Annual Report

STAIR

ST ANTONY'S INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

2020

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Our Aims and Scope

The St Antony's International Review (STAIR) is a peer-reviewed, academic journal established by graduate members of St Antony's College in 2005 and run by graduate students of the University of Oxford. It is published bi-annually and features articles on international affairs. The central aim of STAIR is to reflect the cross-disciplinary dialogue on global issues of contemporary relevance that is a unique feature of life at St Antony's. In recreating the College ethos of open, accessible, and engaged debate, STAIR seeks to develop a forum in which emerging scholars can publish their work alongside established academics and policymakers.

We should all be grateful for the St Antony's students who took the initiative to launch this lively and challenging new journal of international affairs. It takes on the important issues and examines them in the round, from a truly global perspective.

— Professor Margaret MacMillan, Honorary Fellow of St Antony's College

This journal draws on the strengths of St Antony's College in international relations and area studies to provide a lively forum for debate on the major global issues in today's world. It brings together younger and more established experts to present to the reader in an accessible manner the fruit of cutting-edge scholarship.

— Avi Shlaim, Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Fellow of St Antony's College

An important and timely initiative stemming from an Oxford College that excels at the study of international relations.

— Rosemary Foot, Professor of International Relations, John Swire Senior Research Fellow at St Antony's College

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Review of the Year 2018-2019

(a) **Executive Summary by the Managing Editor**
Dear friends of the St Antony's International Review,

Since its founding in 2005, STAIR has grown into a well-respected global affairs journal with over twenty institutional subscribers world-wide. In 2018-2019, with a team of more than twenty-five graduate students in various editorial and executive roles, we have continued our efforts to uphold STAIR's tradition by consolidating its achievements from previous years and producing high-quality issues on topics of contemporary relevance in international affairs from both established academics and emerging scholars in a variety of disciplines. This annual report presents an outline of our work over the past year, our finances, and our current and upcoming projects. This introduction briefly summarizes the scope of these activities.

Our first issue of 2019 on *'Individuals in Conflict: Agency, Rights, and the Changing Character of War'* investigated the changing dynamics of international politics, this time focusing on the fractures and inequalities of the international legal regime. Embedded in recurrent discussions on the nature of contemporary conflict, this issue of STAIR grew out of the editorial board's reflections on the changing character of conflict in terms of driving factors, dynamics, and participants, as well as how academic scholarship has approached the analysis of this transformation. In particular, this issue examines the role of individuals in various aspects of conflict, be it as combatants or non-combatants, victims or perpetrators. In so doing, it gathers contributions that elaborate on individual agency in the context of conflict, diverging from the traditional and still predominant focus of international relations scholarship on the role of states and structural factors in inter- and intra-state conflict.

Our second issue of 2019 was launched under the theme *'Whose Security is Cybersecurity? Authority, Responsibility and Power in Cyberspace'*. Many of the most salient contemporary challenges to international security and governance are defined by the attributes of cyberspace. The cyber domain, according to existing research, is fundamentally transforming key characteristics of international relations as an academic discipline as well as an every-day reality. This issue of STAIR seeks to contribute to a burgeoning body of literature by focussing on three factors underpinning the dynamics of international affairs in cyberspace: authority, responsibility, and power. In so doing, it gathers contributions that elaborate on the persistent challenges facing states, private companies, and individuals in navigating the cyber threat landscape as well as a regulatory framework denied by ever-ambiguous divides between the regulators and the regulated.

At the moment, the newly elected STAIR editorial committee is working on the compilation of two upcoming issues which will be published in February and May 2020, respectively. Our 15.2 issue, under the theme *'Anthropocene: Embodying Climate Breakdown'* promises in-depth academic and policy-oriented discussion on the dynamics of climate change's effects on human bodies. The issue will feature an interdisciplinary selection of pieces from both emerging and established scholars and will present several feature articles as

well as interviews with academics and practitioners. The 16.1 issue, in contrast, will address the highly pertinent topic of gender in international relations, under the thought-provoking title '*Engendering Change: Exploring the Dynamics of Gender in International Affairs*'. We are in the process of receiving abstract submissions for this issue, with the promise of a multitude of interesting contributions from a range of disciplines.

With a newly elected editorial board and executive committee of twenty-five graduate students from various departments and colleges, STAIR has been highly active in preparing these issues and upcoming projects, pushing beyond our conventional scope of activities. Apart from continuing to work towards the timely publication of both issues, in contrast to previous years, we are structuring our efforts along several collectively defined priorities, including increasing the journal's visibility in Oxford and beyond, streamlining organizational and editorial practices, and enhancing interdisciplinarity through attracting a greater number of submissions from different academic backgrounds. We are also enhancing our efforts to attract new institutional subscribers to further strengthen the financial solvency of the journal, which has been substantially improved in 2018-19.

Our finances have remained in line with previous years. Our main costs have remained relatively stable, while the overall situation highlights the need for STAIR to increase its revenue and diversify its income base. The current board plans to continue prioritizing the improvement of STAIR's finances by diversifying its revenue bases and pursuing funding from the institutions with whom we are affiliated.

In short, as Oxford's peer-reviewed journal of international affairs, STAIR has continued to deliver high quality interdisciplinary analysis of international affairs, while providing graduate students with not only a forum to publish their work alongside established academics, but also the chance to experience the editorial process first hand by contributing to a fully-fledged academic journal. We have never missed an edition, which continues to testify to the efforts of students who are engaged with STAIR and advisory board members who have been supporting it.

I would like to express my gratitude to the previous Managing Editor, Lin Slapakova, for her support in my transition into the role as I took over leadership of the journal in Trinity Term 2019. Lin's efforts have in many ways served as a basis for our priorities this year, and her vision and leadership have been indispensable.

As STAIR transitions into this new year, please find below a detailed report of our past activities, current projects, and future objectives.

Daniel Waqar

Managing Editor, 2019 – 2020
Oxford, November 2019

(b) **Publications and Events of the Year 2018-19**

STAIR published two editions this year: volume 14:2 in February 2019, and volume 15:1 in May 2019. Below is a description of these issues and of their related events.

Vol. 14, no.2: 'Individuals in Conflict: Agency, Rights, and the Changing Character of War'

Theme Section Editors: Katie Mann, Lucy Song, Giuseppe Spatafora, Julia Vassileva

General Section Editors: Aleksei Opacic, Carina Uchida, Sophie Vériter

Book Reviews Editor: Jan Tomek

In the last few decades, the world has become more sensitive to the necessity of protecting individual rights. Ongoing conflicts have changed dramatically over the past century, and individuals are now, more than ever, both the primary agents and primary victims of violence. Denis Mukwege and Nadia Murad jointly received the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize "for their efforts to end the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war and armed conflict." The Nobel Committee's choice of recipients serves to highlight the importance of combating forms of violence that target the most vulnerable individuals; moreover, it is also indicative of how persistent and pernicious these forms of violence remain. Humanitarian crises continue to flood headlines: last year, around a million people from the Rohingya minority escaped the Rakhine state of Myanmar, following major ethnic cleansing attempts, with Aung San Suu Kyi, Myanmar's de facto leader and a Nobel laureate herself, criticised for insufficiently using her power to prevent the events. Meanwhile, rape remains a weapon of war in conflicts around sub-Saharan Africa. These ongoing events, and many other examples, illustrate an enduring reality of conflict and suffering, especially among the most defenceless. This issue of STAIR aims to bring attention to this dimension, using the perspective of the individual to analyse warfare, everyday violence, and rights (or the lack thereof).

International Relations (IR) as a discipline has been traditionally concerned with states, diplomacy, and war. IR theorists have focused on state and systemic "images," which, according to IR scholar Kenneth Waltz, determine outcomes of war and peace. However, the first "image," that of the individual contributing to outcomes of war and peace, has been neglected by much of the discipline's current scholarship. As the character of conflict becomes increasingly complex—often too complex to be analysed from a strictly statist perspective—scholars must recognise and address the individual dimension of conflict. From implications of just war theory to the gendered elements of ethnic cleansing, the inherently public dimension of the human body as an element of socialisation and political life is an increasingly central theme in international relations scholarship and practice. Given the growing contestation of the human rights regime and its associated institutions, the tension between human security and state interests raises questions of responsibility and obligation within a progressively interconnected international system.

In this context, this issue of STAIR aims to advance evolving scholarship through contributions addressing the following questions: Who is responsible for protecting the human right to bodily integrity in a globalised world? How does the transformation of warfare in the technological, political, and strategic realms affect the rights of civilians and combatants? What theoretical perspectives may allow IR scholarship to move beyond a state-centred analysis of world politics?

Central to this edition is the scholarly investigation of transformations of existing entities and the emergence of new actors in warfare. The discipline of IR has comprehensively examined the changing nature of conflict following the end of the Cold War. The term "new wars," coined by Mary Kaldor, characterises warfare in the post-Cold War era as a phenomenon involving a much broader variety of agents than just states. Other scholars, such as Edward Newman and John Mueller, have advanced vocabulary to convey an analogous recognition of a new generation of warfare, including phrases such as "wars among the people,'" "wars of the third kind," "hybrid wars," "privatised wars," and "postmodern wars." These "new wars" have witnessed changes in the objectives of conflict: while past motives of war were primarily geo-political and ideological, contemporary conflicts are often grounded in identity politics. Groups make claims to power on the basis of a particular identity and may seek to shape the socio-political order in favour of that perceived in-group. As Sheila L. Croucher and others claim, this surge in identity politics is buttressed by the concomitant divide between those who prosper and those who are stifled in a globalised world.

For centuries, conventional warfare was underpinned by the assumption that conflict is an extraordinary aspect of life; even some realist scholars concede that in the anarchical state of nature, war is always around the corner, but is not the day-to-day activity of states. Preparation for war, on the other hand, is. In the new types of conflicts, all these assumptions are questioned. There is no clear divide between uniformed combatants and civilians. Moreover, the psychological element of warfare has become central to victory or to continuation of conflict; where one seeks to gain political control, one must also "capture the hearts and minds" of the population, at times through fear and intimidation, but often by means of persuasion, presenting oneself as the liberator from injustice. The most successful non-state groups are often better than governments at effectively controlling territory, because they enjoy the support of the population for supplies and safe havens. This feature of new wars has led actors to lay special emphasis upon the political control of the population. Associated with these changing patterns of warfare is the growing difficulty of distinguishing between combatants and non-combatants, identifying a clear authority that is liable for the conduct of said combatants, and delineating and enforcing clear rules of engagement that allow for discriminating between combatants and non-combatants while simultaneously guaranteeing protection for combatants themselves.

Warfare is no longer an orderly affair carried out by hierarchical military institutions. One mainstream thesis argues that, unlike in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, contemporary warfare involves a heterogeneous range of actors, both state and non-state, who may or may not operate under centralized command. The monopoly on seemingly organized violence, the argument follows, is now more easily infringed upon by certain actors and organizations seeking to privatise violence, such as paramilitary organizations. Yet this assumption of organized versus privatised violence can also be questioned.

First, from the viewpoint of the individual, especially one from the most vulnerable elements in society, war is never an organized, clean, and surgical activity. Rather, it is always messy, bloody, and destructive for the social fabric of those who live in the territory. Second, violence is not necessarily becoming private; in a certain sense, it has always been. The drivers of violence at the state level are often reflected at the private level. As one of the contributions in this issue argues, the daily household violence that women in a village near the India-Pakistan border is different in form, but not in substance, from the "official" violence that the two states perpetrate against each other. These theoretical insights show how problematic it is to draw a line between war and non-war, between war and other types of "disorganized" violence, and between combatants and non-combatants. This is a key message that this issue aims to deliver: one should be careful not to further propagate such simplistic heuristic distinctions when attempting to understand the complex dynamics at work in the context of conflict.

This issue of STAIR gathers contributions that go beyond the explanation of conflict as a contest between state actors driven by structural factors, a framework which overlooks the importance of incentives, circumstances, and patterns of human action in conflict, whether in relation to inter-state war, civil conflict, or domestic violence. Actors in conflict, while somewhat constrained by structural realities, retain varying degrees of autonomy in determining conflict outcomes, whether at the individual, group, or international level. The emphasis on systemic factors that dominates conflict studies fails to recognise several important issues: the moral dilemmas soldiers face, the risks taken by international personnel involved in humanitarian crises, and the dynamics of domestic violence that are intertwined with violence in the public sphere. These topics are addressed in depth in the following contributions.

Human rights are often most at risk of violation among conflict-affected populations. A discussion of agency and the individual dimension of war presupposes a re-evaluation of the concept of human rights in such a way as to challenge the utilitarian interpretation of a trade-off between human and national security. More specifically, this issue intends to bring to the forefront a need to recognise and protect the rights of bodily integrity and freedom of movement. Contrary to conventional assumptions that the human body is apolitical and asocial, these contributions highlight its politicised and socialised dimensions. For example, many crimes of sexual violence that occur in conflict are committed as a social or political act, and the violation of the victim's rights of bodily integrity is motivated by more than opportunistic incentives, as identity and other socially constructed values are often key drivers of such violent acts. Militaries and armed groups often target specific ethnic or religious groups when carrying out sexual violence, torture, and other forms of collective political violence. One need only recall historical cases such as the Rwandan genocide, as well as contemporary crises, like that in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in which the beliefs of a collective in-group engender harm against the physical bodies of an out-group. Moreover, the idea of a clear distinction between public and private violence is in itself a fallacy; attempts to fully dichotomize the causes and effects of domestic and public violence are short-sighted. The empirical reality of conflict is far more complex than many theories are willing to allow for, and structural elements of conflict can have far-reaching effects that trickle down to the everyday experiences of individual non-combatants, both in public and private spaces. The dynamics between the collective and the individual, the public and the

private, are shaped and reshaped in any given conflict. Bodies are made and marked by social and political values, beliefs, and acts. This issue provides a glimpse into the complex ways in which individuals are connected and exert agency upon one another in conflict situations.

Following the end of the Second World War, human rights emerged at the forefront of international political debates. Leaders sought to codify international responsibility and accountability for the protection of human rights into a global legal framework, yet this framework is made by states for states, and is principally aimed at regulating inter-state behaviour. Human rights law—codified in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the human rights covenants including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and additional protocols—takes important steps to protect individuals. However, the success of these conventions has been severely limited and important questions concerning enforcement remain unanswered: Who differentiates between combatants and civilians in armed conflict? Who should be held accountable for the conduct of non-state actors? Who is responsible for the physical security of refugees and other displaced peoples? Who should administer punishments for the violation of individuals' rights?

Further obstacles remain in establishing an individual-centric perspective regarding protection from and prosecution of human rights abuses in conflict. The International Criminal Court (ICC) was created with the aim of prosecuting individuals who have committed grave international crimes, such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and crimes of aggression. However, the efficacy of the court has been significantly undermined by a lack of participation on the part of numerous states, notably the United States and Russia. In the realm of individual rights, the ICC paradoxically aims too high and falls too short. The Court's jurisdiction is limited to egregious crimes with a very high threshold. However, crimes committed at the individual level, small in scale but consistent in perpetration, are likely to fall outside its jurisdiction. For example, even though the ICC has a mandate to pursue crimes of sexual violence as a crime against humanity, a war crime, and a method of genocide since 2008, Melinda Reed, Executive Director of the Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice, has remarked, "[i]t is very disappointing to note that, as of today, there has not been a single successful conviction for sexual and gender-based crimes." While leaders of groups committing large-scale crimes may be investigated, the individuals responsible for the physical perpetration of specific crimes are often left unprosecuted. Aggregation of war crimes under the culpability of those most powerful effaces the crimes of those directly involved: the individual perpetrators.

This issue includes an eclectic array of articles addressing the connection between inter-state and domestic violence along the India-Pakistan border; the boundaries of combatants' moral responsibility toward civilians in conflict through the perspective of Michael Walzer's "morality of risk" theory; and patterns in the reporting of sexual violence in conflict situations such as in the case of Myanmar. While aimed at surveying the problem of individuals in conflict as a whole, the issue has developed a specific focus on the dynamics of gender and violence in situations of conflict, as well as new perspectives that gender-aware theories can bring to the study of politics. In so doing, it emphasises the magnitude and complexity of tackling the challenges faced

and the agency harboured by individuals in armed conflict. Therefore, we invited practitioners to provide their own perspectives on the enduring plague of sexual and gender-based violence in one feature article and a feature interview.

The changing character of war and the rise of asymmetric conflicts, in which one side has vast technological superiority and can resort to safer combat tactics such as aerial bombing and drone strikes, imposes a re-evaluation of the role and the responsibilities of soldiers. In her article "Walzer and the Morality of Risk," Silviya Lechner addresses the ethical dilemma of minimizing soldiers' death risk in war, at the cost of increasing the harm to enemy civilians. She reconstructs Michael Walzer's "morality of risk" theory to argue that soldiers themselves must take on additional risks in order to save enemy civilians. She argues that Walzer's theory improves on the general doctrine of "double effects"—the imperative to distinguish between military and civilian targets, and to minimise collateral damage in war—because it imposes on soldiers the duty to minimise collateral damage to civilians, rather than passively letting civilians die. Lechner's paper is a reminder that the moral principles of war, first theorised in medieval times, need to be respected, taking due consideration of the sanctity of life, even in the age of new technologies that apparently "sanitise" warfare, but in reality, represent a violation of ethical duties.

An underlying theme of this issue is that violence is not an occasional event, but a daily experience for many, especially for the most vulnerable individuals, and it extends beyond the classical theatres of warfare. Devika Ranjan's paper, "Acting Out: Violence, Community, and Women's Theatre on the India-Pakistan Border," explores the omnipresence of violence in the daily life of men and women. Through an ethnographic lens and an innovative methodology for IR papers, Ranjan contextualises domestic violence in the village of Manguchak on the border between India and Pakistan, locating its origins in the structural and conflict-related violence occurring within the national and international domains. Violence at the international, national, and individual levels is intimately connected and impacted by colonial history, nationalism, and patriarchal social norms. This village in the borderland, Ranjan argues, experiences the force of Michel Foucault's "biopolitical state," which imposes suffering and subordination in direct ways, as well as indirect ones, together with a culture and a state structure that tolerates abuse, alcoholism, and domestic violence. The venue of Manguchak serves as a manifestation of an important reality: conflict and violence extend themselves beyond combat lines; they enter every household, affecting the lives of individuals with the silent consent—or even the active assistance—of official organs.

As previously noted, the awarding of the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize is indicative of an increased international interest in tackling issues of conflict-related sexual violence. However, what has received little attention is the condition of the individuals who work in reporting and preventing these types of crimes. This is the focus of Sara Davies's paper, "Reporting Sexual Violence during Conflict. A Case Study of Humanitarian Workers in Myanmar." The author identifies critical challenges to non-governmental organization and international government organization envoys, including reporting timeliness and competition, the politicisation of reporting, and the logistical as well as resourcing gaps for humanitarians who are told to report but are rarely given

guidance on how and when to report in situations where access is difficult or dangerous. The case of Myanmar sheds light on three further reporting challenges faced by humanitarians. The main concern with the logic of differentiating sexual violence reports between first-order and second-order reports is that these are too general. Hence, Davies argues for the establishment of differentiated reporting requirements of humanitarians depending on the severity of crimes, the reporters' access to populations at risk, and the stability level of the conflict situation. Attention to the individual presupposes attention to context.

Many of the contributions in this issue take a critical approach, questioning the role of gender in the shaping of power and conflict dynamics. Feminist literature has expanded in many areas of political science and in this context our interview with Marissa Conway explores the application of a feminist lens to foreign policy. Conway, the co-founder and United Kingdom Director of the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (CFFP), explains that "feminist foreign policy" aims to increase attention towards the local factors and the populations of interest in foreign policy-making. She believes that this type of foreign policy is achieved through a combination of a top-down perspective—such as the appointment of more female cabinet members and women in positions of power—as well as a more bottom-up approach, such as grassroots activism. The interview also discusses the broader implications of feminist foreign policy for the study of political life from an individual-centred perspective. Conway stresses the fact that the goals of feminist foreign policy go well beyond the vindication of the rights of women and should address the fundamental patterns of inequality that are perpetrated in social life.

That sexual and gender-based crimes are not just aimed at women is a central claim of Charu Lata Hogg's feature article "Bridging the Gap: Addressing Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys in International Policy." She addresses the often-underreported phenomenon of sexual violence against men and boys in the context of armed conflicts and forced displacement. Hogg outlines recent progress in the international recognition of sexual violence perpetrated against men in conflict, such as guidelines issued by the United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Refugees, and argues that the UN Security Council's explicit acknowledgment that men and boys can be targets of conflict-related sexual violence is a first and necessary step towards establishing policies that help put an end to such practices. A more effective international criminal justice system, along with a firmer and more coherent normative framework, will help ensure that the rights and needs of victims and survivors are met.

Through the aforementioned articles and features, this edition of STAIR hopes to elucidate the nexus between the ethical, individual, legal, and political dimensions of contemporary warfare. Exploration of these topics can allow IR scholars to better understand changes in the nature and character of war.

Vol. 15, no. 1: 'Whose Security is Cybersecurity? Authority, Responsibility and Power in Cyberspace'

Theme Section Editors: Kirstie Bosman, Taylor Grossman, Huu Phu Gia Nguyen

General Section Editors: Aleksei Opacic, Carina Uchida, Sophie Vériter

Book Reviews Editor: Jan Tomek

A Field Facing Challenges

Cybersecurity scholarship appears to face more challenges than most academic fields. First, the field is inherently interdisciplinary, spreading across a range of academic areas with distinct vocabularies, value propositions, and incentive structures. Because political scientists often lack in-depth technical know-how, assessments by these academics regarding the risk of cyber threats, or actors' security in cyberspace, vary widely. Some argue that cybersecurity is an over-hyped threat, while others focus their research on cyber war as an imminent reality.

At the same time, technologists frequently neglect the political and social dimensions of cybersecurity. These deep tensions create challenges for politicians and policymakers attempting to develop coherent norms of behaviour and protective policies in cyberspace. Should states pursue active defense (also known as 'hacking back')? Do states have a "duty to hack" when they can achieve their military objectives through cyber operations, instead of pursuing kinetic alternatives? In short, the disjunct between the expertise needed to understand the technical, social, and political aspects of cybersecurity creates inherent tensions within the field.

The second, and related, challenge facing the field of cybersecurity is the distinct lag between research and policy. The production of academic scholarship is not well equipped to deal with the high-speed development of digital technologies; industry innovation continues to outpace academics' abilities to analyse and interpret new developments. Politicians and lawmakers also struggle to keep up with the fast-paced nature of the digital era.

Law has often trailed behind technological advances; in the era of Moore's law, this gap has only widened. Proactive cyber regulations are difficult to build, as policymakers do not know what cyberspace will look like in five- or ten-years' time. And yet, policymakers cannot fall back on 'standard operating procedures,' lest they find themselves completely ill-equipped to deal with future risks and challenges in this area. Thus, most lawmakers and politicians are left uncertain not only of what the relevant threats in cyberspace are, but also of what to do about them.

Finally, more than other domains of international relations, cyberspace entails the coordination of a cacophony of actors that do not conform to traditional 'levels of analysis' or geographic bounds. From online banking to social media, and GPS to advanced medical treatment, digital technology has become embedded in the fabric of private and social life, connecting individuals all over the globe. Domestic and multinational companies are key actors in cyberspace. The private sector was the main developer of information technologies and thus has shaped their trajectory. Indeed, much of the physical infrastructure through which the Internet operates remains privately owned.

Private-sector companies face competing incentives, and the competitive nature of 'start-up' culture does not generally reward the security-minded. Indeed, most new IT companies focus their early efforts on growing exponentially; thoughtful cybersecurity is often an expensive and time-

consuming endeavour that does not lead to many early customers. Older companies also face the challenge of updating legacy systems, leading them to develop quick fixes instead of employing a more powerful security-by-design frameworks.

Simultaneously, governments face both the challenge of regulating this space, and the burden of securing their own infrastructure from external threats. Cyberspace is a convenient site for 'bad actors' to shield their true identity, making regulation and prosecution inherently difficult enterprises. States like the US face threats from adversarial nations and non-state actors alike. In short, the plethora of actors in cyberspace confounds traditional ways of studying international interactions and exacerbates the challenges of collective action in creating stable norms and regulatory practices.

Whose Security is Cybersecurity?

These challenges are likely to persist. The starting question of this theme section in this edition of STAIR, 'Whose Security is Cybersecurity?', has conceptual, practical, and normative elements. Who or what is insecure? How are they made insecure? Equally, there is a practical element: who is actually securing cyberspace? Finally, there is a significant and foundational normative element: who or what should be responsible for the provision of cybersecurity? Or, more broadly: how ought we secure cyberspace?

These strands of debate have all too frequently remained siloed from one another. Political scientists who study norms consider the ought, while others focus on who and how. Meanwhile, policymakers and industry leaders are faced with the day-to-day challenges arising in cyberspace, and the shifting threat landscape. This edition of STAIR intends to move this debate forward by recognising the importance of integrating these separate questions into one coherent discipline. Before addressing the concepts of 'security' and the 'cyber domain,' upon which these discussions rest, we briefly elaborate on the two components of the question, 'whose security is cybersecurity?'

First, who (or what) needs protecting, and from who or what do they need protecting? The conventional subjects of cybersecurity are understood to be systems, networks, and infrastructures, together comprising what is called cyberspace. Most scholars refer to the direct subject of cybersecurity as "the technical plane comprising machines and networks whose uniform feature is manipulability by code." Yet, cyberspace is also a fundamentally human-centric realm. This issue of STAIR aims to push beyond these technical understandings and re-focus on the human. While individuals occupy a central place in cyberspace, the socio-political consequences of change in digital technologies remain under-examined. System security does not always coincide with human security. The focus on the technical over the human appears to be a feature of Western cybersecurity studies; recent scholarship has begun to examine non-Western cybersecurity narratives, which often approach these questions and trade-offs quite differently. Moving beyond the conventional focus on malware, espionage, and cyberattacks, this body of literature suggests adopting a wider lens, stressing the importance of human security. Digital technology is deeply entangled with individuals in ways that go beyond traditional understandings of inter-state and inter-governmental interactions. Thus, a human-centrist approach crucially requires a widening of

the traditional domain of who/what is considered to be threatened in cyberspace.

Second, who/what is doing the protecting, and how? These questions tug at the nature of the private-public sector relationship in regulating cyberspace. States have become increasingly involved in shaping the trajectory of cybersecurity, from investing directly in new security technologies, to instituting requirements for the private sector regarding data storage and IT security. The recent proliferation of legislation and regulation at the international, national, and local levels has complicated questions of authority, as such legislation often obfuscates who is in charge of what facet of protection. By redefining what cybersecurity encompasses, this issue of STAIR also seeks to provide a timely understanding of the (potentially limited) role of nation-states.

On the other hand, private sector actors are undergoing a rigorous process of re-defining their roles as cybersecurity providers, facing backlash from both consumers and regulators alike. Unicorn companies like Facebook are increasingly held responsible not only for data regulation, but also for actions that have political implications. Digital technology is deeply entangled in individuals' everyday lives, inflating companies' degrees of influence. Governments are concurrently increasing security demands on companies, including instituting new data protection laws (such as GDPR or California's 'Internet of Things' laws) and providing new guidelines for robust cybersecurity. At the same time, tech companies are urging governments to improve their legislation on cybersecurity and data protection, as many emerging issues lie beyond the capability of private firms. In sum, the division of responsibility between the public and private sectors for securing cyberspace is often unclear. Questions of authority in cyberspace continue to be a source of contention. How can we overcome the growing challenges of coordinating regulatory cybersecurity practice on a global scale, especially as digital technology becomes increasingly integrated into our everyday lives? This issue seeks to explore this challenge and broaden the debate regarding the allocation of responsibility in cyberspace.

Conceptual Debates: Security and the Cyber Domain

Cybersecurity implicitly engages with the debate about what constitutes 'security.' Traditional Security Studies (TSS) take states to be the primary actors in international relations and the referent objects of security. Broadly speaking, despite a great deal of internal variation, TSS assume states are unitary rational actors seeking to maximise security in an anarchic international system, where 'security' is usually understood in material terms and, for realists, to be zero sum. Thus, the referent objects are states, the threats are other states, and these threats are assessed in terms of relative (material) power.

More recently, the literature has undergone both a broadening and a deepening of understandings of security. These developments have reflected normative shifts regarding whose security ought to matter, as well as what 'counts' as a security issue. In 1983, Buzan introduced a broader, "sectoral approach" to security, outlining five major sectors: military, political, economic, social, and environmental. In the 1990s, understandings of security deepened, focusing on referent objects traditionally 'below' the state. For instance, Buzan et al

argue that society is the correct referent object of security, as being human entails being part of specific social groups. Critics point out, however, that this cannot account for the insecurities faced by social outcasts or (minority) groups facing systematic discrimination. This intuition—that 'security' does not make sense without reference to individual human beings—is expressed by Booth and McSweeney, kick-starting a move to Critical Security Studies (CSS), which came to dominate the discourse on security in the years following the Cold War.

The literature on CSS quickly fuelled a move towards a new way of thinking about security: human security. The notion of human security made its first appearance in a 1994 UNDP Report, which emphasised the need to protect individuals, and the responsibilities of the international community to do so. Human security is grounded on the notion that every individual has a right to basic human needs and broadens the concept beyond Buzan's sectors to include health, personal, and community security. Thus, the referent objects of security are individual humans, and the threats can be anything from hunger and disease to repression, gender inequality, and domestic abuse. In sum, the question 'what is security?' is at least as normative as it is conceptual, and crucial to answering the question, 'whose security is cybersecurity?'

The term 'cyber' also sits on an axis of perpetual debate. Some academics favour a narrow interpretation of 'cyberspace,' while others lean toward a more inclusive and wide-ranging definitions. For instance, Clarke and Knake (2010) define cyberspace as "all computer systems and networks in existence, including air-gapped systems." Kello (2017) similarly understands cyberspace as the "technical plane" of networks and machines within which the "virtual weapon" (computer code) can operate, and thus defines cybersecurity as measures to protect this plane from hostile action. However, unlike traditional technical scholars, Kello includes a social and political plane of 'cyber' interaction, which he calls the "cyber domain."

In US policy-making circles, the perennial joke is that 'cyber' is simply the term used to describe a computer that has entered the District of Columbia. These definitional arguments are theoretically situated but can also have wide-ranging practical implications. How do we delineate the kinetic from the virtual? These debates impact how we structure and regulate borders and peripheries, as they cross from the concrete to the electronic.

Cyberspace and Analogical Reasoning

Where does this leave cybersecurity studies? Cybersecurity literature inherently engages with these definitional debates, even if not explicitly. Scholars have often attempted to offset this potential problem by drawing precise and neat terminological borders around cyberspace and the field of cybersecurity. They have imported frameworks—often from war studies, international security studies, or economics—and, with a few minor adjustments, finagled the cybersecurity debate so that it fits into an already existing scaffolding.

Much of the early cybersecurity scholarship employed nuclear strategy as a starting point for a comparative understanding of cyberweapons. More recent scholarship has likened cybersecurity and the proliferation of breaches and attacks to the use of sanctions, particularly in the context of the threat of

'cyberwar.' Analogical reasoning continues to permeate more contemporary scholarship. These comparative frameworks have both fuelled some scholars to conclude that a 'cyber Pearl Harbour' is imminent, while simultaneously leading other prominent thinkers to conclude that 'cyberwar' is a practical impossibility. Many of these arguments hinge on a very narrow definition of 'cyberwar,' thus neglecting some of the more interesting and ambiguous questions in cyber-enabled conflict.

These analogies have helped to underscore important similarities and differences between cyber and other security threats. Analogical conceptual frameworks have also helped make cybersecurity more practicable and approachable. However, this method of comparative framing can also prove theoretically and practically limiting. Even when scholars use analogies to highlight differences, these methodological choices can circumscribe our understandings of how cybersecurity shapes our world. The literature on cyber-attacks often narrows its scope to only include attacks that cause direct physical harm, allowing many thinkers to ignore a range of other grey areas in this space. Analogical thinking constrains our analysis; older frameworks often fray or crack when they are applied to cyberspace, leaving many theorists to focus on these moments of divergence, rather than widening and complicating their picture of cyberspace.

Introduction to the Articles in This Issue

This theme section, entitled 'Whose Security is Cybersecurity?,' intends to press beyond the analogical and definitional in-fighting that too often plagues cybersecurity studies. While remaining grounded in conceptual questions, the articles in this theme section push past the theory-policy deadlocks in the field to discuss what policy informed by these debates might, and should, look like.

James Shires directly addresses this issue's main question by offering three conceptions of cybersecurity, each reflecting one of the three main subjects of cybersecurity: national, commercial, and individual. The article first elaborates on typology, arguing that, depending on the framework and scope of the matter at hand, these concepts suggest a diverse set of subjects to be protected and potential offenders. Shires explores where national, commercial, and individual cybersecurity compliment and conflict with each other, delineating their similarities and differences. This typology is particularly helpful in systemising ongoing works of cybersecurity and understanding the fundamental sources of conflict among them. By providing a theoretical framework for present-day cybersecurity debates, Shires' piece can act as a foundation for transdisciplinary scholarly efforts to establish a common linguistic mode in order to work towards "a more inclusive, and more optimistic, digital future".

Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Florian J. Egloff examine one specific facet of cybersecurity: the novel and evolving role of the state. Specifically, they focus on liberal democratic states and how they manage national cybersecurity. Cavelty and Egloff argue that extensive interactions between states, businesses, and society in shaping cybersecurity policy require states to negotiate interests and maintain flexibility in the roles that they adopt. The authors depart from traditional understandings of the role of the state as a security actor in international relations, broadening the debate by discussing an array of increasingly complex roles that the state embodies in the cyber

domain, from security guarantor to threat actor. This constitutes a comprehensive examination of the historical development of the roles of the state in these capacities, laying the groundwork for future researchers. In sum, Cavelty and Egloff provide a timely analysis that captures the increasingly ambiguous role(s) of the state in cybersecurity policy.

Bastien Wanner and Solange Ghernaouti address an important aspect of national cybersecurity strategies: active cyber defence. They argue that the increasing complexity of cyberattacks has prompted states to take active measures to secure their systems and networks. The piece juxtaposes the concept of active cyber defence with both passive defensive and offensive measures, providing empirical observations of American, French, and Swiss active cyber defence policies. Specifically, Wanner and Ghernaouti home in on the US and France as examples that demonstrate the innovative edge of active cyber defence capabilities. Next, Wanner and Ghernaouti analyse Switzerland as a case study that raises key questions in state policy development of active defense. Wanner and Ghernaouti offer several recommendations, including: "[T]he armed forces need to adapt their operational availability to allow timely provision of defensive measures to private-sector operators. This will require re-evaluation of modes of communication and cooperation between the armed forces, civilian agencies and critical infrastructure operators".

Employing a critical approach to the central question of this section, 'whose security is cybersecurity?', Julia Slupska draws on feminist literature to examine individual cybersecurity through the example of smart home security devices. She argues that the ways in which traditional cybersecurity discussions have reinforced public/private binaries have neglected individualised threats facilitated by digital technology, particularly gendered insecurities such as gendered abuse facilitated by digital technology in the form of 'revenge porn' or intimate partner violence (IPV). As such, Slupska proposes an understanding of cybersecurity as measures "designed to protect against threats mediated by digital technology". Her feminist approach focuses on individual humans, rather than simply machines or information, as the referent objects of cybersecurity, and urges researchers to consider the ways in which social structures, particularly gendered ones, can operate through information architecture to threaten individuals. Reviewing forty smart home security analysis papers, Slupska finds that the IPV threat model is largely ignored, a fact which underlines the importance of critical studies of information architecture. In her definition of cybersecurity, Slupska pushes past traditional public/private binaries to include socially-contingent threats perpetrated through digital technology. This new analytical framework opens the doors for a wave of critical cybersecurity studies to address previously understudied practical and policy challenges in this new metaphorical 'space' of interaction.

Addressing current challenges to studying cybersecurity, H. Akın Ünver offers an account of how digital conflict studies is emerging as an increasingly useful tool for cybersecurity research projects. Ünver observes that existing scholarship suffers from a serious lack of data and empirical testing, which risks populating the discipline with mere conjectures and untested theories. Through integrating Internet and social media research tools, he argues, digital conflict studies can be a useful framework for cybersecurity scholarship in IR to adopt to address the short-term methodological and conceptual deadlocks

it faces. Ünver concludes by calling for more rigorous data collection, asserting that scholars need to hold cybersecurity research to higher standards in order to generate more effective dialogue among academic communities to address theoretical and practical issues. Cybersecurity scholarship promises interdisciplinary productivity; Ünver argues that digital conflict studies research projects and standards are necessary for fulfilling that promise.

Finally, this issue of STAIR explores the shifting role of the private sector in a feature interview with Stephanie Snyder, SVP and Commercial Strategy Leader for Cyber Solutions at Aon. Snyder deals with many of the practical implications of an ever-changing landscape of cybersecurity policy—from the difficulties of adhering to the GDPR in Europe, to the challenge of keeping up with new federal and state legal frameworks in the US. Managing cybersecurity is not simply a matter of a conceptual debate: for many companies, the digital revolution has meant importing an entirely new paradigm for securing customer data, protecting proprietary technology, and defending internal and external communications. Companies are scrambling to stay one step ahead of rogue criminals and nation-states alike. Additionally, the private sector faces a continual shortage of expertise in this field. Snyder touches on several of the major challenges companies face in cyberspace, providing insights into how to better prepare for proliferating insecurities in cyberspace.

(c) **External Relations**

St Antony's College, Oxford: St Antony's College remains STAIR's home. We hold our weekly meetings in the Dahrendorf Room and have our main pigeonhole at the college. Every term, the Managing Editor meets with the Warden of St Antony's to talk about STAIR's work and progress as well as any issues that might arise. STAIR also occasionally receives funding from both the Antonian Fund and the St Antony's Graduate Common Room. St Antony's students also consistently represent a majority of the editorial committee members.

Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford (DPIR) and the Centre for International Studies (CIS): Several years ago, STAIR developed a new association with the DPIR through DPIR's Centre for International Studies (CIS), which has continued this year. We are therefore co-affiliated with St Antony's College and the DPIR. Every year, we participate at DPIR induction meetings for incoming graduate students, where we recruit many of our members, and the Managing Editor sits on the board of CIS, participating in periodical meetings and the Centre's decision-making. Our launch events have previously also taken place in the DPIR. The DPIR has assured financial as well as organizational support, and has provided us with our new institutional email: stair-journal@politics.ox.ac.uk

University of Oxford: STAIR continues its official affiliation with the University of Oxford. Once again, going into the 2019-20 year the members of STAIR's Executive Board come from a wide range of Oxford colleges.

Webpage, LinkedIn, Twitter, Facebook, Newsletter: STAIR has and maintains an effective web presence (www.stairjournal.com), and in MT 2019 and HT 2020 we will update this website from top to bottom. In addition to the website, STAIR news such as recruitment, calls for papers, events, or elections are advertised broadly on our active Facebook page (www.facebook.com/stairjournal/), Twitter account (@stairjournal), and via a MailChimp newsletter. These efforts have helped us to reach a wide audience in Oxford and beyond. We currently have nearly 1,500 followers on our Facebook page and about 130 subscribers to our newsletter.

IngentaConnect, Ridgeway Press: STAIR continues its relationship with IngentaConnect, which hosts all STAIR issues online, providing access for both individuals and institutions. We have also maintained strong links with Ridgeway Press for the publication of the print version of STAIR.

JSTOR: In 2016, STAIR was approached by JSTOR for the inclusion of our archive into the Journal indexing service. We negotiated and signed a cooperation agreement which preserves our most recent issues for our subscribers, while allowing JSTOR access to our archive.

(d) **Subscriptions**

STAIR continues to be available both in print and online. As of November 2019, we have twenty-two institutional subscribers (print and online), and we are in the process of adding two new subscribers. We are proud that our journal is reaching many of the world's most prestigious institutions. Similar to last year, we are continuing efforts to attract new institutional subscribers with the help of STAIR alumni and the advisory board to fill several gaps in our subscriber database. Below is a full list of our current subscribers:

STAIR Institutional Subscriptions as of 14 November 2019	
Online Subscribers	
Cambridge University	UK
European University Institute	Italy
London School of Economics	UK
National Chengchi University	Taiwan
Peace Palace, The Hague	Netherlands
Princeton University	USA
Ryerson University	Canada
Stockholm University	Sweden
United Nations Library, Geneva	Switzerland
United Nations University in Tokyo	Japan
University of New South Wales	Australia
University of Oxford	UK
Bodleian Library	UK
University of Utrecht	Netherlands
University of Zurich	Switzerland
Print Subscribers	

Cambridge University	UK
Cornell University	US
Dartmouth College	USA
Nuffield College	UK
Peace Palace, The Hague	Netherlands
Ryerson University	Canada
St Antony's College	UK
United Nations University in Tokyo	Japan
University of Auckland	New Zealand
University of Gothenburg	Sweden
University of Toronto (Trinity College Library)	Canada
University of Utrecht	Netherlands
University of Zurich	Switzerland
National Chengchi University	Taiwan
University of Notre Dame	USA

Financial Statement

STAIR's financial situation over the past year has remained in line with the previous year. This both offers comfort that our main costs have remained relatively stable, but it also highlights the need for STAIR to increase its revenue and diversify its income base.

Although STAIR's savings and income were sufficient to cover major expenses in time for those expenses to be paid, the journal did, as last year, operate at a loss; this has made it difficult to expand activities and cover operational costs comfortably. Nevertheless, although STAIR's income (mainly subscriptions from institutions) and expenses (mainly printing and online publishing services) were not balanced for this past year, we are currently taking steps to correct this balance in the coming year, as detailed in the Income sub-section below. The current editorial board plans to continue prioritizing the improvement of STAIR's finances by diversifying its revenue bases and pursuing funding from the institutions with whom we are affiliated.

(a) **Expenses**

Total expenses from 22 October 2018 to 23 October 2019 were £5,174.79. This is compared to the previous AGM period's expense of £4,378.79. Figure 1 below details out the expenses incurred during this period.

Figure 1: Expenses in the Past Year 2018-2019

EXPENSE SUMMARY: 1 OCT 2017 TO 15 OCT 2018		
Name of Expense	**Brief Description**	**Amount (GBP)**
Ingenta	Third party subscription platform	£ 2, 356.00
Ridgeway Press	Printing for the two annual issues	£ 2, 046.00
Mailing	Postage and mailing of print copies	£ 127.82
Event	Two launch events that were conducted	£ 407.43
Website	Payment for updated website	£ 146.74
Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous costs	£ 90.37
TOTAL		**£ 5,174.36**

As Figure 1 shows, the majority of STAIR's expenses comes from subscription platform and printing costs. Column 1 shows that in the 2018-2019 period, we spent £2,356.00 on Ingenta, which is our third-party subscription management platform. This is compared to the 2017-2018 period's expense of £2,234.00. Although this is a one-time payment per year, it represents approximately 46% of current expenses.

The second row of Figure 1 shows the next major expense that the Journal incurs: Printing costs. This is a two-time payment per year, coinciding with the launch of our two issues. The combined printing costs for both issues totalled £2,046.00.

Tied to our printing costs are the costs for mailing out print subscriptions to print subscribers. Row 3 details out the mailing costs incurred in the 2018-2019 period, which totalled out to £127.82. This is a smaller payment compared to the two larger payments detailed above, coming out to roughly 2.5% of total expenses.

In the 2018-2019 period, STAIR also incurred an expense of £146.74, which was spent on fees associated with maintenance of its website, which is seen in the fifth expense row of Figure 1. In addition, the Journal spent £407.43 on our two issue launch events (row 4 of Figure 1). Finally, row 6 of Figure 1 shows Miscellaneous expenses that the Journal incurred (£90.37) in 2018-2019.

All of these expenses amount to £5,174.36 for the 2018-2019 period. In the 2016-2017 period, STAIR spent £4,378.79. From here we can see that there was an increase in expenses. This, however, corresponds with the growing popularity of STAIR as well as our active expansion of the scales of our launch events.

(b) **Income**

Total income from 1 October 2017 to 15 October 2018 was £4,886.40. The previous year's income was £3,530.50. This also reflects the initial results of our efforts to expand STAIR through attracting more subscriptions and support from various organizations in the University.

STAIR's primary sources of income are payments from institutional subscribers. The majority of these subscriptions are online, while others have either print-only subscriptions or combined online and print subscriptions. While the majority of STAIR's income comes from subscribers, we also sell print copies during issue launch events. We also fulfil requests for back issues from time to time. It is worth mentioning that the bulk of income came into our account in December-January in this past period. Our subscription scheme is shown in Figure 2.

A valued source of income from STAIR is funding we receive from DPIR as part of an annual sponsorship agreement. This support is very much needed, and STAIR is grateful for the £500.00 payment made by the DPIR every year. An additional expected source of income will be from JSTOR, who will pay STAIR £1,400.00 in January 2020 in return for including the journal on its database. STAIR's inclusion in the JSTOR database is a tremendous accomplishment on the part of preceding editorial boards that will bring STAIR to a broader and more diverse audience.

Figure 2: CURRENT SUBSCRIPTION AND SALES PRICES (2018-2019)	
ONLINE	£ 200
PRINT	£ 100
COMBINED	£ 250
SINGLE ISSUE	£ 12

(c) **Outlook**

Like last year, while STAIR has continued to cover its major expenses and printed two successful issues in the past year, it operated at a loss. The net loss for the past year was not insignificant: £287.96.

To prevent the recurrence of such a net loss in the future, we have been busy projecting our costs and income for the year and attempting to increase revenue. Figure 3 below details out projected major costs for the 2019-2020 year, which were estimated using figures from both the 2018-2019 period and the 2017-2018 period. As can be seen, Ingenta costs remain one of the heaviest financial burdens that the Journal has to bear, amounting from a low of £2,356.00 to a high £2,474.00 based on a 3% price inflation. The second major projected expense is our printing expense for vols. 15:2 and 16:1, which we project to be at a low of £1,400 to a high of £2,100. This cost is dependent on (a) the amount of print subscription and single-issue sales and (b) reprinting costs and printing price increases. These two costs remain the bulk of the STAIR's overhead costs. Altogether, we project that STAIR should spend something between a low of £4,136.00 to a high of £5,534.00 in the 2019-2020 period.

Figure 3: Projected Expenses for the Current Year 2018-2019

PROJECTED EXPENSES: 24 OCT 2019 TO 1 OCT 2020			
Name of Expense	**Brief Description**	**Amount (Low)**	**Amount (High)**
Ingenta	Third party subscription platform	£ 2,356.00	£ 2,474.00
Ridgeway Press	Printing of the two annual issues	£ 1,400.00	£ 2,100.00
Mailing	Postage and mailing of print copies	£ 100.00	£ 340.00
Events	Two launch events	£ 200.00	£ 500.00
Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous Costs	£ 80.00	£ 120.00
TOTAL		**£ 4,136.00**	**£ 5,534.00**

In terms of revenue, STAIR expects to make £4,000.00 in the 2019-2020 year, from subscriptions alone. This calculation is drawn from the subscribers' list which is outlined above in this report. Currently, online subscription costs £200 per year, print subscriptions cost £100 per year, and combined print and online subscriptions cost £250 per year. Single issues are sold at £12 per issue, with additional costs for postage. While this will just about cover the low-end projection of our total costs for 2019-2020, it fails to do so for our high-end projection.

It is, therefore, important that we seek to increase our income this year. We have already begun making concerted efforts to secure additional funds to (a) ensure that STAIR remains successfully run and capable of printing two high-quality issues per year and (b) expand some of our events in order to foster more involvement with the University at large. To accomplish these goals, we have recently secured a £1,000 payment of support from the Antonian Fund at St Antony's and £500 payment of support for this year from the DPIR (both pending); we are also expecting to receive £1,500 from JSTOR in January 2020. Launching a fall subscription drive, STAIR is also trying to expand our subscription income through both expanded marketing and advertisement, and we hope that our newly elected Sales, Subscription and Marketing officer in combination with our improved online presence will help with this. In the future, STAIR has also applied to the St. Antony's GCR to fund some small events, though the amount of funding that STAIR can expect to receive from the GCR is limited. We should note that income from these initiatives, while promising, is not guaranteed, and at the moment STAIR cannot yet count on the extra income from them in order to meet goals (a) and (b) above. Securing and increasing our revenue is one of the goals for the current STAIR editorial board.

As of 24 November 2019, STAIR had savings of £1,655.83 with no outstanding costs at the present time.

Current and Future Projects and Editions

 (a) **Upcoming Editions, 2019 – 2020**

The themes for the February 2020 and May 2020 issues were selected in Hillary 2019 and Michaelmas 2019 Terms, respectively. Below is an overview of these upcoming issues and their elected editorial boards.

Vol. 15, no.2: 'Anthropocene: Embodying Climate Breakdown'

Theme Section Editors:	Michaela Coplen, Samuel Holcroft, Paul Ostwald, Agnes Yu
General Section Editors:	Cody Bock, Gülce Özkan, James Sweetland, Aman Thakker
Book Review Editors:	Finn Klebe

We have entered a new geological epoch: the Anthropocene. In this new era, human beings are the primary agents of climate change. Analysis of the adverse effects of climate breakdown is often detached from the bodily consequences: famine and displacement, for example, are transfigured into 'outcomes' and 'variables'. This issue centres 'embodiment,' focusing on bodies as agents and sites of international climate politics. As climate breakdown intensifies, it is vital to investigate how the Anthropocene is shaping notions of human security, power, agency, and justice—and, in turn, how they are shaping the Anthropocene. How are international affairs changing in the face of climate breakdown? And how are the effects of climate breakdown distributed, felt, and negotiated—particularly in the realm of international relations?

To address these questions, STAIR's February 2020 issue is looking for original contributions related, but not limited to, the following subtopics:

❖ Bodies Under Threat: Climate breakdown exacerbates environmental degradation and resource instability. These impacts are felt disproportionately across fragile versus stable states, urban versus rural areas, and across different issue areas such as food and water insecurity, sea level rise, vector-borne illness, migration, and internal displacement. How do human bodies both illustrate and perpetuate inequality? How do conceptualisations of climate breakdown as a 'threat multiplier' supersede the 'peace'/'war' paradigm of security?

❖ Bodies in Alliance: The Anthropocene provides opportunities and incentives for new forms of cooperation, solidarity, protest, resistance, and contestation between/within different political bodies—from the individual body, to like-minded coalitions, to international 'bodies' and institutions. What impact does climate breakdown have on the governance of political bodies in the international realm?

❖ Bodies of Theory: The Anthropocene calls for a new ontology. Existing theory on the international politics of climate change assumes a nature/society dualism—implying that nature is distinct and insulated from statecraft and strategy. What does this binary obscure? How can theories such as anthropocentrism, biopower, necropolitics, actor-network theory, and postcolonial dependency address the dynamics and implications of the Anthropocene? To what extent does climate breakdown challenge existing ways of theorising international affairs, and how should scholarship address such challenges?

This issue of STAIR aims to encourage new contributions that push beyond the scope of the existing literature on climate change through interdisciplinary dialogue. We welcome submissions across various disciplines, such as IR, political science, geography, anthropology, law, history, environmental studies, strategic studies, economics and political economy, development studies, political theory, and area studies.

Vol. 16, no. 1: 'Engendering Change: Exploring the Dynamics of Gender in International Affairs'

Theme Section Editors: Sasha Diouk, Anita Pant, Reja Wyss

General Section Editors: Cody Bock, Gülce Özkan, James Sweetland, Aman Thakker

Book Reviews Editor: Finn Klebe

Questions of gender and its impact on the international world will only continue to grow in relevance, as exemplified by contemporary phenomena such as the #MeToo movement and the persistence of hypermasculinity in authoritarian/hybrid regimes (e.g., Vladimir Putin and Kim Jong-Un). Furthermore, as the global academic community strives towards gender parity in publication and research, the door will be opened to new questions, unique voices, and deeper understandings. As STAIR has not yet integrated a specifically gendered approach into its study of international affairs, we felt that now would be an ideal time to introduce such a lens of analysis. The primary goals of the themed section are multifold: (1) Celebrating and encouraging the presence of female voices and perspectives in international affairs literature, both through subject matter of the articles and through the inclusion of female-identifying authors, while at once (2) Expanding away from a traditional female-centric approach which sees "woman" and "gender" as synonymous in order to encourage a more nuanced and creative discussion on existing bodies of literature, and (3) Drawing upon a variety of disciplinary lenses which would serve to underscore the universal importance of "gender dynamics" as a topic, as well as allowing readers from every discipline to find relevance and salience in the topic. We have outlined below a selection of articles and authors from which we could potentially draw, in order to

demonstrate the wide range of disciplines, geographic regions, and research interests that this Theme Section would open up to STAIR.

(b) **Upcoming Projects**

In addition to publishing these issues, STAIR is seeking to expand the range and frequency of events we hold around Oxford, both on its own and in conjunction with other bodies in the DPIR and with other societies devoted to international affairs. We are currently in discussions with the Alastair Buchan Club to host up to one event each term drawing on faculty and students to have a wide-ranging discussion on contemporary issues in global politics.

ANNEXES

Annex A: Organisational Structure as of November 2019

Managing Editor: Daniel Waqar

Treasurer: Huu Phu Gia Nguyen

Liaison Officer: Devika

Production Editors: Yang Yi, Ellen Leafstedt

Subscriptions, Sales, and Marketing Manager: Anna Pott

Webmaster: Taylor Grossman

Public Relations Officer: Sophie Vériter

Events Officers: Jamie Edwards, Scott Singer, Kushal Sohal

Chief Copy Editors: Maria Puolakkainen, Erin Hazan, Negin Shahiar, Miriam Pittalis

Theme Section Editors, Issue 15:2: Michaela Coplen, Samuel Holcroft, Paul Ostwald, Agnes Yu

Theme Section Editors, **Issue 16:1:** Sasha Diouk, Anita Pant, Reja Wyss

General Section Editors: Gülce Özkan, Aman Thakker, James Sweetland, Cody Bock

Book Reviews Editor: Finn Klebe

Advisory Board:

Professor Roy Allison
Professor Alexander Betts
Dr Christopher Bickerton
Dr Patricia Daley
Dr Matthew Eagleton-Pierce
Professor Rosemary Foot
Professor Timothy Garton Ash
Professor Roger Goodman
Dr Sudhir Hazareesingh
Professor Andrew Hurrell
Dr David Johnson
Professor Margaret MacMillan
Dr Hartmut Mayer
Dr Karma Nabulsi
Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis
Dr Noa Schonmann
Professor Duncan Snidal
Dr Steve Tsang
Professor Kate Sullivan de Estrada

STANDARD CONSTITUTION OF A **NON**-SPORTS CLUB

From Michaelmas Term 2017

<u>NAME AND OBJECTS</u>

1. The Club is called the Oxford <<u>St. Antony's International Review</u>> (hereafter referred to as "the Club"). The Club's objects are the support, development, improvement and promotion of <<u>objectives in the bylaws appended hereto</u>> in the University of Oxford insofar as such objects are charitable; and the income and property of the Club shall be applied solely to those objects.

COMPLIANCE

2.

    (a)   The Club shall be administered in accordance with the University's Regulations for the Activities and Conduct of Student Members.

    (b)   The activities of the Club will at all times be conducted in accordance with the University's procedures, codes of practice and policies in force from time to time on equality, harassment, freedom of speech and safeguarding (which are available via the University Student Handbook on the University's webpages).

    (c)   If there is a national governing body for the Club's activities with which the Club is eligible to register, the Club shall effect and maintain such registration: purchase any insurance cover which the national body makes available (unless the Insurance Section of University Administration and Services agrees to or prescribes other arrangements); and make every effort to comply with all safety procedures which the national body prescribes, or recommends as good practice.

    (d)   The Club shall observe the Code of Conduct on Safety Matters which is set out in the Schedule to this Constitution, ensure compliance with the Code by the members of the Club, and follow an appropriate procedure for risk assessment. Both the Code of Conduct and the procedure for risk assessment must be acceptable to and approved by the Sports Safety Officer.

    (e)   No member of the Club shall participate in any activity overseas organised by the Club, whether during term-time or vacation, unless the plans for such activity have been notified at least one calendar month in advance of the date of departure from the United Kingdom to the University Marshal and approved by the Proctors. Each member participating in such activities overseas shall observe any conditions imposed by the Proctors on the recommendation of the University Marshal, e.g. relating to the deposit of contact addresses, fulfilment of health, safety and insurance requirements, and stipulation of coaches, trainers or Senior Members to accompany the trip.

    (f)   The Club shall maintain a dedicated website and shall supply details of its web address to the Clubs Office for listing on the University's clubs and societies webpage. The Club may apply to the University's IT Services to use information technology

('IT') facilities in the name of the Club. Where relevant facilities are allocated by IT Services it is the responsibility of the Club:

(i) to designate a member of the Club entitled to a University e-mail account (as defined by IT Services rules) to act as its IT Officer, whose duties shall include liaising with IT Services about the use of facilities allocated and passing on to the successor in office all records relating to the use of the facilities allocated;

(ii) to designate one of its members (who may be, but need not necessarily be, the same as its IT Officer) or, exceptionally, a member of Congregation, to act as its principal Webmaster, whose duties shall include maintaining an awareness of the University guidelines on web and social media publishing, and co-ordinating and regulating access to the web facilities used by the Club;

(iii) to comply with regulations and guidelines relating to the use of IT facilities published from time to time by IT Services;

(iv) to ensure that everyone responsible under (i)-(iii) is competent to deal with the requirements, where necessary undertaking training under the guidance of IT Services.

membership

3. The members of the Club shall be those who are eligible and apply for membership of the Club, who are admitted to and maintained in membership by the Committee, and who have paid the relevant Club subscription.

4. Subject to paragraph 5, all student members of the University, and all persons whose names are on the University's Register of Visiting Students, shall be eligible to become members of the Club. A member shall continue to be eligible until given permission to supplicate for a degree, diploma or certificate, regardless of any continuing liability to pay fees to the University.

5. If the Club's objects relate directly to a protected characteristic as defined in section 4 of the Equality Act 2010, the Club may be entitled to restrict membership to members sharing that protected characteristic, provided that the Proctors shall first approve any such restriction.

6. The Committee may also, at its discretion, admit to membership:-

(a) students registered to read for diplomas and certificates in the University;

(b) student members of Permanent Private Halls who are not student members of the University;

(c) members of Ruskin College and Ripon College, Cuddesdon;

(d) members of Oxford Brookes University, provided that such members shall not constitute more than one-fifth of the total membership; and

(e) other persons not falling within paragraph 4 above or paragraphs 6(a) to (d) above, provided that such members shall not constitute more than one-fifth of the total membership.

7. The Committee, having specific regard to the Senior Member's advice in relation to the relevant matter, may remove a person from membership if removal of such person from membership is deemed to be in the best interests of the Club. If the person concerned is an Oxford

University student (i.e. within paragraphs 6(a), (b) or (c) above), that person may appeal against such removal to the Proctors.

meetings of the members

8. There shall be an Annual General Meeting for all the members of the Club in Hilary Full Term, convened by the Secretary on not less than fourteen days' notice.

9. The Annual General Meeting will:
   (a) receive the annual report of the Committee for the previous year and the annual accounts of the Club for the previous year, the report and accounts having been approved by the Committee;
   (b) receive a report from the Committee on the Club's compliance with paragraph 2 above;
   (c) elect Members of the Committee in accordance with paragraph 24 below: the Committee's nominations for the Officers and the Senior Member shall be contained in the notice of the Meeting: any alternative nominations must be seconded and have the consent of the nominee, and must be received in writing by the Secretary not less than seven days before the date of the Meeting: nominations for the other Committee Members may be taken from the floor of the meeting;
   (d) consider any motions of which due notice has been given, and any other relevant business.

10. An Extraordinary General Meeting may be called in any Full Term; by the President, the Secretary or the Treasurer on not less than seven days' notice; or on a written requisition by seven or more members, stating the reason for which the meeting is to be called, and delivered to the Secretary not less than fourteen days before the date of the Meeting.

11. Prior to all General Meetings notice of the agenda shall be sent out with the notice of the Meeting.

12. The quorum for a General Meeting shall be ten members present in person or by proxy, of whom three must be members of the Committee. When any financial business is to be transacted there must be present the Treasurer, or a member of the Committee deputed by the Treasurer to represent the Treasurer's views to the Meeting (provided that where it is a case of a deputy, the only financial business transacted shall be that which was set out in the agenda accompanying the notice of the meeting).

13. Every matter, except where this Constitution provides otherwise, shall be determined by a majority of members present and voting. In the case of equal votes, the President of the Club shall have a casting vote.

14. Minutes of all meetings shall be kept and formally adopted. Copies of the minutes shall be made available to members and, upon request, to the Proctors.

the committee

15. The affairs of the Club shall be administered by a Committee consisting of not more than eight persons, which shall determine the subscriptions payable by the members of the Club and have ultimate responsibility for the activities of the Club. Members of the University shall at all times make up the majority of the members of the Committee. The Committee shall have control of the funds and property of the Club, and of its administration.

16. No member of the Committee (or the Club) shall enter into or purport to enter into any arrangement, contract or transaction on behalf of the Club with a value exceeding £1,000 unless the Committee has resolved to approve the relevant arrangement, contract or transaction at a Committee meeting.

17. The quorum for a Committee meeting shall be four members present in person. When any financial business is to be transacted, there must be present either the Treasurer or a member of the Committee deputed by the Treasurer to represent the Treasurer's views to the meeting.

18. The Committee shall be made up of the President, the Secretary, the Treasurer (together, the "Office Holders"; and their offices are referred to as "the Offices"), the Senior Member and <_____> other persons. The President, the Secretary and the Treasurer shall each be either a member of the Club whose eligibility stems from paragraph 4 above or paragraphs 6(a) to (c) above, or (with the approval of the Proctors) a member of Congregation. If his or her eligibility stems from paragraphs 6(a) to (c) above, on election to office he or she must sign an undertaking to abide by relevant provisions of the University Student Handbook and other relevant University policies, and to accept the authority of the Proctors on Club matters.

19. The President shall have the right to preside at all meetings of the members of the Club and at all meetings of the Committee. Should the President be absent, or decline to take the chair, the Committee shall elect another member of the Committee to chair the meeting.

20. Minutes of all meetings, including Committee meetings, shall be kept and formally adopted. Copies of the minutes shall be made available to members and, upon request, to the Proctors.

21. The Secretary shall:
    (a) maintain a register of the members of the Club, which shall be available for inspection by the Proctors, the Clubs Office and the Proctors' Office on request;
    (b) give notice of meetings of the members and the Committee;
    (c) draw up the agendas for and minutes of those meetings;
    (d) notify the Proctors (through the Clubs Office) promptly following the appointment and resignation or removal of Office Holders and other members of the Committee;
    (e) take responsibility for the operation and updating of a suitable club web-page displaying (at a minimum) current club contacts and the constitution;
    (f) provide the Insurance Section with full details of any insurance cover purchased from or through a national governing body pursuant to paragraph 2(c) above; and
    (g) inform the Proctors through the Clubs Office if the Club ceases to operate, or is to be dissolved, and in doing so present a final statement of accounts (the format of which the Proctors may prescribe).

22. The Treasurer shall:
    (a) keep proper records of the Club's financial transactions in accordance with current accepted accounting rules and practices;
    (b) develop and implement control procedures to minimise the risk of financial exposure, such procedures to be reviewed regularly with the University's Internal Audit Section ("Internal Audit");

(c) ensure that bills are paid and cash is banked in accordance with the procedures developed under (b);

(d) prepare an annual budget for the Club and regularly inform the Committee of progress against that budget;

(e) ensure that all statutory returns are made including VAT, income tax and corporation tax if appropriate;

(f) seek advice as necessary on tax matters from the University's Finance Division;

(g) develop and maintain a manual of written procedures for all aspects of the Treasurer's responsibilities;

(h) make all records, procedures and accounts available on request to the Senior Member, the Proctors and Internal Audit;

(i) forward to the Proctors (through the Clubs Office) by the end of the second week of each Full Term a copy of the accounts for the preceding term (the format of which the Proctors may prescribe) signed by the Senior Member, for retention on the Proctors' files; and

(j) if the Club has a turnover in excess of £25,000 in the preceding year, or if owing to a change in the nature or scale of its activities, it may confidently be expected to have such a turnover in the current year, submit its accounts (the format of which the Proctors may prescribe) for independent professional inspection and report by a reporting accountant approved in advance by the Proctors. Accounts are to be ready for inspection within four months of the end of the Club's financial year and the costs of the inspection and report shall be borne by the Club. If requested by the reporting accountant, the Club shall submit accounts and related material as a basis for a review of accounting procedures, the cost likewise to be borne by the Club.

23. The Senior Member shall:-

(a) keep abreast of the actions and activities of the Club;

(b) provide information relating to the Club to the Proctors on request;

(c) seek to settle any preliminary disputes between the Committee and the members;

(d) following paragraph 22(i) above, consider whether the accounts of the Club are in order and, if so, sign them;

(e) ensure that adequate advice and assistance is available to the Secretary and the Treasurer in the performance of their responsibilities under paragraphs 21 and 22 above; and

(f) be available to represent and speak for the Club in the public forum, and before the University authorities.

24. The members of the Committee shall be elected by the members of the Club annually and shall be eligible for re-election. The members of the Club shall not appoint several individuals jointly to hold any of the Offices, nor allow any individual to hold more than one Office at a time. The members of the Club shall appoint a member of Congregation as the Senior Member when electing other members of the Committee each year provided that a Senior Member who has previously held office as Senior Member for more than five consecutive years shall not be eligible for re-appointment. The Senior Member shall be a member of the Committee *ex officio*.

25. If during the period between the annual elections to offices any vacancies occur amongst the members of Committee, the Committee shall have the power of filling the vacancy or vacancies up to the next Annual General Meeting by co-optation.

26. Each Office Holder must, and shall procure that other Office Holders shall, at the end of any term of Office, promptly hand to the relevant successor in Office (or to another member of the Club nominated by the Committee) all official documents and records belonging to the Club, together with (on request from the Committee) any other property of the Club which may be in the outgoing Office Holder's possession; and must complete any requirements to transfer authority relating to control of the Club's bank accounts, building society accounts, or other financial affairs.

27. Without derogating from its primary responsibility, the Committee may delegate its functions to finance and general purposes and other subcommittees which are made up exclusively of members of the Committee.

28. The Committee shall have power to make regulations and by-laws in order to implement the paragraphs of this Constitution, and to settle any disputed points not otherwise provided for in this Constitution.

29. No member of the Committee shall be removed from office except by the approving votes of two-thirds of those present in person or by proxy at a General Meeting.

indemnity

30. So far as may be permitted by law, every member of the Committee and every officer of the Club (each a "**relevant officer**") shall be entitled to be indemnified out of the Club's assets against all costs, charges, losses, expenses and liabilities incurred by the relevant officer in the execution or discharge of duties as a relevant officer or the exercise of powers as a relevant officer, or otherwise properly in relation to or in connection with the relevant officer's duties. This indemnity extends to any liability incurred by a relevant officer in defending any proceedings, civil or criminal, which relate to anything done or omitted or alleged to have been done or omitted by the relevant officer in that capacity and in which judgement is given in the relevant officer's favour (or the proceedings are otherwise disposed of without any finding or admission of any material breach of duty on the relevant officer's part), or in which the relevant officer is acquitted, or in connection with any application under any statute for relief from liability in respect of any such act or omission in which relief is granted to the relevant officer by the Court.

31. So far as may be permitted by law, the Club may purchase and maintain for the benefit of any relevant officer insurance cover against any liability which by virtue of any rule of law may attach to the relevant officer in respect of any negligence, default, breach of duty or breach of trust of which the relevant officer may be guilty in relation to the Club and against all costs, charges, losses and expenses and liabilities incurred by the relevant officer and for which the relevant officer is entitled to be indemnified by the Club by virtue of paragraph 30.

dissolution

32. The Club may be dissolved at any time by the approving votes of two-thirds of those present in person or by proxy at a General Meeting. The

Club may also be dissolved (without the need for any resolution of the members) by means of not less than thirty days' notice from the Proctors to the Secretary of the Club if at any time the Club ceases to be registered with the Proctors.

33. In the event of the Club being dissolved, its assets shall not be distributed amongst the members, but shall be paid to or at the direction of the University.

INTERPRETATION

34. Any question about the interpretation of this Constitution shall be settled by the Proctors.

35. This Constitution shall be binding on all members of the Club. No regulation, bye-law or policy of the Club shall be inconsistent with, or shall affect or repeal anything contained in, this Constitution.

Appendix to the Standard Constitution of a Non-Sport Club

St Antony's International Review Bylaws

PREAMBLE

We, the members of the St Antony's International Review (*STAIR*) strive

- To engender pioneering debate on contemporary and future issues of global relevance,
- To make a continuous and sustainable contribution to intellectual debates in international affairs,
- To crystallize the ethos of inter-disciplinary, creative, and productive thinking inherent to St Antony's College,
- To give a voice to cutting-edge research and to provide graduate students with a tangible forum for intellectual discourse,
- To foster the practical education of graduate students in publicizing new ideas,

And for these ends

- To base any effort on participation and to ensure the integration of as wide a variety of students as possible,
- To act by principle of consensus,
- To peer-review the publications,
- To publish themed, internally coherent issues consisting of academically rigorous articles that approach the set theme from a variety of angles.

These aims of *STAIR* shall be arrived at by way of collective effort.

ARTICLE I. NAME AND OBJECTIVES

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the *St Antony's International Review*, hereinafter referred to as "*STAIR*."

Section 2. *St Antony's International Review* is an international affairs journal established by graduate members of St Antony's College, University of Oxford. *STAIR* is a non-profit organization. The central aim of *STAIR* is to reflect the cross-disciplinary dialogue on global issues of contemporary relevance that is a unique feature of life at St Antony's. In recreating the College ethos of open, accessible, and engaged debate, *STAIR* seeks to develop a forum in which emerging scholars can publish their work alongside established academics and policymakers. By drawing on the wide range of disciplinary perspectives and intellectual resources of St Antony's College and the University of Oxford, we are keen to further raise the international profile of the College and the University and strengthen the link between alumni and current members. *STAIR* also hopes to become an important voice in current international affairs debates.

Section 3. *All of STAIR's activities shall conform to these Bylaws and to the University's new Standard Constitution of Non-Sports Clubs, introduced in Michaelmas Term 2016 (the "New Standard Constitution", to which these Bylaws are appended), which all non-sports clubs of the University are required to adhere to. In the event of any divergence or conflict between these Bylaws and the New Standard Constitution, the provision(s) and requirement(s) of the New Standard Constitution shall prevail*.

ARTICLE II. STUDENT MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any Student member of the University of Oxford is eligible to apply for membership of *STAIR* provided that he or she has attended at least three General Meetings as an observer. If a member of *STAIR* fails to attend four out of the preceding eight General Meetings at any given time, his or her membership shall automatically lapse and can only be renewed if he or she subsequently attends at least three General Meetings as an observer.

Section 2. Non-Oxford students can become members of *STAIR* by following the rules set in Article II.

STAIR members may proactively recruit a non-Oxford student who possesses the necessary skill sets to run for an open position. Excluded from this rule are the positions of Managing Editor, Liaison Officer, and Treasurer. Prior to standing for election, their candidacy will require a two-thirds majority vote of support from *STAIR* members. For editorial positions (i.e. Themed Section Editor, General Section Editor, Book Reviews Editor), the non-Oxford student will require at least one co-editor who is an Oxford student.

Once the two-thirds majority in support of the candidacy has been achieved, the election for the position will take place as described in Article VIII of these bylaws.

No more than three officer positions can be held by non-Oxford students at any time. Elections will take place sequentially, following the listing in these bylaws.

Section 3. Membership can be revoked by a majority vote of the Executive Committee under the exceptional condition that a Member has failed to act in agreement with *STAIR*'s objectives or has jeopardized the academic and/or professional integrity of the journal. Members suspended under this clause may appeal their suspension in writing to the membership, who may then reinstate such membership by a two-thirds majority vote.

Section 4. All Members are required to actively participate in the administrative and editorial work and to read and comment on the submissions, abstracts and, articles received by *STAIR*.

Section 5. No member shall receive any salary or other compensation for his or her contributions to the production and functioning of the journal.

ARTICLE III. MEETINGS AND VOTING

Section 1. *STAIR* shall hold weekly General Meetings (GM) during term at a time and place designated by the Executive Committee. These meetings will be advertised on *STAIR*'s website. Special meetings may be called by the Editors with approval from a majority of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The General Meeting constitutes the highest decision-making body of *STAIR* and is responsible for discussing and deciding on new themes for upcoming issues.

Section 3. All reporting and decision-making shall be conducted at the General Meetings. All Officers are accountable to Members at the General Meeting and need to seek their consent on matters of administrative or editorial importance. Members at the General Meeting are responsible for ensuring the academic and professional integrity of the journal and can overturn any decision of Officers or the Executive Committee by a majority of two thirds of Members present.

Section 4. A quorum is required for transaction of official business at weekly meetings and shall be comprised of one-third of *STAIR*'s membership.

Section 5. Unless otherwise specified, meetings are conducted according to the latest edition of *Robert's Rules of Order*.

Section 6. Decisions at meetings are taken by simple majority vote of the members. A two-thirds majority is required in special cases as designated by the Executive Committee or as required in other Articles of these Bylaws. Other less frequently used voting requirements are described in *Robert's Rules of Order*.

ARTICLE IV. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. *STAIR*'s Officers shall consist of five Editors (four Themed Section Editors and one General Section Editor), a Managing Editor, a Production Editor, a Sales and Marketing Officer, a Treasurer, a Liaison Officer, a Senior Member, a Public Relations Officer, a Copy Editor, a Book Reviews Editor, and a Webmaster. Either the Managing Editor or the Liaison Officer must be a student at St Antony's college.

Section 2. The Editors shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Strive to implement through their work the aims and ideas set out in the Preamble and in Article 1.

C. Be in charge of the contents of the journal issue they were elected for under Article VIII, Section 2. This includes direct responsibility for solicitation and presentation to the General Meeting of abstracts and articles, for the peer-review and corrections process, as well as supervisory responsibility for book reviews, copy-editing, and final proof-reading.

D. Present to the General Meeting an outline for the production of the issue they took responsibility for no later than four weeks after being elected. This outline shall describe the editorial principles for the planned issue as derived from the Preamble and Article 1; the structure of the issue; the proposed division of tasks between the two editors responsible for the issue and between them and other members of *STAIR*. It shall contain a proposed time-line for the solicitation and selection of abstracts and articles, peer-review and corrections process, copy-editing, final production and proof-reading. The outline must find the approval of a majority at the General Meeting or be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

E. Conduct, in cooperation with the Managing Editor, *STAIR*'s official correspondence and report on *STAIR*'s activities at the Annual General Meeting.

F. Perform other duties and functions as are authorized by the Executive Committee or these Bylaws.

G. Coordinate the peer-review process for all articles submitted to *STAIR* for publication; the identity of peer reviewers is to be kept confidential by the two Editors in charge of an issue; for supervision the Managing Editor shall be

supplied with a list of the names and affiliations of the reviewers only but receive no information on who reviewed which article.

H. Conduct appropriate correspondence on behalf of *STAIR* with the authors of all submissions, including notification of revisions, acceptance, and rejections.

I. Make any final editorial decisions as are necessary in accordance with the objectives of *STAIR* as set forth in these Bylaws.

J. Circulate all abstracts, articles and anonymized peer-review comments received by *STAIR* among the Membership and consider any comments received from members when recommending abstracts or articles.

K. Compile a list of recommended abstracts for selection and present it to the General Meeting. This list must find majority approval at the General Meeting before any authors can be notified and articles requested. If the list of recommended abstracts fails to be approved at the General Meeting, it shall be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

L. Following the peer-review, compile a list of recommended articles for publication and present it to the General Meeting. This list must find majority approval at the General Meeting before any authors can be notified. If the list of recommended articles fails to be approved at the General Meeting, it shall be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

M. Report regularly to the General Meeting with reference to the outline plan presented to the General Meeting before.

Section 3. The Managing Editor shall:

A. Perform the tasks associated with the role of "President" as defined by the University of Oxford Regulations governing clubs, societies, and publications.

B. Serve as chairperson at the General Meetings. If the Managing Editor is absent, Members at the General Meeting shall elect an ad-hoc chairperson by majority vote.

C. Regularly update Members at the General Meeting on all matters of importance.

D. Coordinate and supervise the activities of all Officers in order to ensure the academic and professional integrity of *STAIR*.

E. Ensure the timely publication of all journal issues.

F. Conduct *STAIR*'s official correspondence in cooperation with the Editors.

G. Ensure that adequate advice and assistance are available to the Officers in the
performance of their responsibilities as established in these Bylaws.

H. Keep the official records of *STAIR*, including the minutes of each weekly meeting,
all Executive Committee meetings, and the Annual General Meeting.

I. Circulate to all Members, on a weekly basis, the agenda for the General Meeting. All Members can place items on the agenda by notifying the Managing Editor in advance or at the General Meeting after all other agenda items have been addressed.

J. Distribute to all members, on a weekly basis, a copy of the minutes of the preceding week's meeting.

K. Annually update and distribute current copies of the Bylaws to the Officers, Members, and Advisory Board by the end of Trinity Term.

L. Keep full records of *STAIR*'s membership.

M. Endeavour to recruit new Members including suitable candidates for all Officer's positions.

N. Maintain the email lists of *STAIR*.

O. Maintain contact with the College's Development Office and be in charge of all relations with alumni.

P. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

Q. Serve as co-signatory for the journal's bank account.

Section 4. The Production Editor shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Be in charge of the technical production process of the journal.

C. Take responsibility for standardizing the format of all accepted submissions to the journal, including any advertisements received, and preparing each issue to go to print in a timely fashion.

D. Keep and maintain all software and templates necessary to produce each journal issue.

E. Liaise with the printing companies and ensure quality standards.

F. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor and the three Editors in charge of the current issue in production.

G. Report regularly to the Members at the General Meeting.

Section 5. The Sales and Marketing Officer shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Be responsible for sales, subscriptions, distribution, and all advertising that pertains to the journal.

C. Keep a current database of all current and potential subscribers, keep current records of all active subscriptions and expired subscriptions for a period of two years, collect and keep records of all payments for subscriptions, and (re)evaluate the costs of all types of subscriptions and single copies in cooperation with the Treasurer.

D. Guarantee that all subscriptions are mailed out in a timely fashion and search for new institutions, organizations, and other parties that may be interested in subscribing to the journal.

E. Maintain a database of all previous, current, and potential sources of advertising in the journal and conduct correspondence with such advertisers in accordance with the aims of the journal.

F. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

G. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor.

H. Report regularly to the Members at the General Meeting.

I. Serve as co-signatory for the journal's bank account.

Section 6. The Treasurer shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Manage and be co-signatory for the journal's bank account and any other accounts necessary for conducting business. The Treasurer's consent is required for all operations on any accounts of *STAIR*.

C. Keep proper records of *STAIR*'s financial transactions in accordance with current accepted accounting rules and practices.

D. Collect and be custodian of any fees or assessments authorized by these bylaws or funds and/or payments allotted to *STAIR*.

E. Disburse funds only as authorized by either a majority vote of the membership or by at least one other member of the Executive Committee in accordance with *STAIR*'s aims and in line with Members' decisions.

F. Ensure that all statutory returns are made including VAT, income tax, and corporation tax if appropriate.

G. Seek advice as necessary on tax matters from the University's Finance Division.

H. Make all records and accounts available on request to the Executive Committee or any of its members.

I. Supply financial reports to Members at the General Meeting once per term or when requested and prepare the annual Financial Report for the AGM.

J. Coordinate a budget for expenses with the Executive Committee members and the Public Relations Officer.

K. Supervise all expenses of *STAIR* and, if necessary, impose control on expenditure until a decision from Members can be obtained at the next General Meeting.

L. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

M. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor.

N. Regularly report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 7. The Liaison Officer shall:

A. Perform the tasks associated with the role of 'Secretary' as defined by the University of Oxford Regulations governing clubs, societies, and publications.

B. Serve on the Executive Committee.

C. Represent, in cooperation with the Managing Editor and the Editors, *STAIR* in all its relations with St Antony's College; all other relevant college and university boards and personnel, including the Courts of the University and other University authorities; and all institutions and organizations external to the College and the University.

D. Keep proper records of *STAIR*'s external relations.

E. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

F. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor.

G. Regularly report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 8. None of the Officers or Members may expend *STAIR*'s funds without prior consent from the Treasurer plus one other member of the Executive Committee. All Members are personally liable for funds dispersed without the prior consent of these Officers.

Section 9. The Public Relations Officer shall:

A. Organize and publicize the launch events and any other public events hosted by *STAIR*.

B. Report all activities on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor and the Editors in charge of the issue related to particular PR activities.

C. Report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 10. The Copy Editor shall:

A. Ensure in close cooperation with the relevant Editors that the format of all articles for publication conforms to common spelling and typesetting rules and to *STAIR*'s house style.

B. Plan and coordinate the copy-editing process in close cooperation with the relevant Editors and the Production Editor.

C. Keep record of the *STAIR* house style and document all decisions relating to questions not already addressed by the house style.

D. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Editors of the issue in current production.

E. Report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 11. The Book Reviews Editor shall:

A. Be in charge, in close cooperation with the Editors of the issue in current production, of the content of the book reviews section.

B. Coordinate the solicitation and selection of book reviews.

C. Circulate all book reviews received to all Members and consider any comments received in response.

D. Compile a list of book reviews recommended for publication and present this list to Members at the General Meeting. This list must find majority approval at the General Meeting or be amended and re-submitted until a majority is found.

E. Report to the Editors of the issue in current production.

F. Report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 12: The Senior Member shall:

A. Fulfil the tasks outlined in the University of Oxford Regulations governing clubs, societies, and publications.

Section 13: The Webmaster shall:

A. Maintain the website of the journal.

ARTICLE V. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the five Editors, the Managing Editor, the Treasurer, the Sales and Marketing Officer, the Liaison Officer, the Production Editor, and a Senior Member. The Senior Member will not be required to attend weekly meetings.

Section 2. The Executive Committee is authorized to act on behalf of *STAIR* at all times in their elected capacities and in accordance with their duties as specified in Article IV. Other decisions can be taken by the Executive Committee instead of by Members at the General Meeting only if these decisions are too urgent to be referred to the next General Meeting.

Section 3. A quorum is required for transaction of official business at an Executive Committee meeting. A quorum for an Executive Committee meeting shall consist of five of the ten members.

Section 4. Each member of the Executive Committee shall have one vote on Executive Committee decisions. In the event of a tie in which the Executive Committee can conclude no friendly agreement, the decision will be put to a majority vote of the Members at the next weekly meeting.

Section 5. The Executive Committee meets once per week during term time to prepare the General Meeting. When meetings are not possible during the breaks, the Executive Committee conducts business over the email list for the Executive Committee. Executive Committee meetings and the email list are open to all Members and members of the Advisory Board. Members and members of the Advisory Board may raise issues before the Executive Committee but may not vote on any issues.

Section 6. The Executive Committee shall submit to the full membership and Advisory Board at the first meeting of each term a report on the previous term's progress as well as guidelines for proceeding in the current term.

Section 7. Any decision of the Executive Committee may be overturned by a two-thirds majority vote of the membership, unless otherwise specified in these Bylaws.

Section 8. No member of the Executive Committee shall receive any salary or other compensation for his or her contributions to the production and functioning of the journal.

ARTICLE VI. SPECIAL TASKS AND ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Section 1. Special tasks that are not covered by the duties of Officers can be assigned to individual members by a majority vote of Members at the General Meeting. No such assignment shall carry a title or be mentioned on the journal's credits page (online or print).

Section 2. The Executive Committee can nominate Members who are not Officers but have shown exceptional work commitment for the journal to be mentioned as 'Associate Editor' on the credit pages of the issue currently in production (online and print). Any such nomination can only be made two weeks before an issue scheduled to go to print and not at any earlier time. The nominated Members shall be credited as 'Associate Editors' if the nomination finds the approval of a majority of Members at the last General Meeting before an issue goes to print.

ARTICLE VII. ADVISORY BOARD

Section 1. The Advisory Board shall consist of all invited faculty members of the University of Oxford and of external institutions, accepting the responsibilities set forth in Article VII, Section 2. Invitations can only be extended by a member of *STAIR*'s Executive Committee with the approval of a majority of Members at the General Meeting.

Section 2. The Advisory Board shall:

A. Serve an advisory role to *STAIR*'s Executive Committee on issues of importance raised by any of *STAIR*'s members.

B. Provide editorial assistance to *STAIR*'s Editors when requested.

C. Attend the Annual General Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. ELECTIONS

Section 1. Elections for the positions of Managing Editor, Treasurer, Sales and Marketing Officer, Liaison Officer, General Section Editor, and Production Editor will take place in week four of Hilary Term each year. Nominations will be accepted at the last weekly meeting held prior to the date of the election that is also at least seven days before elections.

Section 2. Elections for the position of Themed Section Editor will take place at the second General Meeting after an issue has been published. At each election only two new Editors are elected to take responsibility for the issue to be published after the next issue in line; usually in one year's time. The two

newly elected Editors will replace the Editors who were responsible for the last issue published. Nominations will be accepted at the last weekly meeting held prior to the date of the election that is also at least seven days before elections.

Section 3. Elections for the positions of Public Relations Officer, Copy Editor, and Book Reviews Editor will take place each time a pair of new Themed Section Editors is elected. Nominations will be accepted at the last weekly meeting held prior to the date of the election that is also at least seven days before elections.

Section 4. The elections shall be conducted by a Returning Officer. The Returning Officer for an election is elected by majority vote of Members at the last General Meeting before elections. The Returning Officer must not be a candidate at the same time.

Section 5. Members may cast their vote by email to the Returning Officer. All votes by email must be received by 1800h on the day before the elections. The Returning Officer is obligated to keep the identity and votes of Members voting by email confidential.

Section 6. All candidates must be members of the journal. Non-members who wish to present their candidacy for election may seek approval to run from a two-thirds vote of the membership present at the Nominating Meeting.

Section 7. Candidates for the positions of Editor and Managing Editor must also be full-time graduate students that are not completing their final year of studies at Oxford. The Editors and Managing Editor must be individuals able to uphold the values and principles of St Antony's College and the University of Oxford.

Section 8. Candidates may only be nominated and elected for one position; no person may hold more than one position at any time.

Section 9. Voting in elections will be conducted by simple majority ballots. In the event that no candidate obtains election after the first round of voting, the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes will compete in a run-off election. The candidate receiving the most votes in the second ballot shall take office. The run-off election will be repeated until one candidate receives more votes than the other. All ballots shall be anonymous and will be counted by the Returning Officer.

Section 10. Elected Officers will assume their positions in the week following elections.

Section 11. The Managing Editor, Treasurer, Sales and Marketing Officer, Liaison Officer, General Section Editor, and Production Editor shall serve for a period of one year. The Themed Section Editors shall serve until the issue

in their responsibility is published and new Editors are elected (usually one year). The Public Relations Officer, Copy Editor, and Books Reviews Editor shall serve until the next issue is published and new Editors are elected (usually six months). All Officers may seek re-election.

Section 12. In the event of a vacated position, the Executive Committee shall appoint a qualified replacement to fill the interim position until a by-election can be held. By-elections will be held at the third General Meeting after a position has become vacant according to the procedures established in Article VIII. If the position remains vacant after the by-election the Executive Committee shall appoint a qualified replacement to fill the interim position until the next regular election for the position.

Section 13. No elected Officer shall receive any salary or other compensation for his or her contributions to the production and functioning of the journal.

Section 14. *STAIR*'s Members at the General Meeting may replace any Officer with another candidate at any time by a two-thirds majority vote.

Section 15. Each Officer must, on relinquishing his or her appointment, promptly hand to his or her successor in Office all official documents and records belonging to *STAIR*, together with any other property belonging to *STAIR* which may be in his or her possession; and must complete any requirements to transfer authority relating to controls of *STAIR*'s bank accounts, building society accounts, or other financial affairs.

ARTICLE IX. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Section 1. The Annual General Meeting (hereafter "AGM") will be held in Trinity Term each year and will be presided over by the Managing Editor.

Section 2. The AGM is open to all Members and all members of the Advisory Board.

Section 3. The Editors will officially present *STAIR*'s yearly report at the AGM, and the report shall be accepted by a majority vote of those present at the meeting. The report shall be made available to all members and the Advisory Board one week prior to the AGM. If the report is not accepted, it shall be revised and resubmitted for approval, by proxy vote, of the Advisory Board within two weeks of the AGM.

ARTICLE X. INDEMNITY

Section 1. So far as may be permitted by law, every member of the Executive Committee and every *STAIR* Officer shall be entitled to be indemnified by *STAIR* against all costs, charges, losses, expenses, and liabilities incurred by him or her in the execution or discharge of his or her duties or the exercise of his or her powers, or otherwise properly in relation to or in connection with his or her duties. This indemnity extends to any liability incurred by him or her in defending any proceedings, civil or criminal, which relate to anything done or omitted or alleged to have been done or omitted by him or her as a member of the Executive Committee or *STAIR* Officer and in which judgment is given in his or her favour (or the proceedings are otherwise disposed of without any finding or admission of any material breach of duty on his or her part), or in which he or she is acquitted, or in connection with any application under any statute for relief from liability in respect of any such act or omission in which relief is granted to him or her by the Court.

Section 2. So far as may be permitted by law, *STAIR* may purchase and maintain for any Officer or member of the Executive Committee insurance coverage against any liability which by virtue of any rule of law may attach to him or her in respect of any negligence, default, breach of duty, or breach of trust of which he or she may be guilty in relation to *STAIR* and against all costs, charges, losses, and expenses and liabilities incurred by him or her and for which he or she is entitled to be indemnified by *STAIR* by virtue of Article X, Section 1.

ARTICLE XI. DISSOLUTION

Section 1. *STAIR* may be dissolved at any time by a two-thirds vote of members present at the Annual General Meeting.

ARTICLE XII. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to these Bylaws must be approved by both the student membership and the Advisory Board. The membership will vote on amendments during the General Meeting or emergency meetings called by any Officer of the Executive Committee. The Advisory Board will ratify amendments approved by the membership at the AGM.

Section 2. Proposed amendments must be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee, who will then review and circulate the contents of the amendment to the membership at least one week prior to voting.

A. The Bylaws may be provisionally amended by a two-thirds majority vote of *STAIR*'s Members at the General Meeting or attending the emergency meeting.

B. Amendments take provisional effect immediately upon passage.

C. Amendments provisionally adopted at the General Meeting or an emergency meeting by the membership will be submitted in writing to Advisory Board members together with the yearly report. Amendments are fully incorporated into these Bylaws once passed by a simple majority vote of the members present at the AGM.

Section 3. Any journal member or Advisory Board member may propose amendments to the Executive Committee at any time.