

2018

# INSPIRES

The Magazine for Oxford Politics and International Relations Alumni



DPIR

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS &  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

# INSPIRES

## Letter from the editors

Welcome to the eighth edition of *Inspires*, the magazine for alumni of the University of Oxford's Department of Politics and International Relations. We hope that you enjoy reading about the Department's activities over the last year, and where our researchers are taking us next.

It has been wonderful to see so many of you at alumni events this past year, including the University's alumni weekends in Rome in March and San Francisco in April. We hope to see more of you at the upcoming Meeting Minds Alumni Weekend here in Oxford in September.

You'll notice that your copy of *Inspires* 2018 looks different to our previous editions. This year has seen a lot of change in the Department, and the Alumni Relations team is no exception. As well as welcoming new staff, we are exploring new ways of keeping in touch with you. Alongside this print magazine we have an extended edition available digitally at [www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires). Our newly-designed newsletters and bulletins are also a great way of keeping informed of what's happening here throughout the year, so we hope you will sign up via the digital edition or our website, whether you're Oxford-based or not.

As ever, we very much welcome comments and suggestions from our alumni for future editions of *Inspires*, so please do let us know what you think of this year's issue. Remember you can also keep in touch with us via the website, and share your own news with fellow alumni using the 'classnotes' section at [www.politics.ox.ac.uk/alumni](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/alumni). Feedback on these dedicated pages, as well as the new magazine design, is of course welcome. You can always reach us by email at [alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk).

We look forward to hearing from you.

Minna Lehtinen and Janina Dill



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### GET IN TOUCH

Department of Politics and International Relations  
University of Oxford  
Manor Road  
Oxford, OX1 3UQ  
United Kingdom

**Email:** [alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk)

**Phone:** +44 (0)1865 278700

**Follows us on Twitter:** @Politics\_Oxford

**Find us on Facebook:** /PoliticsOxford

### DIGITAL EDITION

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Lord Nicholas Stern with Stephen Whitefield at the 2018 Fulbright Lecture / MPs, local sixth form students and DPIR academics participate in 2017 Parliament Day at Convocation House / Pro-Vice-Chancellor Rebecca Surender, 2018 Cyril Foster Lecturer Barbara Walter and Head of Department Louise Fawcett / Procession of the 2018 Cyril Foster lecture / Students and researchers at the 2018 Oxford Spring School on Advanced Research Methods / Annette Idler receives an award at the O2RB Excellence in Impact Awards / Ben Ansell delivers a WEALTHPOL workshop

# WELCOME FROM THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT



## **Louise Fawcett**

Head of Department, DPIR  
Professor of International Relations  
Wilfrid Knapp Fellow and Tutor in Politics, St Catherine's College

I am delighted to welcome you to the 2018 edition of *Inspires*, in what has been another hugely successful year for the Department. The University of Oxford retained the top rank in the UK for Politics and International Studies in the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) Rankings, and we hope to give you a flavour of the fantastic range of work our academics and students are engaged in, and a sense of its impact.

In this edition, Lucas Kello, Director of the Centre for Technology and Global Affairs, explains why it is so important and timely for the Department to be at the forefront of research into how technological change influences politics and society. Our editors also spoke with alumna Renata Dwan, who as Director of the UN Institute for Disarmament Research is leading an inquiry into questions of international security, which increasingly concern the effect of technology. We heard echoes of the same theme from Barbara Walter, Professor of Political Science at UC San Diego, who delivered this year's Cyril Foster Lecture on the impact of technology on the "New New Civil Wars". Adam Roberts spoke to Adam McCauley about his established career studying the international system. You can listen to both Barbara Walter's lecture and Adam Roberts' interview in the digital version of *Inspires* at [www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires).

Research at the Department continues to examine questions spanning a wide breadth of sub-disciplines from international relations to comparative government to political theory. Jane Gingrich has been awarded more than £1.1m in funding for SCHOOLPOL to gather data on educational policies and contexts, their political determinants and long-term impacts. Elizabeth Frazer, who convened a conference recently on religion and political life, considers in these pages the argument that increasing diversity calls for new thinking in political theory. Matthew Walton's research focuses on the specific case of Myanmar, and he argues that reform depends on a more sophisticated understanding of the 'Buddhist Nationalist' movement.

Discussions about Brexit and the future shape of Europe continue to provide a rich vein of research. Des King has edited a volume on how the rise of non-state organisations and norms are combining with Europeanisation to reconfigure European states. Jan Zielonka argues in an article (and at length in his latest book) that Brexit represents liberal Europe in retreat, and Louise Richardson, University of Oxford's Vice-Chancellor, considers what role universities should play in this age of populism. David Levy in turn reflects on the latest edition of the Digital News Report, in what will be his last piece as Director of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. David has been an excellent and motivational director and he will be sorely missed.

While we say goodbye to some, we also welcome new faces. Stathis Kalyvas, previously at Yale University, has been appointed Gladstone Professor of Government. He joins a vibrant community of researchers, many of whom have recently been recognised with awards. We congratulated Ezequiel González Ocantos for winning the International Studies Association's 2018 Best Book in Human Rights for *Shifting Legal Visions: Judicial Change and Human Rights Trials in Latin America*, and Annette Idler for the Highly Commended Early Career Award at the inaugural O2RB Excellence in Impact awards for her work in conflict zones.

Our graduate students are also producing world-class research and being recognised for it – with three students, Tomas Wallenius, Daniel Fedorowycz and Barry Maydom, recently winning prizes from the International Studies Association and Political Studies Association for their outstanding theses. Our DPhil and MPhil programmes are consistently ranked top in the UK, and like all of our programmes, have a tradition of training alumni like you: leading figures in government, academia, diplomacy and international organisations.

The Department is committed to widening access to all our university courses through a range of outreach events to ensure we continue to get the best students from every possible background. This year's Parliament Week event will invite local sixth form students to debate the theme of suffrage and political activism, and we continue to provide teaching for University-wide access programmes like UNIQ and Target Oxbridge. The range and calibre of our research and outreach opportunities would not be possible without generous funding from research bodies and individuals. Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, our Development Director, explains how important the support is for our students.

The 2018/19 academic year starts with the Meeting Minds Alumni Weekend in Oxford on 14-16 September, and we hope to see many of you back to visit us in Oxford then and over the coming year. If you can't make it to Oxford, then we may see you at the various alumni events around the globe, and you can stay connected virtually on social media and digital platforms. This year's *Inspires* trials a new digital version so do visit [www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires) and let us know what you think.

With my very best wishes, I hope you enjoy the 2018 edition of *Inspires*.



# Public Life and Religious Diversity



## Elizabeth Frazer

Associate Professor of Politics  
Official Fellow, New College

Work undertaken by Oxford Political Theory Network members on the theme of public life and religious diversity has two objectives: first, to initiate a renewal in the way political theory approaches religion; second, to strengthen the dialogue between theory and action in this domain. These two goals neatly complement each other as political theorising around religion and politics needs to evolve by constantly reflecting on new practical challenges.

In the past two decades, there has been much talk among political theorists about the role of religion in the public sphere. Discussions of public reason and its limits, secularism and disestablishment, the nature of toleration, and the scope of religious exemptions have been productive. For many theorists, however, the fundamental worry remains: can the tensions between the demands of liberalism and democracy and the obligations of faith be negotiated? Or will containing – or constraining – religion within the bounds of a liberal polity always infringe upon the freedom of conscience ostensibly at liberalism’s core?

The increasing diversity of religious attitudes, beliefs and practices; the phenomenon (and fear) of ‘religious extremism’; the complex interplay between religions, gender, and sexuality; and the many different ways that social institutions engage with religious practice, all call for new thinking in political theory.

In September 2017 the Department hosted a conference aiming to re-evaluate established debates and look forward by asking innovative questions. Topics for discussion encompassed childhood vaccination, circumcision, the limits of free speech, and religious diversity in school and in the workplace. We hear of more and more controversies involving religious dress or symbols at work, or clashes to do with daily prayers, holy days, conscientious objections to occupational requirements, proselytism, special dietary requirements, and so on. The conference brought together specialists in Jewish, Buddhist, Christian and Islamic thought,

University colleagues from a range of disciplines and departments, and eminent practitioners, including lawyers, political activists, and peace-builders. This allowed us to discuss real-world political and religious dilemmas, to consider concrete applications of research, and to reflect on the broader historical, theoretical, and sociological contexts in which these controversies become conflictual.

In May 2018, we held a symposium on Professor Cécile Laborde’s new book, *Liberalism’s Religion*. The book takes stock of theoretical innovations in the field over the last twenty years and proposes a new framework for reconsidering the nature of the secular state, the connections between liberalism and Christianity, the special status of religion in politics and law, and the implications of state sovereignty for religion. The symposium featured papers by academics of the Oxford Political Theory Network (Teresa Bejan, Paul Billingham, David Miller, Elise Rouméas, Zofia Stemplowska, Stuart White, and others) thus confirming the cutting-edge quality of the work pursued in Oxford around foundational issues in political theory and religion.

Our role as theorists is to propose conceptual and normative tools for understanding the logic of religious accommodation and resolving potential conflicts, always considering how these theories might be applied in practice. The specific contribution of political theory is that it brings together ethical and philosophical analysis with critical consideration of the nature of the political and social powers that underpin conflict and consensus.

We are grateful to Sekyra Foundation, Harris Manchester College and Nuffield College for their support of Oxford Political Theory Network’s work on political theory and religious diversity.



# Reflecting on Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis



**Matthew Walton**  
Associate Member, DPIR  
Senior Research Fellow,  
St Antony's College

**Q. The UN calls it “the world’s fastest growing refugee crisis”, but who are the Rohingya and why are they fleeing Myanmar?**

The conflict itself is, partially, about identity. Diverse Muslim communities have lived in Rakhine State for centuries, including the ancestors of those who today identify as Rohingya. That particular label has not been consistently applied until the mid-20th century, which is why many in Myanmar erroneously reject Rohingya identity as recently invented. Their indigeneity was not questioned after independence, but they have been gradually excluded from the military’s citizenship regime, and they are now fleeing because of a massive, organised campaign of violence, led by those military forces. The violence has also affected non-Rohingya communities, and evidence suggests that the methods used are consistent with military attacks on other ethnic groups. Whilst it is acknowledged that attacks by the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) precipitated the current campaign, the response has been wildly disproportionate and the regime has effectively tarred the entire population with the same “terrorist” label, treating all Muslims as supporters of the insurgents.

**Q. The international media began to take real notice around 2012, but do the roots of this crisis lie deeper in Myanmar’s history?**

This is the third mass expulsion of Rohingya by concerted military operations; the previous two took place in 1978 and 1992. The roots also go back to the 1940s, where Muslim and Buddhist communities on different sides of the conflict in World War II organised pogroms against one another in Rakhine State. The result was that previously integrated communities became significantly more segregated, with Buddhists fleeing northern Muslim-dominant areas to be more concentrated in the south, and vice versa. Today, many elsewhere in Myanmar believe the current conflict started in 2012; Rakhine accounts date it back to World War II or even earlier.

**Q. The crisis has often been presented as a clash between Muslims and Buddhists, with the 969 Movement and Ma Ba Tha often mentioned. Who are these groups?**

969 was a loosely organised movement that came onto the scene in 2012, largely through advocating a “Buy Buddhist” campaign, which connected with a boycott of Muslim-owned businesses. Senior monks became concerned that these actions were bringing Buddhism into disrepute, and this led to the founding of Ma Ba Tha in 2013. Ma Ba Tha is often portrayed as an anti-Muslim group (and they certainly supported the controversial 2014 “race and religion” protection laws), but focusing on that aspect misses the context in which many Burmese encounter the group, which is its charitable, educational and community development activities: “Sunday Schools”, donation ceremonies for monks, fundraising activities, and even micro-finance schemes. It is important to have a more nuanced understanding

of the situation, as my current DPIR research project is designed to do. This is not to deny or minimize the problematic anti-Muslim components, but to develop a better understanding of why the movement has strong appeal to Buddhists.

**Q. Much media coverage has framed the violence as being driven by “ethnic hatreds”, implying it is a regional issue. What role has the Myanmar government played in this crisis?**

Whilst there have been rapid shifts in government in recent years, many bureaucratic structures have remained consistent, and we have seen a range of discriminatory policies aimed at the Rohingya over time. The semi-civilian government led by President Thein Sein was very slow to respond to the initial violence in 2012, which fuelled riots in places outside of Rakhine State. In 2015, with heightened nationalist and anti-Muslim sentiment, the NLD government chose to purge its candidate list of all Muslims, and no one from the party leadership has spoken out in ways that adequately acknowledge and firmly denounce the violence. Instead, when accused of being complicit in the violence, they have responded defensively, denying the scope of the military’s campaign, impeding attempts to report on the situation, undermining survivor accounts, and claiming that they are defending the country against a terrorist threat.

**Q. What could the international community do to resolve the situation?**

If the Rohingya are ever to return with security and dignity to the areas they consider to be their homeland, trust and mutual protections (for them and the ethnic Rakhine) will have to be ensured. Some groups (such as ethnic women’s organisations) have expressed solidarity with the Rohingya, recognising mutual experiences of suffering. Similarly, just as the Rohingya have been collectively (and unfairly) painted as terrorists, so too have people in other conflict areas in Myanmar. Highlighting the way the military has acted throughout Myanmar provides a way of pushing back and generating a much-needed foundation for solidarity and hope for this region in particular.

An extended version of this interview first appeared on the Oxford Research Group’s Sustainable Security blog: <https://sustainablesecurity.org/2018/03/29/the-myanmar-crisis-an-interview-with-matthew-walton/>

Visit [www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires](http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/inspires) to learn more about Matthew Walton’s ESRC-funded project *Understanding “Buddhist Nationalism” in Myanmar: Religion, Gender, Identity, and Conflict in a Political Transition*, which seeks to explain the complex and internally contradictory dynamics of “Buddhist nationalism” in Myanmar. Alongside this, his Myanmar Media and Society (M.MAS) project has been collecting people’s memories of peaceful coexistence, and will soon be releasing a book in Burmese that includes some of the narratives, along with commentary and reflections from prominent Burmese writers and activists, with the hope that these narratives of interaction might help heal the divide.

# How Ideas Travel

## Impact in the Age of Information



**Andrea Ruggeri**  
Associate Professor of  
International Relations  
Fellow in Politics,  
Brasenose College

Ideas can be insidious. Deployed at a specific moment, into fertile space, they plant roots and grow. Sometimes faster than expected. In 2002, the journalist Jeffrey Goldberg, writing in the pages of *The New Yorker*, alleged that the “genocidal regime” of Saddam Hussein had possible ties to Al Qaeda. While the veracity of this information remains debated, the suggestion had resonance - particularly within an American administration eager to respond to the attacks of September 11, 2001. In a press conference, then-President George W. Bush cited the article as evidence of Saddam Hussein’s “barbaric behaviour toward his own people” before Vice President Dick Cheney, in a televised interview, called the Goldberg piece “devastating,” implying the article served as undeniable proof.

Goldberg would stand by his reporting, even as history chipped away at its apparent truthfulness. However, it was the idea behind Goldberg’s story, not the evidence, that remained “devastating.” The Bush Administration would soon launch an intervention that continues to reverberate throughout Iraq and the Middle East.

While the article did not cause the US intervention, it illustrates how the wrong kind of information can have an outsized impact in the policymaking process. The incumbent challenge for governments, who find themselves duty-bound to respond with action, and academics, eager to tackle complex questions in the empirical world, is how to create a structure to immunise political practice against venerating errors masquerading as insight.

In recent years, academia has engaged deeply with this puzzle, spawning the impact agenda and field of knowledge exchange. While these practices can take multiple forms, knowledge exchange serves either to inject academic insight into the world of practitioners or help practitioners and policymakers navigate complicated sectors and industries with guidance from experts.

Since July 2016, our Department has been home to the Oxford Policy Dialogue (OxPoD). The programme, created by Carlotta Minnella and myself and facilitated by Adam McCauley, seeks to connect experts and academics from relevant fields with analysts and policymakers in Her Majesty’s Government on the topic of countering violent extremism, or CVE.

Countering Violent Extremism, as a practice, involves a range of potential interventions, usually sponsored or designed by the state, to address patterns of individual or community-level radicalization. CVE has emerged as a more comprehensive response than kinetic counter-terrorism, as the

former requires responses informed by fields ranging from social psychology to international relations. To leverage academic knowledge, then, demands a concerted and flexible network approach, pushing through barriers that usually divide scholarly fields. OxPoD, through a diverse set of presentations, challenge sessions, workshops, and innovative use of new platforms, is encouraging government representatives to consult the latest research, and exploring tactics for feeding vital inputs into various stages of the policymaking process. These practices have driven change in organisational cultures, as barriers between research and practice narrow and an exchange driven by policy demand and academic supply emerges.

The challenges for collaborating on CVE, or terrorism more broadly, are the different aims and incentives for the parties involved. For researchers, discourse-changing security events, such as the attacks of September 11, highlight moments of fertility, providing opportunities to draw insight from disaster. For policymakers, the same event activates the political reflex. However, this reflex, and the speed it is deployed, shortens the window for academic or expert engagement.

In a March 2018 event, hosted by the Home Office and attended by intergovernmental bodies, OxPoD invited a range of experts to present their most recent findings. One presentation, which looked at how insurgent or non-state fighters use social media in theatres of conflict, demonstrated that the latest methods – data-scraping the digital environment and processing the metadata – can reveal new patterns about how insurgent groups move during conflicts and how they narrate their experience. This presentation revealed the important disjunctures between the image conflict groups use to recruit and the lived experience of war, and had the potential to isolate junctures for government intervention aimed at weakening or challenging the appeal of these groups. OxPoD’s aim is to provide opportunities for these new insights to gain traction, or simply occupy space, within government ranks, while relying on the contemporary pledges for evidence-based policymaking to take root.

Research has long shown that decision makers prompted with and by uncertainty are more apt to grasp information that is available and coherent. These heuristics, or reasoning shortcuts, help reduce the world to observables and guide action in key moments. Knowledge exchange and impact work can ensure evidence-based research serves as foundations for these heuristics – ensuring the White Papers and contacts in reach of government officials can offer vetted and relevant lessons. The practice is not about crafting policy but improving the information ecosystem from which policy is developed. The challenge for academics is to ensure the information offered in these critical moments is not simple for simplicity’s sake, but useful for policy’s sake.



# The Interface of Technology and Politics

## Why Study It?



### Lucas Kello

Senior Lecturer in International Relations  
Director of the Centre for Technology and Global Affairs  
Co-Director of the Centre for Doctoral Training in Cyber Security (Department of Computer Science)

Modern technology evolves constantly and rapidly. It intersects closely with developments in the political and social world. In many instances, technological change outpaces the design of policies to realise its benefits and limit its risks. Hence there is a pressing need to ask: how do politics and technology interact in ways that disrupt prevailing policy and thinking?

#### The impact of technological change

The tendency among political scientists and international relations specialists has largely been to deny the influence of technology on political and social affairs. A clear exception to this trend is the case of nuclear weapons. Since their invention, nuclear weapons have captured the attention of prominent thinkers, seeking to explain, for example, the historically anomalous absence of major war among large nations. In most other technological realms, however, the tendency in our discipline has been either to downplay or to neglect the impact of technology.

Such theoretical preconceptions are no longer viable, if they ever were. We live in intensely technological times. Never before has technology permeated society so completely or affected the affairs of states and their peoples so intricately. It is time to correct the lack of scholarly literature within our field, in political science, on recent inventions such as social media or even on established ones such as space technology.

At the Centre for Technology and Global Affairs, our affiliated faculty, visiting fellows and experts conduct research on some of the most salient yet under studied questions facing the contemporary world. Our research agenda encompasses

developments across a broad spectrum of technological dimensions – cyber studies, artificial intelligence, blockchain, robotics, outer space, and nuclear issues. These questions are wide-ranging and include the effects of computer hacking operations on the integrity of democratic elections, or the implications of distributed ledger technology (i.e. blockchain) for the protection of governmental and financial data.

#### Challenges faced by practitioners

Public officials and industry executives often lack the luxury of time to consider the impact of new technology on security and welfare. Consequently, new technology frequently changes faster than analysts' ability to interpret its benefits and pitfalls to society. The current 'cyber revolution' is a prime example of this problem. As Russia's increasingly disruptive cyber operations against liberal democratic institutions show, Western security strategy lags far behind the new realities of offensive action. Because the consequences of these activities are not overtly violent or destructive, like acts of war, many countries struggle to determine how best to respond.

The Centre's core mission is policy-oriented: our research agenda reflects a concern with pressing real-world issues. Our experts harness their findings to guide the design of policies that seek to manage the impact of new technology in the public domain as well as in the development of industry practices. External parties are also crucial to the work of the Centre: we foster a global network of leading representatives from governments, technology firms, and private investors and offer them expertise on emerging technologies as well as opportunities to partner with world class researchers.

#### Enhancing research in the social sciences

Machine learning is a prime example of the potential for new technology to enhance understanding of today's society. More information about human activity is available for scholarly scrutiny than perhaps ever before in the history of political science research. Consequently, machine learning techniques that apply probabilistic reasoning could greatly support the study of international security by enabling, for example, the design of new predictive models about conflict dynamics.

The core premise of our work is simple: the study of politics today should include the new technologies which define our era – such as cyberspace and robotics – as central aspects of investigation. The researchers' work emphasises the sheer speed and volatility of change. By integrating new inventions into the core intellectual agenda of political science and its various sub-disciplines, the Centre will further the Department's efforts to lead the way in understanding the rapidly changing technological forces that are transforming politics and society in the twenty-first century.

The Centre's establishment was made possible by a generous donation from the founding donor Artur Kluz.



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GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Twitter icon @OxfordCTGA

# The Fall of the Liberal Project



## Jan Zielonka

Professor of European Politics  
Ralf Dahrendorf Fellow, St Antony's College

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, liberal ideals have defined Europe's political order. The European Union itself was seen not only as an engine of wealth, but also as an ethical power spreading liberal norms throughout the world. No longer. Liberal ideals are now under fire from Helsinki to Athens.

There are many variations of the anti-liberal surge, and populism is not confined to the obvious examples in Hungary, Greece or Poland. UKIP's Nigel Farage triumphed in the Brexit referendum and Jörg Haider's Freedom Party of Austria are in coalition government. Populist parties prop up governments in Denmark and Finland. Even in Germany, the right-wing nationalist party Alternative for Germany have nearly a hundred seats in the Bundestag.

### The liberal project's failures

Populists are not gaining votes due to their own strengths but rather because of liberalism's failings. The list of liberal faults since 1989 is long and worrying: rises in inequalities, political scandals, tax dodging, social spending cuts. Elections have failed to generate genuine change: power alternates between the same parties, the same programs, and the same cast of politicians. European integration, which used to be a flagship of the liberal project, has become a symbol of austerity, stagnation and conflict: the Euro has exacerbated the divide between surplus and deficit countries, the importers and exporters, and the North and South.

One should not be surprised that voters have begun to desert liberal parties and search for alternatives, however untested and controversial.

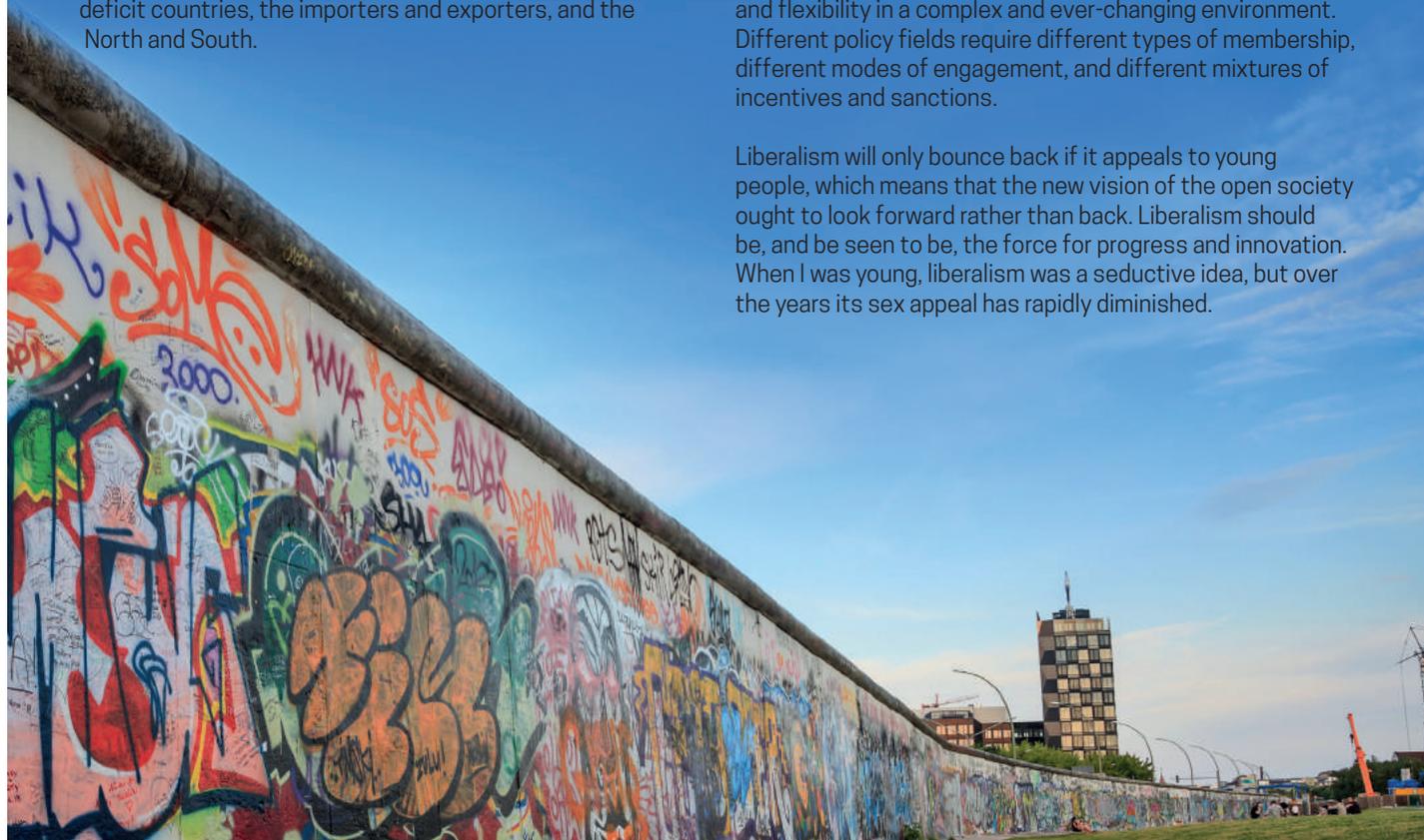
### What is to be done?

As a lifelong liberal, I am profoundly disappointed by the current predicament. Liberals must stop finger pointing: liberty is not going to prevail in an atmosphere of hate directed against political opponents, and trust cannot be regained by accusing voters of being misled or making bad electoral choices.

I am not proposing we storm the modern equivalents of the Winter Palace, be it Canary Wharf in London or La Défense in Paris. However, I want to urge liberals to stop, if not reverse, the neo-liberal policies of deregulation and privatization. Taxes should be imposed, those breaking laws and regulations should be held accountable. Not all ideas (a universal minimum wage, worker representation) will work, but far better to experiment than to allow economic injustices to persist.

Experiments should also be embraced in the field of democracy. The old liberal fondness for centralized institutionalism no longer works. Liberals need to offer a bold plan for reinvigorating the EU, embracing pluralism and flexibility in a complex and ever-changing environment. Different policy fields require different types of membership, different modes of engagement, and different mixtures of incentives and sanctions.

Liberalism will only bounce back if it appeals to young people, which means that the new vision of the open society ought to look forward rather than back. Liberalism should be, and be seen to be, the force for progress and innovation. When I was young, liberalism was a seductive idea, but over the years its sex appeal has rapidly diminished.





# Universities in an Age of Populism



**Louise Richardson**  
Vice-Chancellor, University of Oxford

In the past, universities were often at the vanguard of social movements – think of France in the 1960s – but no longer. The populist movements of today draw on long traditions of anti-intellectualism that consign universities to the ranks of the self-serving elite.

Populists hold that only one group is legitimate: the people, however defined. They may not expect to win all votes, but certainly believe they win all the votes of decent hardworking people who have been exploited by the establishment. The election of Donald Trump is seen as a victory for populism, but it is the anti-intellectual thread to Trump’s campaign which is most interesting here – think of him famously declaring at a campaign rally in Nevada: “I love the poorly educated”. A disdain for experts goes hand in hand with populism. For me, and I expect many others, the most memorable line of the Referendum campaign was Michael Gove’s: “We have had enough of experts”.

Populism feeds on this. Voters have disengaged from politics and in the absence of an informed citizenship, technocrats and experts become dominant, causing distance and distrust. It is striking that the single biggest predictor of a vote for Brexit and a vote for Trump was not income, age, or race but educational attainment. In the UK three quarters of university graduates voted Remain, whereas three quarters of those with no post-secondary qualifications voted Leave. Similarly, 75% of white people with no college degree voted for Donald Trump. These statistics are telling.

What would Senator Fulbright think if he were alive today? Whilst not all of his views or actions would find favour, it is to him I turn: Fulbright did not seek to accommodate

populism, nor to retreat from it. Rather, he sought to create an alternative. He wanted his Fulbright Scholars to learn to “see the world as others see it”: his antidote to populism was to support a liberal, interconnected, model of global education. I believe we should do the same.

I believe that universities should respond by standing our ground and doing what we do best: pushing at the frontiers of knowledge and educating the next generation. I see the fact that the victories for the Brexit and Trump campaigns came as a surprise to most of us in universities as something of an indictment. We should not have been surprised. We must be deeply engaged in the world around us.

Many of our great universities, and certainly this one, make legitimate claim to be global institutions, yet we are also civic and national ones too. We must be engaged in our local community, sharing the benefits of our resources, like our libraries and museums, ensuring that ‘the people’ see us as their university too, and ensuring that they recognize the economic and cultural contributions we make. A recent study by Stephen Brint found that universities have contributed to 74% of ground-breaking inventions and had a leading role in 40% of inventions since the 1950s. Does the public know this? We need to make sure that they do.

Inside a university there is no such thing as an ‘alternative fact’. But populism feeds on misinformation and innuendo. Truth and opinion become deliberately blurred. What can universities do to counter this?

The first thing we can do is teach, teach our students respect for evidence, help them to distinguish between opinion and

information, between information and knowledge, and between knowledge and wisdom, and hope that they take these skills out into the world beyond the university.

But we also need to push on. Public funding declines as policy decisions reflect the public’s lack of faith in universities on the one hand, and the exponential growth of commercially funded research on the other. The danger is a future where the only research is paid for by businesses. It is imperative that universities engage in blue-skies research where the most important discoveries are often made, even if the commercial benefit is far from evident at the time.

The latest Edelman Trust Barometer found that 60% of academic experts were considered extremely or very credible, and we must keep the public’s trust. We must tell the truth and be prepared to say what others won’t. We should recognise that we occupy a very privileged position, but we should demonstrate that we deserve it. We must not only be prepared to speak out, we must figure out a way to be heard, not just by other members of the elite but by society at large.

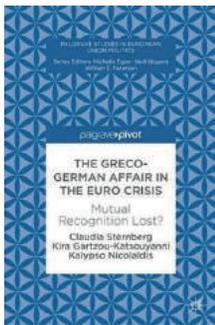
What Senator Fulbright said of his exchange programme could well be said of universities today: “They are no panacea but they provide an avenue of hope.”

**This article is based on the 2017 Fulbright Lecture delivered by the Vice-Chancellor in London, Edinburgh and Oxford.**

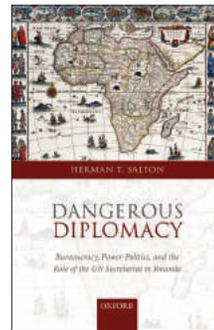
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# RECENT PUBLICATIONS

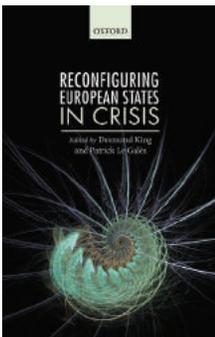
Here we feature recent publications by current members of the department and by our alumni.



**The Greco-German Affair in the Euro Crisis: Mutual Recognition Lost?**  
**Claudia Sternberg, Kira Gartzou-Katsouyanni and Kalypto Nicolaidis**  
 (Palgrave Macmillan)  
 Drawing on evidence from Greek and German media, this book analyses one of the most highly-charged relationships of the Euro Crisis from 2009-2015. In considering how the nations' self-understanding shifted in the process, the stories in the book illustrate the theme of mutual recognition at the very heart of the European project.



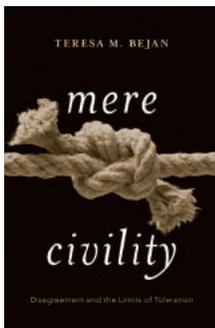
**Dangerous Diplomacy: Bureaucracy, Power Politics, and the Role of the UN Secretariat in Rwanda**  
**Herman T. Salton**  
 (Oxford University Press)  
 Dangerous Diplomacy reassesses the role of the UN Secretariat during the Rwandan genocide. With the help of new sources, including the late Sir Marrack Goulding, Herman Salton situates the Rwanda operation within the context of bureaucratic and power-political friction existing at UN Headquarters in the early 1990s.



**Reconfiguring European States in Crisis**  
**Desmond S. King and Patrick Le Galès (Eds.)**  
 (Oxford University Press)  
 This volume demonstrates how the rise of non-state controlled organisations and norms combine with Europeanisation to reconfigure European states. It analyses how current crises in fiscal policy, Brexit, security and terrorism, and migration through a borderless European Union, continue to have dramatic effects on European states.



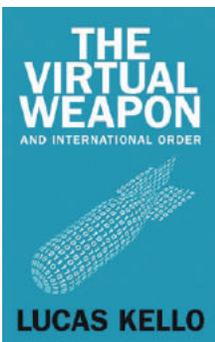
**The Forgotten Front: Patron-Client Relationships in Counterinsurgency**  
**Walter Ladwig III**  
 (Cambridge University Press)  
 After fifteen years of war in Iraq and Afghanistan, US policymakers are seeking to provide aid and advice to local governments' counterinsurgency campaigns. However, Walter Ladwig demonstrates that this strategy will not generate sufficient leverage to affect a client's behaviour and policies. Instead, he argues that influence flows from pressure and tight conditions on aid.



**Mere Civility: Disagreement and the Limits of Toleration**  
**Teresa M. Bejan**  
 (Harvard University Press)  
 Teresa Bejan argues that Roger Williams's unabashedly mere civility – a minimal, occasionally contemptuous adherence to culturally contingent rules of respectful behavior – offers a promising path forward in confronting our own crisis of civility, one that fundamentally challenges our assumptions about what a tolerant – and civil – society should look like.



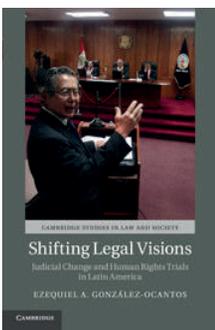
**The Uses of Social Investment**  
**Anton Hemerijck (Ed.)**  
 (Oxford University Press)  
 Providing the first study of the welfare state under the new post-crisis austerity context and associated crisis management politics, this volume takes stock of the limits and potential of social investment. It surveys the emergence, diffusion, limits, merits, and politics of social investment as the welfare policy paradigm for the 21st century.



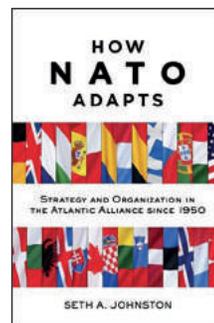
**The Virtual Weapon and International Order**  
**Lucas Kello**  
 (Yale University Press)  
 Drawing on a broad range of case studies, including the Stuxnet operation against Iran, the cyberattacks against Sony Pictures, and the disruption of the 2016 US presidential election, Lucas Kello establishes new theoretical benchmarks to help security experts revise cyber strategy and policy to tackle the unprecedented challenges of our era.



**Congress's Constitution: Legislative Authority and the Separation of Powers**  
**Josh Chafetz**  
 (Yale University Press)  
 Widely considered the least effective branch of the US government, Congress in fact has numerous powerful tools at its disposal in its conflicts with other branches, as Chafetz demonstrates. He argues when Congress uses these tools to engage successfully with the public, it increases its power vis-à-vis the other branches; when it does not, it loses power.



**Shifting Legal Visions: Judicial Change and Human Rights Trials in Latin America**  
**Ezequiel González Ocantos**  
 (Cambridge University Press)  
*Shifting Legal Visions* analyses how Latin American judges came to hold government officials to account after years of shielding them from justice. Ezequiel González-Ocantos argues that the driving force behind this change was the persistent, strategic effort of human-rights NGOs to teach judges new ways of thinking and ruling.



**How NATO Adapts: Strategy and Organization in the Atlantic Alliance since 1950**  
**Major Seth A. Johnston**  
 (Johns Hopkins University Press)  
 Nearly every aspect of NATO – including its missions, functional scope, size, and membership – has changed profoundly since its founding. Using a theoretical framework of “critical junctures” to explain changes in NATO's organisation and strategy, Seth Johnston argues that the alliance's own bureaucratic actors played important and often overlooked roles in these adaptations.

We would like to thank the many alumni who have sent in publications – more books by alumni and by DPIP staff can be found on our website. We welcome news of alumni publications and publish a selection of them each year in *Inspires*, on our website, and in our alumni newsletters. Please send information to [alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk)

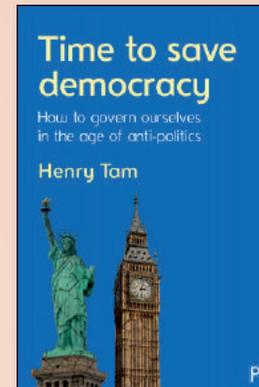
# Lessons in Governance China and the West



**Henry Tam**

Affiliated Lecturer, University of Cambridge

Henry Tam is the author of *Time to Save Democracy: How to Govern Ourselves in the Age of Anti-Politics* (Policy Press, 2018). He has taught at the University of Cambridge, the University of Hong Kong, and the UK's Civil Service College. According to available records, he was the first undergraduate of Chinese descent to read PPE at Oxford (the Queen's College, 1978).



The resurgence of China on the global stage has fuelled suggestions that illiberal rule is the way forward for governments in the 21st century. This trend has been reinforced by the fact that many Western political candidates who promote jingoism and xenophobia over respect for human rights have attracted wide public support.

China's political establishment, having had enough of being lectured about human rights by the West, gleefully observed that the chaos and divisiveness surrounding the Brexit vote and Trump's election were unavoidable outcomes of democratic governance.

But should we seriously consider any authoritarian model that – in the name of pursuing order and national prestige – will leave no room for dissent, contest over policy options, or safeguards against the abuse of power?

If we look back on the last 3,000 years of governance in China, rather than just the last 30, what lessons should we really take from China's political experience? What stands out most is the recurrent doubt raised over the rulers' mandate to govern.

When the Zhou Dynasty began to lose its grip (late 6th century BC), it provoked intense political debates among thinkers in China over the next 400 years. Best known were Confucius and his followers, whose teachings emphasised the role of traditional rites in reinforcing proper behaviour so that rulers would look after the wellbeing of their subjects, and the ruled would obey their superiors. Almost as famous were the Daoists who believed that a 'do-nothing' state would somehow pave the way for spontaneous harmony in society.

The most infamous were the Legalists who taught – 1,900 years before Hobbes – that the only way to have effective rule and stability was through concentrating power in an absolute leader who would maintain order through strict commands backed by severe sanctions. Least known today but widely considered the main rival to Confucius by their contemporaries was Mo Zi, the egalitarian thinker/military strategist, whose school would advocate mutual care and the protection of the vulnerable against aggressors.

The Qin Emperor, whose reign succeeded the Zhou's after he defeated all the other warring factions, subscribed to the ideas of the Legalists. While he was credited with establishing a strong centralised state that went a long way to shape China's national identity, Qin's ruthless authoritarian rule was considered by most scholars, past and present, the reason why that dynasty was so swiftly overthrown.

The Han rulers who took over from the Qin adopted the rites and formalities recommended by the Confucians because such practices would supposedly habituate people into behaving respectfully towards one another. Unfortunately, in any hereditary authoritarian regime, those with inherited power could all too easily get away with treating others without the slightest respect. In 9 AD, the regent, Wang Mang, decided the Han reign was letting the people down badly. He took the throne himself to establish a new regime to bring in egalitarian reforms Mo Zi would have approved. He planned to radically reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor through land redistribution, price controls, and expanded public provision of grain. But the general population knew little about his plans or how their implementation would help them. Instead, many among the wealthy elite stirred up a large-scale rebellion against him, and like the Gracchi brothers of Rome, his reform agenda ended with his murder.

Many other rulers of China would follow with each dynastic cycle ending inevitably in decline, violence and chaos. Towards the beginning of the 20th century, reformists in China concluded that thousands of years of political boom and bust could only be superseded by giving the people the power to rule themselves. During the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the rallying cry was for China to learn from the two great teachers – 'Science' and 'Democracy'.

Despite the absurd suggestion made by some cultural relativists that democracy may not be suited to Chinese people, by the 1980s/90s Taiwan and Singapore, both with Chinese-majority populations, had developed extensive democratic political systems, while civic activists in Hong Kong and Macao had become more, not less, vocal in pressing for democratic reforms since becoming special administrative regions in China.

Chinese and Western advocates for democracy alike seek to draw attention to the flaws in any system for allocating political authority; the dangers of misleading information circulating unchecked; and the need for sufficient safeguards against power falling permanently into the hands of an unaccountable elite. Britain in the 19th century, and the US in the 20th, both had to learn that becoming a global economic and military superpower would mean little if it was not matched by sound democratic development to empower their own citizens to have real control over their destiny. The same lesson will not be lost on China in the 21st century.

# China, the United Nations and Human Protection

## Beliefs, Power, and International Image



### Rosemary Foot

Senior Research Fellow in International Relations  
Emeritus Fellow, St Antony's College

We are seeing an increase of interest, from both scholars and policymakers, in the institutions designed to enhance our protective capacity. 'Human protection', a phrase used by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in his 2011 Cyril Foster Lecture here at Oxford, covers such topics as the protection of civilians in armed conflict, the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) individuals from mass atrocity crimes, and modes of accountability for large-scale human rights abuses. The UN Security Council's understanding of how global insecurity is generated has noticeably widened since the 1990s, and UN resolutions dealing with humanitarian disasters have been passed under mandatory Chapter VII UN Charter provisions.

The fact that Beijing is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, coupled with China's increased market power and ability and willingness to provide global public goods, makes the study of Beijing's approach to these protections essential. The Chinese leadership frequently asserts its reverence for the UN system and Charter, but it is only by focusing on its behaviour that we can assess how it is delivering that support. Human protection is one of the areas that has led Beijing into a more activist stance. The leadership has chosen the United Nations as a primary site for exercising its influence, using its Security Council position and power of veto to influence and shape the Council's agenda, the resolutions that it puts forward, and the way that new and old treaties and norms should be conceived, interpreted and implemented.

China's increasing strength as both a political and economic actor has significantly increased its potential to influence global governance. It has slowly gained better representation and a greater voice in governance arrangements, and it has also made larger material contributions in finance and personnel. In terms of human protection, Beijing has become more vocal in articulating what it regards as the most productive path to human well-being and the responsibilities that its new status carries in promoting that path, as well as the benefits that multilateral institutional policies (or, at least, those instigated by Beijing) bring. Beijing has also called for a new era in 'Great Power' relations – one where its interests and values are recognised as legitimate and deserving of respect.

It asserts these desires more forcefully under the leadership of President Xi Jinping, who has pushed for the image of China as a developing country to be replaced by one of a 'responsible great power.'

My latest research project focuses, therefore, on how China is affecting the UN's approach to human protection. As part of its larger aims, the study considers the degree to which China is challenging liberal elements of the global order. More specifically, a core objective of this study is to explore how a more powerful China satisfies its desire to shape global norms relating to human protection in ways that reflect its ideological beliefs, and, as it would prefer, in such a way as to bolster its image as a responsible great power. I ask how Beijing can both influence the conversation in ways that are seen by other significant players – domestic as well as international – as appropriate, and yet at the same time how the leadership pushes back when ideas around human protection come into conflict with the ideological beliefs the Chinese government wishes to see promoted and protected.

The study's argument relies on three underlying assumptions: first, that the idea of human protection clashes with the Chinese view that the security of the state and political regime is of greater import than the security of the individual. Second, the study assumes that Beijing's ideological beliefs in this area are sufficiently coherent and well-articulated that they can provide signposts for policy direction and promote understanding of Beijing's wants outside of China itself. And, third, that China does care about creating or maintaining a positive international image for both domestic and external reasons.

Human protection appeals to universalist, cosmopolitan principles and this global norm has been expressed and advanced at the same time as China has grown in power. Beijing now has an enhanced ability to protect its preferences for state-based pluralism and difference. My research seeks to uncover how and why China is pursuing its UN agenda, in the hopes that we can better understand what that means for the future of human protection.

# Life After DPhIR



**Renata Dwan**  
Director, UN Institute  
for Disarmament  
Research

Renata Dwan, originally from Ireland, studied PPE at St Hugh's, then the MPhil in IR at St Antony's and finally the DPhil in IR, moving around colleges following work and scholarships, until her graduation in 1997. She held the Hedley Bull Junior Research Fellowship at St Anne's and served as Women's Advisor at Oriel. Her DPhil on French-American relations took her to Paris frequently as well as to Princeton University in the US as a Fulbright Scholar.

## Where has your career path taken you after Oxford?

After my DPhil, I took a job working for the East-West Institute based in Budapest, Hungary before joining Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) to head their programme on armed conflict and conflict management. Research there on policing in international peace operations led me to the European Union in 2002. I was seconded as an advisor to the EU for almost two years, helping plan, implement and establish the EU's first crisis management operation in Bosnia.

In 2005, I joined the UN working on peace and security issues. I've worked in the field in Afghanistan, Syria, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and have held a number of different positions at Headquarters, most recently, Head of Policy and Best Practices for UN peace operations in the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support.

## And where are you currently?

In March 2018, I took a new direction, taking up the position of Director of UNIDIR, the UN Institute for Disarmament Research, based in Geneva.

## What interested you about disarmament research?

The world of arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament is where many of the questions in international relations are coming together in a very interesting way, and at a rapid pace. Can the post-World War II international order transition peacefully and can the mechanisms that have been put in place to regulate relations between states support this transition? Do we still have confidence in multilateral systems for arms control and disarmament, and are they still relevant for contemporary political and security issues and threats? Developments in technology, the changing nature of conflict, and changing attitudes and relationships between individuals, communities and states all have far-reaching consequences for how we think about and approach security and

disarmament. The speed and sheer extent of technological change in particular is surpassing our ability to respond in terms of policies and actions. Technology is posing wide, rapidly evolving issues around security, weapons and arms – from missiles in space to automation of lethal weapons. And yet what I've been struck by is the relative continuity of thinking around political and security concepts, doctrines and policies.

There can be a bit of despair when it comes to thinking about these topics – and I would add, despair around multilateralism and international institutions in general – but we need new, engaged ideas and I very much hope that universities like Oxford will continue to work on these issues. I think multilateral organisations and solutions have never been more needed in a globalised interconnected world, and never been more questioned.

## What still influences you from your years in Oxford?

The emphasis in the English school of International Relations on the importance of knowledge of the area, the country or the region that you're working on. The longer I've worked in multilateral organisations, and in particular the UN, I really have come to value that if you don't come to work with a spirit of inquiry and understanding of the context and history that shapes a place, it's very difficult to work effectively. That has and continues to shape my world view.

I was also influenced by having so many women to look up to in the Department. My DPhil supervisor was Anne Deighton, and she was a great supervisor and one of many great female role models I had at Oxford. I felt supported as a woman. I felt very grateful for this as it's not the case everywhere and it's not always very easy for women working in international relations.

## What is a favourite memory from your first year at Oxford?

I remember being really inspired at Matriculation by the Vice-Chancellor's

words, the notion that Oxford is a place where ideas could be expressed and where ideas from different and diverse perspectives were invited and respected. It strikes me as all the more pertinent for today. It's one of the things which I always admired about Oxford, that commitment to both preserving the space for respectful debate and to really advancing the notion of ideas.

## And a best bit from your DPhil?

The incredible atmosphere in St Antony's bar at night! People worked very hard, late into the night, but then we would come together for a glass of wine, and it was such a wonderful sense of people sharing ideas and what they were working on – it was intellectually inspiring and full of interesting conversation.

## Finally, what advice would you give to fellow alumni, particularly women who are looking to work in international relations?

First, find a mentor. I think it's very important to find other women with whom you can sound out ideas and from whom you can seek support.

Second, be prepared to take chances. If an opportunity comes up, say a one-year posting in a foreign country, consider taking it – even if you don't know what the next step will be.

Third, don't feel you need to have 'a plan'. You enter in one door without knowing what others it will open. You have to be prepared that a career in international relations is not a structured process, and be open to moves that sometimes seem parallel or even non-linear.

Fourth, be mobile. It doesn't suit everybody, but if you can and are willing, try living in different countries. It's an experience that will enrich you not just professionally but personally as well.

# An Interview with Adam Roberts

Professor Sir Adam Roberts arrived in Oxford in 1981 and read history, or “one king after the other”, turning to international relations out of interest and frustration and a hardened belief that “international issues were the things that really mattered.” Sir Adam Roberts spoke to DPIR DPhil student Adam McCauley, reflecting on an established career studying the international system.



**You were recently asked to give a public lecture on the causes of war, new and old. While you were careful to clarify the sheer number of potential causes of conflict, which ones worry you most today?**

It is easy to point to a bewildering number of potential causes of war, and one has to be very careful before drawing any conclusions. However, the tendency in the field of international war has been a steadily downward trend, at least in terms of interstate conflict. There have been far fewer international wars since 1945 than in most earlier periods. However, the thing that worries me is our short-term and impulsive political thinking about crisis and war – in a way that lacks real consistency. This trend is driven by the need for instant solutions even when the problems are long-standing, and, by their nature, extremely difficult.

**Does part of this concern stem from the rise of populism and anti-intellectualism in the west? And if so, where might we find a solution to these problems?**

Democracy has always involved the possibility, and actuality, of populist policies or ideas dominating the majority, and our current brand of anti-intellectualism is perhaps natural given a historic suspicion of “aristocracies” claiming superior knowledge of the world. Especially when the existing aristocracy has, to some extent, failed. I persist in thinking that the US involvement, unsuccessful as it was, in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq, or Libya, and one could go on, were all liberal wars. At their heart, the decision to act relied on a belief that history's arrow pointed in the direction of liberal democracy. Populism gains strength by highlighting these recurring failures of the policy-making elite. I think it's the job of academics to show an ability to assess, soberly, and without any superiority, why this populist revolt has occurred, and also to recognise that some traditional liberal approaches to international problems may need to be rethought.

**What has been the most meaningful shift in the way we study or think about conflict?**

The most important shift has been the abandonment with the obsession of the East/West confrontation as being the major cleavage or conflict, to which all other topics were, at one point, subordinate. This framing of international relations was fairly widespread and led scholars to interpret every Left Wing or Communist revolt as part of a Soviet masterplan. That was never a good way of approaching international relations. Freed from this perspective, the last generation of scholarship has explored the local sources of conflict and engaged in better understanding of the distinct cultures and histories involved. I personally think that that change has been more important than some of the changes in IR theories.

**Some of your more recent work tackles the topic of terrorism. What are your key insights about how this security challenge is, or ought to be, studied?**

In an article about the directions of future research, I suggested there is merit in considering terrorism as a form of action rather than as a type of movement. This distinction matters, given that many movements that have been labelled “terrorist” have offered a great deal of other things. The clearest example was the African National Congress which, quite shockingly in my view, was claimed to be a terrorist organization by both the US and UK governments.

This is easier said than done, of course. If you adopted this approach these days, you could be classified as someone who is ‘soft on terrorism’ but I think a more discriminating approach to terrorism has some clear policy advantages. Indeed, in Northern Ireland, the British government declared its aim was to reduce the number of terrorist incidents to a minimum, rather than eliminating terrorist actions entirely.

The advantage of setting expectations according to a reduction instead of eradication of terrorist attacks, alone, means those attacks look less like terrorist successes.

**What is one major assumption in the study of war that has been proven false during your career?**

One theory or theoretical approach that has consistently been proven wrong has been the idea, held by certain Realists, that power tends to grow. Stated simply, the theory claimed that units, in this case states, wielding power would progressively get bigger. This is particularly clear in Morgenthau's book, *Politics Among Nations*. But then we had decolonization that has increased the number of states to the present 190 plus. The international system has gone through the process of fission, not fusion. As a result, it is quite interesting to read through subsequent editions of Morgenthau's book, as editors try and explain these competing or conflicting trends. It is a bit like astronomers trying to justify the Ptolemaic system with ever more complicated theories and diagrams because they couldn't bear the beautiful simplicity of the Copernican system.

**What guidance would you offer young scholars?**

Don't be afraid to take risks. One of the things that worries me about our research culture is our requirements to prove that research is entirely safe, and if you're dealing with international relations you are necessarily dealing with situations that are, by definition, difficult and dangerous. And our academic culture of safety can, at times, go too far. It will always be more important to teach people how to handle dangerous situations safely, than to try and persuade them not to go.

# Trust, Misinformation and Online News



**David Levy**  
Director, Reuters Institute  
for the Study of Journalism

Research at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ) over the past year has continued to focus on some of the most challenging issues faced by journalists and the media industry. These include the funding of journalism, the relationship between news organisations and platforms, and low levels of trust in the news.

The role of platforms such as Facebook and Google in the distribution of news, and the scale and volume of online content continues to be debated. As audiences say they are finding it harder to distinguish fact from fiction online, our work suggests consumer concerns about misinformation are largely triggered by worries about poor standards of journalism.

Our 2018 Digital News Report (DNR) - a study of news consumption based on a survey of 74,000 people in 37 countries - revealed that just over half (54%) of respondents are concerned about what is fake and what is real on the internet. As shown in the graph below, this was highest in Brazil and lowest in the Netherlands.

Of those surveyed more (75%) said that publishers rather than platforms (71%) should be responsible for fixing the problem, and support for government based solutions are higher in Europe and Asia than in the US.

The report also identified wide variations in trust in the news across 37 countries. As in previous years audiences in Finland and Portugal trust news the most, while Greek and South Korean audiences trust it the least. We found a strong connection between distrust in the media and perceived political bias. This is particularly true in countries with high levels of political polarisation, such as the United States, Italy, and Hungary.

Increasing concerns about online disinformation and its potential to disrupt democracy have continued to dominate the news agenda. Headlines about 'fake news' have attracted the attention of policy makers who, along with academics, journalists and non-governmental organisations, have been working to find ways to verify large amounts of information online.

One recent RISJ study examined the promise and limits of automated fact-checking. It found that while using technology to combat misinformation holds potential, this mostly lies in the development of tools that can assist human fact-checkers to identify and investigate claims.

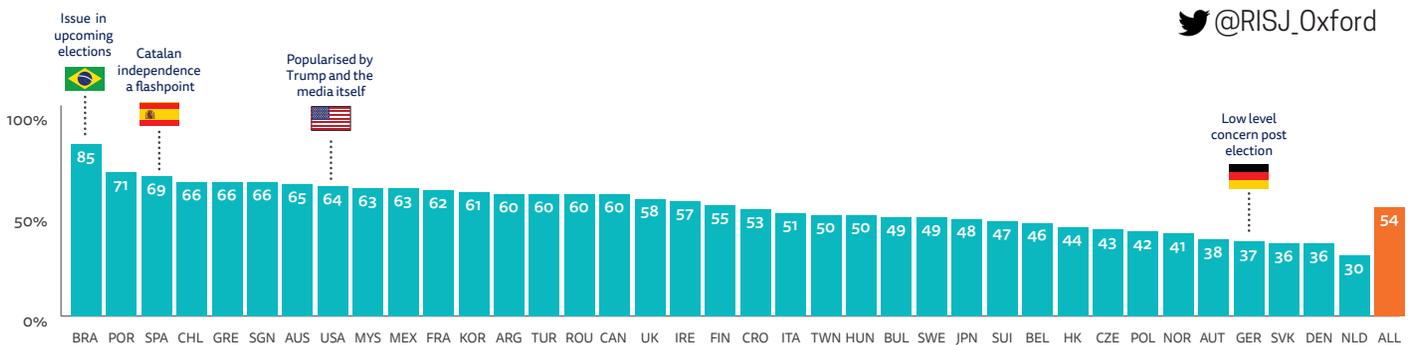
Issues around digital transition in the news industry remain a strong focus of our work at the Reuters Institute. Professor Lucy Kueng's report, *Going Digital - a Roadmap for Organisational Transformation*, argued that for news organisations, internal transformation is as important as content transformation. Kueng researched companies, including The Washington Post, Vox, The New York Times, Le Monde, El Pais and Dagens Nyheter, to identify how media firms adapt to change by increasing agility.

How to pay for journalism remains a central question for all news organisations, as digital advertising revenue increasingly goes to technology companies. Our study, *Pay Models in European News*, found that more news organisations are implementing paywalls. And the latest DNR revealed that, in some countries, more people are paying for news online, some through news subscriptions, others by donating to news organisations. Interestingly, people in the 25-34 year old age bracket are among those most likely to pay for news online, perhaps due to their experience of paying for films or music online.

In the ever-changing global journalism industry, RISJ continues to track trends, changes and advancements, connecting rigorous academic research with the practical experiences of professional journalists, media managers and policymakers.

Our work over the last year has been generously supported by a number of sponsors, including our core funder, the Thomson Reuters Foundation, and also the fourteen funders of the Digital News Report: BBC News, Edelman, Google, BAI, Centre d'Etudes sur les Media, the Netherlands Media Authority (CvDM), Fritt Ord Foundation, Hans Bredow Institute, Korea Press Foundation, Media Industry Research Foundation of Finland, Ofcom, Roskilde University, Universidad de Navarra, and University of Canberra.

## PROPORTION WHO SAY THEY ARE VERY OR EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT IS REAL AND WHAT IS FAKE ON THE INTERNET WHEN IT COMES TO NEWS – ALL MARKETS



@RISJ\_Oxford

Q\_FAKE\_NEWS\_1. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement. Thinking about online news, I am concerned about what is real and what is fake on the internet. Base: Total sample in each market.

## Support our students

The Department prides itself on accepting only the brightest and the best students for doctoral study. Their diverse areas of expertise add to the breadth of knowledge within the Department, which in turn helps to attract academics to work with us, cementing DPIR as a strong interdisciplinary and innovative research community.

Although we endeavour to offer funding to all doctoral candidates, each year we lose talented Master's students who are already part of our community because we cannot offer them full financial support to continue to a DPhil. Likewise, we want to be able to attract those with experience outside of academia who are looking to return to scholarship. Yet every year, prospective students have to turn down their places due to lack of funds. In fact, only 55% of doctoral students at Oxford enjoy the security of full funding while pursuing their research.

We as a Department continue to expand the resources devoted to supporting graduate students, but we need your help. In the box below, we outline the ways in which you can support us in supporting our students, and we welcome any enquiries you may have.

We would also like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have already contributed so generously; your support really does make a difference.

Ricardo Soares de Oliveira,  
Development Director



*“Without Departmental funding, I would not have been able to undertake doctoral studies. I’m extremely grateful for this opportunity.”*

Friederike Haberstroh  
DPhil Candidate in Politics

### How you can help doctoral scholars to study at DPIR

We invite you to support students like Friederike and ensure that DPIR can attract and retain the very best doctoral researchers. So often students who have been offered a place with us are offered more attractive financial packages elsewhere in the UK or abroad. Lack of funding is the overriding reason why students in receipt of an offer from Oxford will reluctantly have to decline the offer.

All gifts, of whatever size, are most welcome. Every gift, however small, will make a difference:

**£350** will enable a graduate student to attend a conference

**£1,000** can fund a short fieldwork trip

**£3,112** will fund a year’s college fee

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# Stay in touch with DPIR

We know that the study of Politics and International Relations is necessarily one which cannot be confined within the walls of an academic department, so we are committed to making our research available as widely as possible. Here are some of the ways that you can keep in touch with us and stay up to date with the projects, debates, and research happening here in Oxford.

Equally, we'd love to hear from you so if you have news to share with us please drop us a line at [alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:alumni@politics.ox.ac.uk).

## DPIR online

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

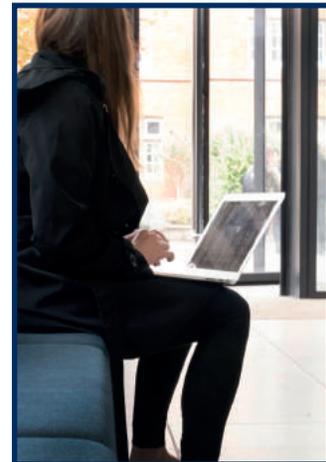
Our website is the best place to find out more about what's going on within the Department.



## Newsletters, bulletins, and more...

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## Podcasts

[soundcloud.com/dpir-oxford](https://soundcloud.com/dpir-oxford)

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## OxPol

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



OxPol is the Department's blog exploring themes and topics in Politics and International Relations research. We provide a platform for analysis, commentary, and discussion of relevant ideas. Articles are written by students, academics, and commentators within DPIR and beyond – and we very much welcome contributions from alumni. Contact the Blog Team at [blog@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:blog@politics.ox.ac.uk)

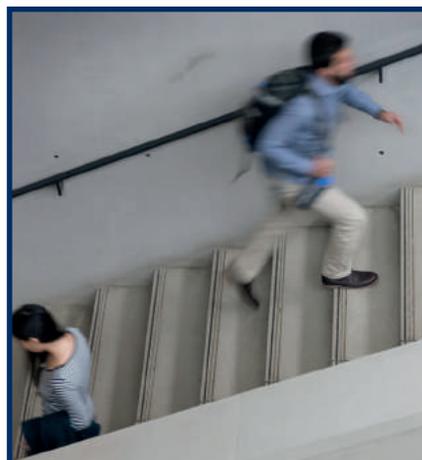
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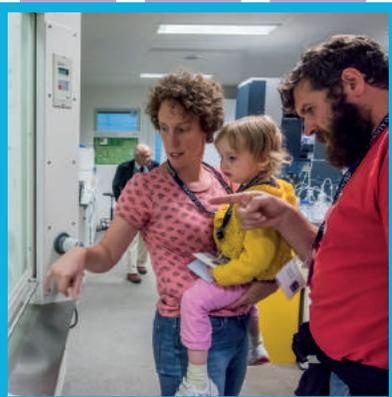
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