

Trust in News Media after the Revolution: The Case of Egypt

*Professor Robert Picard and Dr Anne Geniets, Research Fellows,
Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*



Department of
Politics and
International
Relations



An opposition supporter holds up a laptop showing images of celebrations in Cairo's Tahrir Square, after Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak resigned February 11, 2011.

The project explores attitudes to trust in international news media in Egypt against the background of recent changes in its political and media landscape. The study is a follow-up to earlier research on trust in international news media conducted in Egypt in 2010 in the context of the International Broadcasting Project of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, conducted by Dr David Levy, Dr Anne Geniets and Dr Brian Rotheray. The International Broadcasting Project investigated the changing provision and consumption of, as well as attitudes to, trust in international broadcasters in six African countries in different language zones (Egypt, Algeria, Senegal, Cameroon, Nigeria and Kenya) and in India and Pakistan. A number of remarkable changes in the provision and consumption of news as well as attitudes to trust towards international broadcasting organisations in these countries were identified. The International Broadcasting Project was sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, the BBC and France 24 and was completed in 2010.

The follow-up project in Egypt is conducted with support of the John Fell Foundation. The case of media consumption and trust in international and pan-Arab broadcasting organisations in Egypt is particularly relevant, as it is proposed at a time when the role of media in social and political change – specifically the on-going revolutions across

the Middle East and North Africa – is both unprecedented and contested. In particular the role of pan-Arab satellite networks such as Al Jazeera during the recent uprisings in the Middle East has elicited both public interest and wide media coverage. However, very little academic research has yet been conducted to examine the role and impact of these networks on audiences in the affected countries. Broadcasters and new media ecosystems do not only spread information, they facilitate the framing of political events such as political unrest and protests. But for these events to have significance, they need to be interpreted in a certain way by the media audiences. The findings of this study will significantly contribute to an understanding of this process and will examine the role of news networks in general and international broadcasters in particular in the context of these unique political changes in Egypt.

For more information about the RISJ's Egypt project see: <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/featured-projects.html>

For more information about the RISJ's International Broadcasting Project see: <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/featured-projects/internationalnewsprovision-trust-consumption.html>

UN Governance and Reform

Sam Daws, Director, Project on UN Governance and Reform, Centre for International Studies



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Mr Sam Daws established a new three-year project in September 2010 that undertakes policy-orientated research on the structures, effectiveness and utility of the UN System.

During the year Mr Daws began writing two books commissioned by Oxford University Press; one on *The Reform of the UN Security Council*, and a companion volume (co-authored with Loraine Sievers) on *The Procedure of the UN Security Council*. The project has jointly organised two major academic seminars, one in October 2010 with UNA-UK at the FCO in London to mark the UN's 65th anniversary, and one in May 2011 with the Oxford Fulbright Initiative on 'Major Powers and International Responsibilities', hosted in DPIR. The project assisted with the Cyril Foster Oxford lecture delivered by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon; with a Birmingham University UN lecture by Lord Hannay of Chiswick, and with a SOAS UN event featuring Sir Jeremy Greenstock and Ted Turner. Mr Daws chaired a Chatham House speech by UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova, and helped plan the annual conference of the Academic Council on the UN System. He gave papers at UN headquarters in New York; in Waterloo, Canada; in Doha, Qatar; at three FCO conferences in Wilton Park and London, and at the Houses of Parliament. The project has provided policy advice to the Office of the President of the



Sam Daws served as First Officer to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan from 2000 to 2003

UN General Assembly (in New York and in Doha), to the UN Secretary-General's Office, to the UK Cabinet Office and FCO, and to the UN Foundation in Washington DC, as well as to graduate and undergraduate students working on UN topics.

Further information:

http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/UN_Governance.asp

The International Media Coverage of the Scientific consensus on Climate Change

James Painter, Head of Journalism Fellowship Programme, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism



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The RISJ has carried out two major pieces of research on how the international media report mainstream climate science and the questioning of it by different types of climate sceptics. In the first, 'Summoned by Science: reporting climate change at Copenhagen and beyond', researchers from twelve countries examined how two newspapers or online sites in their countries covered the science of climate change during the Copenhagen summit in December 2009.

The summit was remarkable not because it ended in an ambitious deal to curb greenhouse gas emissions but because of the unprecedented number of journalists, delegates, NGOs and scientists present. Amongst the many findings of the study was that articles written principally about the science of climate change represented less than 10 per cent of all those surveyed. The study also made extensive use of official UN figures to produce the first detailed assessment of who actually attended Copenhagen.

The sharp variations in country reporting found in 'Summoned by Science' in part prompted a second study on how climate scepticism, in its many forms, is reported around the world. It had suggested a clear distinction between countries such as the UK, Australia and the USA where sceptical voices are frequently heard and many developing countries where they are not.

The context for 'Poles Apart: the international reporting of climate scepticism' is the two events in late 2009 and early 2010 widely regarded as having had a major effect both on the media's coverage of climate change and on public opinion on the same topic in some Western countries. These are the posting on the internet of more than 1,000 confidential emails from the Climatic Research Unit at the University of East Anglia and the revelation of at least one important error in the reports by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

'Poles Apart' examines the prevalence (or absence) of scepticism in the print media in six countries (Brazil, China, France, India, the UK and the USA), in part driven by these two events. It reveals the plentiful space given to climate sceptics in the print media in the USA and UK, and contrasts this with the scant attention paid them in the four other countries. It also includes, where possible, an example of a left-leaning and a right-leaning newspaper to map out any differences between them, and where in the newspaper sceptical voices are most likely to be heard.

It attempts to explain these differences through on the one hand wider societal factors in these countries like the presence of lobbying groups, sceptical scientists and sceptical political forces and on the other hand the factors internal to the way the media work.



A view of melting icebergs of Breidamerkurjokull's Vatnajokull glacier, about 380 km (236 miles) from Iceland's capital Reykjavik, May 31, 2008

'Poles Apart' also includes a very detailed examination of all ten national newspapers in the UK both to map the acute differences between them in the amount of space they assign sceptical voices and to look at some of the reasons behind it. It asks whether, for example, there is a strong correlation between the dominant ideology of a newspaper and the presence of sceptical voices.

Further information:

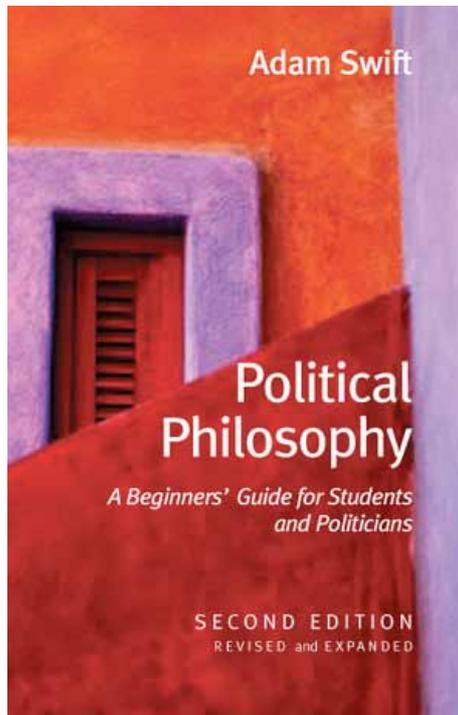
<http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/nc/publications/risj-challenges/summoned-by-science.html>

Family Values: A Liberal Egalitarian Theory of the Family

Dr Adam Swift, CUF University Lecturer in Politics, Member of the Centre for the Study of Social Justice, Fellow in Politics and Sociology, Balliol College



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Adam Swift's most recent book is the 2nd edition of his Political Philosophy: A Beginners' Guide for Students and Politicians, which has been translated into Chinese, Czech, Japanese, Korean and Polish.

Dr Adam Swift was awarded an AHRC Research Fellowship to complete a book – co-authored with Professor Harry Brighouse (Department of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin–Madison) – on Family Values for Princeton University Press. The book will set out their account of the value of parent-child relationships (the ‘familial relationship goods’ account) and explore its implications for a range of controversial moral, political and legal issues such as: the nature and extent of parents’ rights over their children and of children’s rights against their parents; the extent to which, and ways in which, parents may legitimately promote their children’s interests at cost to others; the justification of ‘family-friendly’ social and economic policies; whether the state may legitimately promote marriage; and the significance (or otherwise) of biological connectedness between parents and children.

The ‘familial relationship goods’ approach seeks to identify the distinctive contribution that the family makes to human well-being, and to consider what kinds of family form, and what kinds of authority over children, are needed to make that contribution. It also offers a way of incorporating the emotional and affective aspects of human well-being within the distributive paradigm prevalent in contemporary theories of social justice. In providing an ‘interest-’ or ‘rights-’ based

approach to the value of intimate familial relationships, the research aims to help bridge the gap between justice-oriented and care-oriented approaches to normative issues around the family.

As well as presenting the deep structure and normative foundations of the value of the family, the research develops a systematic methodology for moving from that kind of philosophical work to prescriptions for action in actually existing circumstances. ‘The family’ is currently hotly contested political terrain, as anxieties about ‘family breakdown’ and emotional well-being become increasingly central to political argument. The book, which aims to be accessible to those working in a wide range of academic disciplines, offers a way of thinking clearly about the values at stake and how to combine them with empirical social science to form justified policy conclusions.

Details of Family Values will be available on the website www.politics.ox.ac.uk on publication.

Yesterday's Tomorrows: Whatever Happened to the Future of Government?

*Professor Christopher Hood, Gladstone Professor of Government and Fellow of All Souls College;
Dr Ruth Dixon, Leverhulme Trust Postdoctoral Researcher*



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The Study

This three year project (funded by the Leverhulme Trust) tracks some major changes affecting the central UK state over the past generation and the effects they had on the operation and performance of government. For example, 'New Public Management' changes sought to introduce different ways of managing public services, often ostensibly modelled on private sector practice, with the aim of cutting costs and improving services. The application of modern information and communications technology (ICT) was also intended to cut costs, increase efficiency and allow services to be delivered in new, often more customer-friendly, ways. The development of modern communications techniques – or 'spin-doctoring' – was intended to present a more favourable public image of the state and its activities by exerting tighter control of the news agenda and putting more emphasis on presentation.

This project explores how these three types of developments played out, how they reshaped the state machine, and how far they delivered on what had been claimed and expected of them. How much 'leaner and meaner' was the state machine after a generation of such changes? Such an exploration is not only an interesting study in its own right; it is also significant for assessing the prospects for the future of government in the coming decades, for example in assessing how government changed in the periods of cutbacks in the second half of the 1970s or in the early 1990s in the context of what is likely to be a period of prolonged fiscal restraint in the 2010s.

Questions

Our questions are: how and in what ways did these changes in management structures, ICT developments and new communications reshape UK central government between 1975 and 2010? Did they have the desired effects on the costs of government operations and on the quality of public services? What happened to public perceptions of government and the public service over this period? What happened in other comparable countries?

Methods

During the first year of this project, we have delved into official UK documents and datasets, looking at the numbers for the size and shape of central government staffing and spending,

indicators of operating costs and outsourcing, indicators of expenditures on IT and information services, and indicators of public satisfaction.

We are now beginning to use this documentary analysis as the basis for interviews and focus groups with three different 'generations' of civil servants (those who have been retired for some years, those at the late-career stage and those in early-to-mid career). We are asking people from each group about how operating costs were or are controlled, how quality control operated and how communications were managed, against the background of the numbers we have produced from our documentary analysis. We also hope to analyse some relevant cross-national comparative information, to help to deal with counterfactuals such as performance of states like Germany that put less emphasis than the UK on management changes in central government during this period.

How You Can Help

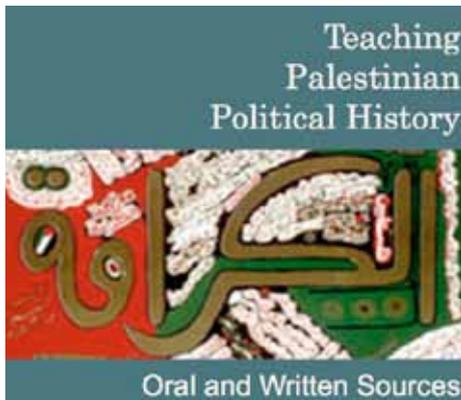
We would be very pleased to hear from Oxford alumni who can contribute to our study on the basis of experience they may have had in government over the period we are exploring in this study. Please contact us if you can help:
christopher.hood@all-souls.ox.ac.uk

Teaching Contemporary Palestinian Political History: Setting a Collaborative Research Agenda and Building Capacity

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



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*The TCPH Programme logo from the poster of
Al Karameh*

The programme is based at the Centre for International Studies and St Edmund Hall. Directed by Karma Nabulsi and involving doctoral students, Junior Research Fellows and senior faculty at Oxford, it pioneers extensive collaboration between Oxford and universities in the Arab world, including scholars from the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Lebanon, working at An-Najah (Nablus), Gaza, Beirut Arab University and the Lebanese University. Drawing on scholars from a previous British Academy-sponsored network of philosophers and historians ('Republicans without Republics'), the programme is concerned with building capacity for teaching contemporary Palestinian

political history, focusing on the three decade period that began with the establishment of the PLO in 1964 and ended with the signing of the Oslo agreements in 1993.

Phase I of the programme was launched in the autumn of 2009 under the title 'Towards a Comprehensive Bibliography of Sources: Locating Archives, Personal Collections, Memoirs and Published and Unpublished Works', and concluded with a workshop in Beirut in October 2010. The workshop brought together scholars from Oxford, the Arab world and the USA to reflect on the year of research during which a survey of library sources in Palestine, the UK, and Lebanon had been conducted; an online resource-sharing infrastructure had been established; and a rich selection of written sources had been digitised.

Phase II of the programme was initiated with a workshop at Oxford in November 2010 entitled: 'Oral History: Building Capacity for Gathering Sources'. Since then, in collaboration with a wide network of scholars, over 400 video interviews have been completed with historical actors from both grassroots and various levels of leadership; 250 posters and more than 500 video and audio files on the various aspects of Palestinian revolutionary politics and democratic movements in the 1960s, 1970s

and 1980s have also been collected. An official affiliation between the programme and the British Academy's Kenyon Institute in East Jerusalem has been established, where young scholars of the programme are associated. Phase II will conclude with a workshop held in An Najah University in Nablus, occupied Palestine, in September 2011, and the final phase of the programme, developing the website and the curriculum that will be taught in Palestinian universities, will begin in November 2011.

Further information:

http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/teaching_Palestinian_history.asp

What Kind of Democracy is Needed for an Effective, Functioning Media?

Professor Jan Zielonka, Professor of European Politics, University Lecturer, Ralf Dahrendorf Fellow, St Antony's College



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Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (MDCEE) is an interdisciplinary research project which investigates the often troublesome and poorly understood relationship between democracy and the media in Central and Eastern Europe.

Why troublesome?

Partly because the existing literature focuses primarily on western rather than eastern Europe, and lessons learned from the west are not always helpful in understanding developments in the east. And existing studies on democratic transitions devote little attention to the media, and vice versa. And when they do, they tend to focus on whether the media is good or bad for democracy. Western media models assume that democratic institutions pre-date the rise of the media, and that core qualities of democratic governance exist. But such assumptions do not necessarily apply in

Central and Eastern Europe, where democratic institutions and media institutions emerged simultaneously and interdependently in a period of rapid and often chaotic reform. We try to fill in the existing gap in our knowledge and suggest an innovative and interdisciplinary approach to the study of the media and democracy. We ask what kind of democracy is needed for media to perform effectively?

Our research is based on a comparative study of the ten Central and Eastern countries that have joined the European Union since 2004 (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia). Launched in October 2009, the project has four years' funding from the European Research Council and is managed through the University of Oxford's Department of Politics and International Relations. Our core research team is based

at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, and at the London School of Economics and Political Science. We are also working with a range of Visiting Fellows who specialise in media and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe.

Main research areas

Media ownership and commercial pressures: How do economic factors influence the relationship between the media and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe? We look at the overall media market structure, the structure of media ownership and their joint impact on media performance and their democratic roles .

Media regulation and political pressures: Emerging post-communist elites have used regulation to curtail media freedom, while ostensibly praising media freedom as a fundamental tenet of democracy. Can poor regulatory framework design explain the lack of media freedom and the media's poor democratic performance in Central and Eastern Europe over the last twenty years?



Further information:

www.mde.politics.ox.ac.uk/

Journalistic autonomy and professionalisation: Our third area of investigation focuses on another (potential) institution of democracy: journalism. Do journalists as a collective have the cultural, social, political and economic resources to maintain autonomy and independence in the face of commercial and political pressures?

Key concepts

We have used the following key interpretive concepts to study the media's role in the transition to democracy, and have identified several essential democratic conditions for the media to perform properly:

Political and business parallelism: The media are increasingly influential in shaping the process of democratic transition, but they are embedded in existing political and economic systems. They do not function independently of political parties and other forms of organised interests, whether these are related to business, ethnicity or religion. 'Colonisation' or 'capture' of the media (both public and private) by these organised interests should be monitored and subject to democratic scrutiny.

State intervention: 'Freedom' is the usual catchword during transition to democracy, but the experiences of new democracies show that the media may in fact need some kind of state regulation to avoid capture either by commercial or partisan political interests.

Pluralism and representation: Democracy requires political pluralism in the media. To ensure this, different political, ethnic and religious organisations should be represented within the media system. Equally, media ownership cannot be concentrated in the hands of a few media moguls. Ownership structures should be transparent and anti-cartel legislation needs to function effectively.

Polarisation and the common good: Political pluralism in the media may lead to significant

political polarisation and lower levels of agreement over what constitutes the general and common interest, thus impeding democratic consolidation. It is therefore extremely important that viable public service broadcasting exists and is freed from political or commercial interference.

Journalistic professionalism: In new democracies, the media (especially the new media) are often delivered by non-professionals who are poorly trained and largely unaccountable. Therefore, the media need to be (self) regulated to some extent; subject to some basic professional oversight; and opportunities for journalistic training, especially in the new media, are extremely important.

We are also looking at the democratic conditions under which improvement along these five indicators is likely to occur in transition countries. These conditions include:

- the degree to which media 'colonisation' or 'capture' is monitored;
- the level of state intervention or regulation to prevent this;
- transparency of media ownership;
- the maintenance of a viable public service;
- broadcaster which is free from interference; and
- high levels of journalistic education and self-regulation.

Outcomes

Our results will help us better to understand and shape democracy and the media in the new member states of the European Union. They will also suggest important new ways for the study of the relationship between democracy and the media applicable to other consolidating democracies, especially in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, but also

in Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. We are starting to explore the five indicators identified by the project with which to assess media qualities, and to test their applicability to aspiring EU member states.

In the hands of policy-makers, media indicators constitute invaluable tools for analysis. These are not sufficient in themselves for real change to happen. However, by innovatively combining media indicators with the systemic conditions that are needed for media to thrive, this project will start to build a practical set of guidelines for institutional policy-reforms.



Understanding Vote Choice in India: a New Data Set on Candidates for Legislative Office

*Dr Adam Ziegfeld, Postdoctoral Prize Research Fellow,
Nuffield College*



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One of the most important questions in the study of politics is: How do citizens decide whom they will vote for in elections? My research tackles one specific part of this extremely broad question. To what extent do candidates rather than political parties shape voting behaviour in India? Although an ever growing number of countries in the developing world hold elections, most of what we know about voter behaviour comes from the study of Europe and North America. Yet, existing research on developing world democracies indicates that electoral politics operates according to a very different, as yet under-explored, logic.

I chose India as a research site because it is one of the few longstanding democracies in the developing world and can therefore potentially shed light on the trajectories of new democracies elsewhere in the Global South. I focused on the importance of candidates versus parties because political parties are central to existing theories of voting behaviour that have been generated based on the experiences of advanced industrial democracies. However, contrary to both received wisdom from Western countries and also many accounts of Indian politics, I have found extensive evidence to indicate that electoral politics is extremely candidate-centred. This claim has emerged from a year and a half of field research across three Indian states and has been tentatively



Indian National Congress office in Ferozepur Jhirka, Haryana, India.

confirmed by preliminary data analysis of elections across India.

However, appropriate data are not yet widely available to systematically and rigorously test this contention that among Indian voters, candidates carry greater weight than parties. Consequently, I have created a unique dataset on the characteristics of candidates contesting state elections in India. I focus on state elections because, in India, they are widely regarded as more politically

salient than national elections. Armed with a comprehensive dataset of this kind, I can answer a variety of questions. Can candidates' characteristics account for election outcomes at both the constituency and state levels? In other words, does the "better" candidate

Further information:

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/past-projects/past-projects.html

in the constituency win, irrespective of her party, and does the party fielding better candidates overall win the election as a whole? Within parties, does the quality of the candidates fielded vary over time, and can this variation explain changes in vote share over time? How often can a party's poor electoral performance be traced to defections of important candidates from the party ranks rather than to changes in the public's feelings towards the party?

This dataset collected information on candidates' caste and religion, place of origin, occupation, prior political experience, and family in politics, none of which are currently collected by the Election Commission of India. In this way, the dataset is unlike anything else available for India. The choice of these characteristics was motivated by prior case study research on elections in constituencies across India. I collected these data in the North Indian state of Haryana, which is an ideal research site because its small geographic size allowed me to compile data on all major candidates contesting elections since 1991. At the same time, Haryana is broadly representative of North India in general, an area with over 500 million people.

Having now collected the bulk of the data, I am in the process of analysing it and have presented preliminary results at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), European Science Association (Dublin), and American Political Science Association (Seattle). Ultimately, these data will contribute substantially to a monograph currently in progress.

Extralegal Groups in Weak and Failing States: Examining Somali Pirates and Mexican Drug Cartels

*Dr Christine Cheng, Bennett Boskey Fellow in Politics
and International Relations at Exeter College*



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Maritime Raid Force Recaptures Ship From Pirates

What explains the variation in the quality of statebuilding outcomes in weak and failing states? Why do some countries remain mired in corruption and criminality? This study, funded by the John Fell Foundation, argues that the emergence and development of extralegal groups are an important factor in some countries.

This project builds on my research examining ex-combatant groups in post-conflict Liberia. In this work, I develop a theoretical framework to explain these “extralegal groups” and their motivations. An extralegal group is a set of individuals working outside the law to control a specific territory primarily for profit and who are capable of violence. They are profit-driven non-state armed groups; it is also possible to think of them as nascent organised crime groups. Building on this conceptual foundation, this project adapts the

extralegal groups framework to analyse Somali pirate syndicates and Mexican drug cartels.

There are three stages to the framework: emergence, development and entrenchment. In weak and failing states, there are opportunities for profit in illegal goods and services. For weakly governed countries, this can provide an important ‘comparative advantage’. Since the government cannot regulate economic transactions within these economic sectors, some other entity must fill this void. An extralegal group (likely to be operating within the sector already) emerges to meet this need. The group then enters the development stage, improving its organisational capacities by growing its business, and thus, its influence. The business organisation that develops advantages the extralegal group as compared to the weak government. Funds are set aside to pay off key local authorities such as the police, politicians, and judicial officials. When the group reaches the entrenchment stage, it has effectively become an organised crime entity. By this point, it will have established a strong enough power base to bribe and coerce local government officials on a regular basis, thus creating or reinforcing a system of entrenched corruption that can ultimately undermine the state and its institutions.

This project uses this framework to analyse and make sense of Somalia pirate syndicates and Mexican drug cartels.

Somali Pirates

Unfortunately, it is too difficult and dangerous to travel to Somalia for field work. However, it is possible to study Somali piracy from Kenya. At the moment, Mombasa and Nairobi have become hubs for members of the international community who work on the frontlines on Somali piracy. In Mombasa, the international community has funded a new court in the Shimo la Tewa prison to prosecute suspected Somali pirates. Further, much of the world’s expertise on Somali piracy is resident in Nairobi— for example, in the Little Mogadishu area and in the offices of UNODC. Based on the data I gather during my trips to the field, I hope to piece together an imperfect but still useful picture of the local political economy of Somali pirate syndicates.

Mexican Drug Cartels

To understand how Mexican drug cartels affect statebuilding and long-term corruption in the country, interviews will be conducted with American and Mexican government officials who work on these issues. These interviews will be conducted in person along the US border, and by phone with officials in Mexico City.

Further information:

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/projects/current-projects.html

The Responsibility to Protect

*Professor Jennifer Welsh, Professor in International Relations, co-director of the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict (ELAC), Fellow of Somerville College;
Dr Serena Sharma, Research Associate, ELAC*



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UN Security Council discussing Resolution 1973 on Libya

The recent events in Libya and Syria have focused fresh attention on the role of the international community in responding to the threat or commission of mass atrocities against civilian populations, and the difficulties in agreeing an appropriate global reaction.

The principle of the 'responsibility to protect' (or RtoP) has gained traction in recent years as a way to both clarify the nature of the international community's role in responding to the commission of mass atrocities – genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity – and build the political will to act when these gross violations of human rights occur.

The Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict (ELAC) is currently undertaking a two-year research project in this important and complex area, entitled, 'The Responsibility to Prevent: Developing Targeted and Systemic Strategies'. Led by Professor Jennifer Welsh and Dr Serena Sharma, the project seeks to advance the implementation of the principle of R2P by elaborating on how one of its key elements – prevention – can be operationalised in international society.

Whilst conflict prevention has been an area of much discussion among policy makers, academics, and civil society, much less analysis

has been carried out in relation to the specific crimes covered by RtoP. More specifically, the project has four main aims:

- To develop an overall framework for understanding the prevention of mass atrocities, organised broadly around the categories of 'targeted' and 'systemic' approaches;
- To analyse and synthesise the 'best practice' on prevention from other contexts, and build this evidence base into the strategic framework;
- To demonstrate how prevention works in relation to the other components of RtoP; and
- To highlight possible barriers to the successful implementation of prevention, and how they might be overcome.

The project has established an international network of researchers and practitioners, many of whom have been participating in a policy engagement process taking place throughout 2011 – in New York, Washington, Accra, Canberra, and culminating in a final conference in Oxford in December. These

For more information on the work of ELAC see:
www.elac.ox.ac.uk

meetings have involved academics, NGOs, international organisations, policy-makers and officials – including the UN Office of the Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide. The project outcomes will also include a series of published papers on the theme of ‘The Responsibility to Prevent’.

The Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict

ELAC is a leading global centre for the interdisciplinary study of the ethics, law, and politics of armed conflict. Hosted by the Department for Politics and International Relations, its central aim is to strengthen law, norms and institutions to restrain, regulate and prevent armed conflict. The evolving nature of conflict, rise of terrorism, and new technologies such as cyberwarfare, along with existing threats such as weapons of mass destruction, present new and difficult challenges that the established normative and institutional frameworks are often ill-prepared to face. ELAC’s research aims to understand and assess the impact of these threats, but also the opportunities that new thinking brings – and ultimately to engage in public and policy debate which delivers a lasting impact.

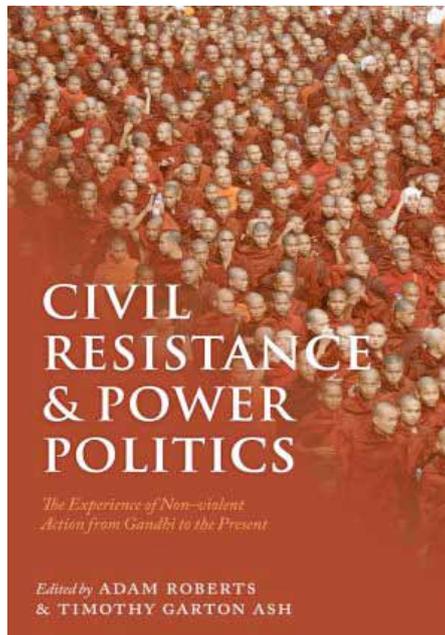
ELAC also hosts a variety of seminars and discussion events in Oxford which attract a diverse audience and encourage interdisciplinary thinking and networking. In 2011-12 ELAC will again co-host its popular Tuesday lunchtime seminar series with the University of Oxford Programme on the Changing Character of War (CCW). Other events will include a termly film screening evening and a topical panel discussion. These events are normally open to all, but please check the website for full details. The audio podcasts of our events are also usually available to download.

Civil Resistance and Power Politics: Domestic and International Dimensions

Professor Sir Adam Roberts, Associate Member, Department of Politics and International Relations; Professor Timothy Garton Ash, Professor of European Studies, Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow and Honorary Chair of the European Studies Centre, St Antony's College; and others



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Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present (Oxford University Press, 2009)

Civil resistance

Solidarity's achievement in Poland in opening up a road from Communism. The fall of the Berlin Wall. The end of apartheid in South Africa. The US civil rights movement that inspired a young Barack Obama. The toppling of Augusto Pinochet in Chile and of Slobodan Milošević in Serbia. 'People Power' in the Philippines and 'Orange Revolution' in Ukraine. The 'Arab Spring' of 2011 in Tunisia, Egypt and many other countries in the Middle East and North Africa. What all these dramatic and disparate historical developments have in common is the often decisive presence of civil resistance.

This mode of political action has been of demonstrable importance in the past hundred years and more, yet there has been far too little serious study of many of its aspects. A focus on this phenomenon and its roles in international politics challenges the view that only the exercise of power by military means can bring about fundamental changes in authoritarian societies: indeed, civil resistance (also called non-violent resistance) is sometimes seen as simply replacing violence in ever-expanding spheres of action. However, as is amply confirmed by the events in the Arab world in 2011, there is often a complex set of interactions between civil resistance and other dimensions of power – military, economic and ideological.

The project

This widespread phenomenon is being examined in a unique way in the interdisciplinary Oxford University research project on 'Civil Resistance and Power Politics: Domestic and International Dimensions'. The project, run by a committee of seven Oxford academics, aims first and foremost to raise the academic level of treatment of the subject. It explores the interactions between civil resistance and other dimensions of power in a rigorous and open-minded way, asking a number of hard questions that are often avoided, and exploring a wide range of relevant historical evidence.

The project has been generously funded by the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, Washington DC; the United States Institute of Peace; the Zeit Foundation, Hamburg; the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's Human Security Programme; the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Conflict Issues Group and Research Analysts; and the British Academy.

Further information:

http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/civ_res.asp

The project commenced in the academic year 2005–6 and is planned to continue until August 2013. From the start it involved extensive consultations with numerous colleagues in Oxford, the UK generally, and many other countries. A landmark international conference on Civil Resistance and Power Politics, held at St Antony's College in Oxford on 15–18 March 2007, attracted academics and analysts from around the world, plus practitioners who have been involved in particular campaigns of civil resistance and in governmental decision-making in connection with these campaigns. On the basis of prepared papers, it looked at some general themes, and also at a large number of cases.

The project has also resulted in various other workshops and seminars, and various forms of product – e.g. journal articles, shorter books, web pages, and radio programmes.

The book

The major scholarly product of the project, based on the 2007 conference, is: Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009. A paperback edition, published by Oxford University Press in September 2011, contains a new foreword on the Arab Spring.

The book and other output are aimed to assist a better understanding of civil resistance on the part of governments, activists, members of the public, and scholars. They may therefore have significance for future action as well as for understanding the past and present.

The book consists largely of case studies in which leading specialists ask some common questions about different cases. The cases considered included the Indian independence

struggle to 1947; the US civil rights movement in the 1960s; the Iranian resistance in 1979; the overthrow of President Marcos in the Philippines in 1986; opposition activity in South Africa contributing to the end of the apartheid regime; many examples of civil resistance in central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, culminating in the regime changes of 1989–91; Serbian opposition activities culminating in the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 2000; the 'rose revolution' in Georgia in 2003; and the 'orange revolution' in Ukraine in 2004–05. The authors also examine a number of apparent failures such as the Czechoslovak resistance in 1968; the events leading to the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 in China; the resistance in Kosovo before the 1999 war; and the 'moment of the monks' in Rangoon in 2007.

Written by leading specialists, and illustrated throughout with historic photographs, it asks why some attempts at mass non-violent action succeeded in attaining their objectives while others failed. And it explores, rigorously and comparatively, the complex relationships between civil resistance and other factors of power, including war, economic failure and external intervention.

The book has been highly praised by reviewers. Pierre Hassner wrote in the journal *Survival*: 'Roberts and Garton Ash succeed in their task magnificently. Seldom has a collective work displayed such coordinated research; seldom has the selection of authors been so successful ...; and seldom have the introductory and concluding essays in an edited work been so effective.' Translations of the book are being prepared.

Ongoing activities

Most of the project's activities in 2010–11 have been connected with the Arab Spring. The project has organised meetings on the subject, including one in Oxford on 18 January

2011 and a conference at Wilton Park on 30 March–1 April, and have more planned for the current academic year. We have commissioned two studies on the events in Egypt and Tunisia – by Professor Khaled Fahmy and Dr Michael Willis – and are planning more. Work is ongoing on further improving the much-visited Wikipedia article on Civil Resistance.

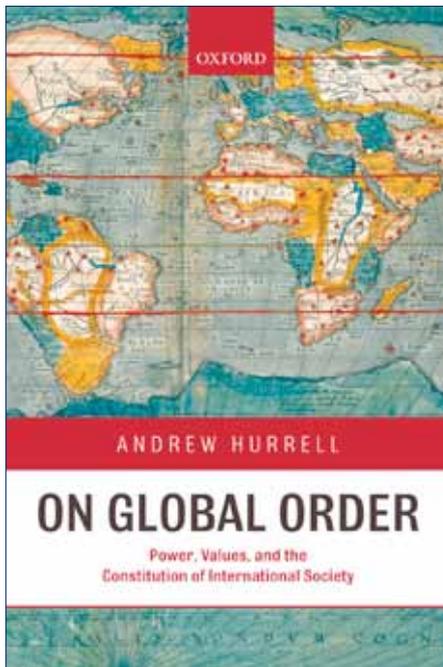
Two International Relations Projects: ‘Beyond the BRICs metaphor. Making Sense of *Non-Western Power*’ and ‘Provincialising Westphalia and the Rise of a Global International Society’

‘Beyond the BRICS’: Professor Andrew Hurrell, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, Balliol College; Professor Marie Mendras, Research Fellow (CNRS), Paris school of International Affairs, Sciences Po; and Professor Karoline Postel-Vinay, Senior Research Fellow Sciences Po

‘Provincializing Westphalia’: Professor Andrew Hurrell, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, Balliol College; Dr Rahul Rao, School of Oriental & African Studies



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Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order. Power, Values and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford University Press, 2007)

International Relations has to be taught and studied as a global subject and from a global perspective. The global system is increasingly characterised by a diffusion of power, including to emerging and regional powers; by a diffusion of preferences with many more voices demanding to be heard both globally and within states as a result of globalisation and democratisation; and by a diffusion of ideas and values, with a reopening of the big questions of social, economic and political organisation that were supposedly brought to an end with the end of the Cold War and the liberal ascendancy. There is a strong argument that we are witnessing the most powerful set of challenges yet to the global order that the United States sought to construct within its own camp during the Cold War and to globalise in the post-Cold War period. Many of these challenges also raise questions about the longer-term position of the Anglo-American and European global order that rose to dominance in the middle of the 19th century and around which so many conceptions and practices of power-political order, international legal construction and global economic governance have since been constructed.

Much existing work looks at the present ('what does China want?') or extrapolates current trends into the future (as with the original Goldman Sachs study of the Brics).

Drawing on Oxford's distinctive approach to the study of International Relations this cluster of projects takes a more historical and philosophical approach. As part of the Oxford/Sciences-Po collaboration, Professors Andrew Hurrell and Karoline Postel-Vinay have organized a series of meetings on the theme of **'Beyond the Brics'**. The objective is to move beyond the metaphor of the Brics and simple-minded notions of the 'West vs the Rest' and to look more critically and systematically at the 'non-Western' dynamics of international politics. The approach has been empirical, using in-depth knowledge of specific countries, and theoretical, relying both on the English School general framework for the analysis of global order (as exemplified in Andrew Hurrell's prize-winning book *On Global Order. Power, Values and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford University Press, 2007), and the French sociological tradition of research on international politics.

In a closely-related project, funded by the Fell Fund, Professor Andrew Hurrell has been working with Dr Rahul Rao on **Provincialising Westphalia and the Rise of a Global International Society**. There is a pressing need to broaden debates about international political order (at both the global and regional levels) and about the relationship between global order and global justice beyond recent preoccupations with US empire, global

liberalism or some combination of the two. This will necessarily involve a careful analysis of 'non-western' sets of ideas and practices, especially as exemplified in the thinking, policies and practices of major states and societies such as China, Japan, India, as well as the Islamic World. But looking at the 'non-West' is far from straightforward and two basic methodological points need to be stressed. The first is the crucial need to look both at non-western traditions of thought in themselves and to consider the processes by which western ideas of international order were transposed into different national and regional contexts. The focus therefore needs to be on the mutual constitution of ideas and understandings that resulted from that interaction. The second is the importance of considering these questions from a critical historical context. This involves, for example: first, rethinking the nature of earlier forms of 'western dominance' and unpacking/critiquing the often very simplified story of the 'expansion of western international society'; second, looking again at the earlier phases of what Hedley Bull called the 'revolt against western dominance' as they unfolded through the 20th century; and third, thinking hard about the sorts of international society norms and global governance practices that are, or might be, pressed both by emerging powers and by other social forces - as the balance of global power becomes more open, as the structure and stability of global capitalism become once more matters of serious political contestation, and as all states and societies are forced to confront shared global problems that will increase the demand for new forms of governance and cooperation. This work also draws directly on the current research of Professor Hurrell and Dr Rao. Dr Rao was a Rhodes Scholar from India; he completed a DPhil in International Relations; and his thesis was subsequently published by Oxford University Press, *Third World Protest. Between Home and the World* (2010). He now teaches at SOAS in London.

Oxford has a tremendous comparative advantage in being an English speaking university but one located outside the United States. Our aim has been to develop a graduate and research programme in International Relations that is fully-engaged with US debates and networks (as many of our faculty are); but that is also genuinely global in perspective. Our strengths include the attention paid to the diversity of traditions of thought on international relations, to the historical and philosophical aspects of the subject, and to the need to combine disciplinary excellence with expertise on particular regions of the world. This cluster of projects seeks to build on these traditions.

The Oxford-Paris connection is one of a series of international collaborations involving the Department of Politics and International Relations. Other examples include the **Oxford-Princeton Global Leaders' Fellowship Programme**. This five-year programme funds up to six scholars a year from developing countries to conduct two years of post-doctoral research, with one year spent in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Oxford and a further year at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School.

The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy

Dr David Levy, Director, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (RISJ); Dr Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Post Doctoral Research Fellow, RISJ



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Journalism today is undergoing a fundamental transformation as a range of new technologies and institutional changes affect how it is produced, consumed and paid for in different countries. As contemporary forms of popular government have been fundamentally shaped by their relations to mass media like newspapers and broadcast television, the potential implications for democracy are considerable and largely unknown.

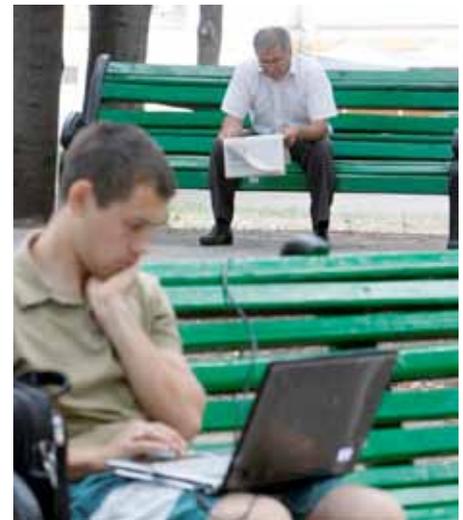
This project examines in a comparative perspective the threats and opportunities that technological, social, and political developments bring for news journalism as we have known it in the last decades of the twentieth century. Working with a network of leading international experts, we seek to identify the main challenges to commercially funded journalism in eight countries, including developed western democracies like Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States, but also emerging economies like Brazil and India.

In some of these countries, newspaper circulation is rapidly declining and broadcast audiences fragmenting, even as new media are picked up by ever broader swathes of the population. The consequences for professional journalism has been dramatic, most so in the United States, where the number of newspaper reporters has declined by more than 20% over the last few years. In others, like Finland and

Germany, the situation is more stable, even as technological developments and economic downturns represent serious present and future threats to legacy media who will have to adapt to what will soon be a dramatically different media environment, one in which traditional platforms will play a relatively reduced role. In a few of these countries—most obviously the cases of Brazil and India—parts of the news media industry are growing rapidly, capitalising on broader social change and economic growth, and reaching new audiences previously unserved by media mostly concerned with attracting the affluent and well-educated.

We will look at the pressures and possibilities that various news organisations have faced online and offline in these eight countries from 2000 to 2010, examine the business and policy responses pursued—for the media business has always been a profoundly political business, as frequent controversy surrounding ownership, regulation, and subsidies suggests—and the implications they have for journalism's current and future role in democratic societies.

The project builds on a book edited last year by the two principal investigators, and preliminary findings from this collection of essays and a 2011 report on public sector support for the media has already generated considerable debate and attracted coverage from media across the world, including *The Economist*, the



Guardian, the *Helsingin Sanomat*, and *Editor and Publisher*.

The project will contribute in important ways to policy, practitioner and academic debates around the future of news, and advance our understanding of how media systems develop and change.

Further information:

<http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/featured-projects/the-business-of-journalism-and-its-role-in-democracy.html>

Global Trade Ethics

Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis, Professor of International Relations, Director of the European Studies Centre, Faculty Fellow, St Antony's College; Dr Carolyn Deere-Birkbeck, Senior Researcher and Trade Project Director, Global Economic Governance Programme (GEG); and Emily Jones, Coordinator, GTE Project and DPhil Candidate in International Relations



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Most decision makers today share the view that international trade is a force for good in a globalising world. They may generally be right, but as tensions about growing inequalities and environmental risks in the global economic system increase, we need to ask again: under what conditions can trade be a force for good? How can lofty and vague principles such as fairness, human rights, justice or equity be applied in a world where patterns of globalised production and consumption reflect the logic of a global market?

The aim of this project is to articulate alternative visions of a global political ethics relevant to trade issues. We critically examine the ethical dimensions of global trade by bringing together two scholarly worlds, namely trade specialists on one hand and political philosophy and normative theory on

the other. In doing so, we hope to bring new insights to the perennial debates on WTO reform and more generally the sustainability of the global trading system.

The ethical focus of the work is organised around a set of pressing global challenges, including poverty, inequality, employment security, quality of work and environmental sustainability in the global South and global North. Our objective is to develop and apply conceptual frameworks for devising trade policies that respond to concerns for justice and fairness for each of these global challenges and to link these to specific trade policy debates.

To date, the project has published *Building Blocks for a Global Trade Ethics*, available at: http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/Global_Trade_Ethics_BB.pdf, which brings together

new perspectives on global trade ethics from academics associated with the project. During the 2010-2011 academic year, a series of seminars and discussions were convened including with Frank Garcia from Boston College Law School, Gillian Moon from University of New South Wales, Robert Howse from New York University School of Law, and Hakan Altınay from the Brookings Institute.

Research is focusing on ways to increase the legitimacy of the global trading system, and critically evaluating EU trade policy towards developing countries. Working papers on these topics will be presented to colleagues within Oxford in Michaelmas Term 2011. A lunchtime seminar series is planned for Michaelmas Term 2011 and Hilary Term 2012, and a workshop on the future of the global trading system for Hilary Term 2012.

Further information:

<http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/globaltradeethics.asp>

‘We were just using different words to mean the same thing’: Exploring the Affective Norms of Political Party Manifestos

Professor Stephen Whitefield, Head of Department, Professor of Politics, University Lecturer in Politics, Rhodes Pelczynski Tutorial Fellow in Politics, Pembroke College; Dr Sara Binzer Hobolt, University Lecturer in Comparative European Politics and Tutorial Fellow in Politics, Lincoln College; and Dr Eamonn Molloy, Pembroke College



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We know that emotions play an important role in politics. Yet, we lack systematic evidence of how politicians use emotional appeals in their political messages. This innovative and exploratory project will critically evaluate the potential of analysing large corpora of political documents using psycholinguistic methodology. To do so, over 2,800 political party manifestos from Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand and the United States from 1944 to the present day will be analysed in terms of their emotional affect. Data will be sourced from two internationally recognised and validated databases: The Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) and the Affective Norms for English Words (ANEW) ratings. The expectation is that by systematically evaluating the emotional affect of political party manifestos in relation to explicit and known political positions, significant insights

into key political science questions can be advanced. Specifically, we will be able to examine when and how politicians use emotional appeals in their political messages and how such appeals influence public opinion. If successful, the scope for extending this approach beyond political parties' manifestos to other political and organisational material is vast. The findings of this study therefore have implications for both academics and policy-makers. For academics, there is the promise of a substantial new research agenda that is both intellectually original and has the ability to attract funding from the policy-making community. For policy-makers, the results generated by this new research agenda will directly impact on the way they communicate with and represent themselves to diverse stakeholder constituencies.

Professor Stephen Whitefield is also the Principal Investigator of the project *Party Stances, Citizen Stances and Party Choice in the Founding Democratic Egyptian Election of 2011*. Together with his Co-Investigators, Dr Mazen Hassan of Cairo University (and a doctoral student of Stephen's in the Department, 2011) and Dr Elisabeth Kendall, Senior Research Fellow in Arabic, Pembroke College, he will conduct a national survey of Egyptian citizens immediately following the founding democratic parliamentary and presidential elections.

The survey will be supplemented by a study of the positions of parties and presidential candidates. Generous funding for the study has been provided by Mr Chris Rokkos, a London-based Hedge Fund manager and alumnus of Pembroke College with an interest in Politics and the Middle East. The project will aim to uncover the main lines of division underlying party competition and support for parties in the country, with a particular focus on the nature of support for democracy and its connection with social and religious identities. The analysis is expected to make a significant contribution to our understanding of the sources of mass support for, and possible opposition to, democratic party competition in post-revolutionary Egypt.

Further information:

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/projects/current-projects.html

Being and Becoming Ethnic in Europe and Africa: State and the Politics of Ethnic Recognition in Nigeria, France and the UK

*Dr Kathryn Nwajaku-Dahou, ESRC Post-Doctoral Research Fellow,
Department of Politics and International Relations*



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Dr Kathryn Nwajaku-Dahou

The ESRC Research Fellowship funds and disseminates research on how state institutions in Africa and Western Europe generate identity discourses and political

behaviours among young people from minority groups. It consists of two main projects. The first updates and disseminates the results of existing research (doctoral and postdoctoral) which explored the effects of the public policy practice (how oil revenues are distributed) on ethnic group identity formation and political mobilisation amongst members of a minority group in Nigeria. This update includes additional fieldwork conducted in the oil producing Niger Delta region, ten years after the bulk of initial fieldwork was carried out. Biographical style interviews are used to chart the evolution of the careers of political actors. The second comparative project explores whether different public policy approaches to 'integration' in France and the UK have different impacts on the identity discourses and political behaviours of young 'minority' citizens of West African immigrant descent; Senegalese in the case of France

and Nigerian origin in the case of the UK. Some 50 qualitative interviews are carried out with young men and women between the ages of 18-35 from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, and of parents with diverse migration, to document their life histories, which are also contextualised using ethnographic data from research sites (Le Havre, Montreuil and 18th arrondissement in France and Southwark and Hackney boroughs in London). Focus group discussions and participant observation were also used to elicit information. The project is already using the the results to engage in policy debates about which approaches to integration work best and why; multicultural ones (in the UK)– where the specific needs of racial , ethnic , and religious groups are acknowledged in government policies aimed at tackling the forms of discrimination they may face or republican ones (in France) which are opposed to special rights for particular groups – irrespective of the discrimination they may face because of their racial, religious or ethnic characteristics . The results are being written up and packaged for academic and non-academic audiences (as a book, policy papers, newspaper articles and radio interviews). The Research Fellow is the lead researcher on both projects, which have benefited from collaborations with researchers from other fields (social anthropology, clinical psychology, sociology,

linguistics, migration studies) and with professional experience as community workers in London and Paris.



Further information:

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/projects/being-and-becoming-ethnic-homepage.html

History's Rearview Mirror: Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in the Chinese Cultural Revolution

*Dr Patricia Thornton, University Lecturer in the Politics of China,
Department of Politics and International Relations*



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Portrait studio in rural Jinggangshan, a former Communist base area during the early civil war period, where middle-class Chinese tourists now flock to have their photos taken with a likeness of Mao Zedong.

The Cultural Revolution haunts China's present. Scores of accounts attest to the turmoil that enveloped the People's Republic of China during the final decade of Mao's rule, concurring with the Party's own blistering 1981 judgment that 'the "Cultural Revolution" did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense' but was instead 'responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic.' Yet how can we square these overwhelmingly negative indictments with the recurrent outbreaks of Cultural Revolution 'fever' that rage through China's bustling new metropolises? How are we to understand the calls for a 'Cultural Revolution of a new type' or a 'second Cultural Revolution' that persist in Chinese cyberspace today despite draconian efforts to censor them? Contemporary nostalgia for the Chinese Cultural Revolution resists simple explanation. 'Perhaps,' as Han Shaoguang (2005) speculated, 'the lack of consensus on the Cultural Revolution grows naturally from the lack of ideological consensus that prevailed during the Cultural Revolution itself, inviting us to look again into history's rearview mirror.'

This project takes up Han's invitation in order to argue against the widely held view that the Cultural Revolution represents a historic

anomaly that failed to produce anything more than senseless violence and wanton destruction before its reversal after Mao's death. As I will demonstrate, the spectacles of violence launched during the Cultural Revolution succeeded in subverting its more genuinely radical and substantive political possibilities, which included the elimination of the Communist Party-state itself. Disparate groups of grassroots activists at the height of the Cultural Revolution argued forcefully that the primary cleavage in post-revolutionary society lay neither between the proletariat and the propertied classes, nor between Mao's supporters and so-called 'capitalist roaders'. Instead, the chief contradiction was the widening rift between the 'red capitalist class' of high-ranking Party-state officials, and the masses of ordinary working people. These 'heterodox views' earned broad popular support and inspired radical political action not only in 1968-69, but also during the Tiananmen Incident of 1976, the Democracy Wall Movement of 1978-79, and throughout the 1980s. Vigorously suppressed as 'ultra-Leftist poison' by the post-Mao leadership, Cultural Revolution 'heresies' have nonetheless

Further information:

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/projects/current-projects.html

inspired popular denunciation of the 'princeling' Party-state today despite being ruthlessly targeted by censors.

They persist in part because the late-Maoist project of cultural transformation has been neither abandoned nor reversed by the Party, but instead been reinvented. Culture is now seen as a medium through which to govern, as well as a chief means to reproduce and legitimate the rule of the Party-state. Contemporary culture- and civilisation-building efforts selectively weave global creative industries with Cultural Revolution-era discourse. In the attempt to boost the Party's 'culture leading power', local cadres are urged to develop locally branded 'culture squares', museums, and themed shopping spaces to stimulate local consumer economies friendly to Party aims. In recent years, popular 'Cultural Revolution' eateries have sprouted up in Chinese cities, while restaged versions of the 'revolutionary operas' of the late 1960s play to sell-out crowds: the powerful appeal of the late Mao period survives, albeit in depoliticised and commercialised form. This project uncovers the underlying congruence between the Party's contested history of ruling through culture, and the complex political and economic realities of the present. Yet Cultural Revolution legacies are a double-edged sword for the Party. The internet has revived the banned 'four great freedoms' of the Cultural Revolution era (the freedom to speak out freely, air view freely, hold great debates, and hang big character posters), spawning what some have dubbed 'digital Maoism'. Mass campaign nostalgia is rife in the Chinese countryside, with many proclaiming their wish to return to the era of Mao. Some argue that instead of leading to the creation of a 'bourgeois public sphere', Chinese cyberspace is empowering antiliberal counterpublics, and new self-styled virtual 'Red Guards' bent on contestation with the regime. Inspired by current events

in the Middle East, self-styled 'Jasmine Revolutionaries' have launched a virtual campaign to repost the 'heterodox heresies' of the Cultural Revolution in their call for a return to the Mao era practice of 'supervision by the masses'. Thus, notwithstanding the appearance of China's 'authoritarian resilience', the lingering irresolution of the late Maoist past looms ever larger in history's rearview mirror, threatening to overtake the present at every turn.

Festivals of Freedom: Culture, Democracy, and the Making of the Free World

*Professor Marc Stears, Professor of Political Theory,
Fellow in Politics, University College*



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The decade following the end of the Second World War witnessed a series of cultural celebrations stretching right across the newly-described 'free world'. Ranging from local civic gatherings through festivals of national renewal to grand international expositions, these were cultural celebrations designed to transform abstract political ideals into concrete social practices. And they did so for the most urgent of reasons. The 'free world' could resist the totalitarianism of the Soviet East, avoid a return to the Fascism of the European past, and overcome the squalor of the depression years, only if the everyday habits and the rituals of the citizenry took on a democratic hue.

This research examines these post-war celebrations concentrating primarily (although not exclusively) on the two most spectacular, publicly successful, and ideologically committed of them all: the Festival of Britain, which ran from May to September of 1951 and transformed the South Bank of the Thames into a celebration of British values visited by almost ten million people, and the American Freedom Train, which ran right across the United States a few years earlier, bringing with it a cargo of original documents that celebrated American democratic institutions and enabling an estimated forty million people to 'rededicate' themselves to democratic values.

The research offers a cultural and ideological history of these two turning points in the political culture of the post-war United Kingdom and United States, combined with comparative insights from related local events, including the 'Rededication Weeks', 'American Family Days', and 'Freedom Fashion Shows', and similar endeavours elsewhere, including early Australia Day celebrations, and the CIA-sponsored musical Festival of Paris in 1952. It analyses how the sponsors and organisers of these events sought to inspire their audiences, how they understood the core ideals that underpinned their efforts, and how, in particular, their putatively similar underlying values actually differed crucially in contrasting locations. Most importantly of all, it shows how these events helped construct the very idea of a 'free world' at a time of grave, almost existential, crisis, as the world emerged from one war only to be threatened with another, in a way that might inspire present-day conversations as to the meaning of freedom and the ways in which it should be represented.



Skylon tower at Festival of Britain, 1951

Further information:

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/projects/current-projects.html

Exit Strategies and Peace Consolidation

Professor Richard Caplan, Professor of International Relations, Department of Politics and International Relations and Official Fellow, Linacre College



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Professor Richard Caplan has been directing a research group of 15 scholars and practitioners who have been engaged in a comparative study of exit in relation to international operations of a state-building nature. The aim of the project has been to enhance scholarly and practitioner understanding of the principal challenges associated with the termination of international state-building operations and to strengthen the capacity of governmental and inter-governmental agencies to meet those challenges and plan for the withdrawal from these operations in a manner that is consistent with the requirements for the maintenance of a stable peace.

A preparatory workshop was held at Oxford University. The first meeting of the research group—and the formal initiation of the project—was at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. A second meeting of the research group was held in Stockholm. A final conference was held at Wilton Park, the British Foreign Office-sponsored conference centre, on 13–15 March 2009. The Wilton Park conference brought together some 35 representatives of governments and international organisations (including the United Nations, NATO, the European Council, and the African Union) with members of the research group to examine current policy issues relevant to exit strategies and peace consolidation. A report of the conference



Conference on 'Exit Strategies and Peace Consolidation', Wilton Park, March 2009

is available at: http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/highlights/viewstory.aspx?url=/wp_128850408739200000.html.

The principal output of the project will be a volume of essays edited by Professor Caplan and published by Oxford University Press in 2012 under the title *Exit Strategies and State Building*. The essays will provide analyses of the empirical experiences of, and scholarly and policy questions associated with, exit in relation to four types of international operation where state-building has been a major objective historically and contemporarily: colonial administrations, complex peace support operations, international territorial administrations, and transformative military occupations.

Interest in the project by the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) led to the production of a study by Professor Caplan, with the support of UN staff members, on the challenges to designing and implementing exit and transitional strategies for peacebuilding operations. That study led, in turn, to the production of a practitioners' handbook on benchmarking to facilitate UN (and other agency) efforts to assess progress towards sustainable peace and thus inform the planning for exit or transition.

For further information:

http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/consolidation_peace.asp