

Institution: University of Liverpool

Unit of Assessment: 19 Politics

1. Unit context and structure, research and impact strategy

Politics at the University of Liverpool has grown more than five-fold (from 5 staff submitted to REF2014 to 27 staff in REF2021). Strategic investment in staff has enabled us to build on existing strengths in comparative politics, British and Northern Irish politics, global conflict and peace processes, and electoral politics, and expand our research base further into international relations, with particular strengths in international slavery.

One of five Departments within the School of Histories, Languages and Cultures, the Department of Politics has created a vibrant and sustainable research environment through the execution of an ambitious research and impact strategy focused on diverse and international recruitment, income generation, promotion of high-quality outputs, and policy impact. We have fostered impactful national and international collaborations within and beyond academia. Meanwhile annual research income has grown 74% since the start of the REF2021 period, from £233,491 in 2013-14 to £407,197 in 2019-20, and based on the comparable data from REF2014, we have improved our annual income per eligible FTE by 35% (from £5,891 to £7,940).

The research and impact strategy is developed and led by our Research Committee, which includes ECR members and works alongside the Research Committees at School (including Politics PGR representation), Faculty, and University levels. After REF2014, the Committee established **three key strategic objectives** aimed at improving research capacity:

- a) to expand our research base and enhance internal research support (detailed in Section 2);
- b) to grow research income and impact (Section 3); and
- c) to reinforce internal, external, and interdisciplinary collaboration within and beyond academia (Section 4).

This research and impact strategy has allowed us to surpass the goals set out at REF2014 – namely, strengthening the dynamism of our research groups, increasing the number of ECRs, attracting more research funding, and developing more impact for our research.

The **expansion of our research base** has been both quantitative and qualitative. As part of our strategy to ensure generational renewal and investment in areas of innovation within the discipline, an important part of our recruitment has been focused on ECRs (8 out of 11 newly appointed lecturers since 2016). To ensure sustainability of the staff group, we have also supported the development of both ECRs and more established staff members to ensure their progression, in line with the University policy of support from “cradle to chair” (REF 5a, 3.1.). The success of this approach is illustrated by the fact that all current Senior Lecturers were former ECRs/Lecturers, developed and promoted internally, in common with two of the current five Professors. Moreover, a targeted recruitment policy has meant that the number of female staff in our submission has increased from one to six since 2014. We also now have two BAME members of staff and six identifying as LGBT+. Further diversification of our staff base at all levels is a serious and continuing effort that will be key in future recruitment.

Growth has also enabled the internationalisation of our Department through the recruitment of truly world-leading researchers. This includes an expansion of staff from EU (8 out of 27) and overseas backgrounds (3 out of 27), and the internationalisation of our networks of collaborators (Zihnioglu’s Carnegie Civic Research Network and EU COST Action – section 4.1.; Hodzi’s China Research Network – section 4.3.), research funding opportunities (Gomez’s Spanish Research Council grant; Petersohn’s Gerda Henkel Stiftung grant), and international pathways to knowledge exchange and impact (Pierson’s policy engagement during the Northern Ireland abortion referendum; Bird curating an exhibition on refugee routes for Tate Liverpool). Our new appointments and the ongoing development of existing staff have enabled us to expand our research expertise, particularly focusing on interdisciplinarity (Bird, Gippert, Pierson) and quantitative methods (Bernardi, Epifanio, Gomez, Jeffery, Lees).

1.1. Enhancement of our research and impact support and growing research income

Enhancement of our research and impact support and growing research income has been implemented through three key policies and support mechanisms:

First, individual staff members’ research support needs are identified during the twice annual research conversations carried out by our Research Lead and followed up by the Department’s Research Committee through advice and support, e.g. on accessing internal and external funding. Peer support at all stages of research is also provided by the new research clusters that have been developed to represent and foster the research strengths and expertise across our expanding Department (Section 1.2.).

Second, the Department takes full advantage of new internal institutional funding programmes established during this REF cycle (REF 5a, 2.2.1. & 3.3.2)., including the support for ECRs (Early Career/Returners Fund), pump-priming and pilot studies (Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) Seed Fund), internationalisation (International Network Fund) and engagement with non-academic users (Knowledge Exchange Vouchers) – see 2.1.

Third, the development and delivery of research projects is supported by the School's research and finance officers, and through protected research time and research leave policy that entitles staff to leave every seventh semester, with 15 members of staff taking leave during the current REF cycle. This model has proved extremely successful in generating prestigious external research income, including awards from the ESRC, AHRC, Leverhulme Trust, and British Academy. Based on the comparable data from REF2014 we have improved our annual income per eligible FTE by 35% (from £5,891 to £7,940). We have strengthened the support available for turning research outputs and findings into impact. Support from the Faculty Research Impact Officer, including dedicated impact postdoctoral support, is available for all Politics staff members to maximize impact (Section 3.2). This support has contributed to a growing portfolio of emerging impact projects.

1.2. Reinforcing internal, external, and interdisciplinary collaboration within and beyond academia

The UoA's expansion has helped us **to reinforce internal, external, and interdisciplinary collaboration within and beyond academia** and amplify our research, publication, and impact activities. Improved internal collaboration was driven through the strategic review and adaptation of our research clusters and research centres: we have developed from a two-cluster and two-research centre structure in 2014 to a four-cluster, two-research centre and one-research network structure. These peer-to-peer research support mechanisms have been central to fostering stronger outputs, higher quality grant applications, improving interdisciplinary collaborations, and supporting PGR, PDRA, and ECR members.

1.2.1. Research Clusters

The four politics **research clusters** are: 'Government, Parties and Elections', 'Human Rights and Justice', 'Peace and Conflict', and 'Governance, Policy and Civil Society'. They bring together PGRs, PDRAs, and all members of staff. The clusters were designed specifically along thematic lines, to: i. include staff from across all areas of Politics; ii. foster interdisciplinary working across different areas of Politics; iii. improve methodological and thematic cross-fertilization; and iv.

engage PGRs – who are an integral part to the clusters – with our research culture. Our clusters meet regularly, feed into the departmental research seminars, produce papers which are discussed by colleagues prior to journal submission, comment on research ethics and integrity, and help us deliver our transformative research to non-academic beneficiaries.

This brief case study of one of our clusters illustrates how the cluster structure enables research, improves output quality, and generates impact:

- **Government, Parties and Elections.** This cluster includes PGR and staff from British Politics, Comparative Politics and IR. Review of draft manuscripts within the cluster has raised **output quality**, which has led to published outputs in prestigious journals and books in leading academic presses, including Tonge’s book on the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) (winner Political Studies Association of Ireland’s Brian Farrell best book 2014) and the prestigious “Britain Votes” series (Oxford University Press 2017 and 2019), co-edited by Tonge and Wilks-Heeg, with Russell contributing. Cluster members are making a central **contribution to research base and impact**. They have presented evidence to legislatures in the UK, Ireland, Slovenia, Spain, and to the EU Parliament (Gomez, Haughey, Russell, Tonge). Wilks-Heeg is a member of the Electoral Commission’s Roundtable on Electoral Integrity. Cluster members have engaged in knowledge exchange and partnerships with political parties and their think tanks at the local, national and EU level (Gomez, Jeffery, Tonge). Review of funding applications in the cluster before submission has enabled **major projects and funding** success with funds from the ESRC (PI: Tonge), AHRC (PI: Wilks-Heeg), Leverhulme Trust (PI: Gomez), and the Spanish Ministry for Research and Innovation (PI: Gomez).

1.2.2. Research Centres and Networks

Our two **research centres**, one **research network** and the Department of Politics’ **close collaboration** with the Institute of Irish Studies embody our strategic **commitment to interdisciplinary research**. Each research centre includes PGRs, PDRAs, and ECRs as well as staff from several departments. Interdisciplinary centres and the network are crucial enablers of research, internal and external collaborations, events organisation and dissemination opportunities, and generate knowledge-exchange and impact.

- As a major hub of interdisciplinary research, **the Centre for the Study of International Slavery (CSIS)**, brings together staff and PGRs from the Departments of Politics, Archaeology, History (where it is based), Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology, and

the Management School to produce agenda-setting research and impact about human enslavement and its historical and contemporary manifestations. The Centre was co-directed by one of our members of staff (Balch) for most of the current REF period (2014-2018). Balch now heads the AHRC GCRF-funded Anti-Slavery Research Network, an interdisciplinary consortium of three UK universities and academic and non-academic partners across West and Central Africa (section 3) which makes a crucial contribution to the University strategy of global research and impact (REF 5a, 2.2.1.). CSIS is a core partner in the UKRI funded, AHRC-led Policy and Evidence Centre for Modern Slavery and Human Rights (£10m total, with 220k to Liverpool), now directed by Balch. Balch and tenure-track Derby Fellow, Vaughn, developed agenda-setting new guidance for the UK Collaborative on Development Research (UKCDR) on safeguarding in international development research. Balch and colleagues' (2 PDRAs and 1 PGR) impact work with the COOP Group's Bright Future Initiative, which works with victims of modern slavery, won the 2018 University of Liverpool Research Impact of the Year Award.

- **The Europe and the World Centre (EWC)** is based within the Department of Politics and directed by Harris and draws on research by staff and PGRs from departments including History, Irish Studies, and Modern Languages and Cultures. Its crucial contribution to debates on diverse ways in which Europe is being refashioned won a Contribution to Public Engagement award (Liverpool City Region) during the Brexit Referendum campaign in 2016. EWC's external events and research workshops have promoted interdisciplinary collaborations with Law, Sociology, History, Irish Studies, and Gender Studies.
- **The Network for the Interface of Classics and Politics (NICP)** is an interdisciplinary research group established in October 2018, bringing together colleagues and PGRs across Classics and Politics and is co-directed by two of our members of staff (Crines, Jeffery). The NICP's interdisciplinary approach seeks to better understand the intersection between the ancient world, modern politics and international studies. It organises events and has supported a pending interdisciplinary AHRC networking funding application.

The collaboration between the Department of Politics and the Institute of Irish Studies on Northern Ireland in particular has enhanced the vitality of research for both entities. The Institute of Irish Studies is a leading centre for the study of Irish politics, history and culture. Shirlow is included in the Politics REF submission, as is Haughey, who holds a joint post in the two departments. These synergies have enabled major joint research projects such as the ESRC Northern Ireland general election studies in 2015, 2017 and 2019 (Tonge PI, Shirlow CI), resulting in major datasets and

publications. A Leverhulme Trust-funded study (Shirlow PI, Tonge CI) of former paramilitaries yielded a Manchester University Press book on reintegration of those with conflict-related convictions. Another Leverhulme-funded study (Tonge PI) of Northern Ireland's political parties led to a membership study of the DUP, an award-winning Oxford University Press book and subsequent surveys of other political parties in Northern Ireland. These initiatives resulted in an impact case study by Shirlow and Tonge. These projects each led to the employment of Research Assistants, whilst four PGRs were jointly supervised across the Politics Department and the Institute between 2014-2020. The Institute of Irish Studies runs a prestigious series of public lectures, which have included President of Ireland Michael D. Higgins and former President Mary Robinson, and former Taoisigh Enda Kenny and Bertie Ahern.

Research activity has been supported by our monthly Departmental Research Seminars, Research Away days, and a bespoke internal mentoring programme for all staff and PGRs. The new structure has facilitated a vibrant and sustained research activity, as demonstrated by the volume of research produced. Since 2014, staff included in this submission have authored 15 books and 134 journal articles.

Staff conduct research to the highest standards of **integrity and ethics**. Depending on the level of risk, research proposals with human participants are reviewed at the School-level or the Central University Research Ethics Committee. Vaughn and Balch's co-authored UK Collaborative on Development Research Guidance on Safeguarding in International Development Research (see above) is a major contribution to developing rigorous research ethics in the conducting of international research.

In terms of **open data**, data created in the course of Research Council-funded projects is deposited as required by the funders. Datasets from the three ESRC Northern Ireland general election surveys (PI Tonge) and on public attitudes to 'Votes-at-16' from Tonge's Leverhulme Trust study of voting age reform, for example, have been deposited with the UK Data Service. Department staff upload data to repositories such as Harvard Dataverse, journal repositories, and personal websites (e.g. Epifanio's LeRIT - Legislative Responses to International Terrorism). Submitted outputs are in full compliance with REF2021's open access requirements and we exceed current REF requirements on **open access**, securing £4,020 institutional funding to acquire Gold Open Access rights for 6 staff articles and making publications available to a range of public and non-academic stakeholders.

Since 2014, our clusters and research centres have organised 114 events, including conferences, research seminars, workshops, public lectures and exhibitions. Our staff research expertise generates great media interest, resulting in over 700 media appearances (TV, radio, newspapers

and online media) over this REF assessment period. We have provided evidence to parliament and parliamentary committees in the UK, Ireland, the EU, and several European countries, written and presented policy reports, and informed UK and EU policies (Section 3).

1.3. Future strategic aims and goals for research and impact

Our strategic aim is to consistently produce research and impact of the highest quality at the level of a world leading Politics department. In order to achieve this aim, we are pursuing the following goals:

1. Continue to grow our research base and ensure sustainability and generational balancing through a) supporting career development pathways for those considering promotion, and b) continuing to attract new, outstanding researchers at all career stages.
2. Increase the Department's diversity by building on strategies employed in the 2017 and 2019 recruitment rounds. Diversity needs to include all protected characteristics, be reflected in future recruitment, and be supported by an inclusive approach to career development, promotion, and output/research support.
3. Increase the number of high-quality PGRs and PDRAs, firstly, as a result of becoming a more diverse and vital department with a greater range of expertise, and secondly, by increasing our portfolio of externally funded studentships and research grants.
4. Further strengthen our positive trajectory of research funding and the links between research income generation and impact by i. supporting staff at all career stages with tailored impact advice; ii. increasing collaborations and engagement with a wide variety of audiences and practitioners; and iii. using seed corn funding to pilot research ideas with a view to leveraging ambitious external grant income.

2. People

To ensure the sustainability of the expansion of the Department's research base, we have strategically invested in the diversification and internationalisation of our academic staff and PGR students. Since 2014, the Department has attracted highly qualified female staff (8 appointments), ECRs (8 appointments), and international staff (11 appointments), contributing to a vibrant, inclusive, and diverse research environment in line with our first strategic objective after REF2014, namely expanding our research base and enhancing internal research support (section 1).

2.1. Staffing Strategy and Staff Development

The number of staff submitted to REF2021 has grown more than fivefold since REF2014 to a medium-sized department of 26 permanent members of staff plus Shirlow from Irish Studies, in addition to 5 PDRAs, and 14 current PGRs in 2020. In line with our first strategic objective of **extending our research base** (section 1), Politics has added considerable expertise since 2014 in the fields of comparative politics and policy (Baumann, Epifanio, Zihnioglu), political theory (Bird, Martin), gender and politics (Epifanio, Pierson), conflict and peace processes (Gippert, Hodzi, Lees, Mathieu), electoral behaviour, public opinion and parties (Bernardi, Gomez, Haughey, Jeffery, Russell), and political discourse (Crines). As noted in Section 1.1, we have also adjusted our research clusters to build on areas of existing strengths and new growth areas.

The Department's **recruitment and staffing strategy** has focused on three elements: First, **generational renewal** and supporting our future leadership base by appointing outstanding ECRs, as evidenced by their strong record in publication, funding success, and groundwork for future impact case studies. All our new ECRs were hired on permanent lectureships to ensure retention and job security. They have come from diverse British, European, and overseas research institutions, have held prestigious national and international post-docs (Baumann, Bernardi, Pierson, Gippert, Hodzi), have won external research funding since starting at Liverpool (Section 3) and have revitalised our research environment, expertise, and pathways to knowledge-exchange and impact. Examples of the latter include Pierson's briefing of the British-Irish Parliamentary Assembly on abortion and reproductive rights in 2019, Bird's work with the European Commission on the refugee crisis, Gippert's evidence base underlying the official review of UK Official Development Aid spending through the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund in 2018, and Hodzi's co-authored report on African connectivity for the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. ECRs and other new recruits are being supported in their research through internal funding, mentoring, advice of the research lead and Research Committee, and the vibrant research environment of the research clusters and centres (Section 1).

Second, **diversification** of our departmental staff has included strategic appointments of female, ECR, EU, and international scholars. Strategic diversification, while ensuring excellence in scholarship, was the focus of the 2017 and 2019 recruitment rounds. This was achieved by advertising roles in subfields predominantly researched by women and international scholars. Recruitment panels for both rounds included a sizeable proportion of women and ECRs. The success of these policies led to the recruitment of 6 women for the 8 advertised roles in 2017, and in 2019 when all 4 new appointees were international (2 EU and 2 overseas). With regard to

generational renewal, 10 of 13 newly appointed staff in the 2017 and 2019 recruitment rounds were ECRs (2 have since left the Department).

Third, the **internationalisation** of the departmental staff has succeeded, as in 2020 nearly half the department (11 out of 26) are EU or overseas citizens (including dual citizens), two of them self-identifying as having a BAME background.

The staffing strategy has also included attracting **PDRAs** on competitive and prestigious grants, providing additional expertise for PGRs, and facilitating new collaborative research. Examples include: Dr Lennon Mhishi (on Balch's AHRC-funded Anti-Slavery Knowledge Network project); Dr Linnea Renton (on Balch's AHRC safeguarding project), Dr Charla Waeiss (on Gomez's consultancy project on 'Social Bases of Support for Radical Left Parties in Europe'), and Dr Tom Loughran (on Tonge's Leverhulme Trust funded project on voting age reform). Dr Leona Vaughn, progressed from a postdoctoral position on Balch's British Academy project to join the Department permanently through a Derby Tenure Track Fellowship, part of a new programme of Early Career Fellowships (REF 5a, 3.3.2).

The **staff development strategy** is aimed at achieving our first strategic objective for the next REF cycle, continuing to grow our research base and ensure sustainability and generational balancing, our second strategic objective of increasing the Department's diversity, and the third strategic objective of increasing the number of high-quality PGRs and PDRAs (Section 1.3.).

The measure of our success will be, firstly, future growth in the number of staff submitted to the next REF; secondly, internal promotion and development as a pathway for our diverse cohort of recent staff recruits to achieve greater diversity among all staff, and especially senior staff, in terms of gender and ethnicity; and finally, an increase in the number of PDRAs and PGRs based in the Department. We seek to achieve this last aim primarily through continued expansion of research grant income (section 3.1.).

We pursue the staff development strategy through research support and mentoring, training, and funding. This particularly pertains to ECR, PDRA and PGR development. Staff development into more senior roles is key to the Department's sustainability. In this REF cycle, 6 new Lecturers have been promoted to Senior Lecturer (Baumann, Bird, Crines, Gippert, Gomez, Petersohn), raising the number of female senior staff from 1 to 3 – an area of continuing attention for our unit. Also, one Senior Lecturer was promoted to Reader (Wilks-Heeg) and two Senior Lecturers were promoted to Professor (Balch and Dolowitz).

Unit-level environment template (REF5b)

Staff development is facilitated through staff mentoring, the annual Professional Development Review, staff development through the University's Academy (e.g. Postgraduate Certificate Academic Practice), the School-level staff development fund, and study leave every seventh semester.

Research mentoring is an innovative, two-way system in which staff, PDRAs and PGRs act as mentors and mentees at the same time. This system runs through the research clusters to ensure thematic cohesion and encourage diverse input. This mentoring ranges from general research and career advice to peer-review for publications or funding bids; mentoring also acts as an incubator for new (collaborative) research ideas. ECRs benefit from the Faculty ECR Forum, which organises dedicated events, and the University's Researcher Staff Association. Twice yearly research meetings between individual staff and the departmental research lead support strategic research choices, providing a forum for advice on external funding, where to publish, and how to develop impact. Strategic grant applications are also supported through advice from School-level research champions for individual schemes, many of whom are based in Politics: Balch (AHRC), Tonge (ESRC), Zihnioglu (British Academy and EU), Baumann (Leverhulme) and School, Faculty and University level peer review for large grants.

Staff Research Allowances, which support field work, data collection and dissemination have doubled to £1,000 per annum since 2014, with a commitment to further gradual increases. Further support is available on application from a School-level Discretionary Fund. Colleagues have benefitted from the internal University level seed corn and pump-priming schemes referred to in section 1.1: e.g. the Early Career/Returners Fund (won by Baumann, Bird, Haughey), pilot studies (ODA Seed Fund – won by Balch), internationalisation (International Network Fund – won by Pierson), engagement with non-academic users (Knowledge Exchange Vouchers – won by Balch), and Interdisciplinary Fund (won by Gavin). Balch's successful £2.1 million AHRC Network Plus grant (Anti-Slavery Network) was developed on the basis of internal ODA Seed Funding.

The success of our ongoing departmental support policy for **ECRs** is reflected in how during the current REF period ECRs have secured funding from the ESRC (Gippert, £681,315 total), Leverhulme Trust (Baumann, £75,000), and GCRF (Pierson, £38,000) (Section 3), have engaged with policy-makers in Whitehall, Brussels, and internationally (Haughey, Pierson, Bird, Baumann, Gippert), and with a range of audiences beyond academia (Bird, Gippert, Pierson). The Department is also investing in the development of current and future impact case studies by female ECR staff (Pierson, Gippert, Bird, Epifanio) for the Department's next REF submission. This support includes tailored advice in collecting evidence, feedback and review processes to strengthen the narrative, and funding through the School-level Impact Fund. ECRs are represented on all major departmental committees and have taken on key departmental roles

including academic leads for admissions (Bird), REF environment and research (Gippert), employability (Jeffery), and internationalisation (Pierson).

2.2. Research Students

PGR students are an integral part of our research environment. They are supported and guided in a tailored, progress-oriented supervision programme and have been successful in obtaining prestigious, competitive scholarships. Our PGRs form a diverse and vibrant community, with 9 of 14 of the current 2019/20 cohort being female, 7 from the EU and 4 from overseas. To support mutual professional development and learning processes, 5 current PGRs are co-supervised by ECRs in 2019/20, which is part of ECR development. Since 2014, Politics colleagues have supervised 30 PGR students and supported over 16 PhD completions, an increase of 29% since REF 2014 (average doctoral completions per annum rose from 2.4 to 3.3), with several pursuing full-time academic positions, including Caroline Gray (Aston), Anthony Williams (Manchester Metropolitan) and Sean Haughey as a full-time permanent lecturer at the University of Liverpool. Several former PGRs have published monographs with leading university and commercial presses (e.g. Gray, Whiting).

Increasing the number of PGRs is our third strategic goal for the next REF period (Section 1.3). We aim to achieve it through expansion of MA provision, increased funding and the broadening of expertise that comes with the increase in research-active staff. Our outstanding PGRs are recruited on a competitive basis, and many are supported financially through a variety of prestigious national and international **scholarships**, including the ESRC (4), John Lennon Scholarships (3), Gerda Henkel Foundation (2), Joseph Rotblat Scholarship (1), and Sultanate of Oman's Embassy (2), in addition to internal scholarships offered by the Department (4).

Our PGRs are fully integrated into our research culture. They present their research at the formal departmental research seminars and informal research cluster seminars. In addition to being active members of our research clusters, PGRs provide formal input into Department and School policy through PGR representatives and a School Staff-Student Liaison Committee, which meets three times a year. They participate in the Politics-based research centres/network and have used available funding to organise their own research events, including the 2017 PGR Conference "Ideas to Impact: Postgraduates Against Slavery" (Woods), financed by the CSIS and attended by 30 internal and external PGR and ECRs. The resulting papers were published as a special issue. Similarly, Haughey's Evolution of Devolution in Northern Ireland 1998-2018 conference (2018) was funded by the EWC and brought together networks of national and international scholars and PGRs.

Training and development support for PGRs is provided by the Department through the core training module Research Methods in Politics and, since 2019, through a tailor-made annual PGR-organised methods workshop series. In 2019/2020 this was funded by the University-level competitive Methodological Innovation and Development Award Scheme (MIDAS) applied for and won by PGRs Gottwick and Kellgren-Parker. This innovative and PGR-led workshop-series addresses specific methods required by PGRs. These departmental development programmes are complemented by the methods and skills sessions of the Liverpool Doctoral College, The Academy, and engage@Liverpool, with the Department supporting PGRs to become HEA Associate Fellows following an internal training programme (REF 5a, 3.5). The Department organises monthly career development seminars on issues such as publishing in peer reviewed journals or non-academic careers. Further training and career development opportunities will arise from the University's new partnership status with the ESRC-funded National Centre for Research Methods.

Our PGRs are also supported and encouraged to turn academic work into knowledge-exchange and impact. The success of this approach shows in knowledge-exchange with policy-makers such as Porat who worked for the Cyprus Office of the German Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Haughey who worked with the Northern Ireland Assembly. Haughey's research on the hours worked on constituency service by Northern Ireland Assembly members was cited in the Reaney Report (2017), which guided the Secretary of State on the extent to which their salaries should be reduced. PGRs also write for the national press, for instance Daniels in The Independent on the 1980s miners' strike.

Case study: PGR development through the project on private military-security companies (PSMCs): Petersohn's project on PMSCs, funded by the German Gerda Henkel Foundation, is one of the leading examples of PGR inclusion and development in the Department. Petersohn strategically recruited three outstanding female PGRs to counter the prevailing male-dominated trend in the field of security studies (Gottwick, Penel, Kellgren-Parker). Supported also by the School, the project provided funding for these three PGRs to attend the 2019 International Studies Association Conference in Toronto. The PGRs presented their papers first in our departmental research seminar series. Methodological development needs which were flagged up during these presentations were addressed by School-funded attendance of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Methods Summer School in Bamberg, Germany. Petersohn is now co-authoring journal articles with each PGR, two of which have so far been submitted to leading internationally peer reviewed disciplinary journals.

2.3. Equality and Diversity

Politics is strongly committed to increasing equality for all staff regardless of position or background, and actively **supports diversity and inclusivity** through policies, recruitment, and staff development. This includes PGRs/PDRAs and ECR members of staff. Politics is proud to be represented at the School's Equality and Diversity Committee by three members of staff (Epifanio, Gomez, Pierson) and to have held its deputy directorship (Epifanio, 2017-2019). These members of staff oversee and report on the implementation of the School Action Plan (which underpins our Athena SWAN Bronze award) in the Department of Politics. Early progress in the Department of this ongoing process includes the 100% completion rates of Equality and Diversity (E&D) online training modules by Politics staff.

The diversity of the Department of Politics' demographics and research foci has driven the organisation of **public events** with relevant E&D content such as Wilks-Heeg's public lecture panel for International Women's Day 2017, Tonge's special Northern Ireland post-2017 election conference on implications for minority groups, and Pierson's organisation of social media activity during the Northern Irish abortion referendum.

The **implementation of E&D policies** in the Department includes the actions emerging from the School Action Plan (see above) and targeted action to represent the research of PGRs, ECRs, international, and female staff in our research seminar series; and scheduling of research events during core working hours (10am-4pm) to enable attendance by staff with caring responsibilities (including staff and PGRs who returned from parental leave). Staff with young children and caring responsibilities are supported in working remotely, having their teaching scheduled during core working hours (10am-4pm), and they receive support from the School's Family Friendly Advisors. Staff members can draw on a range of networks for additional support, including networks for parents and carers, ECRs, women, disabled, BAME, and LGBT staff (REF 5a, 3.2)

3. Income, infrastructure and facilities

Our annual research income has grown by 74% since the start of the REF2021 period (from £233,491 in 2013-14 to £407,197 in 2019-20). Success rates have been high, with 47% of PI-led applications succeeding between August 2013 and July 2020. Awards have been received from a broad range of prestigious and competitive national and international funders. These include UK and international research councils (AHRC, ESRC, British Council, Spanish Research Council, Irish Research Council), charities (Leverhulme Trust, British Academy), and national and

international foundations (Gerda Henkel Foundation, Mercator Foundation (Germany), Carnegie Foundation, Joseph Rowntree Foundation).

Our grant capture is becoming more diverse: while all grants awarded in 2014 were won by male staff, by 2020 a third of all grants had been secured by women. Our Equality and Diversity policies are designed to increase this grant capture further (section 2.3.). In line with our second strategic objective (b) (Section 1), increased research income has also translated into increased research impact. Our fourth strategic aim for the next 5-7 years is to strengthen the link between research and impact (section 1.3.). Success will be measured by the breadth of impact case studies we will consider for inclusion in the next REF.

3.1. Research Income and Consultancy

We are particularly proud of the **funding successes of new appointees and ECRs**, with ongoing projects bridging the current and the next REF periods. Petersohn's two Gerda Henkel Foundation grants (£131,097 and £17,618) permitted the investigation of the Impact of Mercenaries and Private Military-Security Companies on Civil War Dynamics and generated a new dataset to be made publicly available in February 2021, and four journal articles submitted and one published. The findings of the research were presented to the Canadian government and the Montreux Forum of the International Committee of the Red Cross – material for a potential REF 2028 impact case study. This project also created two PGR positions (both women appointees) and supported a third associated female PGR (section 2). Pierson is Co-investigator for a Department for the Economy Northern Ireland grant with Ulster University (£38,000) as a seed corn grant for an interdisciplinary collaborative project proposal to the Medical Research Council for £830,000 to explore Young Girls' and Women's Reproductive Health with interdisciplinary (medical) partners in Northern Ireland, South Africa, the Philippines and a Global South-led transnational feminist charity Realising Sexual and Reproductive Justice (RESURJ). The ESRC standard grant Democratization and UN Peacebuilding on which Gippert is a Co-Investigator (£681,315 total), analyses how UN peacebuilding operations inadvertently enable authoritarian behaviour by the host state. Baumann's Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship on Capital and the Arab Spring (£75,000) provided insights into relations between Middle East business and politics and has so far resulted in three journal articles.

Politics' senior members of staff have retained and improved upon their excellent record for attracting external funding, including large, agenda-setting grants and consortia. These include Tonge's ESRC funding for the 2015, 2017 and 2019 Northern Ireland General Election Surveys, leading a team also based at the LSE, Leeds and Aberdeen. Outputs so far include books published by Oxford University Press, evidence presented to the European Parliament, select

committees of the House of Commons and Lords, Senedd and Dail Éireann, and resulting in one of our selected REF2021 impact case studies. In 2018, Tonge also won a Leverhulme Trust grant of £119,980 to investigate the Historical and Contemporary Debates on Lowering the Voting Age, which included a 2-year PDRA position. Northern Ireland remains a strong area focus for our work, and interdisciplinary collaboration with the Institute of Irish Studies (section 1.2.) led to award success, such as Shirlow's AHRC grant on Arts-based reconciliation (£574,000).

Balch's interdisciplinary and agenda-setting anti-slavery work in Britain and sub-Saharan Africa has won a number of prestigious awards (British Academy - £200,000; British Council – £24,957; Joseph Rowntree Foundation – £9,046; Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (USA) – £185,409), but most notably as noted in section 1.1, an AHRC GCRF Network Plus grant of £2.1 million for the establishment of the Anti-Slavery Research Network. This is an interdisciplinary consortium of three leading UK universities (Liverpool as lead, Hull, and Nottingham), antislavery NGOs, and academic and non-academic partners across West and Central Africa. These projects have benefitted from and contributed to the collaborative research infrastructure provided by CSIS and has included also supported PGRs and PDRAs throughout. Outputs are ongoing for several of these grants, but so far include a 2019 monograph published by Bristol University Press, journal articles, policy reports, and one of our selected REF2021 impact case studies.

Our income success is a result of three inter-related mechanisms: targeted support, diversification, and grant re-development. First, **targeted support** for research income generation is provided via three avenues: twice-annual individual research conversations between staff and the departmental research lead, regular cooperation and support through the four research clusters in which staff are supported and advised by their colleagues, and Institutional Research Champions (Section 2.1.).

Second, **diversification of resource income** includes funding from both international and non-traditional funding bodies. Diversification of funding sources has been spear-headed by Gomez (Spanish Ministry for Economy and Competition), Petersohn (Gerda Henkel Foundation), and Zihnioglu (German Mercator Foundation) and is continuing to open doors to new and under-used funding sources as well as fostering international collaboration and networks.

Third, **grant re-development** is an important aspect of increasingly competitive external funding applications. Several formerly unsuccessful research grants have been re-developed and re-purposed using internal peer-review mechanisms and resulted in successful applications for prestigious research income. This includes Petersohn's two Gerda Henkel Foundation grants

mentioned above, re-developed from an unsuccessful ESRC application, and Gomez' Leverhulme Fellowship (£53,554), which was re-purposed from an initially unsuccessful application.

Our work with industry, policymakers, NGOs/charities, government and political parties shows the intimate connection between cutting-edge research and **consultancy**, often raising further research support income and providing another avenue of impact beyond academia. Based on his ongoing research and supported by the university's Consultancy team, Balch has engaged in consultancy work for the Sheffield-based charity, City Hearts, who provides support to victims of modern slavery. He and Vaughn cooperated on a UKCDR safeguarding project (section 1.2.). Other innovative consultancy projects include Gomez's Social Bases of Support for Radical Left Parties in Europe, funded by the European Left Party's think tank transform! europe in 2019, which also engaged a PDRA. Gavin compiled a review of research for the Department of Energy and Climate Change in 2015. Baumann's consultancy work for the German Friedrich Ebert Stiftung on land and property rights in Syria, Iraq and Libya in 2019 highlights the potential for international consultancy work, as does Petersohn's work for the Canadian Military College on Private and Military Companies in 2018/19. In total, consultancy work and professional services have contributed £51,174.68 worth of income for the Department.

Many departmental consultancy projects and knowledge exchange activities are resulting in important political, economic, and social **impact**. Many of the projects below are still in progress, particularly those by new staff and ECRs hired since 2017 and will form part of our impact case studies for the next REF. Balch's engagement with the Coop Group's Bright Futures Initiative has reviewed and supported the Initiative's aim of providing work placement and non-competitive interviews to victims of modern slavery to facilitate their entry into regular employment. It won the 2018 University of Liverpool Research Impact of the Year award. The PGR and 3 PDRAs associated with and funded by this project were fully involved with both the research and consultancy work and co-winners of the award.

Ongoing impact activities, especially by our female members of staff, demonstrate that impact activities are constantly expanding and reaching new beneficiaries. Gippert and her colleagues in an ESRC-funded research project on Democratization and UN Peacebuilding are working closely with the UN Training Office, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Swedish Folke Bernadotte Academy to turn the findings into policy-lessons embedded in future UN and national peacekeeper training schedules. Bird's collaborative project, Refugee Journeys through the Western Balkans, which formed the basis of a public facing Tate Exchange event at Tate Liverpool, was designed as a mixture of photographic exhibition, interactive engagement with the stories of refugees through narratives and presentations, and public engagement with the tensions between borders and humanitarian emergency through the making of a quilt in the shape of the

Balkan Route. This project forms part of Bird's ongoing work with the House of Commons and the EU on the refugee crisis and is the basis of an emerging impact case study. Epifanio's collaborative work on maternity policies across the UK Higher Education Sector investigates whether differing impact on female academics' careers and promotion is due to divergent maternity leave and support policies across 165 higher education institutions. The team from Liverpool and Warwick are collaborating with the UK Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, HR directors, and Athena SWAN Committees across higher education institutions to turn their findings into policy change.

3.2. Infrastructure and Facilities

Research support infrastructure is organised at School- and Faculty-level and includes dedicated research and finance teams who review and advise on external funding above £10,000, the central research support office, and the events and marketing team, who support public engagement and dissemination. The vibrancy of our research environment is also fostered by the structures and financial support available through our two interdisciplinary research centres – EWC, CSIS - and Network for the Interface of Classics and Politics (Section 1.2). This infrastructure provides individual support for current and potential future impact cases, impact event support for PGRs and ECRs, and advice on how knowledge-exchange activities and dissemination can turn into longer-term impact.

Politics' physical research environment has benefitted from the **complete renovation** of its space in 1-14 Abercromby Square with the total value of £2.2 million, of which approximately £500,000 went to facilities dedicated to the Department. This renovation includes new staff offices, PGR suites, a School common room, and a new media suite for TV interviews, facilitating public engagement and impact. Politics staff regularly use the new media suite. For instance, Tonge made use of the suite to provide ongoing commentary for British and international news outlets on the Northern Irish border issue and Jeffery was able to use the facility to comment on the Conservative leadership election. Balch's film/documentary "Clothes, Chocolate, Children: Realising the Transparency Dividend" was narrated and voiced over in the media suite and represented one of the outputs from his British Academy grant.

New equality and diversity infrastructure for staff include the appointment of School-level Family Friendly Advisors, a Gender Equality Officer, gender neutral facilities, and a milk-expression room.

4. Collaboration and contribution to the research base, economy and society

The expansion of the Department of Politics has included developing and growing national, international, and interdisciplinary academic and user collaborations, linked to prestigious outputs and impact. Achieving our objective set in 2014 (c), we have reinforced internal, external and interdisciplinary collaboration within and beyond academia (Section 1). In line with the Department's staff development strategy, these collaborations and contributions to the research base and wider society have been achieved by ECRs, especially female ECRs, and international members of staff, as well as by our senior members of staff. Our fourth strategic aim for the coming REF period includes further increasing collaborations and engagement with wider audiences and practitioners, not least by strengthening links between research income generation and impact (Section 1.3.). The measure of our success will be the extent to which we expand collaborations and networks, and how we create synergies between research, impact and income generation.

4.1 Collaborations – national, international, interdisciplinary

Collaborations are fostered through our research and impact strategy by highlighting avenues for cooperation, providing internal (seed corn) funding for internationalisation and collaborative grant proposals, and by supporting and funding research events for networking and realising future research synergies. Examples of prestigious **national collaborations** include the CSIS' and Balch's core role in the new Policy and Evidence Centre for Modern Slavery and Human Rights which is a collaboration with the Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law, the University of Nottingham, the University of Oxford and the Alan Turing Institute (Section 1.2.2.). It also works in partnership with Liverpool's International Slavery Museum (ISM). Another example is Harris' interdisciplinary research collaboration with colleagues from Liverpool's Department of Communication and Media on Rethinking Memory, Justice and Truth in Latin America and the Western Balkans, financed by the ODA Research Seed Fund, and which has resulted in a workshop with museum curators, the media and a reconciliation NGO from Sarajevo. It created crucial interconnections between cutting-edge academic research and engagement with non-academic audiences and beneficiaries.

At the same time, our ECRs are also engaging with current and ongoing topics, showcasing the timeliness of our work. Mathieu's collaboration with colleagues from Sheffield and Leeds addresses the concept of the responsibility to protect in the American discourse on the Syria civil war. Gippert collaborates with Squatrito (LSE, formerly Liverpool) on the EU's rationale for setting up a new hybrid court for war crimes in Kosovo. Epifanio collaborates with colleagues from Warwick University on her work on female academics' careers, promising future impact (Section 3.1.).

Beyond the borders of the UK, our staff engage in cutting-edge **international collaboration**. Zihnioglu is a member of the EU COST Action (EU Cooperation in Science and Technology) Reappraising Intellectual Debates on Civic Rights and Democracy in Europe. This network of scientists from 32 countries runs from 2017 to 2021 (funded by Horizon 2020) and supports research collaboration across Europe. Gomez cooperates with colleagues from Spain, France and Belgium in two projects funded by the European Left Party's think tank transform! europe. Instances of continued international engagement and collaborations by senior staff include Dolowitz's cooperation with colleagues from the University of Strasbourg on the role of micro-processes within Economic Intergovernmental Organisations, funded through €20,000 from the French Institut de la Gestion Publique et du Développement Economique (IGPDE) and supported by a University of Liverpool School-level grant of £1,000. This grant has led to a new network involving academics from France, the UK, Germany, Brazil, and Turkey, a three-day workshop, and the publication of a policy report.

Other examples of research conducted at Liverpool which directly engage users beyond academia includes Jeffery's work with the Conservative Party in Sunderland, Gomez' collaboration with The Guardian's populism project, and Petersohn's contribution to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Montreux Forum hosted by the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF) on the legal obligations and practices of private military and security companies during armed conflict. All these collaborations have helped to expand our dissemination and knowledge-exchange activities in line with our research and impact strategy and are the seeds for future impact.

4.2. Collaborations with non-academic partners and engaging diverse audiences

An important aspect of the vitality of our research is our engagement with non-academic partners, and diverse audiences for impact and knowledge-exchange. These audiences range from political parties and civil society organisations, to individuals such as British and European citizens involved in the Brexit referendum, activists assisting victims of modern slavery, refugees, and museum visitors (e.g. Bird's work with Tate Exchange and Balch's collaborative activities with ISM, Section 3.1 and 4.1 respectively). Zihnioglu is a member of the Carnegie Civic Research Network which brings together academics, activists and other leading civil society experts on civic activism and civil society from 11 countries. Her contributions to the network have included presentations to EU institutions, the UK Department for International Development and others. Gippert and her colleagues are working closely with the UN and European External Action Service to share and embed in policy the findings of their research on autocracy-enabling by UN post-conflict peacekeeping. Tonge contributed to the BBC Explainer Series on the Northern Ireland troubles,

by fact checking and script writing to ensure an accurate depiction of the conflict. Mathieu has collaborated with the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office on a project that examines perceptions of the UK's role in the world by non-EU countries, this included interviews, briefings, and workshops. As a fellow of the Carnegie-funded Sectarianism, Proxies and De-sectarianisation initiative based at the University of Lancaster, Baumann advised Members of Parliament on the Iranian-Saudi rivalry in Lebanon. These examples showcase the vital reach of our research beyond academia.

Pierson's interdisciplinary work with Doctors for Choice – a group of clinicians from the UK working towards decriminalising abortion – exemplify her knowledge-exchange and partnership work beyond our discipline. Her knowledge-exchange activities have further included research events with trade union UNITE in Dublin, and contributions to the 209 Women Exhibition guide for the Open Eye Gallery in Liverpool, showing how our research often has simultaneous international and local impact. Harris is a member of the Brexit Policy Panel of the ESRC-funded initiative UK in a Changing Europe, a forum for high-quality and non-partisan analysis and information on the UK and its relationship to the EU. On behalf of UK in a Changing Europe, Harris organised and chaired a public meeting at the Liverpool City Library attended by UK and European citizens to discuss British and Local Perspectives on the European Referendum. Several members of staff collaborate with government and political parties for their research. Examples include Haughey's presentation to the Houses of the Oireachtas and written evidence to the House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, Tonge's work with the Democratic Unionist Party, the Ulster Unionist Party, and Alliance Party on membership surveys, and Jeffery's work with the Conservative party.

4.3. Networks, Partnerships and Contributions

Pre-existing local and international partnerships and networks have been complemented by those brought by new members of the Department including our ECRs (Section 1). Supporting and building on such partnerships and networks is part of our research and impact strategy to ensure the sustainability of such vital outward facing work.

Hodzi is a board member of the Chinese in Africa/Africans in China Research Network, an independent platform integrating researchers and practitioners on Africa-China relations. This network supports and provides an outlet for his research on non-western interventions and the political and financial ties between China and Africa. This network has supported several co-authored journal articles.

Pierson's work on women's reproductive health and abortion rights is supported and inspired by her work with, and board membership of, Alliance for Choice – a network of individuals and organisations who support women in Northern Ireland with advice, contacts, and a voice in all aspects of abortion. Alliance for Choice has provided a collaboration platform for Pierson's research and they are a partner in her Medical Research Council grant application (Section 3.1.), as well as a knowledge-exchange partner for her policy engagement during the Northern Ireland abortion referendum, from which she is developing a future impact case study.

Balch's Anti-Slavery Knowledge Network (section 3.1.) collaborates not only with UK universities and Liverpool's International Slavery Museum but also the University of Ghana, highlighting its focus on international and interdisciplinary collaboration to address the challenge of slavery and to develop community-led anti-slavery work.

Many of our staff contribute to the research base in various ways to improve ongoing research, foster and fund future research, and also make wider **political, economic, and social contributions** within and beyond the UK.

Department staff assume leadership roles in major Political Science associations and the discipline, e.g. Tonge is serving a second term on the HEFCE REF Politics sub-panel. He was President of the British Politics Group of the American Political Science Association 2016-18. Gomez is a collaborator on the Guardian's Populism project. Crines serves on the Executive of the Political Science Association (PSA) Conservative and Conservatism group. Supporting future international research, Harris is a member of the Evaluation Board for Social Sciences, Humanities, Arts and Culture – the Research and Funding Programme of the Slovak Academy of Sciences – co-funded by the European Commission's Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions-COFUND. Tonge is a board member of the Northern Ireland Access to Research Knowledge, Wilks-Heeg reviews grants for the Carnegie Trust, while Gomez acts as reviewer for the Spanish Research Council (CSIC) grants and Catalan Research Council grants. In the UK, members of staff have acted as grant reviewers for the ESRC, British Academy, Leverhulme Trust (Balch, Gomez, Harris, Tonge). Staff members also regularly review for prestigious journals, academic and commercial publishers. This includes being active as journal or book series editors or membership on editorial boards of international and top-ranking journals such as Parliamentary Affairs (UK, Tonge), Filozofia (Slovakia, Harris), Uluslararası İlişkiler (Turkey, Zihnioglu).

Our staff make regular contributions to political, economic, and social development in the form of knowledge-exchange, giving written and oral evidence, and networking events. This includes Dolowitz' work on the Advisory Board of Commonwealth Partnership for Technology Management, which is a network that advises heads of state on the use of Science and Technology for

developing economies. Similarly, Gavin's work on climate change has fed into the UK Centre for Alternative Technology's 2016 report into Zero Carbon Britain. Russell's collaborative research on Roma communities in Central Europe produced evidence presented to the Slovenian parliament. Contributions also include Pierson's work on abortion and women's reproductive rights in Northern Ireland and Bird's research and engagement on refugees in the EU, providing training to NGOs in Greece, and presenting a report on the conditions facing refugees in South East Europe to UK MPs in 2019. Many of our staff give evidence to Parliament or parliamentary committees in the UK and abroad (Balch, Haughey, Wilks-Heeg, Russell, Tonge), presenting research findings to MPs and MEPs (Pierson, Bird, Baumann, Tonge), or impacting policy and legislative developments through their research. The Department is also an attractive destination for international scholars seeking to make an impact in the UK, hosting Fulbright Fellow Professor Vivian Price from California State University for research on anti-fracking activism.

In line with our fourth strategic goal for the period after 2021 and on the basis of our current trajectory, we confidently expect our widening collaborations to expand the scope and range of our contribution to policy formation and transformation of academic and public understandings of key pressing political and social issues in the UK and internationally.

With a much-enhanced research base and clear strategies and objectives, Politics at Liverpool has enhanced its position as a serious contributor to the discipline in the UK and supports a thriving and diverse community of scholars, with enormous future potential.