2013

INSPIRES

The Magazine for Oxford Politics and International Relations Alumni

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

A LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Welcome to the third issue of *Inspires*, the alumni magazine of the Department of Politics and International Relations (DPIR), University of Oxford. We hope you enjoy it.

In this issue we have featured a further selection of DPIR research activity, which conveys a sense of the breadth, scale and quality of research in the Department, and its impact on the wider world. We have also, at the suggestion of several alumni, presented an overview of how the various research centres, networks and programmes of DPIR fit together. For the first time we are pleased to include an article authored by an alumnus, John Worne (Jesus, 1987), on 'Soft Power'; we very much welcome suggestions for alumni contributions to future issues. As the Department seeks the best doctoral students from around the globe, and faces the challenge of fundraising to bring these students to Oxford, we have outlined the value of the Department's rich graduate programme and the contribution of DPIR doctoral students to academia and beyond. And, to continue the popular theme of 'Life after DPIR', three alumni provide insights into how studying History and Politics has influenced their lives and careers.

This has been a busy year for the DPIR alumni programme. In March we held our inaugural alumni event in the Department, titled 'More Europe, Less Europe, No Europe': podcasts of the talks are on the DPIR website. We were delighted to meet so many of you in person and to welcome you to the Manor Road Building. We are currently planning more DPIR alumni events for the academic year 2013-14 and are hosting three speakers at the University alumni weekend on 20-22 September 2013. We hope to see you at one or more of these events - please find further information and registration details on the back cover of this magazine.

Along with this magazine, last year we produced a DPIR electronic newsletter, *Alumni Newswire*, which was circulated to those DPIR alumni for whom we have email addresses. This included a section on alumni publications and a space for alumni to share up-to-date information with readers by means of 'Class notes'. If you are interested in contributing your class notes to the next issue of the newsletter in December 2013, please complete the section on the form enclosed with this magazine. Do let us know if you would prefer to receive a hard copy of the newsletter in the post.

On the enclosed form you will also find a section requesting your employment details. We are seeking information on alumni career pathways partly because this can be inspirational for our current students and partly because we wish to publicise alumni achievements in order to attract the next generation of the 'brightest and best' to DPIR. We appreciate your help with this.

It has been a great pleasure to correspond with so many of you over the past year. It is very rewarding to see DPIR social media networks growing and to know that it is important for DPIR alumni to stay in touch with each other and with Oxford.

You can follow DPIR on Twitter at @Politics_Oxford and on our blog (joint with the Department of Politics and International Studies at Cambridge) at @PoliticsinSpire.

As ever, your feedback on this magazine and suggestions for ways to enhance the DPIR alumni programme are most welcome. We look forward to hearing from you.

Kate Candy and Stuart White

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Correction
In our 'Alumni around the world' feature, pp. 12-13, 26, ***Inspires*** 2013, we incorrectly stated that Bill Clinton was awarded a BPhil in Politics: in fact, we have subsequently ascertained that President Clinton did not complete his degree.

In his final year as Head of Department, **Stephen Whitefield** sets out some of the achievements and highlights of the past year and outlines the challenges ahead

It has been an extraordinary year of activity as we have moved forward to implement the key aims and objectives outlined in my 'Welcome' in last year's edition of *Inspires*: implementation of the size and shape review; preparation for the Research Excellence Framework 2014 (REF); and broadening financial support for our most outstanding research students to provide them with full funding, including fees and living expenses. All of these goals are linked in our minds under the rubric, 'recruiting and retaining the best'. Our experience in the last year has shown the possibilities and challenges of achieving this.

To recap, we conducted a 'size and shape' review of our academic staff profile in 2012 which was intended to make sure we are making the best use of our resources and concentrating them on areas of greatest academic need – we should be researching the most important and significant questions and educating and training our students to deal with them. The review indicated that we had scope for some reduction in our overall size, which could be achieved through retirements and departures of staff to other universities. In line with our main strategic priority, we decided to apply all financial savings from any staff reduction to our funds for graduate studentships.

At the same time, we still had significant recruitment needs. In fact, despite a slight reduction in our total complement, we have filled seven permanent positions in the Department this last year: Dan Butt at Balliol and Zofia Stemplowska at Worcester strengthen our capacity in political theory; Todd Hall at St Anne's gives us expertise in the international relations of China; Ben Ansell at Nuffield and Jane Gingrich at Magdalen bring additional strength in comparative political economy; Elias Dinas at Brasenose (from next January 1st) provides great knowledge of European politics as well as depth in methodology and David Doyle at St Hugh's works on the politics of Latin America. And we have one more permanent position under advertisement in an area crucial to the training of our graduates in qualitative methods. When you add all these to our existing complement, and the many other appointments of early career researchers to post-doctoral appointments, we believe we have the strongest and largest group of scholars of politics and international relations anywhere in Europe if not the world, a view that we expect to be confirmed in the REF.

How did the modest reduction in our permanent faculty translate into support for doctoral students? The financial savings amounted to £200K. On top of that, thanks to the generosity of donors at Brasenose and at Christ Church with the assistance of matching funding from Oxford University Press, two of our permanent positions were fully endowed. We used the salary savings there also to bolster our studentship funds. When added to our existing resources devoted to graduate funding, we were able to allocate in 2013-14 fully £621K of financial support for doctoral studentships. Not only that, but working collaboratively – as we should – with Nuffield, Christ Church, Univ, St Cross, Lady Margaret Hall and next year Wolfson and hopefully others – joint funding arrangements mean that our support goes much further. And when internal and college sources are supplemented by more traditional scholarships from the Clarendon Fund (OUP again), the Economic and Social Research Council and the Arts and Humanities Research Council, we have moved to a point where 43 of the c. 250 doctoral students in Politics and International Relations are fully funded. This is a great achievement.

So, I hope you will see that we have demonstrated our own commitment to doing what we can on our side. Why then will you find us continuing to seek your help to raise yet more money in support of academic posts and student funding? The most important reason is that our academic 'competitors' keep raising the bar to our success in recruiting and retaining the best. I am not complaining: competition can be a great boost to progress in our profession. But we are determined that we will not be left behind. Despite our achievements in recruiting outstanding new faculty, therefore, we have to admit that we lost some to other universities that we would have preferred to keep. And despite building our studentship pot substantially, we remain behind the great US universities and now some European ones too which are able to fully fund ALL of their doctoral students and for longer periods of time. I find it galling to think that we can't do the same. But to do so, we need to add your help to our own efforts.

As the successes above in funding posts and studentships make clear, by far the best way to approach fundraising is jointly with colleges. In my first Head of Department (HoD) 'Welcome' to *Inspires*, I made clear that the Department is found in every college in the University where Politics is taught. And increasingly colleges and the Department are working together. I mentioned two schemes above that provide wonderful possibilities for you as alumni to maximise the value of your donations. Both are matching funding schemes supported by Oxford University Press. The first is the Teaching Fund, which is intended to fully endow academic posts, where OUP will contribute £800K of the £2 million endowment. The second is the graduate studentship initiative, in which OUP will provide funds to match either capital or five-year spend-down donations to provide full funding for more of our doctoral students. We are working with colleges to expand on our successes in these schemes. If you would like to find out more about how you can help us work with your college on these initiatives, please contact us or follow this link: http://www.campaign.ox.ac.uk/priorities/find_your_priority/politics.html

We have a number of events planned this year that we hope you will attend. These build on the really successful occasions last year. We had a great evening and dinner at Balliol last March that was followed by a day's discussion in the Department on the subject, 'More Europe, Less Europe, No Europe'. We intend to follow this up on 30 November with another day of serious political discussion on 'Constitutional Change and Political Theory'. Details of how to register will be online shortly. Some of you will also know about an initiative jointly run by the Department and Pembroke College to commemorate the intellectual and political legacy of Senator Fulbright: the Department hopes to endow a permanent Fulbright Chair in International Relations. In order to highlight the initiative, DPIR holds an annual lecture in May and will this year participate in the University Alumni Weekend with a lecture on 'The Arrogance of Power' by Professor Sir Adam Roberts (please see details on the back cover of this magazine). Do come along to that.

This will be my last HoD 'Welcome' to *Inspires*. My successor is Liz Frazer – the Department's fourth HoD – who will take over on 1 January 2014. I wish her all the very best. It has been an honour for me to serve as HoD for the last three-and-a-bit years. I feel proud of what we have accomplished, in particular in starting the process of engaging with you, our alumni. I very much appreciate all of the support you have given.

Stephen Whitefield
Head of Department, Professor of Politics,
University Lecturer in Politics,
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Pembroke College

Researching the Republic

Karma Nabulsi discusses her research into the theory and practice of popular sovereignty, revolution and the foundation of democratic republics

My research explores the theory and practice of popular sovereignty, and the accompanying themes that underpin the establishment of democratic republics through revolutions. This research, and the study of popular sovereignty in both its national and international aspects, has been developed in a number of ways over the past few years at the Department and further afield: in collaborative work with other universities, in individual scholarship, and in various academic programmes.

This research has a number of components. The first is foundational and philosophical, and some of my recent writing relies on the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau in this regard. Last year was the bicentennial of his birth, and I contributed a lecture on Rousseau to the annual Oxford Amnesty Human Rights series, recently published in *Self-Evident Truths? Human Rights and the Enlightenment* (2012). I also gave the keynote lecture at *Rousseau's Republics*, the 17th Biennial Colloquium of the Rousseau Association, and contributed to an international colloquium in Geneva on *Rousseau, La République*, shortly to be published by Honoré Champion, in its series *Les Dix-Huitièmes Siècles*.

At a recent plenary lecture at the LSE's ASEN annual conference on *Revolutions and Nationalism*, my central argument was that the recent revolutions in the Arab world are rooted in the revolutionary tradition of popular sovereignty, which can be traced primarily in the region's own rich political history over the 19th and 20th centuries, and is also articulated in the writings of Rousseau, and in the founding practices of republican associations creating republics in 19th century Europe (the latter of which I have spent some time exploring).

Another aspect of this research concerns a specific type of national political design that can be broadly defined as the internationalisation and institutionalisation of popular sovereignty. It is a reflection on how this principle of popular sovereignty can be first understood and then applied, in both academic and policy terms, by reforming or creating specific national and international institutions, while working with existing ones – in short, as in the classic social-democratic formula, establishing the embryo of the new in the frame of the old. Another strand of this research explores the practices – the organising tools, networks, and associations - that are at the heart of creating popular revolutions to institute republics.

Whilst the universality of the principles behind revolutions is rarely contested, and is now enshrined in international charters and universal declarations, the complex set of practices needed to achieve those rights – and which I advance are also universal – are seldom studied. These are the activities that create revolutions for the establishment of popular sovereignty, and are repeated whenever and wherever organisational work to create such revolutions is undertaken. Accordingly, my research traces these actions in some comparative detail, in the sense of how they came together to form a concrete tradition. In the language of 18th century republicans in revolutionary America, France, and elsewhere, engaging in this practice was defined as 'practising the virtues': in other words, engaging in collective work for the public (or common) good, with the goal of creating republics where every citizen lives both equal and free, based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people.

How do revolutions begin, and who begins them? Overthrowing tyranny, classically defined, and installing the principles of liberty, equality, justice, and popular sovereignty in their variety of forms: these are some of the ends of revolutions, whatever the country, region, or era. Less appreciated is that the means employed to create revolutions are always the same as well, and are just as universal. The vocabulary once commonly used to describe these methods has now been forgotten by the very democracies that had relied upon them for their own creation. Gone with this language is an appreciation of the methods and tools required. By restoring the language, therefore, a clear thread can be drawn from past revolutionaries to the present ones, making this tradition of revolutionary practice both visible and concrete.

Throughout history, revolutionaries engaged in what they described as a battle to create republics. The main tool they used was to practise – thoughtfully and purposefully – an array of republican virtues. Indeed the exact form of liberty they sought depended entirely on these virtues, and their ability to develop and rely on them. Those engaged in this endeavour for the common good needed to acquire the imagination to live as free people – as republicans – well before they had the necessary instruments to install the institutions that would protect this freedom, and establish laws and rights for all. It was not sufficient to declare republicanism as an intellectual, philosophical, or even moral position. Rather, republicanism was understood by them as embarking upon a set of actions, a world of being and interconnectedness, that would first build and then maintain the institutions that guaranteed their freedom. Their actions, and the republics they built through them, were only possible due to a commitment to practicing these virtues.

These themes have been developed through three academic programmes over the past decade. The first was the British Academy sponsored programme established in 2000 entitled *Republicans Without Republics: National and International Networks*, lasting four years, which created a network of scholars – philosophers, political scientists, and historians – who examined the foundational concepts and constructs of republics as they were being made, by reviewing revolutionary quests for the establishment of democratic republics in 18th and 19th century Europe through its protagonists, traditions, and international networks and associations. Its final phase culminated in a framework which included the Arab World, the Americas and Africa, and from the 18th century to the present.

The second was a large programme conducted under the title *Civitas: Foundations for Participation of Palestinian Refugees and Exile Communities*. This project – the first of its kind to be conducted in the Arab region – explored mechanisms through which Palestinian refugees could achieve democratic representation. Using a participatory method that relied on refugee mobilisation in its design, and the principles of popular sovereignty and the social contract, this work was carried out in meetings involving thousands of refugees in 26 countries. It resulted in an extensive Register that constitutes the standard voice on Palestinian refugees, their popular organising, their civic, social, and economic status, and their aspirations for freedom and representation.

The third is *Teaching Contemporary Palestinian Political History* (TCPH), a British Academy sponsored programme providing an intellectual framework for the history and politics of the Palestinian revolution, and which is currently in its fourth and final year. Launched in October 2009, TCPH features collaboration between the University of Oxford, and universities in Palestine and further afield in the Arab world. It has created an online curriculum for university students in Arabic and English on Palestinian political history of the revolutionary decades, with a focus on civic practices and organisational processes in the 1960s, 70s and 80s. The platform relies on primary documents, oral history of the main protagonists, and other rare materials, and will go online for students, teachers and the broader public in 2013.

Karma Nabulsi
University Lecturer in International Relations, Fellow in Politics, St Edmund Hall

Shall we blog?

Stuart White discusses the potential of academic blogging to increase the impact of research by deepening democratic debate

There is a lot of discussion today amongst academics about something called 'impact'. One possible way in which academics can try to make their work accessible to a wider audience, increasing its impact, is by exploring the possibilities opened up by blogging and social media.

In the past getting a message out to a wider audience about one's research might require placing an article in a newspaper or persuading a broadcaster to run an interview. These remain important ways of disseminating research. But blogging and social media offer another, more direct and decentralised route to dissemination. It is also complementary to the more traditional routes. An article that achieves some attention via social media might well be taken up by the mainstream media.

DPIR set up a blog site jointly with the Department of Politics and International Studies at Cambridge University in 2010, 'Politics in Spires' (http://politicsinspires.org/). It publishes 3-4 articles per week during the academic year. Readership has steadily grown to over 1,000 per week. Another academic blog site, which shows what can be done, is the LSE's British Policy and Politics site, one of a number of LSE-based blogs (http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/).

An individual blog post offers a relatively short, but informed, discussion of a political topic. However, some blog sites attempt broader and deeper analysis by running a series of articles around a related topic. Politics in Spires has been moving in this direction over the past year. One example, which I have helped to edit, is the series 'Democratic Wealth'.

'Democratic Wealth' is an attempt to bring some recent developments in academic political theory into a discussion of political economy. Within political theory, there has been a revival of interest in recent years in the tradition or traditions of civic republicanism (see also the article in this issue of *Inspires* by Karma Nabulsi on her research). What, if anything, can this tradition, or set of traditions, contribute to contemporary thinking about the relationships between politics, society and the economy?

For example, what does republican thinking about the nature of freedom imply for the objectives of economic policy? Is a republican conception of active citizenship consistent with contemporary commercial societies? Is a 'commercial republic' possible and, if so, what kind of institutions would it have?

The series has included contributions not only from UK academics, but also from academics in the US, Spain and France, as well as non-academics. The series has been hosted jointly by Politics in Spires and by an external, non-academic site, openDemocracy (http://www.opendemocracy.net/). This editorial partnership offers a way of maximising the reach of the series, and hopefully each site can help more generally to draw readership to the other.

There is perhaps a sense amongst some academics that blogging is not a terribly serious exercise. The serious stuff is the monograph or the journal article. But if we do take impact seriously, then the blog post is arguably an important form or genre in its own right.

In addition, blogs can help to develop conversations in ways that can then feed back into the writing of things like journal articles and monographs. There is of course always the potential for discussion prompted by comments threads and responses on social media. A series editor can also try to prompt discussion by requesting contributors not just to state their own position but to take account of earlier posts. Debates that are latent in the academic literature can be brought out.

Implicit in what I have said thus far, however, is a view about what impact itself might be. It is all too easy to fall into a trap of thinking that impact must mean conveying an idea to 'policymakers' which then results in a 'policy'. Impact, on this model, tends to get reduced to *influence on what government does*.

Influence on a government's actions can be a perfectly admirable thing to achieve. I've certainly tried to have such influence myself. I'll probably try again.

But there are some obvious worries with the idea that academics ought to orient their research towards having impact only in this sense. The process of policymaking in government is neither that of an ideal deliberative democracy nor that of a rational, scientific technocracy. Unequal power relations in the wider society, ideology, partisan and personal self-interest, along with many other factors, shape this process so that what comes out as policy is hardly a pure reflection of the innate quality of ideas.

To expect academics to achieve impact only in this sense, therefore, is to encourage academics to shape their research in ways that potentially inappropriately give weight to existing power relations. Rather than enhancing the academic enterprise, this threatens its integrity. Insofar as it helps to reproduce existing perspectives and affirm existing power structures, it arguably also runs counter to the kind of challenge and contestation that a robust democracy requires. One step forward from this model is to recognise, as many academics do, that 'policy' is not only something made by central governments but by devolved and local governments and groups in civil society.

Taking a further step, towards what might be termed a democratic model of impact, we conceive of our research as addressed also to the wider citizenry in whom sovereignty ultimately and properly resides. This research offers fellow citizens resources which they can use to inform and deepen their deliberation and debate. This can mean putting forward ideas that challenge current public opinion. Accordingly, with the democratic model, we do not think of impact only as polices that institutions adopt, but as how one affects the terms of public discussion. Impact is a matter of *contribution to public debate*.

Blogging is an obvious way of trying to offer one's research as a resource for deeper, more informed public debate. Done well, it can potentially offer a way of enriching both academic research and democratic politics.

How *do* we do it well? On that, we are all still on a learning curve. We'll be discussing this within DPIR. Watch this space.

... if we do take impact seriously, then the blog post is arguably an important form or genre in its own right ...

Please visit the 'Democratic Wealth' series at **http://politicsinspires.org/**

Contributions and comments welcome: **oxbridge.blog@gmail.com**

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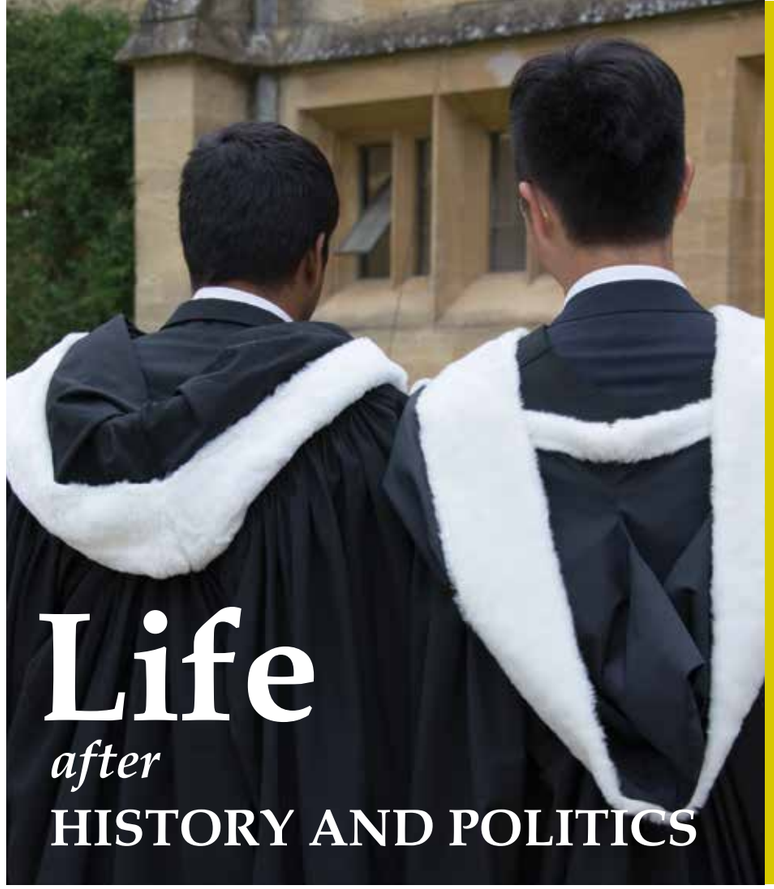


Life *after* HISTORY AND POLITICS

Since it was introduced in 1999, History and Politics* has been a popular choice of undergraduate joint degree, with applicant numbers rising year on year. Three History and Politics alumni share with *Inspires* readers reflections on how their course has influenced them in their careers to date.

Luke Tryl
Magdalen College
2005

"It was great to be part of a team coming up with ideas that not only ended up in party manifestos, but in some cases actually became Government policy."

One of the things I enjoyed most about studying History and Politics was just how varied the degree could be. One day you'd be studying Aristotle's *Politics*, the next looking at the influence of John Winthrop in Colonial America and after that, how elections in Belgium differ from those in Mexico. Despite being a relatively new degree, I really thought History and Politics gave me the best of both worlds. I'm sure we're all guilty of looking back through rose-tinted spectacles (I still get nightmares about finals!), but it's only now, having left, that I truly appreciate the amazing opportunities I had access to at the time. One aspect of my degree in particular stands out for me when I was able to interview not one, but two US Supreme Court Justices for my undergraduate thesis.

Whilst I know we were all told, repeatedly, that we were there to study for our degree, the flexibility of History and Politics did give me a chance to put what I was learning into some sort of practice, and I was lucky enough to be elected President of the Oxford Union. Despite the stress of termly elections and 'politicking' my time at the Union has left me with some fantastic memories, including chairing debates involving members of the Cabinet and Shadow Cabinet and hosting speakers as varied as Hamid Karzai and Russell Brand.

Since leaving I've tried to make the best use of what I learned at Oxford 'in the real world'. Straight after finishing my degree I went to work for the think-tank Reform in their education team. In the run up to the 2010 general election, Reform was trying to persuade the major political parties to adopt its ideas. It was great to be part of a team coming up with ideas that not only ended up in party manifestos, but in some cases actually became Government policy. I also worked for a public affairs firm, helping a range of clients make sense of the political system and raise their profile in the media, the most interesting being a political prisoner in Russia. We helped to raise the profile of the human rights abuses in his case to politicians and journalists. I now work for Stonewall, Europe's largest gay equality charity, doing a mix of policy and campaign work. As I'm sure you can imagine it certainly keeps me busy! Again I'm lucky enough to have found a job which is so varied day by day. In the same week this year, I spent a day down in Cornwall speaking to a packed town hall meeting about the importance of equal marriage, did a radio interview about levels of homophobic bullying and also spoke to 400 trainee teachers about tackling this same problem. I've been really lucky in being able to carry on using the lessons I learned from History and Politics in my day to day work.

In fact, it's not just the subject knowledge that I've found useful. Whilst, fingers crossed, the 5am essay crises have been left behind (somewhere outside exam schools) other habits I picked up have stayed with me. For instance, I now find it difficult to get phased having to think on my feet in a meeting or conference after having spent three years trying to defend a tutorial essay against some of the leading academics in the field. So for everything I've done so far, the preparation my degree gave me has been invaluable and I think, and hope, that it'll continue to be that way for the foreseeable future.

*Editors' note: Before 2007 the degree was named 'Modern History and Politics'.

Conor O'Neill
Wadham College
2000
MSt 2003-4

"Although … there is much of my job that is either technical or highly specialised, I've always felt my degree has enduring relevance and utility."

When I saw that History and Politics was being offered as a course at Oxford, I was sure that it was what I wanted to study, and I have never regretted that decision. The opportunity both to develop different but complementary methods of understanding and analysis and to draw from such a range of subjects and periods to study was an exciting one, and across the three years I and my fellow 'MHPists' often found ourselves hopping back and forth between the PPE and History fraternity, or holding the line between them. I was lucky enough to be funded by the Hudson Trust to complete an MSt, researching terrorist strategy in Northern Ireland, and the interdisciplinary work I had done during my MHP degree was invaluable in conducting very recent historical research.

I went to Oxford on a Royal Navy University Cadetship, and so after finishing my Masters it was back to sea. I am a Warfare Officer, responsible for a variety of operational and management activities onboard ships, from navigation to HR, and I've served in most corners of the globe. Patrolling the Strait of Hormuz or the Falkland Islands certainly gives some rather immediate context to IR theory. Although, clearly, there is much of my job that is either technical or highly specialised, I've always felt my degree has enduring relevance and utility. Much of the work the navy does, day to day, is diplomatic in nature, and appreciating the global and regional context in which we are operating and the effects we are both seeking and likely to achieve is critical to success. Conflict is, fortunately, rare, but the issues that often underlie it are ever changing and if we are to apply the levers of military power in all its forms to prevent it, we must understand both the levers and the actors to which they are applied.

I am frequently called upon to digest large amounts of material, often in a constrained timeframe, whether that be sensitive intelligence or policy proposals, and the practical skills of quick reading and trenchant analysis that were developed over long nights and the odd early morning have been much used. The service still prizes succinct, accurate and tightly argued writing, just as my tutors did, even if rhetorical flourishes are not encouraged in military signals! I've even found myself examining the constitutional niceties of Military Aid to the Civil Power, working through the theoretical concept right down to the practical implications. I'm back to sea again shortly, but in the years that follow, as my career shifts more towards policy from the sharp end, I'll have the chance to blend my practical experiences with the knowledge and skills I gained at Oxford.

Raluca Petre
The Queen's College
2008

"Thinking academically about a range of directors and films … has shown me the potential of cinema to help us understand our behaviours and make sense of our surroundings."

Following my graduation in 2011, I went on to do a Masters in Film Studies at King's College London. The link between History and Politics and film had become increasingly apparent to me during my time at Oxford. At first, film acted as a relief from the issues that I was dealing with in my essays; I had always been into film as a hobby and, in search for 'extracurriculars' at Oxford, I came to edit and write for the film section of the *Oxford Student* and helped run the Magdalen Film Society. However, by my third year I realised that what I had found most engaging in my essays was also influencing the way I thought about film. I became really interested in political philosophy and Adam Swift's Political Theory tutorials not only pushed me to discipline my thoughts but also introduced me to the idea of 'adaptive preferences' in feminist theory. I then found out that psychoanalysis and poststructuralist thought in the arts expanded on that exact concept with regard to films. History and Politics (H&P) also allowed me to experiment with various approaches. In a history of art module, I learnt how to think about images as a language and the way in which they influence perceptions of reality in a certain period.

H&P was about not settling; about connecting the apparent and the superficial, with their roots, context and implications. It was also about trying to understand the worlds of others in order to understand oneself, one's preconceptions and preferred arguments. 'Good' films usually try to do that too, and, when analysing what makes a film effective or not, its formal devices are contextualised in relation to its story, other films, its mode of production, the wider historical, political and social issues of the country in which it was made, theoretical texts and the viewer's own personal experiences. Thinking academically about a range of directors and films that previously I had not known much about has shown me the potential of cinema to help us understand our behaviours and make sense of our surroundings.

I chose to study for my Masters part-time, so that I could also pursue different things outside academia and figure out my preferred career path. I made a short film with my friends and I interned for a few months in the Press and PR department at the British Film Institute, which was useful in confirming to me that PR was not a path that I wanted to take. I decided to move to Paris at the start of this year to work in a web-based start-up that supports art house cinema by curating selections from film festivals and offering film professionals exclusive access to them. The experience of working in a compact company is rewarding. I get to do a bit of everything, from research about new productions and projects, to copywriting, online content and handling rights agreements. Working closely with professionals in production and distribution, I also get to understand the different roles and structures involved in the film industry and how they work together to create a cultural output, shaping its form and content.

Ultimately, I'm hoping to get into documentary filmmaking back home in Romania - an exciting way to link H&P and film.

BURMA

on the road to democracy?

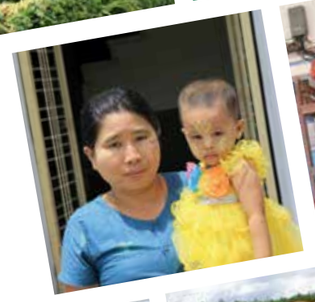
Catherine E. de Vries visits Burma and finds a country on the cusp of a profound transition

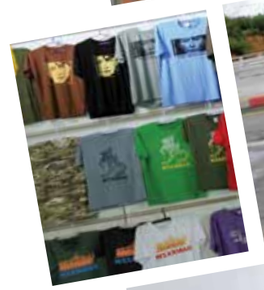
At the beginning of June, I had the opportunity to travel to Burma to take part in the 2013 Meeting of the Young Global Leader (YGL) Forum of the World Economic Forum (WEF), and the WEF East Asia. Burma is going through a remarkable transition. The economic, political and social liberalisation process is neither a direct response to a domestic uprising, nor a consequence of foreign intervention. Rather, a military regime which closed the country from the outside world for more than two decades is embarking on a journey of opening itself up to the world's markets whilst slowly introducing political reform. Aung San Suu Kyi, after years of house arrest, sees her party now officially seated in parliament and new elections scheduled in 2015. Moreover the government, headed by the president Thein Sein, is negotiating ceasefires with armed groups that fight for the rights of ethnic and religious minorities who have historically been excluded, persecuted or marginalised. This has all happened with astonishing speed since government reforms began in 2011. Observing these changes from a distance, one finds oneself wondering whether this is a genuine and lasting transformation, or just a form of window-dressing. I headed to Burma with a dose of scepticism, reinforced by the recent attacks on the minority communities and the on-going fighting between the army and rebel groups in Kachin state in the North. Clearly, Burma is heading down a long and difficult path of change which will influence generations to come.

An organisation aiding the government in the process of political, economic and social transition is the Burma Peace Centre (MPC). Together with a small group of YGLs, I had the opportunity to spend a day with the MPC. The MPC was established just seven months ago by decree of President Thein Sein, with a mandate of directly supporting the government in its tough negotiations with the many armed groups still operating in the country. Its members are mostly Burmese citizens that returned from exile, some previously imprisoned and involved in rebel activities, others still blacklisted and tailed by the secret police. During my interactions with MPC members, I was struck by their self-sacrifice, dedication, and professionalism, and even more so by the fact that a meeting like this would have never taken place in the political climate of just 18 months ago.

The accomplishments of the MPC are impressive, with 13 ceasefires concluded in the past nine months. Yet the composition of the organisation does not include representatives of some key ethnic and social groups as most members are from the Burmese Buddhist majority and male. It is clear that the true challenges for security and political cooperation in Burma will not only be to negotiate ceasefires, but to start a process of reconciliation and political dialogue with minority groups, and not just with their armed leaders. Ethnic divisions run deep in Burma. Both the government and the Aung San Suu Kyi-led opposition have been criticised for their lacklustre reaction to the repeated eruptions of violence against Muslims in recent months. It has been estimated that 200 people were killed in these incidents and over 100,000 displaced (according to reports in the International Herald Tribune on 7 June 2013, p. 4).

> The biggest obstacles for Burma at the moment seem to be the lack of social cohesion and growing economic inequality.





This challenge to Burma's fragile liberalisation process also troubles a young Muslim I meet outside the Chulia Muslim Dargah Mosque on Bogyoke Aung Street in the heart of Yangon. Most people in Burma speak English next to their respective native tongues. 'There are many people in positions of power that want to turn back time,' he tells me. He goes on to add that 'the situation for us Muslims is worse than before, no one stands up for us, not even the Lady' (Aung San Suu Kyi is mostly referred to as the Lady). Indeed, violence against Muslims by Burmese Buddhist mobs is rarely officially condemned. He urges me to 'tell people in your country about the situation with Muslims here' - a promise I hope to keep with this contribution.

Another challenge is brought to my attention by a taxi driver who, while pointing at the villas surrounding the Inlay Lake in Yangon, tells me about his dire living conditions and the growing inequality of wealth in his country. Looking out of the car window onto the large villas with expensive cars and security in the driveway makes this picture crystal clear. Existing research on political transitions and democratisation tells us that nations that grow faster do not show a greater tendency to become democratic or consolidate already established democratic institutions, and that an unequal distribution of wealth may have detrimental effects. Consequently, it remains to be seen if Burma stays on the path of elite-led economic liberalisation currently characterised by rising inequality and widespread corruption (see Transparency International rating for 2012*), or if ordinary citizens from a variety of different ethnic and religious backgrounds may eventually get a share of the growing wealth.

Although the liberalisation process in Burma gives reasons for optimism and hope, the road ahead is long and difficult, and the destination uncertain. The biggest obstacles for Burma at the moment seem to be the lack of social cohesion and growing economic inequality. How will this government and future ones be able to reconcile the deep ethnic and religious tensions beyond negotiating ceasefires, and develop institutions that facilitate lasting peace and political cooperation?

And while economic development is in full swing, it is rapidly creating winners and losers, and will likely create even bigger divisions in the future. This situation may carry the seeds for future political conflict and social unrest. No quick fixes for social divisions and economic inequality exist, and their root causes are utterly complex. Moreover, ethnic tensions and inequality are key challenges, not only for Burma, but increasingly for many advanced industrial democracies around the globe. If the people and elites of Burma are able to develop institutions and dialogues that ensure social, political and economic sustainability, established democracies might take lessons from this beautiful country.

* http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results

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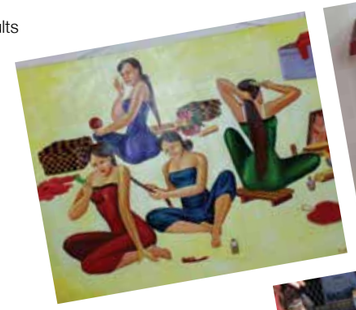
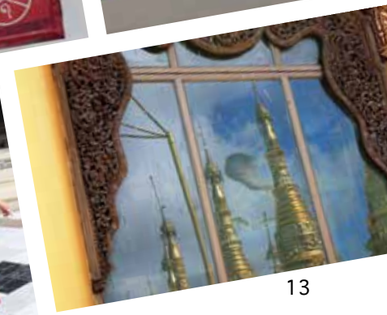
Member, Young Global Leader Forum, World Economic Forum





‘SOFT POWER’
moves to the people

John Worne asks whether governments have lost the monopoly on ‘soft power’

Joseph Nye’s classic definition of ‘soft power’ coined in 1990 is ‘The ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, use force or give money as a means of persuasion’*. In sum – and in an ideal world - sharing culture and building trade are better international relations interventions than firing bullets or sending aid.

Of course, we don’t live in an ideal world. No-one should underestimate the significance of ‘hard power’ or international development assistance. Military intervention, diplomacy, sanctions and subsidies, as well as aid, are as vital to international relations, geopolitics and people’s lives now as they ever have been.

But the problem for many governments – outside closed states and dictatorships - is that these days more and more connections between countries happen outside, even despite, governments, not between or because of them.

And in the last five years, in particular, the global explosion of Internet connectivity and social media increasingly means that even the bits that were once potentially controllable – broadcast and media – are now increasingly ‘for and from the people’ not by or through the state.

My contention is that ‘soft power’ these days is much less the property and tool of governments and much more the product of the actions of people and cultural institutions. This makes it no less powerful, but much harder to ‘wield’, as it is the sum of how a nation ‘is’ rather than how it might like to be ‘seen’. Indeed, even attributing this power to a specific ‘nation’ or nation-state becomes more complex as actors on social media do not necessarily see themselves, and might not always be perceived by others, as straightforwardly representatives of the nation or state to which they belong.

The Institute for Government most closely captures my view on the main elements which together constitute ‘soft power’: culture, diplomacy, business/innovation, government and education. I think that’s nearly right. But the weight and impact of these pieces of the jigsaw is changing – and there is a very big one missing.

To focus first on one bit that is changing. Culture is big and getting bigger. A great deal of a country’s ‘soft power’ lives in its cultural and educational institutions, brands and icons. In the UK’s case the BBC, the great galleries, museums, universities and theatres, but also the Premier League, the Royal Family, Team GB and Paralympics GB, Jaguar, Burberry and the celebration of UK life which was Danny Boyle’s Olympic opener.

And here the UK has a real comparative advantage. We have a resilient and cost effective model: cultural institutions with ‘mixed economy’ funding – some public funding and an entrepreneurial approach to earning and partnership with great commercial brands and sponsors.

Unlike for example China or France, who commit very large-scale public funding to culture and language promotion, the UK’s ‘mixed economy’ approach at its best keeps our great arts, educational and cultural institutions to their public service mission through Royal Charters and some state funding. This helps to keep UK culture and UK ‘soft power’ evolving and innovating, not limited in ambition by public money alone.

But the big missing piece of the Institute for Government’s ‘soft power’ model, I believe, is people. A great deal of ‘soft power’ is now created directly and daily by the ordinary and extraordinary people of the world – teachers, artists, sportspeople, young people, policymakers, parliamentarians, commentators and raconteurs to name a few.

What we blog, tweet, tag, snap, post, comment on and curate speaks volumes for who we are – and reaches all four corners of the world through diasporas driven by the twin social media currencies of ‘interest’ and ‘followership’.

**Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, Joseph S. Nye Jr., (Public Affairs, 2004)

And as we have seen in the UK and in other parts of the world – via twitter storms, wikileaks and flashmobs – the boundaries and power of social media are uncontrolled and uncontrollable by governments. People can now connect and create content, share ideas and learn about each other at the speed of light. Sweden as a nation and Google as a company lead the public and private charge for a free Internet. But whoever wins, the genie of social media is out of the bottle and won’t be put back in.

As the UK’s international culture and education body the British Council has always been ‘for and from’ the people of the UK. Our public service mission has always been to increase the number of people around the world who speak English, have studied in or with UK institutions and universities and are open to and attracted to UK culture and people.

But thanks to digital learning and social media the scale at which we can now do it dwarfs what was possible ten years ago. As a small example, our digital LearnEnglish sites now attract hundreds of millions from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe where previously we could only reach or teach thousands face to face. Over a million fans learn together on our Middle East Facebook English site. The global demand for English, UK Education and UK culture has never been greater than today.

So much more of ‘soft power’ in the 21st century is ‘people power’ – the power of people to vote with their feet, move directly or virtually where they want and gravitate towards people, places, opportunities, ideas and creative content which are more internationally and instantly mobile than ever.

And this is where a great deal of the UK’s power of attraction now lies – in our comparative openness, creativity, the content we create, the breadth of artistic expression, our diversity and plurality. According to *Monocle* magazine and the Institute for Government, 2012 put the UK on top of the world for ‘soft power’. It is the UK’s people and cultural institutions which will keep us there.

Monocle
Soft Power Survey 2012

01 UK
02 USA
03 Germany
04 France
05 Sweden
06 Japan
07 Denmark
08 Switzerland
09 Australia
10 Canada
11 South Korea
12 Norway
13 Finland
14 Italy
15 Netherlands
16 Spain
17 Brazil
18 Austria
19 Belgium
20 Turkey

Please see a film about the ‘Top 20’ at
http://monocle.com/film/affairs/soft-power-survey-2012

This text is based on a speech in January 2013 by John Worne at an Inter-Parliamentary Union Peers and MPs’ debate on ‘Soft Power’ at Westminster Hall

John Worne, PPE (Jesus College, 1987)
Director of Strategy, British Council
Prior to the British Council John worked around the world in international telecommunications and at the centre of UK Government

The UK pavilion at the World Expo in Shanghai, 2010

Keeping the subject's lifeblood flowing:
funding our postgraduates

David Hine explains DPIR's strategy to increase funding for graduate study

For PPE students a few decades ago, DPIR postgraduate students were perhaps perceived as a small, barely visible group, usually writing DPhils. Postgraduate students mostly harboured aspirations to become academics, though not all managed it. Some helped with undergraduate tutorials, and were often very good at it, even on rather little training. But the postgraduate programme was an add-on to the main (undergraduate-focused) work of the then Sub-Faculty of Politics.

Today, the world of postgraduate students has been transformed and professionalised. We have many more postgraduates than in the past, relative to undergraduates, and they go on to various careers. Most come initially to study for one of several taught Masters degrees – the one-year MSc or the two-year MPhil – with a proportion going on to do doctoral work thereafter. A minority come to start on a doctorate immediately, but will have done a Masters elsewhere.

This evolution is common to other departments in Oxford, and is paralleled in most good universities. What explains it, and what are its implications for DPIR specifically?

Firstly, many career pathways actively demand the extra training and the sharper analytical capacities that come from postgraduate training. Rigorous training in research methods is the essence of the first year of postgraduate studies in the Department. It is highly valued in government, policy-making bodies in the not-for-profit sector, international organisations, and anywhere where employees need to be able to model social processes, and gather and interpret data robustly, whether for public policy, advocacy or commercial or financial strategy.

Secondly, as has long been the case in the natural sciences, scholarship and research today advance through collaborative effort and teamwork. The research in the DPIR described in this and previous editions of *Inspires* is vivid testimony to teamwork. Some of the most important members of such teams are doctoral students. University reputations are built today not just on undergraduate teaching but also on research and scholarship, and on postgraduate training. This is a normal expectation of a modern university environment, and we cannot recruit and retain the best academics and sustain Oxford's reputation in Politics and International Relations unless we provide all three parts of the triad.

Oxford now competes for top doctoral students not just with other UK universities, but with the best in North America, and with good universities in Europe and Asia whose postgraduate programmes are increasingly taught in English.

> "This … target of five prestigious doctoral awards is only the beginning if we are to put support for postgraduate funding on a proper footing in our Department."

Every year the Department receives applications from large numbers of excellent applicants. But as the recruitment year proceeds, many of those to whom we offer places either cannot raise the funds (this includes some of the very strongest) or get generous funding elsewhere. Some top US institutions do not expect to offer doctoral places without also providing full funding: something Oxford can only dream of.

This is by far the most serious challenge the Department faces. For all the controversy over tuition fees, Oxford's undergraduates can confidently be recruited on a completely needs-blind basis. Few UK applicants turn an Oxford PPE or History/Politics place down in favour of another UK university. Not so at postgraduate level. There, competition is ferocious, and it all depends on money.

For home students the two main research councils (the ESRC and the AHRC) fund a small number of students, but the allocation process is highly unpredictable. Oxford has its own Clarendon awards scheme (generously supported by OUP) to finance a limited number of fee remissions. Some colleges have funds for living awards, and in some cases also for fee remission. But the result is a messy patchwork.

The University is determined to address this problem, and so is the Department of Politics and International Relations. One encouraging incentive is Oxford's recently-launched Graduate Scholarship Matched Fund, which enables us to leverage gifts received from donors to support graduate scholarships with matching funds allocated from University income in a 60:40 donor:match ratio (see www.campaign.ox.ac.uk/priorities/students/grad_matched_fund.html). In essence, if the Department of Politics and International Relations wants to offer five two-year doctoral awards each year valued at about £25k p.a., the cost of this (£250k p.a.) capitalised as endowment, would be around £7m. So we as a Department would need to raise around £4m to draw down around £3m from the Matched Fund.

This modest target of five prestigious doctoral awards is only the beginning if we are to put support for postgraduate funding on a proper footing in our Department. Over the long term, to compete internationally, we need to secure support for a much larger number of awards, including those at Masters level.

Over coming months you will hear more from us. We shall be posting our business plan for graduate support on our website, and telling alumni much more about the Department's postgraduate programmes and its students' research. We would like to hear from you. We hope to see you at the alumni events in Oxford. Please contact me (david.hine@politics.ox.ac.uk) or the Departmental editor of *Inspires* Kate Candy (kate.candy@politics.ox.ac.uk) if you think you can help or if you want more information.

Graduate students are the engine of research. They go on to make an important contribution to the worldwide economy and society, as leaders in their fields and in developing the frontiers of knowledge. This is a hugely worthwhile cause, and vital to Oxford's future competitiveness in Politics and International Relations.

David Hine
CUF University Lecturer in Politics, Student, Christ Church

Please find further information about our graduate programmes at **www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/why-study-with-us/why-study-with-us.html**

Please find further information about giving to DPIR at **www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/alumni-development/alumni-development.html**

The Ethics of Humanitarian Aid

Hugo Slim considers the challenges and dilemmas facing the global humanitarian aid sector

What happens when we give money to humanitarian agencies appealing for funds to support their work in conflicts like Syria? Their advertisements make things sound so easy: we send money to Oxfam, Save the Children or the Red Cross and they buy food, medicines or water equipment and get them to people in need.

It all seems like a very simple and satisfactory ethical transaction. But, as each one of us knows, helping people is actually quite complicated. This is probably the main reason why so few of us take homeless people into our homes. If we did, what might begin as an apparently simple moral proposition could soon become a very difficult and protracted moral challenge.

> “Recognising the difficult ethical aspects of humanitarian work allows … agencies and the public … to discuss … aid more realistically and creatively.”

Not as easy as it sounds

So it is with humanitarian work in armed conflict. In many ways, it is simple – a straightforward bit of practical morality moving stuff from a to b. But, in other ways, providing aid ethically and well is hard indeed. This is why researchers at DPIR are working directly with several of the world's largest aid agencies to develop a better understanding of the ethics of humanitarian aid. This is important to help improve aid strategies on the ground. It is also essential to keep the public realistically informed about the challenges and progress of humanitarian aid, and what they can expect as a reasonable return on their investment.

Many thousands of people are saved from death, destitution, hunger and disease every year by emergency programmes that aid civilians in war. Humanitarian aid has mushroomed in recent years. Aid budgets are bigger than ever, topping $17bn in 2011, and there are now an estimated 4,400 agencies working in humanitarian aid.

Humanitarian aid makes a big impact every year and is emerging as something of a global safety net for people enduring armed conflicts and major disaster. At the same time, humanitarian agencies and their critics are rightly aware of a range of political and ethical problems in providing humanitarian aid. This means that humanitarian action is not as simple as TV advertisements make it out to be and as we, the donors, might wish it to be.

Humanitarian principles

Humanitarian aid in armed conflict is governed by international humanitarian law, refugee law and by self-regulating principles agreed by humanitarian agencies that are based on the fundamental principles of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

International humanitarian law, in the Geneva Conventions, requires the protection of civilians and allows for humanitarian aid of all kinds to be provided by neutral and impartial humanitarian organisations. This impartiality is important. Parties to a conflict can refuse access to humanitarian aid if it gives unfair military or economic advantage to the enemy.

The great majority of humanitarian agencies have agreed to abide by four main humanitarian principles – humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence – as well as a range of good practice guidelines that ensure they work collaboratively and respectfully with individuals and communities they are trying to help.

With such an emphasis on legal and ethical principle in humanitarian operations, it is not surprising that humanitarian work is often deeply challenged by conflict situations that are very far from ideal in practice.

Typical ethical problems

In our research so far, we have identified several main areas of humanitarian work where humanitarian agencies have long reported recurring ethical problems. Some of these are summarised and illustrated in the following list.

Equity and fairness

In conflicts where access is often blocked and restricted, agencies often struggle, through no fault of their own, to meet the needs of an affected population fairly. In extreme situations when needs are overwhelming, they also face difficult questions of triage and prioritisation.

Political co-option

Agencies have to deal with warring parties eager to use all means at their disposal to secure their war aims. Aid is routinely under pressure in insurgencies and counter-insurgencies. Warring parties try to exploit the potential value of aid to reward supportive constituencies, win the hearts and minds of contested communities, or punish opponents by blocking aid.

Making things worse

The way aid is given can create significant moral hazards. Making large food distributions to hungry families in areas dominated by predatory armed groups can mean civilians can be robbed, attacked, raped and killed as they return home from distributions. Supporting the construction and supply of camps for internally displaced people can encourage a military policy to dispossess and concentrate enemy populations into humanitarian ghettos.

Paternalism and autonomy

The aid relationship can become deeply paternalistic and reduce people's autonomy and power over their own lives. Finding effective and empowering ways to work with people in crisis is essential and hard. Some argue that aid can generate 'the Samaritan's dilemma' though, as in the case of debates about domestic welfare state policies, the extent of this problem is a matter of dispute.

Speaking out or staying to deliver

Agencies often fear becoming bystanders to atrocity. They feel torn between going public on the atrocities they witness, so risking obstruction or expulsion by violating authorities, or keeping quiet and staying on to save lives.

The lives of staff or civilians

Operating in conflict is frequently dangerous. More than 850 aid workers have been killed in the last ten years and hundreds kidnapped. Staff security often makes for difficult operational decisions that inevitably affect aid coverage.

Aid quality

The quality of humanitarian action can be compromised by the speed at which agencies have to respond and the obstructions they face. Meeting their own proper standards for health, food, water and protection is frequently difficult.

Accountability and transparency

Getting a reliable understanding of the results of aid programmes can be hard. Emergency context and culture often prioritise action over reporting and learning. But without real evidence of aid effectiveness it becomes ethically problematic to keep asking for more money.

These various moral problems will not come as a surprise to anyone who has seen or imagined the reality of trying to deliver humanitarian aid in war. Most people who have given money to the Red Cross in Syria will have then seen their trucks on television stopped at road-blocks for days at a time. Scenes like this mean that most of us already have an innate understanding of the ethical difficulties of humanitarian action. Yet, I imagine that most people still want humanitarian agencies to keep trying.

Openly recognising the difficult ethical aspects of humanitarian work allows humanitarian agencies and the public that supports them to discuss humanitarian aid more realistically and creatively. This must be a key part of the increasingly popular discussions about respecting the Geneva Conventions, as well as the equally pressing political discussion about affordable aid budgets in the UK and elsewhere.

A role for DPIR

Oxford has a long history of trying to render the practice of war more humane and respectful of civilians. In 1589, the émigré Italian Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, Alberico Gentili, elaborated on the principle of civilian immunity in his *De Jure Belli*. Much later in 1880, Oxford hosted an international conference on the laws of war which produced the so-called Oxford Manual that notoriously but realistically began: 'War holds a great place in history, and it is not to be supposed that men (sic) will soon give it up.'

In our own times, Oxford scholars like Geoffrey Best, Barbara Harrell-Bond and Adam Roberts have produced great works on the laws and ethics of war, and the Refugee Studies Centre has led the way on understanding the effects of forced migration. And, of course, in 1942 Oxford helped to produce Oxfam, one of the greatest humanitarian agencies in the world.

Today, alongside our work on humanitarian ethics in war, DPIR has a range of talented researchers working on the ethics of robotic warfare, nuclear proliferation, the international criminal court's role in regulating war, the relationship between just war theory and human rights, and the emerging principle of an international responsibility to protect civilians in war (R2P), by force if necessary.

Thankfully, war has declined in recent years but its persistence and effect on politics and international relations makes the increasing humanitarian regulation of conflict a continuing priority for academic research. There is no serious evidence that humanitarian aid prolongs war. Instead, there is much evidence that it reduces the severe effects of war and increases people's chances of survival. Because of this, a proper discussion of the ethics of aid in war is essential, and a book from the project will be published later this year.

Hugo Slim
Senior Research Fellow,
Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict, DPIR

DPIR Research: breadth and depth

Liz Greenhalgh presents an overview of DPIR research

The Department of Politics and International Relations is one of the UK's leading producers of academic research in Politics and IR, with more than eighty academic researchers working within a wide and diverse research programme.

The research of the Department largely corresponds to the broad sub-disciplines of government, international relations and political theory. The size and breadth of the Department allows for strength across the full range of sub-disciplines together with a depth of expertise in research methods. The Department is also involved in a great deal of inter-disciplinary and collaborative work covering, especially, its country and area expertise in relation to Africa, Asia, Latin America, Russia and Eastern Europe, North America, Western Europe and the UK.

The Department currently hosts around 50 live research projects funded by major research funding organisations including the Leverhulme Trust, the European Research Council, the British Academy, and the Economic and Social Science Research Council (ESRC). It also carries out work directly for government departments, international institutions and charitable foundations as well as participating in international research consortia.

Research Centres and Programmes

The Department's research centres and programmes are designed to coordinate and facilitate areas of research, linking members into research networks, drawing in participants from across the University and beyond, hosting seminars and conferences, and attracting research visitors.

The Centre for International Studies (CIS) brings together research strengths on: global order governance including economic governance and international institutions; international normative theory and emerging powers; the changing character of war and security; global justice; and the international relations of the major regions in the world. Its current research includes participation in an international research programme on emerging global powers with particular reference to Brazil, India and China. The changing role of Europe is the focus for a number of CIS research projects including a programme co-ordinated jointly with the European Studies Centre at St Antony's College. Current interests include research on global trade governance and regulation, global trade ethics, and how global markets and institutions can better serve the needs of people in developing countries.

The Changing Character of War, a programme from the early 1990s which is now housed at Pembroke College, was formative. Supported by the European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, the programme influenced contemporary work on 'Civil Resistance and Power Politics', and resulted in a publication edited by Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash*. Expertise in these areas has also been enriched by an internationally-supported research programme on exit strategies and peace building.

The Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict, which has close ties to CIS, is an interdisciplinary centre funded by the Oxford Martin School with the aim of strengthening laws, norms and institutions to restrain and prevent armed conflict. The principle of the 'Responsibility to Protect', associated with the UN, has been a focus for ELAC's work, as have debates on approaches to military ethics: whether the use of IT-technology is compatible with existing *jus in bello* norms and how to develop ethical practice within humanitarian organisations.

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism is an international centre for the comparative research of journalism. It hosts a fellowship programme for visiting journalists from around the world and runs its own research programmes. As with all the Department's centres, it runs a regular series of seminars, workshops, annual conferences and debates in collaboration with others in Oxford University and with the global world of practice. The Institute is taking forward research on the changing business models of news media; on the relationship between 'old' and 'new' media, and comparing the take up and use of digital and social media internationally. It has links with the Oxford Internet Institute in these areas. A central theme of the institute's research is the relationship between media and democracy – in the Middle East, in Africa and in democracies in transition. It has connections with the large interdisciplinary DPIR research programme on media and democracy in ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Public Policy Unit directs policy-relevant academic research and brings academics and policy makers together. It has brought scrutiny to debates on devolution; spatial issues in taxation and public expenditure; electoral systems; constitutional reform; church and state relations; asset-based welfare; conditionality in welfare; and the taxation of land value and inheritance. The Unit specialises in high level engagement with issues of pressing national concern in Britain.

The Department hosted the ESRC's major research programme on Public Services from 2005 to 2010, and co-ordinated a range of projects across the country to explore ways of enhancing public service delivery. The programme director has subsequently been awarded a research professorship to examine the process of implementing austerity programmes in the public services. Based on an analysis of practice over the last 35 years, this research has drawn in a number of members of the Department and is making a substantial contribution to our understanding of UK executive government.

The Centre for the Study of Social Justice brings together a cluster of the country's leading political theorists working in the Department in the broad area of contemporary political philosophy. Research focusses on the development of theories of justice – considering the metrics of distribution, arguments for equality, and the implications of principles of justice for environmental and intergenerational policies. The Centre's projects include work on the application of political philosophy to global politics and on the ethical issues raised by global climate change.

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism

Conference on Policy Learning in the EU, May 2012

Adam Roberts at IISS conference, Geneva

Research Networks

The Department runs several research networks, such as the network on the 'History of Political Theory' concerned with enriching our understanding of past political thought and examining its relevance to political ideologies and to contemporary debates. A network on democratic government and inequality draws together political theorists, political scientists specialising in the institutions of Western states, along with researchers working on emerging democracies, with the aim of understanding better the conditions for successful democratic consolidation. The Department holds a 'Comparative Political Economy' research seminar series, bringing in leading international scholars working on the political economy of institutions, inequality, growth, and related areas. There is also an 'Oxford International History' research network: a forum for international, global, transnational and inter-disciplinary historians in the University.

The Oxford Spring School in Quantitative Methods is a training programme targeted at political and social science researchers who have experience of quantitative research.

International Links

The Department has strong international research links and a busy academic visitor programme, particularly with Sciences Po Paris, with universities in Bremen, Göttingen, Princeton and the Central European University in Budapest.

Liz Greenhalgh
Knowledge Exchange, DPIR

**Civil Resistance and Power Politics*, Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), (Oxford University Press, 2011)

Graduate research, DPIR

DPhil student at Politics Colloquium, DPIR

Jeremy Waldron delivers the Inaugural Chichele Lecture, May 2012

Students at Oxford Spring School

Please see further information about DPIR research centres, programmes and projects online at http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/research/research-home.html

If you would like to attend research events held by DPIR centres and programmes, please email events@politics.ox.ac.uk to join the events mailing list.

Recent Publications

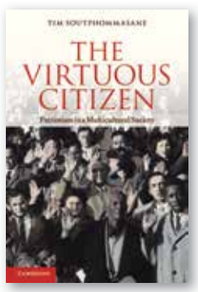
In this issue of *Inspires* we feature publications both by DPIR alumni and by current members of DPIR. Thank you to all alumni who have sent details of their publications over the past year.

We welcome details of alumni publications and will publish a selection of them in ***Inspires*** 2014, on the DPIR website and in the *Alumni Newswire* newsletter, due out in December 2013.
Please send information to **alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk.**

ALUMNI PUBLICATIONS

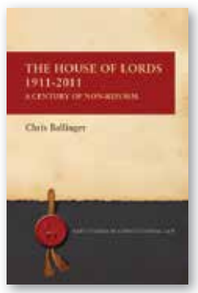
The Virtuous Citizen: Patriotism in a Multicultural Society
Tim Soutphommasane
Cambridge University Press

The Virtuous Citizen adds to a growing literature addressing the challenge of how to foster national identity in an age of mass migration. What can and should citizens hold in common in a multicultural society? Does patriotism have a role to play and, if so, of what kind? Tim Soutphommasane answers these questions with a critical defence of liberal nationalism and argues that a love of country should be valued together with tolerance, mutual respect and public reasonableness as a civic virtue.



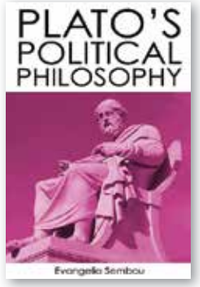
The House of Lords 1911-2011: A Century of Non-Reform
Chris Ballinger
Hart Publishing

This insightful academic study analyses the attempts to reform the House of Lords, beginning with the Parliament Act of 1911 and concluding with the dropping of the House of Lords Reform Bill in 2012. Utilising extensive archival sources, the study challenges many of the current preconceived notions about the history of House of Lords reform as well as perceptions about the reasons for the success or failure of attempts to reform.



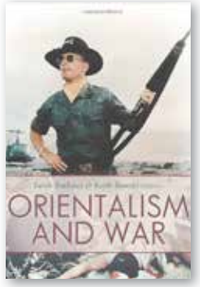
Plato's Political Philosophy
Evangelia Sembou
Imprint Academic

Evangelia Sembou's book is an introduction to Plato's political philosophy. It takes the ***Republic*** as the main focus, but situates this book in relation to Plato's other major texts in political philosophy. It also explains the ways in which Plato's political philosophy is related to his wider philosophical project.



Orientalism and War
Keith Stanski and Tarak Barkawi (edited)
Columbia/Hurst

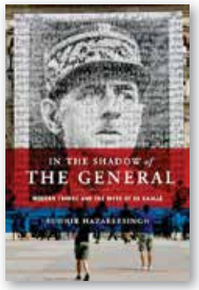
Orientalism pictures history as a clash between 'East' and 'West'. This Orientalist picture is repeatedly presented by media and other 'experts' in their commentaries on contemporary politics. The papers in this edited volume explore three dimensions of the relations between Orientalism and war: how Orientalism affects the representation of 'Self' and 'Other'; how violent conflict is productive of Orientalist identities; and in turn how Orientalism is itself productive of war.



DPIR PUBLICATIONS

Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared: Overlooking Europe
Sophie Duchesne, Elizabeth Frazer, Florence Haegel and Virginie Van Ingelgom (edited)
Palgrave Macmillan

Using innovative focus group methods, this book explores the attitudes of citizens in Britain, France and Belgium to Europe, getting to grips with the national and social differences that determine perceptions of European integration. The book paints a picture of indifference to and ambivalence about the European project among working class and white collar people, who care about globalisation, economic flows, and crises of political corruption, but overlook Europe. That contrasts with pro- or anti-European elites whose polarised views on European issues are strongly expressed.

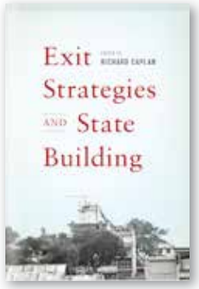


In the Shadow of the General
Sudhir Hazareesingh
Oxford University Press

More than forty years after his death, Charles de Gaulle is still admired and adored in France. Yet, his origins and background – nobility, Catholic Church and Army - might make one wonder why he nevertheless became such a prominent public national figure. ***In the Shadow of the General*** answers this question by telling de Gaulle's life story alongside the history of modern France. It will be of interest to anyone trying to understand French society today and the life of one of the main political protagonists of the twentieth century.

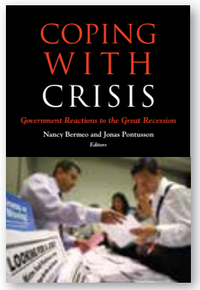
The Harm in Hate Speech
Jeremy Waldron
Harvard University Press

The US is almost alone among Western liberal democracies in not prohibiting hate speech — oral or written messages that 'incite hatred' against a person or group on the basis of their race, religion, sex, ethnicity or sexual orientation. For constitutionalists, regulation of hate speech contradicts the First Amendment and harms a free society. In this book Jeremy Waldron urges Americans to reconsider that tradition. He argues that hate speech should be controlled to protect minorities; for a social environment filled with expressions of racism, homophobia and other forms of bigotry sends an implicit message to the targets of such hatred: you can expect to face humiliation and discrimination when you leave your home.



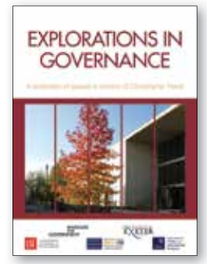
Exit Strategies and State Building
Richard Caplan (edited)
Oxford University Press USA

States and multilateral organisations have been engaged in plenty of peace and state-building measures around the world. But how do these operations come to an end and which exit strategies can be used? Fifteen of the world's leading experts on peace-building join forces to provide a wide-ranging overview of the topic. The book features comprehensive policy analysis of how state-building campaigns actually end and includes different perspectives on exit strategies on an international basis.



Coping with Crisis: Government Reactions to the Great Recession
Nancy Bermeo and Jonas Pontusson (edited)
Russell Sage Foundation

Coping with Crisis offers a careful analysis of the ways in which policymakers across the world responded to the current global financial crisis and the prospect of economic depression. It asks why these approaches, and the ways in which they impacted on nations' citizens, varied so widely. How did political factors shape these responses? What factors facilitated or obstructed effective responses? As the crisis continues it becomes ever more important to understand how and why we got here, in order to determine where we are now and where we might be heading.



Explorations in Governance: a collection of papers in honour of Christopher Hood
Ruth Dixon and Martin Lodge (edited)
A booklet funded by the DPIR, University of Oxford, the Department of Government, LSE, the Department of Politics, University of Exeter, and the Oxford Internet Institute

In this comprehensive collection of papers, twenty international contributors discuss three key themes of contemporary governance – the machinery of government, the regulation and control of public services, and issues of performance, risk and blame. The papers reflect on the contribution of Christopher Hood to the study of executive government and public services. Hood has been a leading observer of trends in public management and policy since the 1970s. The authors analyse emerging themes and relevant debates about governance – and what we have learnt over the past

Available at
http://xgov.politics.ox.ac.uk
http://goo.gl/a6eAL

‘Bearing Witness’

Jeremy Waldron, Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory and Fellow at All Souls College, talks with **Annette Zimmermann** about Oxford, about why we need political theory, and about his work on hate speech

When Jeremy Waldron first came to Oxford as a graduate student in the late 1970s, it was not only the prominence of this institution and the spiritedness of the academic discussions that made a deep impression on him. Waldron, who makes a point of cultivating an eager interest in the practical implications and in the real-world applicability of his academic work in legal and political theory, tells me that it was also a more non-academic event that sparked his interest: ‘Once, I attended the trial of a racist agitator in the Crown Court in Oxford. He was charged under the Race Relations Act for putting up posters depicting Britons of African descent as apes, and convicted to a short term of imprisonment.’ Waldron describes how, when the agitator was taken away, there were shouts of protest from the gallery – people were protesting that the man was merely making use of his right to free speech. ‘Going to that case made a big impression on me. It lay dormant for a while; but I was always suspicious of a dismissal of hate speech laws.’

Starting in 2005, however, Waldron’s interest in the issue of hate speech and the regulation of free speech laws resurfaced. Following a series of critical exchanges with John Durham Peters and Anthony Lewis, and reviews of their work, including Lewis’s book *Freedom for the Speech We Hate*, Waldron started to pursue this topic in more depth. Arguing in favour of the regulation of free speech is quite unusual, especially in the American context, where such regulations are often seen as an unacceptable attack on the First Amendment. ‘I got a lot of hate mail,’ Waldron says, smiling a little. Be it in *spite* of or *because* of the controversial nature of this topic, the three lectures on hate speech – which Waldron gave subsequently as part of the Holmes Lectures at Harvard Law School in 2009 – were a huge success: ‘There were a lot of critical questions, but people were very attentive because I was setting out a very careful position, and new ideas about the relation between hate speech laws and human dignity, and issues about treating hate speech as group defamation – this had been very common in the US in the 1950s, but had sort of faded from view since then.’

Waldron goes on to explain why simply countering hate speech with more speech, as many influential organisations like the American Civil Liberties Union frequently suggest, is ‘not enough’: ‘It is important for Americans to understand what those who are regulating hate speech are doing, and it’s important for them to feel a little bit more diffident about criticising other countries for penalising hate speech – however, I think the gap between countries that have such constitutional constraints and those that don’t is narrowing.’ According to Waldron, since racist or sexist hate speech causes emotional distress and incites hatred and prejudice, it is legitimate to constrain free speech. This issue frequently comes up in current affairs, for example, ‘recently in connection with religious extremists picketing funerals and inflicting a great deal of distress on the families of dead soldiers and dead marines. I’m talking about the Westboro Baptist Church, and the case of *Snyder v. Phelps*, in which, although the Supreme Court decided against regulating hate speech, there was an impressive dissenting opinion by Justice Samuel Alito, who dissented on the grounds that free speech does not protect *malicious* and *intentional* infliction of emotional distress. It was a very surprising and thoughtful dissent.’

The most powerful objection that Waldron has encountered to date is one presented by his old supervisor at Oxford and later, his colleague, Ronald Dworkin. This argument is connected to political legitimacy generated by free public debate on controversial issues: Waldron explains that ‘if you ban people from hate speech, then you are cutting off the extreme tail ends of those debates, and Dworkin thinks that undermines the legitimacy.’

Since the lectures at Harvard had sparked so much productive discussion, Waldron decided to expand the topic in a book, *The Harm in Hate Speech*, while teaching both at the Faculty of Law at New York University and at Oxford, where he was appointed as fellow and Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory in 2010. Being back in Oxford’s research community after living and working in the United States for a long time is very special to Waldron: ‘I’ve always been interested in the three areas of political philosophy, political theory, and legal philosophy,’ he says, ‘and Oxford reinforced the interdisciplinarity of my interests. It showed that there are no real borders. But it wasn’t just that – it was also being part of a cohort of students, many of whom are back here now in positions of responsibility: Leslie Green - he and I came here in 1978 together and we both studied informally with Joseph Raz; Nicola Lacey, who came in 1979 and who is at All Souls now; James Belich, Professor of Imperial History; there’s a bunch of us.’ But it is not only the interactions with other faculty members and participation in a variety of events, such as the Jurisprudence Discussion Group (‘a wonderfully exciting group of people’) that are part of Oxford life – it is also the interactions with students, who are, according to Waldron, ‘scarily smart’.

This shows what makes Oxford special in Waldron’s eyes: the inspiring interactions with other academics, the collegiate organisation, and the interdisciplinarity. Even though Oxford has become ‘busier and more formalised’ since Waldon was a junior fellow at Lincoln College, when one could witness ‘the great titans’ of legal and political theory, such as ‘Dworkin confronting John Finnis, Bernard Williams, or Richard Hare’, the interdisciplinarity is still a key part of the Oxford experience. However, Waldron warns that this interdisciplinarity needs to be cherished, which is why departments should continue ensuring access to their events to all students, publicise their lectures, and encourage cross-disciplinary exchange.

Being able to take a different perspective is especially important for political philosophers, who are part of a discipline that may often be seen as too theoretical, as a bit detached from reality. On the one hand, this is a good thing: ‘we have a very special responsibility to think as hard as we can and to set aside time just for thinking about deep theoretical issues – even though it may not have a direct political applicability. This is the difference between politicians and political theorists. We have to figure out the history of political thought, figure out the concepts and the ideas. There are mountains to scale there.’ However, on the other hand, it is important to make political and legal theory *political*: ‘our work does have a direct political impact. In the past ten or twelve years, everybody should have been thinking hard about torture, and the abuse of detainees and programmes of indefinite detention, and now issues about drone warfare. And it turns out that the work that I did on the rule of law, on the nature of human rights, on the nature of moral prohibitions was massively relevant, and it would have been wrong not to take additional time as a political theorist to think about these issues. It’s important to have political philosophers thinking as hard as they can about the background problems, but when the foreground issues come forward it’s a matter of bearing witness and speaking up without timidity.’

Annette Zimmermann
MPhil Candidate in Politics
(Political Theory)

I had a fantastic time and the learning experience for me was very rich and at the same time intellectually very stimulating.

Dr Ajoy Kumar
Member of Parliament Lok Sabha Jamshedpur

Everyone appreciated the content and quality of the academic program and I am confident the experience will remain with us all throughout our journeys.

Jayant Chaudhary
Member of Parliament Lok Sabha and National General Secretary of the Rashtriya Lok Dal

DPIR has over the past two years hosted three Foreign & Commonwealth Office Chevening sponsored week-long 'Exec-Ed' programmes for Indian MPs. The experience has been exhilarating and we look forward to having the opportunity to continue this kind of work.

All of us are aware of the huge and growing importance of the Indian economy and the great vitality of its society. We also remember that it is the world's largest democracy.

The programmes have highlighted the diversity and depth of what DPIR faculty, assisted by others in the University, can exchange with international political leaders. Over a week of discussions our academics have presented their research on topics such as, 'The end of war?', 'Responses to the Euro Crisis', 'Parliamentary standards', 'The Chinese succession and beyond', 'The US elections' and 'Emotions and politics'. Over thirty MPs have visited over three programmes. As some of the comments we have received in feedback make clear, the response from the MPs has been overwhelmingly positive.

This initiative is the start of what we hope will be an attempt to broaden our engagement with those outside the academic community. We have, of course, always advised politicians and other leaders. But there is acceptance that we can do much more. At present, therefore, we are systematically working through possible avenues of further executive education, as one way in which we can take what we do best – our academic research – and translate it into useful courses of interest to a wide audience.

Maxim Kantor

We refer to Maxim as our 'artist in residence' – wishing only that we had a residence to put him in. He regularly visits Oxford, in part no doubt because his son Georgy is Fellow in Ancient History at St John's, but also because he works with Stephen Whitefield – they have staged two exhibitions in the Manor Road Building and, jointly with the Ashmolean Museum, organised a major international symposium, *Volcano*, which brought political scientists, economists, clerics, film makers, philosophers, reporters and artists together to discuss the global financial crisis.

Maxim's work is intensely political, engaging not just with formal political institutions or international relations and war, but also with the impact of all of these on people's lives, particularly those most negatively affected. Much of his work reflects the impact of the collapse of the Communist system and its replacement by an overt kleptocracy. But more recently he has engaged with what that kleptocracy has in common with our own elites.

Maxim is among the most important and successful living Russian artists and novelists. Jon Whiteley, Senior Assistant Keeper in the Department of Western Art at the Ashmolean, writes: 'His art has often been compared to the work of Georg Grosz and the artists of the Weimar Republic but the comparison is shallow. His real roots are to be traced to Goya, Daumier, Rembrandt and Van Gogh, artists whom he much admires. These roots are to be found not in formal similarities but in a passionate involvement with human issues.'

We hope to continue our association with Maxim over the next few years. His current major exhibition is at this year's Venice *Biennale*. Perhaps he can be persuaded to bring it to Oxford and DPIR next.

The Structure of Democracy, 2004

Red Tower, 2005

Gravediggers, 1999

ALUMNI WEEKEND
20-22 SEPTEMBER
2013

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

ALUMNI WEEKEND 2013

20 – 22 September 2013

Join fellow Oxonians for three days of academic lectures, informative talks and special visits across the spectrum of academic disciplines. Learn something new, or relearn something old; find out about the most pressing issues for society and how the University is working towards finding solutions; and discuss and debate everything you've heard with your peers, in the finest tradition of Oxford.

Saturday 21 September 2013 Saïd Business School

10:00am – 11:15pm
From the Arab Spring to the Syrian War: Regional, International and Humanitarian Impact
In this session, **Dr Hugo Slim** and **Dr Louise Fawcett** will examine the political and humanitarian dynamics behind the Arab Spring and the Syrian War.

11:45am – 1.00pm
The Arrogance of Power: Senator Fulbright's Concept and Today's World
In 1966 Senator J. William Fulbright published *The Arrogance of Power*, which referred to the arrogance, not of one particular administration, but of whole societies. **Professor Sir Adam Roberts** examines whether Senator Fulbright's diagnosis and prescription was right in his own time and whether it is still relevant in our time.

4:15pm – 5:30pm
Commemorating the First World War
Despite the enormity of the events of 1939-45, including Hiroshima and the Holocaust, the First World War retains a special place in modern memory. In this lecture, **Professor Martin Ceadel** and **Dr Edward Keene** attempt to explain why, and will explore what the international pattern of the war's centennial commemorations reveals.

How to book

Booking for Professor Sir Adam Roberts' lecture is via the DPIR website: **www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/event-registration.html.** Booking is open until **Monday 9 September.**

Booking for the other two sessions is via the University Alumni website and brochure: **www.alumniweekend.ox.ac.uk.** Booking is open until **Friday 30 August.**

DPIR ALUMNI EVENT

SATURDAY 30 NOVEMBER 2013

'CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND POLITICAL THEORY'

Please join us for a Politics and International Relations alumni conference and dinner.

The event will be convened by **Professor Jeremy Waldron**, Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory. This is an exciting opportunity for our faculty and researchers to welcome you into the Department.

Full details will be available shortly at
http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/alumni/alumni.html