

INSPIRES

NO. 1

Stories from Oxford's Department of
Politics and International Relations



DPIR
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS &
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Questions on unequal
commemoration

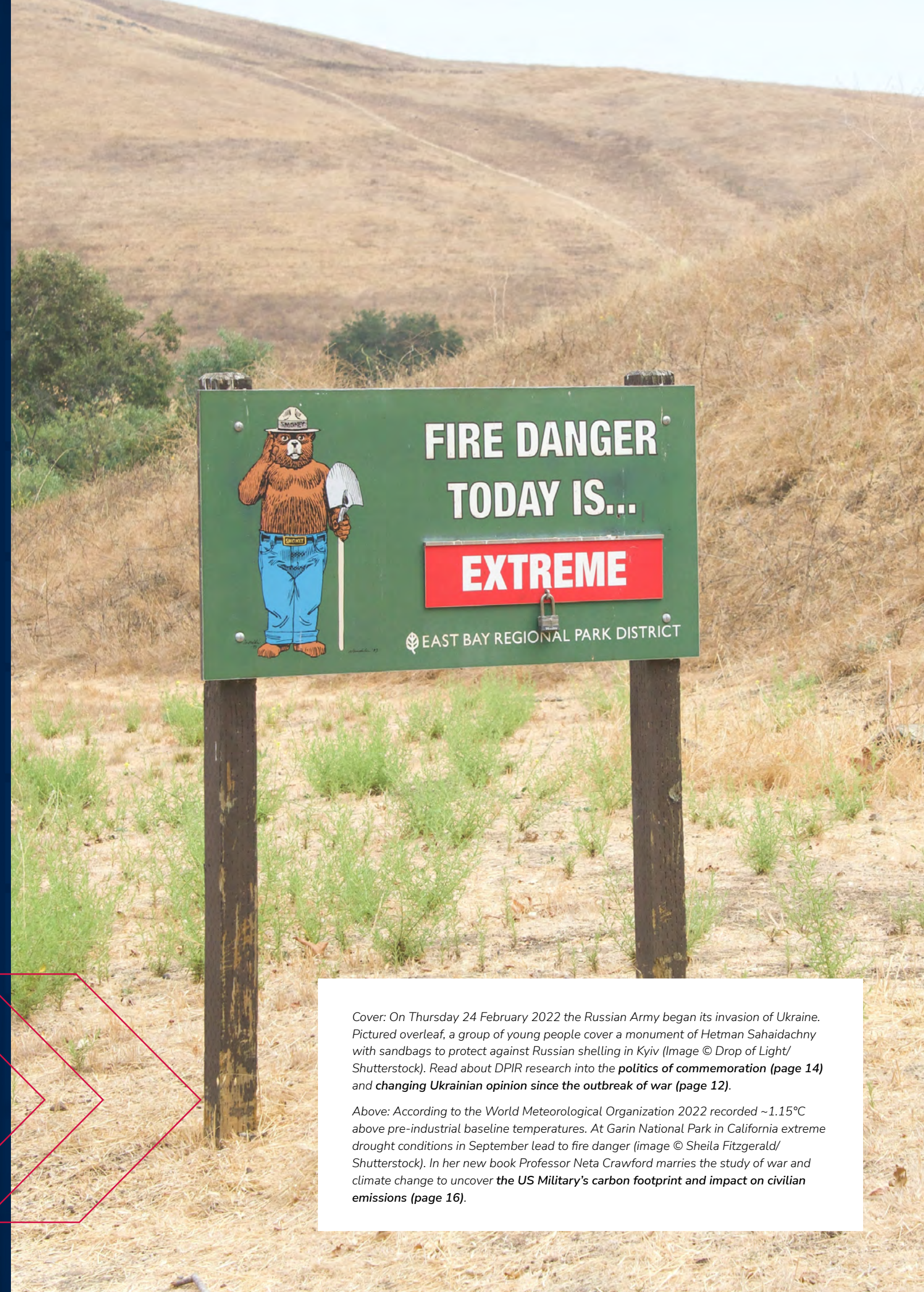
Ukrainian opinion shifts
towards joining EU

Rise in news
avoidance

Political structures and processes have profound effects on the distribution of resources necessary for human life, on the degree of autonomy that human beings enjoy as they pursue their lives, and on people's capacities to live free from the threat of violence. Politics is at the heart of human life. Our vision is a world with a wider understanding of political power and processes.

This is what we study and this is what we teach.

DPIR mission statement



Cover: On Thursday 24 February 2022 the Russian Army began its invasion of Ukraine. Pictured overleaf, a group of young people cover a monument of Hetman Sahaidachny with sandbags to protect against Russian shelling in Kyiv (Image © Drop of Light/ Shutterstock). Read about DPIR research into the **politics of commemoration** (page 14) and **changing Ukrainian opinion since the outbreak of war** (page 12).

Above: According to the World Meteorological Organization 2022 recorded ~1.15°C above pre-industrial baseline temperatures. At Garin National Park in California extreme drought conditions in September lead to fire danger (image © Sheila Fitzgerald/ Shutterstock). In her new book Professor Neta Crawford marries the study of war and climate change to uncover **the US Military's carbon footprint and impact on civilian emissions** (page 16).

Fore-word



Petra Schleiter

PETRA SCHLEITER



Nick Owen

NICK OWEN

We hope that this, the first newly-packaged *INSPIRES*, leaves you feeling inspired and reminded of some of the great work going on within the Department.

Every year, the Department's work shifts to meet the rapidly changing world. Our researchers continually deliver formidable new evidence, data, analysis and arguments, that create new understanding of how politics shapes our world on a personal, national and international level.

Within these pages we are delighted to share important work from individuals; such as the Department's new Montague Burton Professor in International Relations, Neta Crawford, charting the US Military's multifaceted and entwined relationship with greenhouse gas emissions; and Professor Zofia Stemplowska, who is tackling the sticky ethical dilemma of who should – and shouldn't – be commemorated, with her British Academy mid-career Fellowship.



EVERY YEAR, THE DEPARTMENT'S WORK SHIFTS TO MEET THE RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD.

We also highlight the work of teams of researchers working on topics and tasks which are great in size or urgent in nature; from leading cutting-edge methods work that uncovers the true extent and global reach of kleptocracy; to recovering vast swathes of lost international relations writing by significant women thinkers of the 20th century; or responding quickly to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, running wartime opinion polling with a Ukrainian think tank.

There are so many examples of how DPIR researchers are collaborating to deliver timely new perspectives to the public. There are also great examples of how the Department is working hard to improve access to its education.

We hope that you enjoy reading ten of our top stories from the year – and look forward to future editions as much as we do.

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New PPE foundation programme bridges gap to under-represented groups

Students from under-represented backgrounds have been invited to apply to study Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) at Oxford in a new Foundation Year Scheme aimed at students who experienced disadvantage during their school education.

Following in the footsteps of Lady Margaret Hall's pioneering pilot foundation year project, Oxford's Astrophoria Foundation Year programme offers up to 50 fully-funded places for UK state school students with significant academic potential.

The programme, which aims to widen access to an Oxford education, was made possible thanks to single generous gift from an anonymous donor.

Beneficiaries of the programme will have experienced severe personal disadvantage or disrupted education which has resulted in them being unable to apply directly for an Oxford PPE undergraduate degree. In an attempt to remove barriers to Oxford Undergraduate study, successful students are not required to pay course fees and receive a non-repayable bursary to cover their living costs during the year.

By the end of the foundation course, students are expected to have developed

the academic skills and confidence needed to meet the challenges of a demanding degree. If they choose to continue their study at the University of Oxford, they will progress without the need to re-apply (on the condition that they complete the year to the required level). Alternatively, students will be supported in applications to study at other universities.

PPE is one of only four course options included in the scheme, the others being Humanities; Chemistry, Engineering and Materials Science; and Law.

The first successful cohort of students who applied via UCAS join us in autumn 2023. We look forward to welcoming them to our PPE student community!

Photo: Lady Margaret Hall (LMH) was the first Oxford college to pilot a foundation year undergraduate access programme. (Image © ReoromART/Shutterstock, 2019.)

“The Foundation Year has helped me to mature, as a person and academically, and also to be more confident in myself. To add to that, it's also helped me to realise the importance of setting my ambitions high.



Ras. I
Current PPE undergraduate and
former LMH foundation year student



“ This internship is incredibly useful in my path to determining whether a career in academic research is right for me.



Cathy Parry
UNIQ+ Intern 2022,
Department of Politics and
International Relations

DPIR proud to join the University of Oxford's UNIQ+ programme

2022 was the first year that the Department has been involved, offering paid research internship opportunities for UK students from under-represented and disadvantaged backgrounds.

Six students joined us for six-weeks over the summer. For the duration of their placement interns were provided with a scholarship stipend, free accommodation, and supervision from DPIR academics:

- Perlina Patel, a recent law graduate from King's College London, researched defence arguments in international criminal trials under the supervision of Dr Yuna Han;
- remote-working intern Joel Trenchard assisted Dr Daniel Devine's research into the location of military bases and Brexit voting patterns, to try and establish whether there is a correlation between the two; and

- a team of four research interns – Sam Nicholson, Cathy Parry, Alfie Aldridge and Sinead Lambe – worked on a project led by Dr Marnie Howlett focussing on ideas of nationhood in times of conflict in Ukraine. Their work resulted in some draft research papers, which they hope to publish.

UNIQ+ aims to provide eligible students with a real day-to-day experience of postgraduate research. It is hoped that interns gain confidence, skills and experience that will enhance their CV and any future postgraduate applications, if they decide pursuing a research degree is for them.

Photo: A seminar discussion at DPIR
© John Cairns (www.johncairns.co.uk)

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/2022-uniqplus-interns

Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism finds rise in news avoidance

Growing numbers of people are avoiding the news – largely due to the perceived repetitiveness of the news agenda and the effect on their mood – according to Reuters Institute’s *Digital News Report 2022*.

“Subjects that journalists consider most important, such as political crises, international conflicts and global pandemics, seem to be precisely the ones that are turning some people away.”

Nic Newman

Senior Research Associate

The organisation’s 11th annual survey – based on over 93,000 interviews in 46 markets, representing views of half the world’s population – shows the public is turning away from important stories such as the pandemic, Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and the cost-of-living crisis.

Overall, 38% of those surveyed say they often or sometimes avoid the news – up from 29% in 2017 – around 36% say the news lowers their mood, and 17% say it leads to arguments they would rather avoid.

Additionally, the report found that there are difficulties in engaging younger users with news, who are increasingly accessing the news via visual networks such as TikTok.

Lead author and Senior Research Associate Nic Newman said: “These findings are particularly challenging for the news industry.

“Subjects that journalists consider most important, such as political crises, international conflicts and global pandemics, seem to be precisely the ones that are turning some people away.”

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism is dedicated to exploring the future of journalism worldwide. In addition to its annual *Digital News Report*, it publishes other important reports, on topics from newsroom diversity to trust in news.

Photo: New York, USA – 8 July 2022: A passenger on a bus uses her smartphone © Tada Images/Shutterstock

Wartime poll reveals changing Ukrainian opinions on security and EU

Permanent Ukrainian residents surveyed in the centre and west of Ukraine feel increasingly warmer towards EU and NATO membership since the invasion of Russian troops in February 2022, an Oxford Fell Fund project finds.

A cross-survey analysis, conducted by DPIR researchers Dr Marnie Howlett and Dr Carl Müller-Crepon in collaboration with Ukrainian think tank, the Democratic Initiatives Foundation, has provided new data on how the war has changed the ways that Ukrainians feel about friends, enemies, and the country's strategic goals.

When comparing survey results from February 2021, December 2021, February 2022, and May 2022, the Russian invasion of Ukraine marks a shift in respondents' feelings towards accession to the European Union (+ 16%) and accession to NATO (+ 5%).

New questions, added or rephrased since the latest outbreak of war, found 96% of respondents thought that the leadership of Russia was primarily responsible for the

beginning of the war and 54% thought citizens of Russia were also responsible – this is compared to 9% who thought NATO member states were to blame.

When it came to opinions on how to end the war, researchers found an increasing reluctance to give any concessions to the Russian Federation in exchange for an end to military aggression. As of May 2022, 78% were against any concessions to Russia, compared to 43% in February 2022.

Due to the widespread evacuation of Ukrainians since the Russian invasion of Russia, 1,000 citizens from eleven less-affected regions in central and western Ukraine were surveyed face-to-face between 7 – 15 May 2022.

Photo: © Inspired By Maps/Shutterstock

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/changing-ukraine-opinions

“ All conclusions and data of the poll do not reflect opinion of the population of the unsampled central, southern and eastern regions of Ukraine which are most affected by the war. We are, nonetheless, confident that the poll reflects general trends and changes in Ukrainian society after 90 days of war.



“ Commemoration is a form of attention giving, and attention is a scarce resource. It is scarce even if it could be permissibly commandeered at will. It is even more scarce when commanding attention may violate someone’s freedom to decide for themselves where to bestow it.

Professor Zofia Stemplowska

“Go Tell the Spartans, Passerby”:
Whom to Remember Ahead of Whom?
(2022) *Journal of Applied Philosophy*

Unequal commemoration and other injustices of attention

Professor Zofia Stemplowska’s British Academy mid-career fellowship project explores the politics of public commemoration and adds to current debates over who is – or isn’t – worthy of commemoration.

‘The dead are among us,’ Professor Stemplowska writes. We name buildings, streets, and inventions after those who have long departed; and build statues and monuments to celebrate and remember historical figures.

There are innumerable candidates for public commemoration. However our attention is a precious and scarce resource, Professor Stemplowska asserts. There is simply not enough attention to go around. It is perhaps not surprising then that there is so much debate and disagreement in the public arena as to who should be commemorated. The question of whom to commemorate and whom to overlook therefore raises political and ethical considerations.

If we think of commemoration as a duty, then honouring the victims of injustice trumps all other forms of commemoration, Professor Stemplowska suggests. The opportunity to mitigate an injustice through compensation – or the advancement of the preferences of the victims of injustice – takes priority, morally, she argues, over remembering those who added value to the world, or who donated money to a cause.

Moreover, this is a public duty, she says. The ethical argument for victims–first commemoration applies even if we are not the perpetrators or beneficiaries of the injustice but mere bystanders to it.

Photo: Bristol, UK – 6 May 2020: The Bristol statue of Edward Colston was blindfolded before it was taken down by protestors © Ian Luck/Shutterstock

The US military and climate change

The Department's new Montague Burton Professor in International Relations, Professor Neta Crawford, has published an important new book on how the US military became the world's largest single greenhouse gas emitter.

The military has for years (unlike many politicians) acknowledged that climate change is real, Professor Crawford writes. Due to the US Navy's early investment in climate change research, they are aware of climate change's threat to peace and security and the possible impact of environmental changes (such as a warming of the oceans and sea-level rises) on their defence infrastructure and technologies.

Additionally, the US Department of Defense (DOD) understood the possible

impact of climate change to budgets – both financial and emission – and the risk that this might limit their military capabilities, training activities and secrecy. "Thus it is ironic, if foreseeable, that the US military resisted including military emissions reporting in the [UN Climate Change] Kyoto Protocol in 1997," Professor Crawford writes.

Therefore, until now the US's military forces and DOD agencies' relationship with climate change has been somewhat neglected. Professor Crawford's book,

The Pentagon, Climate Change and War, which charts the rise and fall of US military emissions and reveals the US DOD as the world's largest institutional greenhouse gas emitter, hopes to correct this.

As well as being responsible for its own (extremely large) emissions, Professor Crawford makes the case that, hand-in-hand with the US economy, the military has created a deep and long-term cycle of economic growth, fossil fuel use and dependency in wider society. This cycle has shaped US military doctrine and, over the past fifty years, has driven its mission to protect access to Persian Gulf oil; in turn creating a self-reinforcing feedback loop of ever-increasing fossil fuel reliance, expenditure and protectionism.

Examining the idea of climate change as a "threat multiplier" in national security,

Professor Crawford concludes that the United States faces more risk from climate change than from lost access to Persian Gulf oil—or from most military conflicts.

The significance of Professor Crawford's work has been recognised widely. As well as being shortlisted for the Project Syndicate 2023 Sustainability Book Award, her book has won the Before Columbus Foundation's 2023 Anti-Censorship Award, in recognition of its outstanding literary achievement.

Photo: Portsmouth, UK – 26 March 2015: USS Theodore Roosevelt anchored in the Solent on its five day visit to the United Kingdom
© Alex Moore Photography/Shutterstock

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/us-military-and-climate-change



How authoritarian power manipulates the global economy to sustain itself

New research provides evidence of how wealthy and powerful individuals have increasingly relied on an “offshore world” of global financial networks and channels in recent decades.

A collection of research entitled *Authoritarian Power in the Global Economy*, co-edited by DPIR's Professor Ricardo Soares de Oliveira and Oxford Politics DPhil alumna Professor Anne Pitcher (University of Michigan), uncovers how authoritarian regimes rely on international political economy networks to sustain and legitimate their power.

The theme they edited for the American Political Science Association's *Democracy and Autocracy* newsletter reveals how wealthy elites of autocratic states exploit an “army” of professional services in financial centres around the world and manipulate financial institutions to provide secrecy, asset protection, and tax exemption.

Contributors have employed creative approaches to produce empirically-rich case studies on global kleptocracy. Besides process-tracing and ethnography, they have relied on court records or analysed social media usage. Additionally, they have built databases of autocrat-owned London property and convincingly estimated the amount of funds parked in offshore tax havens.

Professor Soares de Oliveira comments: “Russia's invasion of Ukraine has highlighted the need to better understand the full extent of authoritarian elites' exploitation of the global economy for their own personal and political gain.

“New information – including court documents from criminal cases, leaked databases and beneficial ownership company data – provide significant opportunities for researchers today and in the future.”

The related Global Integrity Anti-Corruption Evidence project on ‘Testing and evidencing compliance with beneficial ownership checks’ – a collaboration between researchers at DPIR, the universities of Exeter, Cambridge and Columbia University – won the ‘Fair, Just and Inclusive Society Award’ at the University of Exeter's inaugural Knowledge Exchange Awards this year.

Image: © Dilok Klaisataporn/Shutterstock

London exhibition uncovers forgotten women's intellectual work

The Leverhulme Project on Women and the History of International Thought (WHIT), led by DPIR's Professor Patricia Owens, curated a public exhibition at LSE Library over summer in 2022.

Today the important work of numerous women international thinkers is little known, difficult to access or out-of-print. The WHIT project addresses this gap by exploring the ideas, genres, and contexts of women's international thinking in Britain and the United States in the first half of the twentieth century, including canonical intellectuals, scholars and wives of famous men, journalists and think tank professionals, and activists.

The LSE exhibition presented highlights from the team's research, shining a light on previously overlooked women and archival materials relating to their work and sharing their stories with a wider public.

Highlighted figures included Anna Julia Cooper, whose PhD thesis on slavery and the French Revolution – which she had to defend to a white supremacist examiner – was only published after her death, 60 years after

she was awarded her doctorate; and *West Indian Gazette* founder and editor Claudia Jones, who was deported to Britain from the United States because of her radical left and anti-racist work; amongst other important overlooked or forgotten important women thinkers.

The exhibition provided only a tiny snapshot of women's international thinking in one period and location – the Anglo-American world of the first half of the twentieth century. The WHIT team hope to inspire other researchers around the world to expand on this important archival recovery work.

Image: The US Diplomacy expert and scholar, Professor Merze Tate (1905 – 1996) in Oxford by the Radcliffe Camera c.1933-35.

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/whit-exhibition

“There is much more that needs to be recovered, so we hope the exhibition inspired others to look for the history of women's international thinking in other places and around the world.”

Professor Patricia Owens
WHIT Principal Investigator



Are generations selfish?

New research into the age divide in UK politics has found that the young feel much better represented by Labour, but the retired are less sure about the Conservatives.

In the May 2022 British Election Study, a representative sample of British adults were asked how they thought different political parties look after the interests of different social groups including young and retired people, men and women, and various others.

Researchers found an asymmetric age divide, with retired voters feeling markedly less well represented overall, compared to any other social group. Young people, at the other end of their voting life, feel comparatively well represented by Labour, however not well represented by the Conservatives.

Additionally, there is a very strong relationship between thinking a party represents one's own age cohort better and supporting that party at the voting booths. For instance, a retired person who thinks the Conservatives best look after their group is 71 percentage points more likely to vote for that party than Labour.

This proves a potential problem for the Conservatives: "While Labour can rely on 75% of young adults clearly identifying them as the party for the young, only 22% of retired respondents are similarly sure that the Conservatives best represent their own group. While more retired people have been voting Conservative, they are not convinced that the party is clearly best-placed to represent them as a group," they report.

These findings come from the ongoing British Academy-funded project, aimed at helping policymakers bridge the age divide in British politics. It is led by postdoctoral researcher Dr Zack Grant in collaboration with Professors Jane Green and Geoffrey Evans. A final report will be launched in September 2023.

Photo: Bristol, England, UK - 05.06.2021: People queue in line to vote at a polling station, for the 2021 England council election. © Gareth Willey/Shutterstock

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/UK-age-divide



Oxford hosts new interdisciplinary hubs in constitution and conflict resolution studies

The Department is host to two of the Social Science Division's three new interdisciplinary hubs, which bring together interdisciplinary communities in their subject areas from across the University and beyond.

Professor Petra Schleiter leads the **Oxford Constitutional Studies Forum**, uniting the University's global constitutional expertise in Politics, Law, Government and History, with scholars beyond the University. Exemplar of this ethos was the hub's academic conference on 'Backsliding and Resilience in Liberal Democracies' in summer 2022, which brought together experts from around the world.

The hub started its work in 2022 with a flurry of activity and outputs, which is publicly accessible online. From the Oxford Constitutional Studies Lecture Series on the fundamentals of constitutional politics and law, delivered by Dr Matthew Williams; to the *Constitutional Secrets* podcast, hosted by Dr Nicholas Dickinson; the hub provides a platform for Oxford's experts to communicate its research beyond the academy.

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/ocsf

The **Oxford Conflict, Peace and Security Hub**, led by Professor Andrea Ruggeri, serves as a platform for academic and practitioner collaboration on preventing or mitigating conflict, and shaping a more secure future.

To further engagement with practitioners outside of academia, the Hub has partnered with the United Nations as a member of its Academic Impact initiative, and as convenor of the UNAI Principle Hub for Peace and Conflict Resolution.

To this end, the Hub's research team have produced outputs which include *The Peace of Advice* podcast series, sharing cutting-edge research ideas on conflict, peace and security, and a library of policy digests for peace and security practitioners at the UN and beyond.

www.politics.ox.ac.uk/ocpsh

Image: Radcliffe Camera, Oxford.
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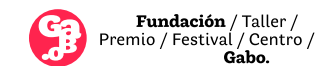
Thank you to our supporters

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