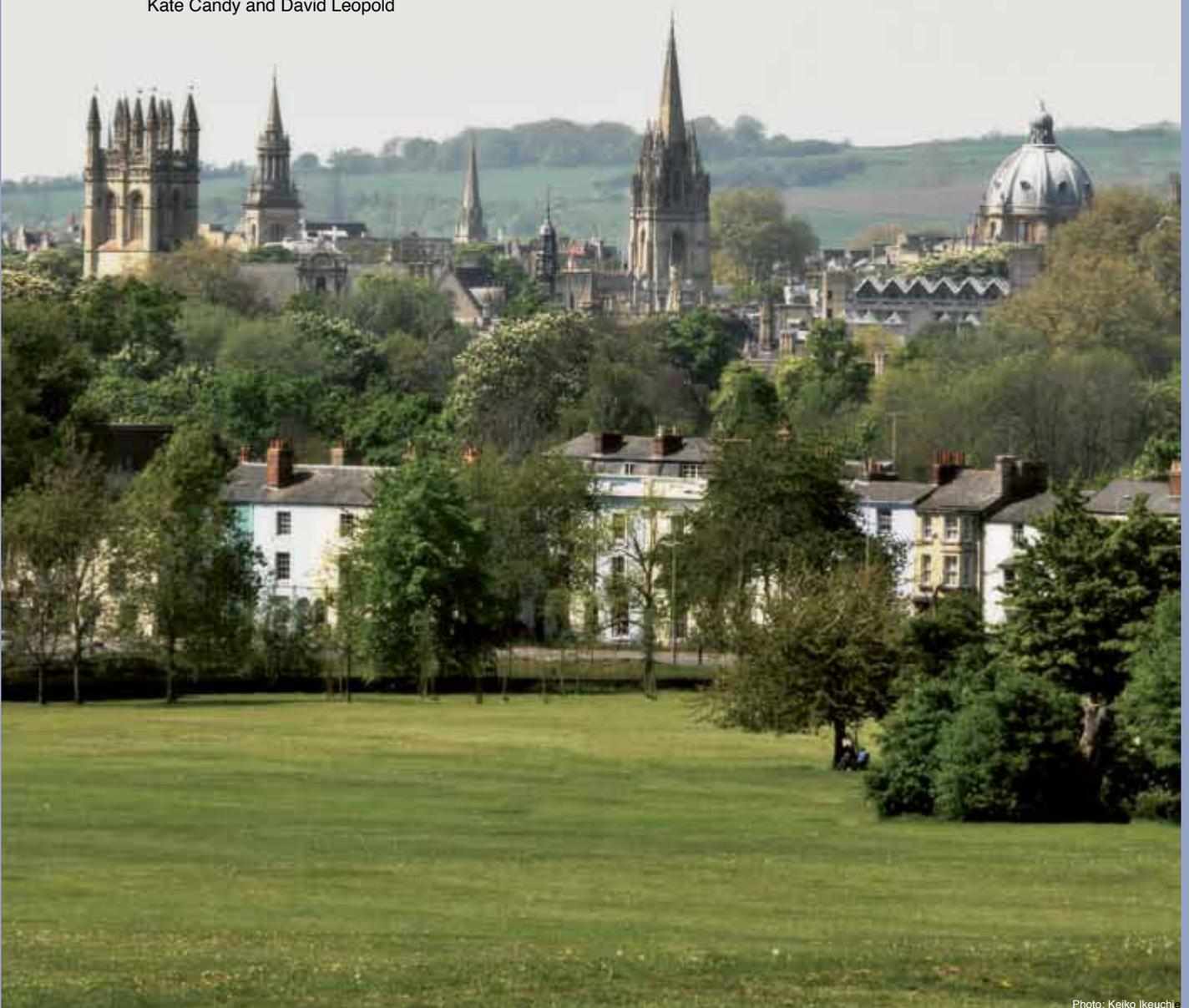


Photo: Keiko Ikeuchi

- 4 **Welcome**  
Stephen Whitefield
- 6 **Law and War**  
Jennifer Welsh
- 8 **Learning to Experiment**  
Ray Duch
- 10 **Crunching the Numbers**
- 12 **Theory and Practice**  
Stuart White
- 14 **Nation States, Capitalism and the Crisis**  
David Soskice
- 16 **Life After PPE**
- 18 **International Relations in Oxford**  
Andrew Hurrell
- 20 **Recent Books**
- 22 **Media and Politics**  
Sara Kalim
- 24 **Undergraduate Teaching**  
Elizabeth Frazer
- 26 **DPIR on the Internet**
- 28 **Dates for Your Diary**



Photo: Sue Srawley

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The opinions expressed in *Inspires* are those of the contributors, and are not necessarily shared by the DPIR or the University of Oxford.

# WELCOME



**Stephen Whitefield** has been the Head of Department since 1 September 2010. Here he welcomes readers and explains some of the contemporary challenges and opportunities facing the Department of Politics and International Relations

Everyone knows Gilbert Ryle's old philosophical joke: a prospective student visits Oxford and sees Balliol, Christ Church and Exeter Colleges, and asks the tour guide, 'But where is the university?', having been under the assumption that it is a different place altogether. But, for those of you who matriculated fifteen years ago and read PPE at Merton, St John's, Somerville or elsewhere or perhaps did the MPhil at Nuffield or St Antony's, the question might be: 'But where is the Department of Politics and International Relations?'

Until ten years ago, Politics matters in Oxford were managed by the Sub-Faculty of Politics. You may recall that its administrative heart, so far as it had one, was located in George Street in the same building as the Social Studies Library. It was pleasant, with a common room and small seminar room. Coordination across Politics as a whole was rather limited, and colleges and college tutors were central. But, the world was already changing. The government inspectors were inspecting our teaching; research funding was becoming more important (and we were subject to yet more inspection); our graduate programmes were growing. And so, to meet the challenges of modernity, the Department of Politics and International Relations was born. And, judging by its enormous growth over the last ten years, the external recognition we have achieved as

the top-ranked Department in the UK for our teaching and the student experience, and by the fact that we have the largest number of top-rated researchers of any Department in the country too, we have responded to those challenges tremendously well.

So, the simplest answer to the question, 'Where is the Department of Politics and International Relations (along with Economics and Sociology)?,' is that its administrative heart is now located on Manor Road in an appropriately modern new building designed by Norman Foster, with many lecture and seminar rooms as well as offices and a large café. Students come to visit the relocated Social Sciences Library and attend lectures there more frequently than they attend Schools. Many of our graduate students on MPhils and DPhils have desks and computers, and some academics also have (largely shared) offices there too, particularly when they are involved in burgeoning Departmental administration. I am the third Head of Department, after Mark Philp and most recently Neil Macfarlane each served five years. They were the institutional builders. I am trying hard not to mess things up.

But, the simplest answer won't really do. For one thing, our building could not house the nearly 100 academics and hundreds of students, even if the various 'teething

problems' in the building with the heating and air conditioning were sorted out and they wanted to leave their colleges. But more importantly, the Department is and wants to be spatially and intellectually diversely located. We are self-avowedly pluralist in our teaching and research with enough of us to operate on the 'zoo principle' – two of everything. And we work, happily but with occasional friction, in a Collegiate University, which means that almost all of us wear two hats of Department and College, if seldom at the same time. So, as my colleague Sudhir Hazareesingh at Balliol put it: Where is the Department? It is really located all over the University!

My hope is that some of that spirit of pluralism of academic endeavour as well as pluripresence will be evident in this the first issue of the Department's Alumni magazine *Inspires*. Why are we launching *Inspires* now? Because the challenges – from the government, for the needs of our students (graduate and undergraduate) and to continue our research – keep on coming, if anything ever more briskly, and to meet them we need the support and understanding of our closest friends, our alumni. So, we aim to show you here a few of the many exciting things that are happening in the Department in the hope that you will want to be involved with us in years to come.



“ We are very confident about our standing in the academic world and confident too about our capacity to progress in future. ”

Photo: Sue Srawley

Jennifer Welsh writes about the work of the inter-departmental and inter-disciplinary Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict (ELAC), particularly about the emerging doctrine of 'responsibility to protect' that the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon discussed eloquently in a recent lecture sponsored by the Department and which is playing a major legal role in currently on-going intervention in Libya. Ray Duch writes about his work, based in Nuffield College's Centre for Experimental Social Sciences, involving pioneering research that tries to find new ways to get at the vexed issue of determining causality when people make political judgements or decide on political action. Stuart White discusses how Political Theory should engage with the real world of politics, which of course is already central to our teaching and research. As, for example, David Soskice shows when he engages with the pressing issue of the financial crisis. Sara Kalim writes about the work being done on media and politics in the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, which is based in the Department with generous core funding from the Thompson Reuters Foundation. And Liz Frazer reflects on how teaching has changed in Oxford over the years – Liz recently won (with Scot Peterson who is also in the Department) an award for innovation in use of e-resources in teaching.

We are very confident about our standing in the academic world and confident too about our capacity to progress in future. But what, finally, are the main challenges facing our Department as we aim to maintain and enhance our teaching and research? You will have read a great deal about the proposed increases in undergraduate fees, much of which will simply be used to make up for cuts in government funding with most of the remainder going to much needed bursary and access schemes that will help ensure that no-one is put off of applying for and attending Oxford. But much less is heard about the pressing need the Department has to offer scholarships for students on our masters and doctoral research programmes, where government funding has also been cut. To give an example, both the Economic and Social Research Council and the Arts and Humanities Research Council have announced that they will no longer fund the college fee, so colleges and the Department will need to work together to make up the shortfall. The Department has put in place a scheme from our own resources that will see funding for graduate scholarships increase significantly over the next four years, but even then we will be far behind our competitors for the best research students at Harvard, Princeton and elsewhere in the US. Our number one funding priority is to make that difference up. But,

we will need your help through joint college-departmental funds to do so.

So, this is what will be the first of many future alumni magazines and the first in what will be a stream of invitations to you to get involved with the Department. Come to the University Alumni weekend in Oxford this September. And bear in mind events to be announced soon that will commemorate the appointment 100 years ago of the first Gladstone Professor of Government and not long after that the 100th anniversary of PPE as well. Visit our website. And please be in touch through Kate Candy (Communications Officer with responsibility for alumni relations) about how your careers and lives connect with Politics in Oxford.

We look forward to hearing from you and seeing you in the Department soon. Remember, you can find us all round the University.

**Stephen Whitefield**  
*Head of Department, Professor of Politics,  
University Lecturer in Politics, Rhodes  
Pelczynski Tutorial Fellow in Politics,  
Pembroke College*

# Law and War



**Jennifer Welsh** outlines the history and ambitions of the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict

**T**he Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict (ELAC) is an exciting and unique collaborative research programme with a central aim to strengthen law, norms and institutions to restrain, regulate and prevent armed conflict in the 21st century.

Created in 2008 through the generous funding of The Oxford Martin School, ELAC is hosted by the Department of Politics and International Relations and is led by a core team of three co-Directors: Jennifer Welsh (Professor of International Relations), Dapo Akande (University Lecturer in Public International Law) and David Rodin (Faculty of Philosophy).

The nature of warfare is changing and evolving in ways not imagined when many of our traditional legal frameworks, such as the Geneva Conventions, and governing institutions, such as the UN Security Council, were established. Complex international conflicts, terrorism, new military technologies, cyberwarfare and the threat posed by climate change are just some of the challenges under increasing worldwide scrutiny and to which the global community must respond in ways which meet modern standards of justice and morality.

In addition to engaging in innovative, interdisciplinary research, ELAC's key aim is to deliver an impact beyond the confines of traditional academic research by engaging in public and policy debate. This allows us to play a significant role in reshaping legal and policy instruments for the management and regulation of armed conflict. We believe that the challenges of modern warfare cannot be met without significantly strengthening the authority of both international law and the institutions that implement and interpret it, which is the overarching theme of our work.



“ We believe that the challenges of modern warfare cannot be met without significantly strengthening the authority of both international law and the institutions that implement and interpret it. ”

Some recent examples of our research and policy work include:

### **The Responsibility to Prevent**

The principle of the ‘responsibility to protect’ (or ‘R2P’), endorsed by heads of states and governments in 2005, has gained traction in recent years as a way both to clarify the nature of the international community’s role in responding to the commission of mass atrocities – such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity – and to build the political will to act when these gross violations of human rights occur. In 2009 ELAC was pleased to be awarded funding by the Australian Responsibility to Protect Fund to advance the implementation of the principle of R2P by elaborating on how one of its key elements – prevention – can be

operationalised in international society. We are working closely with our partner organisations in Canada, Norway and Singapore, and in 2011 will be hosting a series of global dialogues in the USA, Europe and Asia.

### **A Code of Professional Military Ethics**

Our Co-Director David Rodin is currently advising the US Army on the creation of its first formal Code of Professional Military Ethics. This will be a landmark document that will serve as a baseline for the conduct of the more than one million soldiers who serve in the US Army, and is being developed under the direction of General Casey, Chief of Staff. In October 2010 representatives from the United States Military Academy at West Point visited Oxford and also took time to speak at an ELAC seminar on the implications of the Code for future US military policy and operations. The project was formally commenced with a working group at the US Military Academy at West Point in November and will proceed with the drafting of a White Paper for dissemination later in the year.

### **The International Criminal Court**

Dapo Akande focuses much of his research on international criminal law and transitional justice, including the role of the International Criminal Court (ICC). He recently co-authored a paper for the influential South African Institute for Security Studies, which explored the tensions between the Court and the African Union over the arrest warrant issued for Sudanese president Omar Al-Bashir for war crimes including genocide during the Darfur conflict. The paper was launched at the meeting of the Assembly of States Parties to the ICC Statute in December 2010.

Relationships within the Oxford community and beyond are crucial in meeting ELAC’s core aim. We have forged a network of international contacts with other academics, governments, NGO’s, international institutions and the media. Without compromising our strong and principled commitment to the ethical and legal

restraint of war, ELAC has also developed trusted relationships with the practitioner community – military personnel and defence officials – that enable us to have demonstrable impact.

One of ELAC’s most notable successes is the creation of the Oxford War Group, a network of the world’s foremost philosophers on the ethics of war. October 2010 saw the Group’s second annual meeting, ‘Why We Fight: The Purposes of Military Force in the 21st Century’, and we are pleased that this conference has grown in size and reputation to become a leading forum for the discussion of the ethical and legal challenges of modern warfare. The group includes promising early career researchers and brings in students from DPIR and beyond. We look forward to the third conference in September 2011.

ELAC also hosts an extremely varied programme of events to bring together academics and students across disciplines and encourage new thinking. Recent highlights include our series of lectures on ‘Peace and Diplomacy’. Speakers have included Martin Griffiths, Director of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, one of the world’s most prominent private conflict mediation organisations, and a fascinating behind the scenes look at the impact of the Nobel Peace Prize by Geir Lundestad, Director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo and Secretary of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. In addition, we host a popular lunchtime seminar series in association with the Oxford programme on the Changing Character of War (CCW). If you can’t be there in person, download the podcasts from our website.

Further details of all our activities and events can be found on our website at: [www.elac.ox.ac.uk](http://www.elac.ox.ac.uk).

*Jennifer Welsh*  
*Professor in International Relations,*  
*Co-Director of ELAC,*  
*Fellow of Somerville College*

Jennifer Welsh will be representing PPE at the Alumni Weekend on 17 September. Please see the back cover for details.



# Learning to EXPERIMENT



**Ray Duch** explains the appeal of experimental research in the social sciences, and introduces the work of the Centre for Experimental Social Sciences (CESS) at Nuffield College

Experimental research has experienced a significant renaissance in the social sciences. It is no longer confined to psychology but has increasingly been embraced by other social science disciplines (including economics, political science and sociology). The results of experimental research can be found informing decision making in the retail industry, finance, health care, and government. For example, experiments that measure skin conductance response and hormonal data have been conducted on professional traders of financial instruments in order to understand the physiological basis for risk aversion. Field experiments have been conducted in rural India in order to help design insurance policies for agriculture crops. And laboratory experiments have been developed to assess the impact on vote choice of different race-based campaign ads. This increased interest in experimental research by social scientists led to the founding of the Centre for Experimental Social Sciences (CESS) at Nuffield College in 2008, with funding provided by Nuffield Governing Body for a five-year period.

What has inspired the interest in experimentation? The overriding factor is the concern with claims of causality – or causal priority – made in social science, specifically the extent to which we can have confidence that the causal variable of interest in a typical empirical model is independent of confounding factors. If subjects (aka individuals) are assigned in a truly random fashion to treatments of interest then we can be confident that any variation in behaviour (typically choice in social science experiments) across the treatments can be attributed to treatment effects rather than any other confounding variables (such as education or social class).

A classic example from Political Science concerns the effect of media messages and campaign contact on political behavior, be it voting turnout, vote choice, or campaign contributions. Work in this area was traditionally based on survey data – respondents reporting the contact they had with campaign workers or their exposure to media messages. However, a now classic study of voter turnout by Alan Gerber and Donald Green – ‘The Effects of Canvassing’ in *American Political Science Review* (2000) – pointed out that the regression models using these kinds of survey-based self-reports were very likely to generate spurious relationships between contact and voting turnout. The problem here is that eligible

voters are not randomly assigned to voter mobilisation campaign efforts. Clearly in the 'observational data' world, the politically engaged, and hence those most likely to turn out and vote, are the voters who are more likely to be exposed to these campaigns promoting voter turnout. The 'treatment' here is confounded with the 'effect' (that is, voter turnout). The traditional approach to dealing with such problems associated with observational data is to introduce variables into the estimation model designed to control for these effects. Gerber and Green (and others) argued that control variables in models such as these were not a convincing way of accounting for confounding effects.

The Gerber and Green study nicely illustrates how these problems of confounding variables and causality might be overcome by employing experimental techniques. They implemented an innovative field experiment in which 30,000 individuals were identified using voter registration lists (containing considerable information on partisan registration and past voting behaviour). These individuals were randomly assigned to different types of mobilisation efforts – mailings, telephone, and personal contact. This random assignment of the treatments makes it much more likely, compared with observational data, that the type of mobilisation effort is effectively exogenous in their regression estimation.

A similar concern to boost confidence in the causal variable of interest, has led political scientists to show increasing interest in the experimental laboratory. One of the areas in which this is relevant involves understanding the effect of different voting rules or mechanisms for aggregating individual preferences. (This example is drawn from Rebecca Morton and Kenneth Williams, *Experimental Political Science and the Study of Causality*.) A researcher might be interested in testing a formal model that predicts that in plurality rule elections where there are no majority requirements, voters may be more inclined to vote strategically for their second preferred candidate when there are more than two candidates than is the case in plurality elections with majority requirements. The researcher testing this model has two major challenges. First, she has to induce rational behaviour on the part of the subjects, and this is typically accomplished by financial incentives (at CESS we require that all experiments include subject financial incentives) that induce preference orderings over the candidates. Secondly, the lab setting allows the investigator to create the appropriate institutions or voting rules that correspond to the theoretical model – the treatments in effect. And it is these institutional treatments, over which the investigator has full control, to which the subjects are randomly assigned.

Lab experiments are one of the principal activities of the Nuffield CESS. The CESS experimental lab, located in George Street Mews, consists of 25 experimental stations. Currently the lab has a subject pool of 3,000 – about 75 percent are students and the remainder are non-students from the Oxford area. In a typical term the CESS lab might host 10 experiments amounting to 60 experimental sessions.

One of the principal criticisms of traditional lab experiments is that they may not generalise to a general population (of consumers, voters, business managers, and so on). The CESS initiative recognises this possible shortcoming, and also promotes experimental research that is not conducted in the traditional experimental lab setting. These include field experiments, virtual lab experiments, and experiments embedded in traditional public opinion and internet panel surveys.

Virtual experimental 'sessions' take place wherever the subject has access to the

 **What has inspired the interest in experimentation? The overriding factor is the concern with claims of causality ... made in social science.** 

internet. Hence, subject recruitment is not confined to a defined narrow subject pool as is the case with most traditional labs but can be as broad as any individual in the world with internet access. Advances in computing and communication have made designing and implementing these experiments simpler and less expensive. Subjects participating in virtual lab experiments are typically drawn from convenience samples (that is, non-representative samples) although one can design virtual subject sampling frames that are representative of a population.

At CESS we have conducted these virtual experiments both with subjects from the CESS subject pool, and with more representative samples of the general population.

CESS is actively engaged in implementing experiments that are embedded in large-scale internet surveys. Strictly speaking, the latter are not a random probability sample of the population. However, in a growing number

of countries it is now possible to construct internet samples that, with appropriate weighting strategies, are representative of the general population. The extent to which opt-in internet samples approximate a random probability sample of the population depends on the population being sampled (some populations have denser internet penetration than others), sampling design methods and weighting strategies employed. Hence, by embedding experiments in internet surveys we can generalise to a broader population; something one cannot do with a conventional lab experiment.

As part of the 2009 British Election campaign, CESS implemented a number of experiments embedded in a six-wave internet panel survey with over 10,000 respondents. Leading universities around the world participated in this CESS initiative. In one of the studies, together with Shanto Iyengar at Stanford, I designed an experiment that measures British attitudes about immigration. The experiment is unique in that it distinguished abstract policy preferences (Are more open immigration policies generally bad for the country?) from willingness to admit individual immigrants, especially those deemed deserving of entry on both economic and cultural grounds. We are able to gauge attitudes toward individual immigration situations by exposing respondents to random treatments that consisted of images and descriptions of specific immigrant applications for entry into Britain. The British are both more tolerant with respect to admitting individual immigrants – although this varies by race and region of emigration – than their general policy positions would suggest, and less tolerant in this regard than American respondents to a similar experiment we conducted in the US.

We have also implemented the Implicit Attitude Test (IAT) as part of British and German large scale internet surveys. IATs are experimental vignettes designed to recover implicit attitudes – for example racial attitudes – that respondents are unlikely to volunteer in traditional survey questions. The experimental protocol was developed by psychologists at Harvard and is now widely used. Embedding this experiment in a large internet survey allows social scientists to understand better not only the nature of racial bias in a society, but also how it affects a range of political preferences and choices. The criticism levelled against causal inferences from models based on conventional observational data has resulted in social scientists increasingly embracing experimental methods. The Nuffield CESS is committed to providing the Oxford social science community with the facilities and the advice necessary for executing experiments in both lab and non-lab contexts.

*Raymond Duch  
University Professor of Quantitative Political  
Science, Nuffield College*

# Crunching THE Numbers

On the principle that a statistic is (sometimes) worth a thousand words, *Inspires* present the Department of Politics and International Relations in numbers.

**No.**

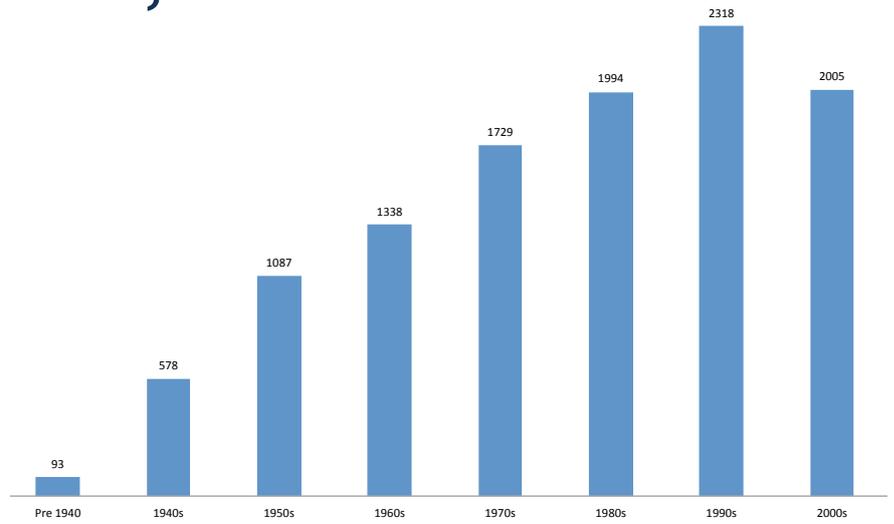
DPIR's ranking for Politics in the UK in 2011\*

\*Sources: The Complete University Guide, The Independent and University Guide, the Guardian

## ALUMNI with records on the Development and Alumni Relations (DARS) data base

**13,753** Total undergraduate alumni  
76% in UK and Europe; 15% in North America

**1,486** Total graduate alumni  
48% in UK and Europe; 40% in North America



## RESEARCH 2009 - 10

**£2,007,000**

Research income

**88** Funding applications processed by the Research Support Team. 69 applications made in 2004-05

**30+** Conferences, workshops and training programmes hosted and/or organised

## STUDENT ADMISSIONS 2010 - 11

**239** **Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE)**  
Success rate for PPE applicants 16.5%

**46** **History and Politics (HP)**  
Success rate for HP applicants 15.9%

**31** **DPhil students**  
32 in 2005-06 and 23 in 2000-01

**55** **MPhil students**  
44 in 2005-06 and 10 in 2000-01



**35**

current MPs studied PPE at Oxford

## STAFF

	2000 - 2001	2010 - 2011
Department Office Holders	23	36
Administrative Team	8	11
Research Staff	9	19
Established Academics	44	69



**800**  
cups coffee/tea per week  
drunk by Department staff in  
Manor Road Building



**2,059m<sup>2</sup>**  
Floor space of Manor Road Building

Photo: Sue Srawley



**240**  
media appearances  
by faculty in 2010

## HEAD OF DEPARTMENT



**7,487**

Emails in current Head's inbox  
over the last 8 months



**40,000**

Air miles clocked up in his final  
year of office by previous Head  
(who points out that he doesn't own a car!)



**3,700**

Bicycle miles clocked up in his final  
year of office by previous Head

Politics and International Relations

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD Department of Politics and International Relations

HOME PEOPLE EVENTS RESEARCH STUDY TEACHING NEWS & MEDIA ABOUT US ALUMNI HELP

**WEBSITE** since the new site launch in Oct 2010

**250,000** individual page views

**52,000** visitors

From **183** countries

**8,000** hits for most popular page 'Why study with us?'

# Theory and Practice



**Stuart White** examines the proper relationship between Political Theory and the real world of politics

**W**hat is the proper relationship between political philosophy and politics? Should political philosophy inform political action? Should political philosophy learn from political action? Or are the two best thought of as unconnected enterprises?

These questions have begun to move to the fore in contemporary political theory. One school of thought, which one can term deliberative democrats (exemplified by Joshua Cohen, of Stanford University), sees an important role for philosophy in politics. Another, the realist school, is much more sceptical. For the realists (such as Raymond Geuss, of the University of Cambridge), a philosophical politics is illusory and possibly dangerous.

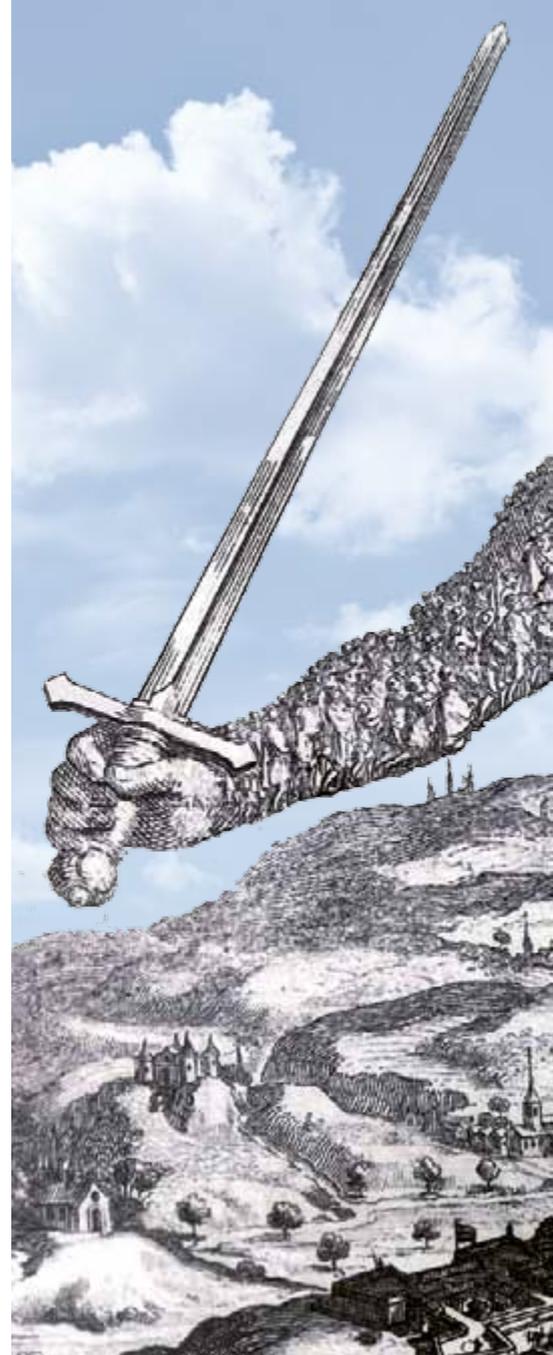
Let's start with the deliberative democrats. In the background of much deliberative democratic thinking stands the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in particular *The Social Contract* (first published in 1762). According to Rousseau, a state has legitimacy (only) when two conditions hold: (1) laws are made on the basis of an inclusive decision-making process in which all citizens have an equal right to participate; and (2) laws reflect a sincere judgment as to what best promotes the common good of the citizen body. By common good, is meant the shared basic interests of the citizenry (for example, in life, liberty and economic opportunity), taking each citizen's interests as having equal standing with those of any other. Because, according to this view, the legitimate exercise of state authority must be by reference to a judgment about the common good, and the common good is a normative concept which needs unpacking, the legitimate exercise of state authority has a philosophical dimension.

Rousseau seems to presume that there is always a single right answer to the question of what best promotes the common good. Today's deliberative democrats do not presume this, on the whole, but they insist that democratic citizens seek to justify laws and policies to one another in ethical terms. From this standpoint, political philosophers can be understood as 'democratic underlabourers'. Their work in analysing core normative concepts such as liberty and equality is work that can, in principle, assist the demos in its ethical deliberations. The political philosopher is not an expert who seeks to be a 'philosopher-king', subverting popular self-rule. Rather, the political philosopher generates resources for citizens to use in their practice of popular self-rule.

Much of the recent work in academic political philosophy, such as the theories of social justice developed by John Rawls (in *A Theory of Justice* first published in 1971) and Ronald Dworkin (in *Sovereign Virtue* first published in 2000), can be understood as democratic underlabouring in this sense. The theories provide resources which citizens can use to get a handle on the normative questions which lie at the root of policy questions. For example, if citizens are trying to address the question of how far the community should tax its members to provide welfare benefits and public services, they might look to Dworkin's theory to get some guidance.

Joshua Cohen, a prominent deliberative democrat, points out how important 'political morality' is in democratic politics:

Consider the response of Alberto Mora, the US Navy's general counsel, to his discoveries about the cruel treatment of prisoners sanctioned by the Bush



administration in conducting its 'war on terror'. Mora thought – and acted on the thought – that 'cruelty' and torture, though different, are 'equally pernicious'. 'If cruelty is no longer declared unlawful...it alters the fundamental relationship of man to government. It destroys the whole notion of individual rights. The [US] Constitution recognizes that man has an inherent right, not bestowed by the state or laws, to personal dignity, including the right to be free of cruelty. It applies to all human beings, not just in America – even those designated as 'unlawful enemy combatants'. If you make this exception, the whole Constitution crumbles'. Here we have an argument – concise and clear, whether correct or incorrect – about the equivalence in political morality of cruelty and torture, concluding that torture and cruelty are both to be condemned as violations of a right to personal dignity. Thoughts such as this, which prompted Mora to concerted action, belong as much to our political life as the pressures that led to the abuses he sought to halt...

(Joshua Cohen, *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy* (Harvard University Press, 2009), p.2).



Political philosophy, Cohen argues, is a 'reflective engagement' with the political morality that infuses democratic political life. As such, it is itself an important part of our democratic life.

Realists challenge the deliberative democratic conception of politics. Amongst other things, realists point out that the rich and powerful won't give up their power and wealth simply because one marshals good arguments against them. Indeed, the injunction to adopt deliberative methods – and avoid non-deliberative methods – is criticised as a demand that the weak give up the weapons they have which might actually work to change things.

In response to these concerns, deliberative democrats reiterate that deliberative democracy is an ideal and that there are all sorts of social and economic conditions for the ideal to be approximated. These conditions are not necessarily satisfied in present-day 'democratic' societies such as the UK or the USA. In these non-ideal circumstances, it is utopian – in a bad sense – simply to urge all citizens or legislators to behave in a more deliberative fashion so as better to pursue

the common good. In these circumstances, resort to non-deliberative methods which levy costs on one's political opponents, for example strikes, boycotts, and so on, will often be entirely in order. As Cohen puts it: '...it is sometimes necessary to resort to destabilization, threats, and open conflict as answers to people who won't reason in good faith. A sucker may be born every minute, but deliberative democracy is not a recommendation that we all join the club' (Cohen, *ibid.*, p.341).

However, this does not mean the ideal of deliberative democracy ceases to be relevant. For one thing, it can remain relevant as an organising ideal within social movements that challenge existing power structures. For example, environmental campaigns such as Climate Camp and some of the groups presently emerging in the UK's anti-cuts movement (such as 'Oxford Save Our Services') have internal norms and working methods that have something in common with the ideal of deliberative democracy. Indeed, the wider 'alterglobalisation' movement might be an example of how political practice can provide new resources for the political theorist, food for thought both about how to institutionalise deliberative democratic norms and about the norms themselves.

There is perhaps also an important distinction to be made between doing deliberation and doing things to promote deliberation. The effective way to promote deeper deliberation amongst citizens on a neglected issue is rarely to present an argument according to the norms of the academic seminar. Forms of direct action that are quite confrontational can be vivid ways of focusing public attention on a neglected normative issue, for example, a mass sit-down protest outside the Department of Work and Pensions to draw attention to the unfairness of public spending cuts towards disabled people.

But is political confrontation itself not inimical to philosophy? The philosopher, qua philosopher, is drawn to nuance. But in politics nuance can be disempowering. To be heard at all, one must sometimes keep it simple – perhaps even oversimplify. And this is not necessarily true only for 'non-ideal' societies like our own. Quite probably, it is true of politics as such. If so, then the realists have a point. While political speech might ideally be connected to ethical deliberation with a philosophical content, and political philosophy can provide rich resources for ethical deliberation, political speech itself is unlikely ever to converge with the speech of the philosopher.

**Stuart White**  
Director of the Public Policy Unit, University  
Lecturer in Politics, Tutorial Fellow in Politics,  
Jesus College, and an active member of  
'Oxford Save Our Services'  
([www.oxfordsos.org.uk](http://www.oxfordsos.org.uk))

# Nation States, Capitalism and the CRISIS



**David Soskice** asks whether and how comparative political economy might help us understand the present crisis

**N**umerous questions pose themselves for political economists about the crisis – enough (never waste a good crisis) to keep PhDs engaged for a generation. But in my view there are two big picture questions which modern comparative political economy needs to answer. One is why the epicentre of the crisis was in Wall Street and the City of London. The other is this: the crisis occurred as a result of failures in the main regulatory frameworks – the financial and the macroeconomic – which govern much of the workings of advanced economies. Why, in sharp contrast to the 1930s, have these frameworks changed little since the crisis? These questions raise major issues for our understanding of modern capitalism and its relation to the state, as well as the likelihood of another crisis. Marxism offers little guidance – other than alerting us to the importance to the state of those dynamic sectors in which a national economy has comparative advantage.

## 1. WHY WALL STREET AND THE CITY?

The modern 'varieties of capitalism' literature seeks to explain differences in the comparative sectoral advantages across the different advanced economies. In particular it highlights national differences in the institutional framework in which companies operate, notably governing labour markets, industrial relations and career structures, educational, training and innovation systems, and corporate governance systems and how companies are organised.

Liberal market economies like the US and UK have a 'comparative institutional advantage' in economic sectors which require both employees and companies to engage in high risk radical innovation – a hallmark of Wall Street and the City in the last two decades. Institutional preconditions are flexible labour markets, an education and training system with a strong emphasis on high level general education, companies with top down management enabling rapid movement of resources, and a sharp corporate governance system to enforce profitability. These institutions complement each other in the liberal market world of the Anglo-Saxon economies, Ireland and Israel.

But the varieties literature doesn't go the whole way. Why are there no great high-risk financial centres in Canada or New Zealand, or Ireland or Israel? A rapidly growing area bridging political economy and economics is the political economy of geography. High-risk activities need agglomerations of companies, so that labour mobility is neither too costly to employee or to company. Agglomerations are a key concept in economic geography. They force us into history and path-dependency and tipping points: at some moment in history, the network economies of Wall Street or the City became too attractive to new entrants and existing high level financial institutions for them to seek to locate elsewhere. A tipping point had been passed, and their current dominance had become path-dependent.





## 2. THE KEY REGULATORY SYSTEMS: WHY SO LITTLE CHANGE POST-CRISIS?

Turn to the second question. The regulatory system most implicated in the crisis is that governing the operation of financial markets and leveraged financial institutions. The next most implicated is the macroeconomic regulatory system, governing the management of aggregate demand through fiscal and monetary policy to control inflation and unemployment.

The financial regulatory system operates de facto on a national basis monitoring major financial institutions operating within the national territory, deciding on detailed rules and interpretations governing inter alia the definition of riskiness of assets, the computation of capital, on and off balance sheet items and so on; it also in principle takes a view of the systemic risks which may arise within the national financial system. There is some agreement that these systems failed in the UK and the US. The American regulatory system, with the British system not far behind, allowed major investment banks to move to very high levels of leverage; if off balance-sheet items were correctly assessed and if dubious accounting practices corrected, the leverage levels were higher still. At very high leverage the possibility of bankruptcy given a major adverse expectational shift is non-negligible. Moreover, these leverage levels took the assessment of rating agencies and credit default swaps ('insurance' against loan and other defaults) at their face value. This made sense if systemic risk was discounted; but the relevant UK and US regulatory agencies (de facto, the SEC, the Fed, the FSA and the Bank of England) did not pick this up in a timely way; the BIS in Basel was more sensitive to this possibility but it had little influence.

As is well known these high leverage levels were massively reinforced by global imbalances. External US/UK deficits allowed private sector dissaving, generating a high demand for risky assets (loans to households); and the corresponding net saving in the exporting countries was invested in the US and the UK and enabled the financing of the risky assets – the other side of the coin. Global imbalances were permitted by the system of macroeconomic regulation. 'Inflation targeting' summarises the system widely adopted in the last two decades on a nation-by-nation basis, involving independent central banks using interest rates to keep inflation at a target level in the framework of a New Keynesian macroeconomic model. International coordination plays no role in inflation targeting; there are no requirements on external imbalances; indeed, external imbalances and the real exchange rate are technically jointly determined by aggregate demand – for example a tough fiscal policy, reducing aggregate demand, implies ceteris paribus an external surplus. It contrasts to Bretton Woods, where fundamental disequilibria had to be corrected.

Thus the key national financial regulatory systems allowed major financial institutions extraordinarily high leverage and did not have the means to monitor the possibility of systemic collapse in the US and the UK. And the national systems of macroeconomic regulation – in the exporting countries (Germany and Northern Europe in EMU and Japan, as well of course as China with more dirigiste macroeconomic management) – allowed the development of (massive) global imbalances which ratcheted up this possibility. But since the crisis the inflation targeting systems have hardly changed. And while there has been tightening of banking rules, this has taken place in

“The answer we believe lies in rethinking the relation of national governments and capitalism.”

Martin Wolf's terms 'within the pre-existing intellectual and institutional framework'; in particular, national regulators remain responsible for interpretation, monitoring and sanctioning.

The answer we believe lies in rethinking the relation of national governments and capitalism, in both the advanced world and in developmental states like China. National governments are deeply concerned about promoting high value added economic sectors, especially those where the value added comes from human capital. These sectors, in a 'knowledge economy' world, provide the drivers for national innovation, for links between universities and the private sector and for higher-level education and training, as well as well-paid employment and tax revenue. This typically does not reflect partisan considerations. Were these sectors the same across the different advanced countries, one might have expected a common public or private supranational regulatory system. But different varieties of capitalism generate comparative advantages for different high value added sectors: as we have seen, high risk high innovation financial sectors are located in Liberal Market Economies (as well as many other business service sectors, commercial law, and also biotech, blockbuster software, and radical innovation in electronics). It is no surprise that the US and the UK should want to retain control of financial regulatory systems to ensure that risk-taking and innovation is not stifled; this was as much Clinton and Blair's concern as it was that of Bush or Thatcher – who started much of this off with the Big Bang. By contrast, the comparative advantage of German or Scandinavian capitalism is in the export of a great range of highly specialised goods and services, benefitting from strong vocational training and technology transfer as well as experienced and cooperative workforces, underpinned by block shareholding. In part because human capital in these high quality sectors is deep and specific, so needs to be used to the full in exporting; in part because there are typically strong positive externalities to training and innovation systems from increased exports; in part because a tight fiscal policy constrains wage demands in the public sector from undermining restraint of export sector unions: these countries, as well as Japan and China for similar reasons, want no constraints on their exports through macroeconomic regulatory rules pressuring them to expand consumer demand.

Analysing the modern world requires understanding the deep concerns of the governments of advanced nations for their high value added sectors, hence their concern to retain control of relevant regulatory systems. Their success in doing so, as in nurturing their high value added sectors, may explain why – despite three decades of globalisation – these governments dominate world politics.

This article is based on work with Peter A Hall and Torben Iversen, who both teach Government at Harvard. To read more see Peter A Hall and David Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism* (OUP 2001). Peter Hall completed the MPhil in Politics at Balliol in 1974.

David Soskice  
Research Professor of Comparative Political Economy,  
Senior Research Fellow, Nuffield College

# Life after PPE

Three PPE alumni explain how their undergraduate studies helped lead them to their current careers

## Morwenna Wood

Balliol College, 1980-1983  
(DPhil 1994-1997)



I never did have a clear idea of what the future held for me, from teenage years on. Always better at maths and science, somewhat perversely I chose to do Maths and Classics for A levels. This led on my application for PPE which I felt would suit me academically and keep my options open. I was determined to apply to the College best known for PPE, Balliol, against all advice, only later discovering family links with the College.

I loved PPE, majoring in Politics and Philosophy, with great peers such as Adam Swift, Steve Mulhall and, ahead of us, Geoff Mulgan, Charlie Leadbeater and Robert Peston. I also made time for lacrosse, perhaps an incongruous mix with PPE, gaining a blue in 1981.

From Balliol PPE, I chose to volunteer with VSO and I was sent to teach Maths and Economics in a village secondary school in Nigeria. PPE opened my academic

eyes, but Nigeria challenged me culturally and practically. However, teaching some brilliant children in less than ideal conditions was humbling and inspiring. When the time came to return, I had decided to pursue medicine as a career, even though that involved more A levels.

My cohort in UCL included several 'mature' students as well as my Malawian husband. I returned briefly to Oxford, initially as a junior doctor in the Renal Unit, the start of my specialist career. Later I did a DPhil in Prof Peter Radcliffe's Laboratory in the John Radcliffe Hospital, funded by The Wellcome Trust.

For personal reasons I moved to Scotland, taking up a Clinical Lecturer post in the University of Edinburgh, which included some undergraduate teaching. As a Consultant in NHS Fife, I have continued to teach and train undergraduates from Edinburgh, Dundee and St Andrews. I have

Honorary academic status with Edinburgh (Senior Lecturer) and St Andrews (Professor) and latterly have been the Director of Medical Education for NHS Fife.

So does it all fit together, PPE to Medicine? There is no direct or obvious connection, but PPE equips the open mind for most things. Reasoning in 'morals' has been useful in medicine, particularly in complicated ethical decision making. Politics is never far away from the NHS and the ability to analyse the issues and expound my opinions has been useful on a daily basis throughout my medical career.

“...teaching some brilliant children in less than ideal conditions was humbling and inspiring.”

## Paul Ingram

University College, 1987-1990

I have for the last four years been a chat show host on state controlled Iranian TV discussing issues affecting strategic Middle East politics, taught senior British civil servants on the flagship Top Management Programme at the National School of Government, and run a think-tank in London and Washington promoting global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

My formal PPE studies at Univ in the late 1980s were supplemented by a practical student political career as one of only two ever elected Green Vice-Presidents at OUSU. The combination stood me in good stead for a 'portfolio' career juggling paid and unpaid political work, informed by a strong sense of my role in political life, attempting to balance policy ambition with humility.



“I have been lucky enough to have a varied career pursuing opportunities that fit neatly with my evolving political ambition.”

I left College familiar with and committed to the theory of politics, having studied change and motivation, and experienced the dark art of persuasion in mass relationships in student politics.

From College I stepped straight into a quiet job as a researcher on nuclear weapons policy for the Oxford Research Group, and fell into local politics campaigning for the Greens in central Oxford. I was elected to the Council in 1996, and became co-Leader of the new Green-LibDem coalition in 2000. I also served a stint as Warden of the Oxford Quaker Meeting House.

Leaving Oxford for love to join my wife in London in late 2002 (she was in Downing Street at the time), I joined the British American Security Information Council ([www.basicint.org](http://www.basicint.org)) as a Senior Analyst working on the politics and economics of arms exports and transatlantic security issues generally. My work at BASIC involved a great deal of broadcast interviews, particularly in the build up to and after the invasion of Iraq in 2003 (I was on BBC World Service for three hours on the morning of the land invasion). At the same time, I took on several roles for London Green Party, and ran the election campaign for Europe, the Mayor and the Assembly in 2004, whilst second on the list for Europe, at the same time as becoming a father (yes, I was mad). My career took a dramatic change in early 2007 when I was appointed Director of BASIC, a friend approached me to join him in his management teaching work, and when Iranian TV offered me the weekly peak-time talk show, all in the space of three months. I have been lucky enough to have a varied career pursuing opportunities that fit neatly with my evolving political ambition.

## Stefan Baskerville

University College, 2006-2009

I am a professional community organiser with London Citizens, which means I work with members of civil society institutions from across London such as churches, mosques, synagogues, schools, student unions, and university departments, to train leaders and help them participate in the public life of the city. The principle behind what we do is that a healthy democracy requires organised people to participate in politics to hold the market and the state to account. The work that we do values relationships as a means of making change, so we focus on developing relationships between the different organisations in our membership to take action on the issues they have in common. For example, it was London Citizens who began the Living Wage campaign in 2001 when mosques and churches in East London identified similar concerns about the hours their members had to work to support their families. Over the ten years of the Living Wage campaign, London Citizens members have brought their power to bear on banks and employers across the city, winning £70m in additional wages. This means that 10,000 families have been lifted from working poverty. The Living Wage campaign continues and I have responsibility for the campaign in the higher education sector.

I studied PPE at University College and focused particularly on contemporary and historical political thought. Studying Politics at Oxford meant I was brought into contact with extraordinary academics and political actors: a seminar by Sir Gus O'Donnell, Cabinet Secretary, on public service reform; debating the 'value of conservatism' with the great Jerry Cohen; hearing George Soros on his theory of reflexivity; and many more. The breadth of opportunity was huge and made for an exciting time.



“The breadth of opportunity was huge and made for an exciting time.”

Political Theory gave me the tools to analyse and understand the predicament of our politics. I began work with London Citizens during my first year at Oxford, so my academic study was heavily influenced by my experience of practical politics on the ground and it became increasingly important to me to relate academic study to practice.

I researched and wrote a thesis on the political theory of community organising, focusing on how self-interest relates to the common good, and the tension between realist and idealist schools in democratic theory. Marc Stears, who is a mentor and has become a friend, and whose work is a brilliant example of grounding Political Theory in contemporary and historical practice, supervised my thesis work. I found it hugely rewarding, and have continued academic work after my degree.

Having been JCR President at Univ, in my final year I was elected OUSU President and so spent a further year in Oxford representing students to the University. PPE helped to prepare me for both the tactics of electoral student politics but also the strategy necessary for a successful year in 'power'!





# International Relations **in** OXFORD

**Andrew Hurrell** reflects on the changing world of International Relations in Oxford



**W**hether it is running the foreign policy of major countries (not least the United States!), or heading up leading think-tanks, or teaching in major universities across the world, Oxford's IR alumni have gone on to do great things. Whilst we are very proud of our alumni, we have done a really terrible job at keeping in touch. Of course there are many on-going contacts at the individual level, but much more needs to be done. *Inspires* is one part of that process.

How has IR in Oxford been changing? People first. Adam Roberts, Henry Shue, Jonathan Wright and John Dunbabin have all retired in recent years, with Adam going on to become President of the British Academy. Avi Shlaim will be retiring at the end of this academic year. His post will remain at St Antony's College, but has been re-fashioned into the third named IR chair – the Alastair Buchan Chair in International Relations which will be advertised shortly. Marga Lyall has just retired after exactly twenty years as the IR Secretary. Generations of IR graduate students will remember her kindness, her openness and her

extraordinary willingness to go the extra mile to help students, faculty and visitors. In terms of recent appointments Duncan Snidal joined us from Chicago at the start of this academic year and Eddie Keene replaced Jonathan Wright in 2009.

IR remains a large and intellectually vibrant community. There are now around 27 core IR faculty, 11 of whom are women, who teach and supervise graduate students. We have 105 IR doctoral students, and between 40 to 50 taking the two-year MPhil. Student numbers have not expanded greatly over the past twenty years and, unlike many other UK departments, we have stayed out of the mass masters market. Demand for places to study IR in Oxford remains very strong. Last year there were over 350 applications for the MPhil and almost 200 for the doctoral programme. Being able to engage with absolutely outstanding graduate students remains one of the greatest attractions of working in Oxford – but we face on-going challenges generating increased funding for graduate work, especially for candidates from the developing

world; and the UK national funding of graduate teaching and research is likely to remain challenging. The two-year MPhil remains our preferred entry route into doctoral work, with around 40% of our MPhil students going on to the doctorate. But we have been consistently keen to maintain the MPhil as a qualification in its own right and as a way of providing high-quality advanced training in International Relations. Oxford IR doctorates continue to win many prizes and to get published by major presses.

In terms of positioning, Oxford has seen itself at the academic end of the graduate school spectrum, with a relatively small masters programme closely integrated into a large doctoral programme. Structured research training has expanded very significantly and our graduates have had consistent success in the academic job market. We continue to believe that our approach to International Relations, which embraces both a plurality of research methods and an inter-disciplinary perspective (including politics, law, history, political economy) puts us in the forefront of

graduate teaching in the subject worldwide. Institutionally, we are now fully integrated into a shared Department with Politics. Whilst bureaucratic demands have increased dramatically (especially within the UK national context), the existence of a large Department in a large modern building with a professional administration has been a major positive change. In addition, Neil MacFarlane took five years out from his work as the Lester Pearson Professor of International Relations to serve as a highly successful Head of Department. He is now enjoying his hard-earned leave, spending much of the time in Georgia.

We like to think that we have a tremendous comparative advantage in being an English-speaking university but one located outside the United States. Our aim has been to develop a graduate programme that is engaged with US debates and networks, but that is also genuinely global in perspective, and with a degree of critical distance from US policy and politics. Work on global order and global governance remains a central theme, and, building on the work of Henry Shue, Oxford is now one of the leading centres for teaching and research on global normative issues, including the work of Andrew Hurrell and Jennifer Welsh on the IR side and Simon Caney, Cécile Fabre and, most recently, Jeremy Waldron within Political Theory. We continue to place heavy emphasis on the diversity of national traditions of thought on international relations and on the need to combine disciplinary excellence with expertise on particular regions of the world. The challenge of studying IR in a much more truly global world is only beginning to become apparent.

Perhaps the greatest change within IR at Oxford over the past twenty years has been the increase of externally-funded research projects and programmes, some within the Centre for International Studies (directed by Richard Caplan), some free-standing. Let me give two examples here. (ELAC discussed on pp. 6-7 is a third example.) First, the Global Economic Governance Programme which is led by Ngaire Woods and has developed a major niche in global scholarship and policy by critically examining institutions of global governance from the perspective of developing countries' needs and interests. Second, the Oxford/Princeton Global Fellows Programme. Now in its third year, the programme enables post-doctoral fellows who are nationals of developing countries to spend one year in Oxford and one year in Princeton and seeks to build an active network of scholars and practitioners with expertise on key issues surrounding globalisation.

Other current and recent research projects, all generating high quality publications, include: Civil Resistance and Power Politics (Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash); International Politics: the Rules of the Game (Yuen Khong); Emerging Powers and Global Order (Andrew Hurrell); Exit Strategies and the Consolidation of Peace (Richard Caplan); Teaching Contemporary Palestinian History (Karma Nabulsi); Europe in a Non-European World (Kalypso Nicolaidis).

This is just a flavour of what has been happening in IR in Oxford. We have a very rich heritage and, in personal, institutional and intellectual terms, I owe a huge debt to my predecessors, in particular to Adam Roberts who did so much to develop the subject at

Oxford and to Hedley Bull, whose questions continue to resonate so powerfully in so much of what we study. Although there are certainly many challenges, we are looking forward to continued success and to further development – which includes, amongst many other things, the launching of a new campaign to raise money for a Fulbright distinguished fellowship and eventually a chair in International Relations. And we would very much hope to involve you in this future. Many of you are working, either in academic research or in the policy worlds, on many of the same pressing global challenges. So do let us know when you are in the UK; do think of Oxford, including Oxford IR graduates, when you are planning new programmes and initiatives; do tell us about the things that you appreciated most about your graduate work – and about the gaps and omissions; and do let us know what we can do to foster stronger connections between the IR community here and Oxford's IR alumni around the world.

*Andrew Hurrell  
Montague Burton Professor of International  
Relations, Balliol College*

“Our approach to International Relations, which embraces both a plurality of research methods and an inter-disciplinary perspective... puts us in the forefront of graduate teaching in the subject worldwide.”

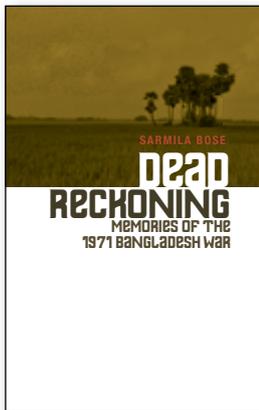


Richard Caplan meeting with Sarah von Billerbeck, DPhil candidate in IR.

Photo: Sue Srawley

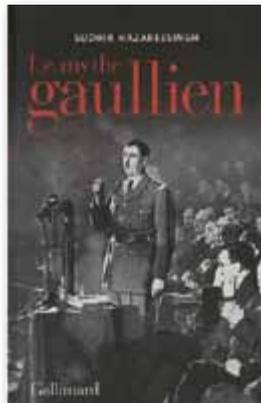
# Recent Books

Members of the DPIR produce a huge variety of high quality publications. Here is a selection of recent (and one not so recent) books to whet your appetites.



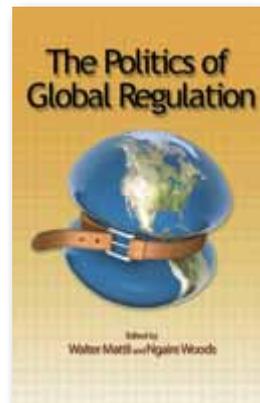
Sarmila Bose  
**Dead Reckoning. Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War**  
(Hurst & Co)

Sarmila Bose's innovative book chronicles the 1971 war in South Asia drawing on the memories of those on opposing sides of the conflict. The bitter civil war within Pakistan and the war between India and Pakistan, backed respectively by the Soviet Union and the United States, were fought over the disputed territory of East Pakistan which seceded to become Bangladesh. Through a detailed investigation of events on the ground, Sarmila Bose contextualises and humanises the war while analysing what the events reveal about the nature of the conflict itself.



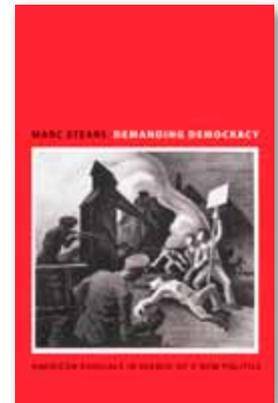
Sudhir Hazareesingh  
**Le Mythe Gaullien**  
(Editions Gallimard)

Sudhir Hazareesingh examines two related phenomena: how de Gaulle created a heroic myth about himself as France's providential saviour, and how this myth was disseminated in French popular culture from the 1940s to the present. The author finds compelling evidence of the Gaullian cult in a variety of phenomena, including: the proliferation of statues and street names, the tidal wave of memoirs by members of his entourage, the mass pilgrimages to Colombey-les-Deux-Églises after his death, and the collective idealisation of his memory by politicians and intellectuals.



Walter Mattli & Ngaire Woods  
(edited)  
**The Politics of Global Regulation**  
(Princeton University Press)

The editors have assembled a group of leading experts in order to examine how regulation by public and private organisations, especially at the global level, can be hijacked by special interests or small groups of powerful firms. They seek to examine systematically how and why such hijacking or 'regulatory capture' happens, and explain how it might be averted. This book is a wake-up call to proponents of network governance, self-regulation, and the view that technocrats should be left to regulate with as little oversight as possible.



Marc Stears  
**Demanding Democracy: American Radicals in Search of a New Politics**  
(Princeton University Press)

This major work of history and political theory traces radical democratic thought in America across the twentieth century, seeking to recover ideas that could reenergise democratic activism today. In the struggle to create a more democratic society, should citizens restrict themselves to patient persuasion or take to the streets and seek to impose change? Marc Stears argues that anyone interested in these questions could learn from the radical democratic tradition that was forged in the twentieth century by political activists including progressives, trade unionists, civil rights campaigners, and members of the student New Left.

Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter  
**China, the United States, and Global Order**  
 (Cambridge University Press).

The United States and China are the two most important states in the international system and are crucial to the evolution of global order. Both recognise each other as vital players in a range of issues of global significance, including the use of force, macroeconomic policy, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, climate change and financial regulation. In this book, Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter explore the relationship of the two countries to these global order issues since 1945, in a sophisticated analysis that adroitly engages the historical, theoretical and policy literature.

Sara Hobolt  
**Europe in Question  
 Referendums on European Integration**  
 (Oxford University Press)  
 Winner of the European Union Studies Association's EUSA Award for the best book published in 2009/10.

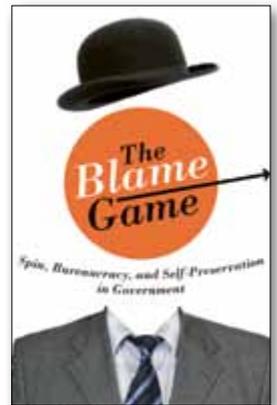
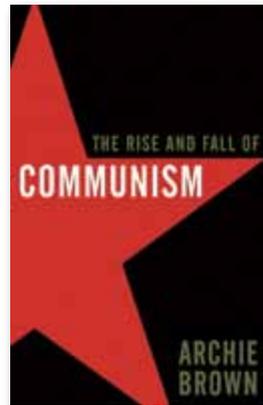
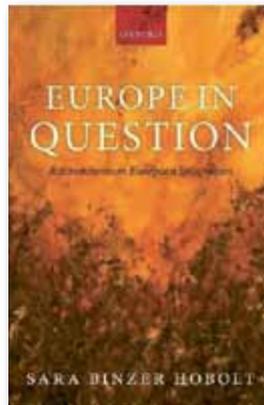
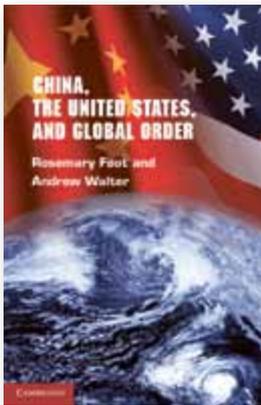
Sara Hobolt develops a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding voting behaviour in referendums. Her comparative analysis of EU referendums from 1972 to 2008 examines why people vote the way they do, the role of political elites, and the impact of campaign dynamics. Importantly this book shows that voters are smarter than they are often given credit for; they may not be fully informed about European politics, but they do consider the issues at stake before voting and make use of the information provided by parties and the campaign environment.

Archie Brown  
**The Rise and Fall of Communism**  
 (Random House)  
 Winner of the 2010 W.J.M. Mackenzie Prize of the Political Studies Association of the UK for the best Political Science Book of the year.

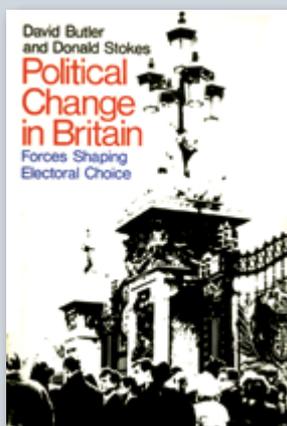
In this illuminating book, based on forty years of study and a wealth of new sources, Archie Brown provides a comprehensive history as well as an original and compelling analysis of an ideology that has shaped the world. He explores the appeal of Communism to its adherents, and provides a balanced account of both its successes and failures throughout the world. The book considers why so many of these apparently invincible regimes collapsed when they did, so quickly and with such disruptive effect.

Christopher Hood  
**The Blame Game: Spin, Bureaucracy, and Self-Preservation in Government**  
 (Princeton University Press)

The blame game, with its finger-pointing and mutual buck-passing, is a familiar feature of political and organisational life, and blame avoidance pervades government and public organisations at every level. Christopher Hood analyses this pervasive phenomena, showing how blame avoidance shapes these institutions, takes a variety of forms, and can have positive effects (for example, helping to identify responsibility). Delving into the inner workings of complex institutions, the book demonstrates how a better understanding of blame avoidance can help improve the quality of modern governance, management, and organisational design.



## Best Book in British Political Studies, 1950-2010



**David Butler and Donald Stokes**  
**Political Change in Britain:  
 Forces Shaping Electoral Choice**  
 (first published by Macmillan in 1969)

This important text deserves a special mention as the recipient of the Political Studies Association's 'Best Book in British Political Studies, 1950-2010' award.

As part of the 60th anniversary celebrations of the Political Studies Association, it was decided to make a special award for the best book on British political studies published during the lifetime of the Association. The winner was determined by a poll of PSA members. Despite the plethora of important books in the numerous sub-fields of the discipline, Butler and Stokes' ground-breaking survey of electoral behaviour in Britain emerged as the clear winner.



REUTERS/ Russell Boyce

# MEDIA and Politics

**Sara Kalim** introduces the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism

**J**ournalism matters in holding power to account across the world and the relationship between media and politics has never been in sharper focus. With this in mind, the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism was founded in 2006, born out of a long-running international Fellowship Programme which brings mid-career journalists to Oxford for research, reflection and exchange. Our alumni now number nearly 500 journalists from 87 countries, many from the developing world and emerging economies.

The Fellowship Programme is one part of our overall mission to improve the standards of journalism by connecting and influencing the worlds of practice, policy and academic research.

Our research, seminars and publications are organised around three key areas that we see as important to a world in which journalism faces serious, and in some places, critical changes. These are: The Business of Journalism, The Evolving Practice of Journalism, and Relationships between Journalism and Accountability.

Examples of recent publications include: a major book on the impact of the internet on news organisations in seven countries; a study of the coverage of the Copenhagen Climate Change summit; and an analysis of whether the foreign correspondent has become redundant in the face of turbulent changes to how we learn about the world.

Our analysis of the UK's first televised Prime Ministerial Debates was launched in a lecture by Professor Stephen Coleman to inaugurate the new series of David Butler Lectures on Media and Elections. It was sponsored by the BBC and the Reuters Institute and televised on BBC Parliament in February 2011.

We believe we are unique in probing and analysing how journalism is practiced round the world – comparing and contrasting the differing cultures of the news media in a globalising world – and we are proud to be Oxford University's leading research centre in news media and to sit within the Department of Politics and International Relations. Several of our alumni have expressed how they have benefitted personally and professionally from their time spent in Oxford.

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism exists because of the generosity of the Thomson Reuters Foundation and several other external sponsors of journalist fellowships. Our research is funded by charitable trusts and foundations and by the support of private benefactors. For more information about our work, please visit <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk>

**Sara Kalim**  
*Administrator,  
Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*



RISJ is to be found in Norham Gardens, North Oxford.



# SPOTLIGHT

## Abdalla Hassan

Egypt, RISJ Alumnus, sponsored by the Gerda Henkel Foundation

I never imagined that six months at Oxford could be so transformative. A fellowship at the Reuters Institute gave me an open space not only to think and write about my research topic – the evolution of press censorship in Egypt – but to have a wonderful exchange with other journalists from around the world, and the freedom to consider what mattered to me and where I belonged in the changing field of journalism.

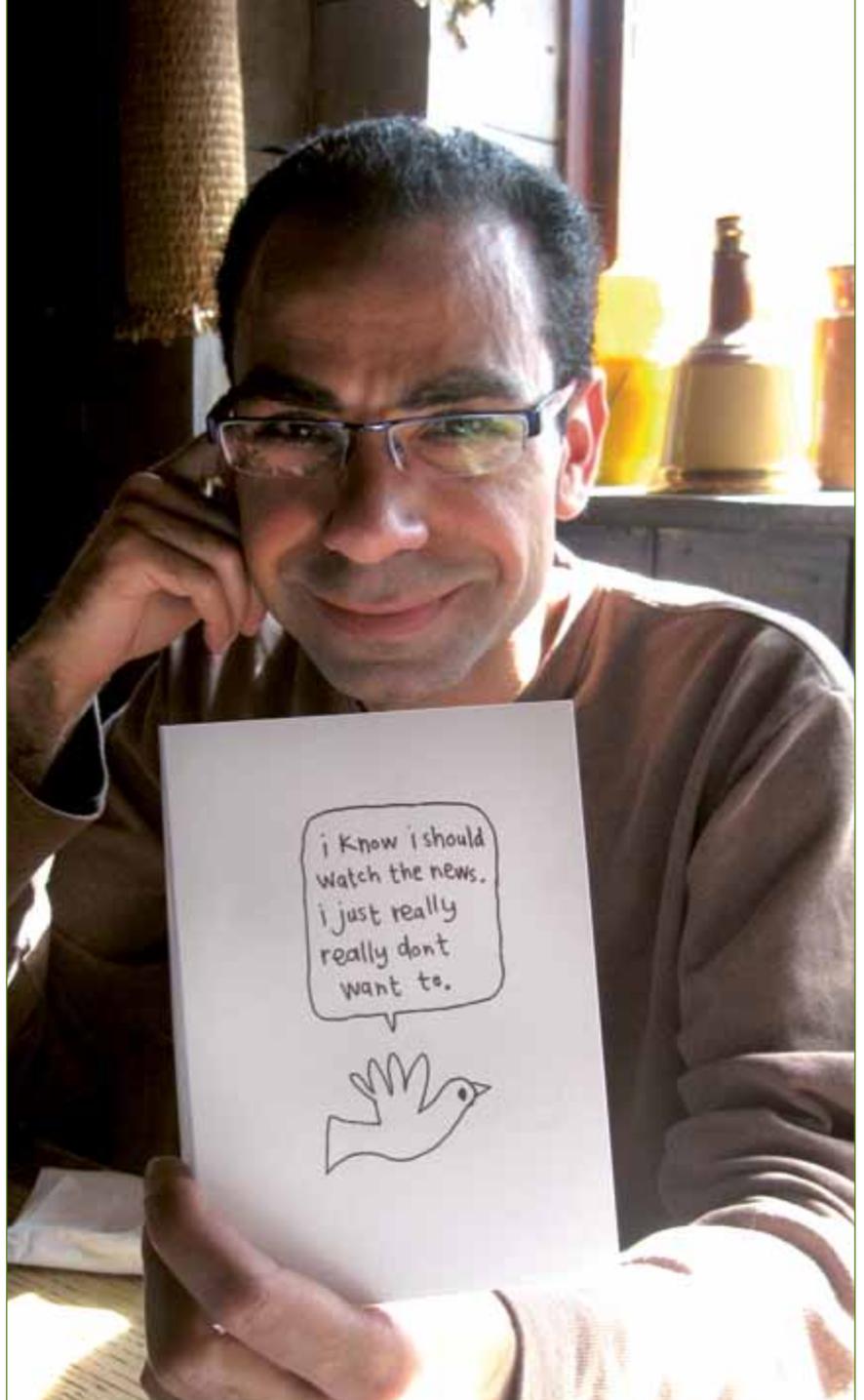
In my final presentation I listed ten lessons I've learned, the last one being: 'Freer expression enables action'. I believed that eventually it was not going to be enough to allow a wider space for speech but it would inevitably lead to political action. And it was taking form online – Facebook was not only the freest press in Egypt, it was a mobilisation tool.

My fellowship at the Reuters Institute offered me that chance to reflect on my career in journalism and convinced me that I could not give in to cynicism. I still had something to contribute, I thought, even as the journalism profession faces an uncertain future.

I returned to Cairo on 31 July 2010. Presidential elections were scheduled for September 2011, which I expected to be a crucial period in Egypt's history. Press restrictions were tightened ahead of forged parliamentary elections in late 2010, a harbinger of elections to maintain a present-day pharaoh in power.

It was easy to lose hope that things could be different in Egypt. Calls for change and reform were kept at bay by the massive apparatuses of the security state, which harassed, detained, and tortured citizens with impunity. Corruption was rife in a governing system that was not beholden to the people but to the self-interest of those in power.

Still, I never thought I would live through a popular revolution. On 28 January, dubbed the 'Friday of Rage', millions of Egyptians took to the streets shouting a slogan that has rung out across the Arab world: 'The people want the downfall of the regime!' It was incredible to be living those moments where citizens were taking action and making the ultimate sacrifices for freedom.



I am grateful to my colleagues at the Reuters Institute and the friends I've made at Oxford for their wonderful network of support. Instead of always being the one to ask the questions, I found myself being interviewed by media outlets in Finland, Brazil, Chile and the UK. Another unexpected benefit of my fellowship was that as internet communications were blocked for five days and text messaging even longer, I was able to send messages to friends through my UK mobile number.

It sounds clichéd to say that two terms in Oxford changed my life, but they have. I had never realised how much I had internalised fear while working as a journalist and editor in Egypt for 12 years. I did not want to be afraid any more. The true transformation happened when Egyptians were willing to shed their fears, knowing they are not alone.

“It sounds clichéd to say that two terms in Oxford changed my life, but they have.”

# Personal Reflections

## Undergraduate Teaching

**Elizabeth Frazer** offers some thoughts on life from both sides of the tutorial

Some aspects of tutorial teaching in PPE have not changed much in the last thirty years. When I went by myself to tutorials with Zbigniew Pelczynski on Political Theory, in 1983, the reading and philosophical puzzles he set me were strikingly similar to those tackled by our students now: is authority just legitimate power or is there more to the concept than that? Are the 'rights of woman' distinct in any way from the 'rights of man'? I read my essay out loud, and then had to defend the analysis and the argument in the face of sceptical criticism. That is still the pattern of the tutorials I am teaching this year.

But the administration and the paperwork connected with this teaching is unrecognisable. Dr Pelczynski had little slips of paper with essay titles and some books and articles listed on them. He kept them in a filing cabinet drawer which he rummaged in at the end of the tutorial. (Other tutors said something like 'well, do you want to cover consequentialism next?' and wandered along their shelves giving some titles of books that might help.)

Now, the Department supplies online reading lists and course outlines for every undergraduate paper which set out the aims and objectives of the course, the teaching arrangements in the given year, the formal rubric from the Examination Decrees, topics and sub-topics.

I don't remember any lectures on political theory as such in the early 1980s. I went to a series by David Robertson who lectured on Rawls, Nozick and Dworkin – the affinities and the differences between them, and the significance of 'Kantianism' in their work. I also went to lectures by April Carter on anarchism. Tutors with University contracts had to deliver a set number of hours of lectures per year. Professors mainly took care of the seminars for Masters students; the others lectured, more or less, on topics of their choice. Now every paper is accompanied by a course of at least eight lectures, for core courses sixteen, and it is made clear to students that attendance at and attention to the lectures is a necessary condition of success in the paper. Most lecture courses have course outlines and reading lists, and individual lectures are usually accompanied by slides or handouts that are published on the web. There is also an online Programme Specification, a PPE Handbook and a Guide to Politics Further Subjects.

Exactly what difference these lists and specifications have made is hard to say. Certainly, students seem to use libraries differently – for photocopying rather than browsing, for finding set books rather than researching topics.

We used to leave hand written essays with our tutors at the end of the tutorial, which were returned some time later – sometimes at the next tutorial – with or without some marginal comments. Students now often submit their essays through Weblearn, and get them back the same way with marginal comments typed, some interjections using 'track changes', a summary comment and a percentage grade which goes in to the Weblearn markbook, and which is invaluable when it comes to end of term reports. We don't use the kind of formal marking schemes that are common in other universities but there is some pressure on us to do so.

As a struggling mature student with a patchy school education behind me I benefitted tremendously from tutors' willingness to see me on my own to try to explain why my essays weren't good enough or my exam answers weren't First Class. Now teaching the particular techniques necessary for weekly essays, written exam answers, or research designs for theses, is an integral part of the formal teaching of undergraduates.

Both the demand for these striking innovations in pedagogy, and the supply of them, are connected with a range of social and governmental changes. The University's teaching quality is regularly assessed, and a necessary condition of Oxford Departments' earning the highest score is producing the full range of lecture handouts, course specifications, and so on, for inspection. Pupils in the British school system are used to constant summative assessment and to a teaching system that is oriented overwhelmingly to that. The monetary value of a degree is now common knowledge, and rational parents and students, as well as commentators both critical and non-critical, calculate, explicitly or implicitly, accordingly.

One result is that the Lower Second Class degree in PPE Finals has more or less disappeared. There is a standard for an Upper Second, a standard of knowledge, literacy, presentation, analysis and argument, and without doubt the vast majority of our students comfortably meet or exceed it.

In every generation golden-ageism can take hold. I remember fellow undergraduates who were concerned to do the minimum (or, more generously, optimum) amount of work and no more for their First or their Second Class degree. So instrumentality, and in particular the cry of 'is this relevant for the exam?' is not a wholly new thing.

*Elizabeth Frazer*  
*University Lecturer in Politics,*  
*Official Fellow, New College*

## MORE PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

**A conversation between Elizabeth Frazer (PPE, 1984; DPhil 1987), Matthew Powell (PPE, 2010) and Nick Alexander (PPE, 1976).**

Matthew and Nick discuss their learning experiences at Oxford across the internet divide, and find that they have much in common. Nick has just started his 30th year in the video game business where he is currently Executive Chairman of Connect2Media and Non-executive Chairman of TeePee Games; Matthew is currently studying for the MPhil in Comparative Government.

Please listen to the podcast on our alumni profile page: follow the alumni tab from the home page at [www.politics.ox.ac.uk](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk)



Photo: Sue Srawley



“ In every generation golden-ageism can take hold. ”

# The DPIR and the INTERNET

The Department has a large and varied presence on the internet. Here are just a few virtual locations where you can discover more about our work.



## [www.politics.ox.ac.uk](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk)

The main web pages of the DPIR. This is the best place to find out more about the Department, discover our latest news and learn about the teaching and research of our diverse faculty and community of researchers.



## <http://politicsinspires.org>

Politics in Spirens is a collaborative blog. It contains news and reflections on Politics and International Relations from scholars at the DPIR in Oxford and the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Cambridge.



## <http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk>

Podcasting provides an opportunity for members of the Department to deliver lectures and other content to an audience beyond the conventional classroom environment. This University website allows access to this material to members of the public, and the DPIR is well represented on their site. If you have iTunes on your computer or digital media player you can access this material and more through the 'Oxford University' portal at 'iTunes U'.



## <http://godwindiary.politics.ox.ac.uk>

The Godwin Diary project, directed by Mark Philp, provides a searchable online transcription of the diary of William Godwin (1756-1836), together with scanned versions of the manuscript, and a wealth of scholarly apparatus. It provides a fascinating perspective on the social and political culture of the period 1788-1836.



## <http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/alumni/alumni.html>

Please visit our alumni web pages! You will find alumni news, forthcoming events and alumni profiles; we are currently setting up an alumni networking page along with a list of useful links to other University alumni networks. There will also be an electronic version of *Inspires* available for download.



### Facebook

The Department is now on facebook: please follow the icon on the home page.



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UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
**ALUMNI WEEKEND**

*16–18 September 2011*

The 2011 Oxford Alumni Weekend looks set to be a fantastic occasion, with more than 120 talks, tours and activities in the central programme, complemented by college-specific events under the theme of 21st century challenges.

Further details at the Alumni Page on [www.politics.ox.ac.uk](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk)

Booking is open until 22 August via [www.alumniweekend.ox.ac.uk](http://www.alumniweekend.ox.ac.uk)

To request a copy of the paper brochure, please contact the **Alumni Weekend Booking Team**  
Email: [alumniweekend@alumni.ox.ac.uk](mailto:alumniweekend@alumni.ox.ac.uk)  
Phone: +44 (0)1865 611622

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
ALUMNI WEEKEND PROGRAMME**

**Saturday 17 September**

9.30am – 10.45am

**Rhodes Trust Lecture Theatre, Saïd Business School**

Professor Jennifer Welsh and colleagues from the Oxford Centre for Ethics Law and Armed Conflict discuss the Responsibility to Protect in contemporary international relations, and its role in key cases such as Libya and the post-election violence in Kenya.

11.30am – 12.45pm

**Nelson Mandela Lecture Theatre, Saïd Business School**

Sir David Butler asks why so many politicians are Oxonians. This session includes the following panellists: Lord Wood of Anfield, Lord Boswell of Aynho and Richard Jarman (Chair, Head of Government and Community Relations at Oxford).

2pm – 3.15pm

**Sheldonian Theatre, Broad Street**

David Willetts MP debates Intergenerational Justice with Dr Mark Philp, Professor Simon Caney and Dr Adam Swift.

**The Inaugural Fulbright Lecture on International Relations**

**The Turn: American Foreign Policy 2009 to 2011**

**Professor Anne-Marie Slaughter, Princeton University**

This was the first of a series of Oxford lectures, held on 18 May 2011.

A podcast of this lecture is available at <http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/alumni/alumni.html>

