

Institution: Cardiff University
Unit of assessment 19: Politics and International Studies
<p>1. Unit context and structure, research and impact strategy</p> <p>1.1 UNIT CONTEXT</p> <p>Cardiff University's School of Law and Politics (LAWPL) is one of ten Schools in the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (AHSS). The department of Politics and International Relations (POLIR) is one of three departments in LAWPL. POLIR has been transformed since REF2014, following its merger with the Law School which capitalised on research synergies in the fields of devolved and multi-level governance, maritime affairs, international affairs and international law, European and comparative politics, environmental justice and political and legal theory. The merger allowed for strategic investment in staffing, with an increase from 13.3 FTE returned to REF2014 to 34.8 FTE in 2021.</p> <p>The Unit's research is at the cutting edge of politics and international relations (IR), with strengths in political thought, postcolonialism and international relations theory, international security and strategic studies, feminist IR, global environmental politics, Cold War history, the interrelationship between international law and IR, and European, British and Welsh politics, including devolved and multi-level governance. Our research interests are global and encompass the politics and political thought of the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia, particularly China, Russia, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Our expertise is sought by policy makers in the devolved capitals of Cardiff, Edinburgh and Belfast, as well as in Whitehall, Westminster and EU institutions. Partnerships have been forged with international organisations, such as NATO and the UN (Section 4). Our strategic expansion enabled us to more than double our research grant income from £904,265 in REF2014 to £1,904,469 in REF2021.</p> <p>Over this REF cycle, we invested in research clusters that complement the interdisciplinarity of the new School and appointed researchers at different stages of their careers to build research capacity. Some of our research clusters are new to the department, such as intelligence and cybersecurity. Other clusters consolidated existing strengths across Politics and Law, such as political theory, European, British, and Welsh politics. Our research equally spans a range of theoretical and methodological approaches. Expansion further enabled us to implement transformative EDI policies, both structurally and intellectually. Whereas there were no female academics within the Unit for REF 2014, women now comprise 42.2% of our research community (Section 2.1).</p> <p>1.2 UNIT STRUCTURE</p> <p>Our research is primarily organised by research centres broadly aligned to the sub-fields of <i>International Studies</i>, <i>Political Theory</i> and <i>Governance</i>. Centres host work-in-progress sessions, events and visitors; provide peer support for grant capture; and share external networks. All involve PGRs and ECRs and provide opportunities for taught postgraduate programme students. The research centres work collaboratively to ensure a rich, vibrant and stimulating intellectual environment, affording colleagues returned to both UOA18 and UOA19 a shared intellectual milieu.</p> <p>1.2.1 Research Centres</p> <p>International Studies. Research in this subfield is supported through three centres; two of which, the Centre for Conflict, Security and Societies and Cardiff Law and Global Justice, were created post-REF2014:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The International Studies Research Centre (ISRC), directed by Drieschova and Hansen-Magnussen, expanded our pre-existing International Affairs Research Group from REF2014. ISRC brings together PGRs, ECRs and established scholars to provide a forum for colleagues to present ongoing research and receive feedback in advance of publication (e.g., Hansen-Magnussen, 'The Web of Responsibility in and for the Arctic', <i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i>, Vol. 32 (2019), 132-158). ISRC seminars involved the participation of agenda setters in IR, resulting in collaborative outputs (e.g., Drieschova, 'Track-Change

Diplomacy', co-authored with Adler-Nissen, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 63/3 (2019), 531-545; and Hughes and Vadrot, 'Weighting the World', *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 19/2 (2019), 14-37). ISRC also hosted the European International Studies Association's Workshops in 2017 during Basham's tenure as President.

- The **Centre for Conflict, Security and Societies (CCSS)**, co-directed by Basham and Tholens, nurtures theoretically and empirically grounded research into security weapons, technologies, artefacts and industries, as well as the practices of security and insecurity. CCSS forged strong links with the GW4 Alliance (see REF5a), as evidenced in Hillebrand's and Leahy's work with the interdisciplinary GW4-funded Secrecy, Power, and Ignorance Research Network (£32,986) and Basham and Bennett's Network for Critical Engagement with the Defense Establishment (£19,826). The latter held four events (2018-19) with practitioners and focused on critical engagement with the Defence Establishment. Basham and Bennett edit the journal *Critical Military Studies*, promoting alternative approaches to security. Examples of recent publications by CCSS staff include Leahy, *The Intelligence War against the IRA* (2020).
- **Cardiff Law and Global Justice (CLGJ)**, a cross-School Centre directed by Harrington (UOA18), promotes and supports scholarship on and from the Global South, including unequal vulnerability to global pandemics. Facilitating collaboration between political theorists, IR scholars and human rights lawyers, the Centre builds capacity through supporting an international cohort of PGRs (see Section 2) and writing workshops in Ghana, India, Kenya and Brazil, co-funded by the British Academy (see Section 3). Projects supported by CLGJ include Wynne-Hughes' BISA-funded work on postcolonial governmentality; a special issue on *Social and Economic Injustices of Colonialism*, edited by Boucher; Gruffydd Jones's article, 'Race, Culture and Liberation: African Anticolonial Thought and Practice', *International History Review*, Vol. 42/6 (2020), 1238-1256, and Wynne-Hughes and Terri-Anne Teo's co-edited volume, *Postcolonial Governmentalities* (2020).

Political Theory. Research in this subfield is delivered by two centres, both of which have developed substantially since the School merger:

- **The Political Theory Centre**, coordinated by Kwek, supports work on political philosophy and international political theory. The Centre draws on non-European traditions to broaden intellectual perspectives and promote inclusivity. Centre members include two Honorary Distinguished Professors (Williams and Vincent). Members organise reading groups; co-supervise PhD students; mentor staff; and research collaboratively, e.g., Williams edited the Palgrave *Handbook of International Theory* with Boucher and Sutch (forthcoming, 2022). *The Kantian Review* is edited from within the Centre and Cardiff hosts the journal's annual conference.
- **The Collingwood and British Idealism Centre**, directed by Boucher, hosts an archive valued at £2.5m housed within the University's Arts and Social Sciences Library (ASSL). It has its own publishing imprint. It produces the *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies* journal, with thematic editions (e.g., on Giovanni Gentile, Guido de Rugiero), and maintains close collaboration with colleagues in Italy, the Netherlands and Japan. The Centre collaborates with the Political Studies Association's British Idealism Specialist Group and The New Liberalism and British Idealism Centre at the University of Hull through the annual international conference and panels at the PSA conferences.

Governance. Research in this subfield takes place across two centres, both of which are cross-School interdisciplinary ventures:

- **The Centre for Environmental Justice (CEJ)**, co-directed by Hughes, was created during the current REF period. It builds on longstanding research on environmental governance. It also leads on interdisciplinary work on natural resources, including work by Allan and Hughes on climate change and degradation; Sutch and Roberts on global commons justice; Egede and Bueger on maritime governance; Hansen-Magnusson on Arctic governance; and Kwek on non-Western approaches to resource utilisation. The Centre's website is a major channel for facilitating engagement with the broader public. CEJ has supported the transition of PGRs into academic positions (e.g., Smyth to a Teaching and Research (T&R) lectureship in Cardiff

Law). Major publications produced from CEJ include: Hansen-Magnusson's *International Relations as Politics Among People: Hermeneutic Encounters and Global Governance* (2019) and Allan, *The New Climate Activism: NGO Authority and Participation in Climate Change Governance* (2020). The CEJ also supported Egede's impact case study (ICS): *Embedding Deep Seabed Mining into Africa's Blue Economy Policy*.

- The **Wales Governance Centre (WGC)**, directed by Wyn Jones, is a flagship centre that spans the University's Politics and Law Units. The Centre researches Wales' constitutional position, public attitudes in Wales, the country's public finances as well as its criminal justice system. It has had a transformational impact on both political and wider public debate in Wales itself, as well as on the understanding of Wales in Westminster and Whitehall. The WGC engages with local, central and devolved government in Wales, the Senedd, and Welsh civil society organisations (e.g., Tomorrow's Wales, Legal Education Foundation and the Wales Council for Voluntary Action) but also with governments and parliaments in Edinburgh, Belfast and London. It has long-standing relationships with other UK HEIs, such as UCL's Constitution Unit and Edinburgh's Centre for Constitutional Change. Collaboration with Edinburgh University is particularly significant, both through the *Future of England Survey* (Wyn Jones) and Wincott's (UOA18) involvement with the ESRC *UK in a Changing Europe* project.

Among the WGC's research foci are: 1) Public Attitudes and Elections, including Welsh Election Studies (Awan-Scully, Wyn Jones, ESRC funded, £258,269 in 2016 and £63,206 in 2019) and, with Henderson at Edinburgh, *The Future of England Survey* (Wyn Jones); 2) Political Economy, including the externally funded *Wales Fiscal Analysis* (led by Poole, with Welsh Government, Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) and SOLACE funding, £90,000, 2019-2021); 3) The operation of the Senedd and its constitutional profile (McAllister, Awan-Scully); 4) The future of the criminal justice system in Wales (e.g., Wyn Jones, *Justice and Jurisdiction in Wales*, ESRC, 2018-2020, £300,482); 5) *Wales in a Changing Union* (2013-14), funded by Nuffield, Rowntree, and ESRC (Wyn Jones, £80,000); and 6) Brexit and its implications for devolution (with Minto, UOA18). WGC research supported two ICS: Wyn Jones et al: *Forging a Revised Constitutional Relationship between Wales and the UK State through the Wales Act 2017* (hereafter, *Forging a Revised Constitutional Relationship*) and McAllister et al: *Reshaping the Senedd Cymru – Welsh Parliament's franchise, size and electoral system* (hereafter, *Reshaping the Senedd*).

1.2.2 Other Interdisciplinary Collaborations

Our scholars lead and inspire **interdisciplinary collaborations institutionally and internationally**. POLIR was a co-founder of the Wales Institute for Social and Economic Research and Data (WISERD), one of only four major ESRC-funded (£14m) social science research centres in the UK. WISERD supported Stafford's (PI) and Cole's (CI) project, *Building Trust? Institutions and Interactions of Multi-level Governance in the UK, Germany and France* (ESRC, 2017-2019, £136,816). POLIR also collaborates with colleagues from, Cardiff Business School and the Schools of Social Sciences, Psychology, and Computer Science and Informatics (e.g., Calderaro, with his expertise in cyber governance, contributed to the establishment of the Centre for Cybersecurity Research, recognised by the National Cyber Security Centre and EPSRC; Hughes and Allan participated in the Environmental Cultures strand of the Cardiff Science/Humanities international research collaboration, which led to a speaker series dedicated to Speculative Climate Finance).

1.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

Our strategy has evolved to reflect the fundamental changes to the Unit since REF2014. Over the review period, we successfully delivered five key objectives:

1. **Investing in expansion:** we invested over £4m in new academic posts since 2016. This created capacity and expertise in global environmental politics, critical military studies, international security, intelligence, international political thought, and feminist IR. We recruited 14 ECRs to enrich and diversify our research environment.
2. **Embedding Equality, Diversity and Inclusion:** we appointed 16 female colleagues since 2014 at all career stages: six lecturers, six senior lecturers, one Reader, three Professors.

Female colleagues now represent over 42% of our research community. We enhanced BAME representation: two Professors, one lecturer. Successful promotions from a more diverse field of candidates over the review period reflect our commitment to cultural change (Section 2).

3. **Enhancing Relevance and Impact:** over the REF period, we focused on knowledge transfer directed towards policy formation at devolved and national levels. We increased collaboration with intergovernmental organizations and civil society. This is evident in our three impact case studies: Wyn Jones et al, McAllister et al, impacting on policy in Wales, and Egede, impacting on deep seabed mining with the UN. Further impact work by Allan, Hughes, Bennett, Leahy, and Calderaro demonstrates our broader engagement with regional, national and non-governmental agencies.
4. **Developing Stronger International Networks:** our expansion gave us capacity to establish new global networks (e.g., collaboration with the Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study and the University of Witwatersrand on five postcolonial projects involving contributors from across Africa). We also contributed to Wales' international strategy through partnerships with the Learned Society of Wales (LSW) and the Welsh Institute for International Affairs (WCIA), for example, by helping formulate the objectives of key strategy documents in consultation with the Welsh government.
5. **Increasing Grant Capture:** we introduced a dedicated Director of Research Funding (DoRF) to the Research Directorate to drive our research funding strategy, more than doubling our research income compared to REF2014. We increased internal research funding support (£1,600 per annum, from £800 during REF2014). All together, we dispersed £69,100 in research support funds for field work, research assistance, and conferences priming our research colleagues to develop major grant bids and drive generation of high-quality publications.

1.4 FUTURE RESEARCH STRATEGY

Our future strategic objectives are to:

1. **Foster a more inclusive and diverse research culture** by developing a comprehensive EDI strategy, including submission of an Athena Swan Bronze application in November 2021. This will build on our success in increasing the gender balance in our community. We will monitor career progression from an EDI perspective and seek to redress the differential impact of Covid-19 on research careers.
2. **Capitalise on the capacity and reputation of the WGC**, using it as a driver for forging studies of devolved governance, especially through the 2021 Welsh Election Study. The 2021 ESRC award, *Wales Election Survey 2021* (£736,000) will underpin the Centre's work on elections until 2025. We will prioritise new international partnerships with other devolved regions, above all Catalonia, the Basque Country, Aragon, Flanders and Quebec.
3. **Maximise the potential of our interdisciplinary School**, deepening connections between law, politics and IR to address grand challenges. We will support new programmes of activity to address collaboratively major contemporary questions pertinent to multi-level governance, populism, environmental degradation, and postcolonialism.
4. **Become a magnet and 'seed bed' for the next generation of Politics and IR scholars.** Our PhD programme will be developed sustainably to ensure an excellent research training experience and sense of community. We will address under-representation through the creation of PGR scholarships solely for BAME applicants. We will be a destination of choice for developing researchers, hosting prestigious postdoctoral researchers, including individual fellowships and those attached to large research grants. The creation of School-funded paid research opportunities for PGT students will engage the next generation of POLIR researchers.
5. **Develop sustainable and diverse research income streams**, exploiting, where appropriate, the potential to contribute to Cardiff's University Research Networks and Institutes, and SPARK, the UK's first social science research park, as an incubator of cross-disciplinary

research bids especially across climate change, global colonial legacies, environmental governance, international security, and the politics of international law (see REF5a).

1.5 IMPACT STRATEGY

During this REF cycle, our impact strategy focused on making a difference in policy and practice at multiple levels of governance, supporting staff to deliver benefits beyond academia. Into the next REF cycle, we will continue to develop key enablers to facilitate impactful activity, supporting ongoing and emerging case studies and nurturing new projects as our colleagues conceptualise, develop, and maximise the societal impact of their research. We achieve this by:

1. **Empowering researchers to seize opportunities.** A School Director of Impact and Engagement oversees delivery of our impact strategy. In this REF cycle, training provided included media presentation, impact labs, peer-group mentoring and briefings on funding streams, as well as input from external advisors (e.g., Fast Track Impact consultancy by Mark Reed). Additional sessions were tailored for REF impact case study leads (Awan-Scully, Egede, McAllister, Wyn Jones), as well as colleagues with impact activities at an earlier stage (Bennett, Calderaro).
2. **Providing financial, administrative and collegial support.** A School Research Impact Support Fund was introduced in 2018, providing £5,000 per annum for impact activities. This included £2,982 to Egede to participate in the International Seabed Authority Annual Session (Kingston, Jamaica, 2019). Ten projects received institutional ESRC Impact Acceleration Account (IAA) funding, including Arnold (PI) with NGO Partner, National Democratic Institute, for *Detecting Election Irregularities with Machine Learning for Visual Data* (£20,000). The School Director of Impact and Engagement, the Strategy and Resources Manager, and Research Officers all assist colleagues in planning and evidencing their projects from the application stage onward.
3. **Ensuring impact activity is rewarded** via provision of workload model allocation and career promotion. Bueger and Egede were promoted to personal chairs as a result of their impact-related work on maritime security and the African blue economy, respectively; McAllister was recruited at professorial level in recognition of her policy-related work with the Senedd, as well as sports organisations (e.g., UEFA, UK Sport, and Sport Wales). Calderaro and Poole were both promoted to Senior Lecturer via the University's Innovation and Engagement career pathway.
4. **Providing encouragement and support to impact at earlier stages of development.** Research by Bennett and Leahy on Northern Ireland is being used to advise lawyers pursuing litigation related to the past conflict and to inform Garda Síochána (Irish police) on matters pertaining to historical commemoration. Allan engages with a range of NGOs in connection with her research on climate governance. Arnold and Calderaro continue their work on election monitoring and cyber security. These research projects will evolve into impact case studies over the next REF cycle and such work will be supported through the enablers identified above.

1.6 OPEN ACCESS

Consistent with institutional policy, authors deposit the full text of journal articles and other publications in the institutional depository, supported by open access funding as required. As a **forum promoting open debate**, the WGC's website provides free access to its research reports, supplemented by Awan-Scully's *Elections in Wales* blog, which analyses recent polling. The Centre contributes regular research-led podcasts via Cardiff University's 'Golau' platform (*Soundcloud*) and shares events on the University's YouTube channel. We **make key archives publicly available**, such as the Collingwood and British Idealism Centre archive on Lake District cultural and intellectual life, supported by a grant of £35,000. Recent books based on research in the archives include Craig, *The Life and Works of W.G. Collingwood: A Wayward Compass in Lakeland* (2018).

Our researchers made **significant contributions to the internationalisation of archival research**, such as Radchenko who deposited records relating to the Cold War in the Woodrow Wilson Centre Digital Archive (Washington DC). Hundreds of these have been translated, informing recent books and articles by scholars worldwide, including Jackson, *On the Brink*:

Trump, Kim, and the Threat of Nuclear War (2018) and King, *China-Japan Relations After World War Two: Empire, Industry and War, 1949-1971* (2016). Radchenko's oral history interviews for his collaborative project *Visions of Europe* are also freely viewable on the [project website](#).

1.7 RESEARCH ETHICS AND INTEGRITY

The School's Ethics policy draws on that of the ESRC, supplemented by guidelines aligned to the University's Research Integrity and Governance Code of Practice (see REF5a). The **School Research Ethics Committee** (SREC) advises on external research governance requirements, ensuring compliance with legal and professional obligations and standards. Staff whose research may entail activities covered by the ethics policy are required to obtain the Committee's approval, and benefit from support from the School's dedicated professional services team. SREC's work is overseen by the University's Open Research Integrity and Ethics Committee. The University's mandatory Research Integrity Online Training Programme ensures researchers are aware of their ethical responsibilities and high professional standards. All staff have ORCID IDs. We work to support the University's commitment to the **San Francisco Declaration on Research Assessment (DORA)** by promoting qualitative peer review of research, valuing the content of research over proxy markers, such as journal impact factors (see REF5a).

2. People

2.1 STAFFING STRATEGY

We **strengthened our expertise and depth in key research areas through new appointments** as part of strategic staff expansion. Over this REF cycle, new appointments were made in cyber security and data science (Calderaro, Carr, Valeriano, Lindstädt, Arnold, Warner, Atkinson), environmental politics (Allan, Hughes, Kuetting, Eklundh, Hansen-Magnusson), feminist IR (Walters, Zalewski), international security and critical military studies (Basham, Harrington, Leahy, Radchenko, Tholens), intelligence (Hillebrand, Leahy, Bennett), IR theory (Craig, Drieschova) and non-Western political thought (Gruffydd Jones, Kwek, Wynne-Hughes). We strengthened the WGC community (McAllister, Minto, Poole) and expanded geographically to acquire strengths in Russia, China and Southeast Asia (Kwek, Radchenko), Africa (Gruffydd Jones, Bennett, Wynne-Hughes), North America (Craig, Harrington), the Middle East (Tholens and Wynne-Hughes), and Latin America (Arnold).

2.2 EQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSIVITY

Our demographic profile has changed significantly since REF2014, **improving our gender balance**, with 42.2% of the Unit now women, where there were no female colleagues in 2014. Following REF2014, the Unit sought advice from Chwarae Teg, a leading independent EDI-focussed charity, on how to broaden its appeal to female, BAME and LGBT+ scholars. Recommendations were implemented and supported the significant increase in the numbers of female colleagues within POLIR. The appointment of 14 ECRs (of whom eight are women) indicates our commitment to gender parity, integrated into all Unit activities. Women at all career stages have been supported to apply for promotion through formal and informal mentoring, as well as promotions workshops. Following the promotions round of 2019-2020, over half of our female colleagues are now Senior Lecturer level or above (nine of 14): five Senior Lecturers, one Reader, and three Chairs. In total, during the REF2021 cycle, we facilitated 22 promotions, of which nine were women.

As part of our broader EDI strategy, we are committed to identifying and addressing issues faced by BAME staff and PGRs. There has been a moderate increase in BAME staff (two to three FTEs) since 2014 and we continue a sustained critical reflection on **how we improve the diversity of our Unit, and the broader School of LAWPL**. Testament to this is LAWPL's hosting of the #itooamCardiff exhibition which celebrates diversity (LGBT+, BAME and intersectionality) at the University. Our **recruitment** literature makes specific reference to welcoming applications from under-represented groups. We support **flexible working** and make reasonable adjustments for staff with disabilities, including fractional contracts. Three staff are on fractional contracts, some for reasons connected to caring responsibilities or protected characteristics. **Promotion** procedures are open, fair and equitable, with the School Promotions Panel interpreting attainment benchmarks in the light of personal circumstances and contractual status. This ensures that those

on fractional contracts have the same opportunities to progress (e.g., Hillebrand, promotion to Senior Lecturer).

Core to our EDI strategy is considered reflection on our governance structures, ensuring that **EDI is central to all we do**. Colleagues can access a range of professional and personal training courses, including wellbeing and mandatory courses in EDI and Unconscious Bias. EDI is embedded into our committee structures as a standing item on all research-related committees and groups. The School EDI committee includes representation from across career pathways, stages and gender. As noted, we are working towards an Athena Swan Bronze award submission in November 2021. We acknowledge the need for further action to address race inequality and increase the number of staff identifying as BAME both within the School and in the wider university: the Head of School, Khaliq is working with the Vice-Chancellor to address this issue across the institution.

2.3 STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORT FOR RESEARCH

We are committed to ensuring **equality of opportunity** for all researchers in POLIR.

The enablers for staff development are the following:

1. **Mentoring:** newer colleagues are paired with an experienced research mentor to help improve the quality of publications and to apply for grants and promotion. The mentoring partnership is independent of direct line management and supports the enhancement of career opportunities. Mentors undergo a training programme and are then matched with mentees by the Director of Research (DoR) or Deputy DoR. Succession planning and career development are principles central to our Research Mentoring programme and the scheme is particularly successful in advancing career progression for ECRs (e.g., Leahy who joined the University on a one-year teaching replacement, through mentoring, applied successfully for a substantive T&R post; Tholens who was mentored by a Leverhulme Fellow (Bennett) subsequently obtained her own Leverhulme Fellowship).
2. **Personal Development and Training:** Performance Development Review (PDR) focuses on staff development, ensuring that support and resources are available at crucial career stages. Staff are supportively appraised by line managers and are enabled to reflect on recent performance and set clear and measurable objectives. The University facilitates staff training through a number of programmes, including Professorial Leadership workshops. Participants here include Craig, Awan-Scully, and Radchenko, two of whom subsequently went on to senior leadership roles as Head of Unit and President of the PSA (Awan-Scully) and School Director of Research (Radchenko). Competitive leadership programmes, such as Cardiff Futures, led by our Vice-Chancellor, supported the development of 'rising stars' in POLIR (Bueger and Basham), whilst Bonotti participated in the GW4 Crucible and Hillebrand in the Welsh Crucible. These inter-university networks support enhanced interdisciplinary working and effective collaborations with senior leaders in the University (see REF5a).
3. **Research Leave:** POLIR is committed to ensuring T&R and Research Only (RO) staff have an equitable opportunity to build their research profile over time. A standard 600-hour p.a. (40% FTE) is allocated to research for all T&R staff, with an increased allocation for externally awarded Fellowships. All staff have a workload allocation for impact and engagement activities. Research staff may apply for a semester's research leave, normally after five years' employment. Applications are appraised by a School-wide Research Leave Panel. Applications for research leave are considered against criteria that are gender neutral and equally accessible to those on fractional contracts. We have been successful in obtaining University Research Leave Fellowships (see REF5a), securing seven of these since 2015, resulting in high quality outputs (e.g., Boucher, *Appropriating Hobbes* (2018); Vij, Kazi and Wynne-Hughes (eds), *Precurity and International Relations* (2021)). Basham, appointed in 2016 as Senior Lecturer, now a Reader, offers a case study in research leave-enabled career progression. With the support of a semester of study leave in 2017, Basham produced an article for *Security Dialogue* and secured a GW4 Initiator Grant.
4. **Support for ECRs:** Through mentoring, peer review, and work-in-progress sessions, the Unit provides a nurturing environment for ECR development. Research Assistants (RA) access

training through the Cardiff Researcher Programme. ECR T&R colleagues benefit from University-wide workshops (e.g., 14 attended the 'Academic Promotions Information' session; five 'Communicating Research to Non-Specialists'; and five 'How to write a good research bid'). Our University Academic Practice Programme supports both T&R and Teaching and Scholarship (T&S) staff to succeed within a research-intensive institution. In addition, 10 of our ECR colleagues obtained Higher Education Academy fellowships during this REF cycle. Across our College, T&R ECRs were provided with supplementary personal research allowances of £9,000 over three years. Further support for ECRs resulted in a 50% reduction in teaching for three years, with a transition to a full working load over the following two years.

The success of our support for **early career academics** resulted in excellent career outcomes. Postdoctoral Fellow Fahey attained a post at Swansea University, as did Warner at Purdue in the USA; Heinz, a Research Assistant for Cole and Stafford, has since become a DAAD Lecturer at the Turkish-German University (TAU). Six colleagues (including four women) recruited as ECRs since 2014-15 benefited from accelerated promotion to Senior Lectureships through bespoke mentoring (Hansen-Magnusson, Harrington, Drieschova, Tholens, Leahy and Wynne-Hughes). Jones, an ESRC and Welsh Government funded PDRA, secured a T&R lectureship at the University of South Wales; Ifan, a WGC RA, is now a policy adviser for the Welsh Government; Minto, a PDRA integrated into the WGC, was subsequently appointed to a substantive T&R lectureship in the UOA.

2.4 POSTGRADUATE RESEARCHERS

Over this REF cycle, we **registered 25 new PGRs**: two AHRC, five ESRC (four female), one Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, two University Vice-Chancellor's Awards, one University endowment fund, five School scholarships, with the remainder self-funding. There are currently 24 PGRs (19 FTE, of whom eight are international and 10 female). Staff expansion **created capacity to supervise in new areas**, including Maryon (ESRC) 'Does the Securitisation of the Terrorist Threat Undermine Democratic Freedoms'; Tollis (ESRC) 'The Role of the EU in the Formation of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change'; Thurlow, 'The Construction of Subjectivity in Relation to Trans Identity'; Daniel (Coleg Cymraeg), 'Nationalism and Small Nations'; and Richards (ESRC and Ministry of Defence), 'Military Attitudes to Human rights.' During the REF cycle, there were 19.5 PGR completions.

PGR strategy and support are led by the Director and Deputy Director of Postgraduate Research. The PGR-Staff Committee meets three times a year, providing an opportunity for PGRs to input into policy formulation. PGR progression is monitored to support completion within three to four years. Engagement with the University's Progress Monitoring Procedure is mandatory and comprises an initial and a nine-month review in the first year, then annual reviews and interim reviews. The annual review provides feedback from a LAWPL colleague external to the supervisory team, recommending action (if needed) with clear timescales. Our biannual Postgraduate Research Symposium allows PGRs to present their work and receive feedback from peers and staff members.

University and School training programmes impart discipline-specific and generic skills. The Cardiff Doctoral Academy is the hub of interdisciplinary postgraduate researcher activities. Students participate in the Academy's community networks and access comprehensive skills and professional development (see REF5a). PGRs have fortnightly career development workshops on academic writing, publication strategies, research planning, public presentations, and dissemination strategies. Workshops enlist internal and external trainers to develop personal confidence; support research development; and prepare PGRs for the job market. We augmented this training by securing placements for PGRs in government departments (e.g., Larner received a training All-Disciplines Fulbright Award (£16,200, 2017) to work on electoral candidate authenticity (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)). This resulted in a co-authored publication: Larner et. al., 'Candidate Authenticity,' *Political Behaviour* (2019).

Further structural support is available through the ESRC Wales Doctoral Training Programme which offers research training in collaboration with Swansea and Aberystwyth Universities. Biannual training events address challenges in the social sciences, such as how to do fieldwork

safely in remote contexts; data protection; research protocols; and research ethics. Moreover, through the College, WISERD provides training in quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Each full-time PGR is allocated £1,800 of **research allowance** over the course of their studies; £2,250 for ESRC award holders. PGRs can apply for additional funding, for example, for fieldwork or to present at conferences (e.g., in 2020, Thurlow attended the *International Feminist Journal of Politics* conference in Nashville; in 2019-2020 Daniel received funding for a competitive visiting scholarship at Nuffield College, Oxford).

To support **postgraduate publications**, we provide formal introductions to publishers and series editors. Scholarly outcomes include O'Loughlin, *Overcoming Poststructuralism* (2014); Taylor, *Social Justice in Contemporary Housing* (2018); Orsi, *Michael Oakeshott's Political Philosophy of International Relations* (2018); Liu, *Ethical Politics and Modern Society* (2019). PGRs have collaborated on writing projects with their supervisors (e.g., Culley co-authored journal articles with Marsh, while Craig co-authored an article in *Third World Quarterly* with Calderaro). Larner published with Poole and Wyn Jones in *Regional Studies* and with Awan-Scully in *Parliamentary Affairs*. Co-authored outputs are subject to the School's review through special School-wide publication guidelines designed to protect and encourage PGR contribution and attribution.

We understand the importance of **developing employability skills for our PGRs** relevant for careers within and beyond academia. Following graduation, PGR destinations (2014-21) include the following: as *academics*: Taylor, Cardiff Metropolitan; Davies and Larner, Cardiff University; Teroa, Waseda University, Tokyo; Kasuga, LEC Graduate University, Tokyo; as *researchers*: Guo, Peking University, China; Liu, Academia Sinica, Taiwan; as *policy practitioners*: Evans, Senior Clerk, Welsh Affairs, House of Commons and former Secretary to the UK Delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly; Lewis, Head of Negotiations, Future EU Roads Relationship, Department. for Transport.

3. Income, infrastructure and facilities

3.1. RESEARCH STRATEGY AND LEADERSHIP

Our expansion over this REF cycle and our merger with Law **created new opportunities** for interdisciplinary working and the cross-pollination of research agendas. This in turn enabled a more ambitious approach to grant capture, resulting in a doubling of research income compared to REF2014. Our income generation strategy was underpinned by the following considerations:

Improving quality: individualised support for developing grant applications was introduced through the new post of DoRF. An enhanced process of double-peer review for grant proposals was implemented to deliver support and increase success.

Building on strength: building on WGC's success in grant capture pertinent to referenda and elections (see Section 1:2), we continued to encourage income generation, taking advantage of research opportunities to investigate the changing landscape of UK politics.

Exploring new avenues: given our global reach and outlook following staff expansion, we encouraged colleagues to explore wider opportunities for funding research, including elsewhere in Europe. New European collaborations included successful bids to Sweden's Riksbankens Jubileumsfonds and Germany's Käte Hamburger Kolleg.

Maximising impact: we appointed a Director of Impact and Engagement to work closely with researchers, tailoring funding and training opportunities to their needs.

3.2 EXTERNAL FUNDING

The Unit doubled **research grant capture, increasing income from REF2014 to REF2021: £904,265 to £1,904,469**. Across our three sub-fields, external research income capture generated support for the following projects:

Governance: This subfield attracted substantial funding for its work on **multi-level governance**. As a leading centre in this area, the WGC attracted a total of £911,112 for its research on Welsh elections and devolution. In 2019, Poole (PI) and Wyn Jones (CI) received £90,000 from the Welsh Local Government Association, SOLACE Wales and the Welsh Government to support the *Wales Fiscal Analysis*. Wyn Jones (PI) also obtained £80,000 from the Joseph Rowntree and Nuffield

Foundation for work on *Wales in a Changing Union* (2013-14). Research on Welsh elections, core to the work of WGC, was funded by the ESRC twice during the period: Awan-Scully and Wyn Jones, *The 2016 Welsh Election Study* (2015-2018, £228,064) and Wyn Jones and Poole, *Welsh Election Survey 2019* (2019-2020, £63,681). Going forward, the ESRC has awarded WGC its largest single grant to date (Wyn Jones, £736,401, 2021-2025).

Other colleagues contributing to research excellence with external grant income are Stafford (PI) and Cole who were integral to the ESRC/WISERD project, *Building Trust? Institutions and Interactions of Multi-level Governance in the UK, Germany and France* (2017-2019, £136,816). This resulted in the volume *Devolution and Governance: Wales between Capacity and Constraint* (2015). Cole was also PI for the Leverhulme Trust-funded network, *Territorial Governance in Western Europe: Between Convergence and Capacity* (2012-2015, £74,330). The project generated nine journal articles, including Cole et al, 'Towards a Territorial Political Capacity Approach for Studying European Regions', *Regional & Federal Studies* (2018). Arnold (PI) obtained £107,000 from the Swedish Riksbankens Jubileumsfonds for *Mixed Methods for Analysing Political Parties* as part of a large-scale collaborative project (2020-2022, £1,008,500). Finally, going forward, Arnold will serve as PI on a collaborative project with the National Democratic Institute, *Using Artificial Intelligence to Address Electoral Integrity Issues* (ESRC, 2021-2022, £22,388).

International Studies: Colleagues affiliated with this subfield secured funding to support projects relating to **maritime security, environmental governance and critical military studies**. For example, Bueger (PI) received £241,600 for *Counter Piracy Governance* (ESRC, 2013-2016), strengthening POLIR's expertise in maritime governance, which also generated Egede's ICS on deep-sea mining. Our growing strength in environmental politics was enhanced by Hansen-Magnussen's successful participation in an Horizon2020 project, *Toward Just, Ethical and Sustainable Arctic Economies, Environments and Societies* (2020-2023, £110,000). Investment in the development of Critical Military Studies and Security Studies led to the co-directors of CCSS attracting major funding for their work: Basham (Co-I) attained £299,911 (ESRC, 2016-2018) for *Sustaining Future Reserves 2020*; and Tholens won a Leverhulme International Academic Fellowship (2020-2021, £44,288) for *Knowledge, Networks and Practices of Security Assistance*. Another CCSS member, Leahy, received £2,625 (2019-2021) from the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Reconciliation Fund for work on post conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland and a further £3,851 from the same department for a conference of Irish historians in Britain (2021). Finally, Drieschova obtained a Research Fellowship from Käte Hamburger Kolleg (Germany) for her research project, *Representants and International Orders* (£47,210, 2020-21).

Political Theory: This subfield targeted funding applications towards **collaborative projects with the universities of Johannesburg, Witwatersrand and Fort Hare**. Boucher obtained a grant of £90,000 (2016-21), administered by the University of Johannesburg, to pursue research and extend networks on postcolonialism and social justice in South Africa. This led to four conferences at The Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study. Sutch secured a British Academy/NRF (South Africa, 2017), award of £7,500, underpinning his collaboration with Cape Town and Witwatersrand. Further, in 2015, in collaboration with the ASSL, Boucher obtained £5,000 from the National Manuscript Conservation Fund and £35,000 from the National Archives, for the **conservation and cataloguing** of the archive (valued at £2.5m) of the Collingwood and British Idealism Centre. A further philanthropic grant of £10,000 from The Collingwood Society (2016) enabled continued publication of the society's journal. Williams received £12,500 from Cambridge University Press for a Research Assistant to support his editorship of *Kantian Studies*.

3.3 INTERNAL FUNDING AND SUPPORT

Internal funding was an important stimulus to research production. **Individual research budgets** for academic staff doubled over the REF cycle (from £800 to £1,600 p.a.). This was supplemented by the School **Research Support Scheme** (RSS), a competitive funding scheme supporting projects that required additional research assistance, more extensive field trips or specialist conference participation. £63,903 was disbursed by RSS, with just under a third to ECRs and early-stage lecturers. RSS facilitated outputs, such as Radchenko/Craig, 'MAD, not Marx: Khrushchev and the Nuclear Revolution,' *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol 41/1-2 (2018), 208-233,

by providing funds for archival work (£3,000, see Section 1.5). Similarly, Drieschova received £823 for a book workshop organised in Toronto in 2019. She won a Research Fellowship (University of Duisburg-Essen, 2020-2021, £47,201) on the strength of this workshop to complete her volume, *Representants and International Orders* (forthcoming). Research Centres also benefited from an annual operating budget averaging £1,000 per annum (Section 1.2), which funded guest speakers and research workshops.

AHSS **College funding** further supported the Unit's ability to support research development. In 2019, £27,000 of College funding was awarded for output workshops which enabled staff to bring leading experts in their fields together for intense 'workshopping' of book manuscripts. 10 colleagues received funding (e.g., Boucher (£3,765) to support the quality review of articles submitted to the edited Special Issue on Social and Economic Injustices of Colonialism for the *International Journal of Social Economics* Vol 46, issue 11 (2019)).

Further avenues of internal support included the **Cardiff Undergraduate Research Opportunities Programme (CUROP)**, see REF5a), which funds undergraduate students to develop research skills working on 'live' projects, mentored by academic staff. 23 students assisted POLIR colleagues on research projects through this scheme. Indicative of the vital benefit of this funding scheme is Hansen-Magnusson who received two CUROP awards (2016, £1,600; 2018, £2,100) and RSS research assistance (2018, £530). These aligned with a British International Studies Association Early Career Fellowship (2017, £3,000), resulting in 'Arctic Geopolitics: Russian Politics at the North Pole', *Cooperation and Conflict* Vol. 54/4 (2019), 466-487, and 'The Web of Responsibility in and for the Arctic', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* Vol 32/2 (2019), 132-158. These publications were the foundation for his participation in the Horizon2020 bid (see Section 3.2) that led to the creation of the JustNorth consortium.

3.4 PROFESSIONAL SERVICES SUPPORT

A **dedicated team of professional services staff** supports POLIR researchers and delivery of our research strategy. A clear benefit of the strategic merger with Law has been concomitant growth in the support team, which now comprises 3.8 FTE – more than double the REF2014 resource. Two Research and Engagement Officers (1.5 FTE) and an Administrative Assistant (0.5 FTE) are dedicated to research support, supporting grant capture, including bespoke application guidance, peer review assignment and costings. An additional Administrative Assistant (0.8 FTE) supports research events (e.g., lectures, workshops and conferences). A senior member of staff (1 FTE) is responsible for strategic research planning.

The school-based professional services team is supported by an AHSS College Research Manager and discipline-specific University Research Development Officers who co-ordinate cross-College research activity. They work with the AHSS Dean of Research and Innovation and the University Directors of Research Network which ensures that **research strategy in POLIR is connected with, and benefits from, broader University initiatives** (see REF5a). Impact Officers at both College and University levels support partnership working and impact training and development.

3.5 FACILITIES

The ASSL holds special collections and archives with over 21,000 POLIR-relevant e-journals and a dedicated librarian for Politics, IR and European Area Studies. The **European Documentation Centre (EDC)** has a print collection of official publications providing extensive resources for our staff researching the EU. Specialist online information resources include IBSS, JSTOR, European Sources Online, Oxford Scholarship Online (with a specialist political science collection) and NEXIS UK. The School directly contributes to supplementing subject-area provision.

POLIR colleagues also benefit from our proximity to devolved government and the partnership working of the WGC. Our strong relationships with key policy makers and politicians within Welsh Government mean that WGC colleagues can make use of the **Pierhead Building** in Cardiff Bay to bolster public engagement and facilitate impact activities with government stakeholders and the general-public. Over this REF cycle, **WGC hosted over 80 events**, including public lectures and research briefings, involving academics, policy makers and members of the judiciary. Outcomes include high-level dialogue with senior public servants and officials, at both the Welsh and UK

levels, as well as with the Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales and other senior judges, for example, in relation to issues raised by the UK government's Draft Wales Bill, evidenced in ICS: Wyn Jones et al, *Forging a Revised Constitutional Relationship*.

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

Colleagues in POLIR have fostered academic collaborations with partners around the world, while deepening relationships with stakeholders at the local, national, and international levels.

4.1 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RESEARCH BASE

The expansion of POLIR, alongside growth in our research funding, raised the profile and influence of colleagues within our disciplines over this REF cycle. Our staff have held **major leadership roles**, including Awan-Scully's chairmanship of the Political Studies Association (2020-now); Basham as the President of the European International Studies Association (EISA, 2017-2019), and as a member of EISA's Governing Board since 2015; and Boucher as Vice-President of the Learned Society of Wales (LSW, 2017-2020). Our ECR colleagues were active in the British International Studies Association (BISA) where Wynne-Hughes co-convened the Poststructural Politics Working Group (2015-2017) and Hansen-Magnusson served as the convenor of the Interpretivism Working Group. He was also a founding member of the Oceans and Polar Research Group, launched at the German Political Studies Association (2019). Alongside individual leadership and service, we also **hosted key disciplinary conferences**, including the EISA annual conference (2017, 130 attendees) and PSA annual conference (2018, 700 attendees) to support the health and vitality of our discipline.

POLIR colleagues were particularly active as **agenda-setters in Wales**, contributing to the broad research base of a devolved nation. Thus, Boucher, Sutch, with Harrington (UOA18), worked with the LSW, as well as the British Academy, Sydney University, University of Johannesburg, University of Cambridge, and Future Generations Commissioner in Wales, to organise the international workshop Ethics of Sustainable Prosperity for All, resulting in an LSW strategy report (2020), and 'A Compassionate Transition to Sustainability' (*British Academy Review*, no. 36, December 2019, pp. 4-10). Boucher contributed to the LSW's Soft Power series of lectures (2018-19) and the three-day e-symposium *Through the Language Prism* (2020). He chaired the LSW's Wales Studies Strategy Group, seeking to leverage investment in Welsh cultural institutions and Wales Studies. One outcome of the Strategy Group was the publication of a founding vision document: *Wales Studies: Research About Wales, for Wales and the World* (2020).

Our colleagues support the discipline by **editing journals** and serving on editorial boards. Founding editors include Boucher, *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies*; Basham, editor-in-chief, *Critical Military Studies*; Bueger, co-editor of the *European Journal of European Security*; Zalewski, editor-in-chief of *The International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Associate editors include Awan-Scully, *Parliamentary Affairs* (2013-18); Hughes, *International Relations*; Drieschova, *New Perspectives*; Bennett, *Critical Military Studies*, and Calderaro, *International Journal of E-Politics*. Editorial and Advisory Board members include Awan-Scully, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, and *Politics*; Bennett, *British Journal of Military History*, Hillebrand, *Intelligence and National Security* and the *Journal of Intelligence History*; Boucher, *Contemporary Political Theory*.

Our colleagues are also **on the board or founders of innovative book series**. Calderaro is co-editor of the series *Digital Technologies & Global Politics*; Zalewski of *Creative Interventions in Global Politics*, both published by Rowman & Littlefield. Among our guest editors are Hughes, *Global Environmental Politics* (2019); Radchenko, *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2020); Zalewski, *International Affairs* (2020).

Acknowledgements of our **research contribution and esteem** are evident in our *Fellowships of Learned Societies*: British Academy (one), Royal Historical Society (nine) Royal Society of Arts (three); Royal Statistical Society (one); Association des Recherches de Politique Africaine (one). Accolades recognising our research contributions included: *Research Fellowships* at leading institutions, for example, Boucher, Distinguished Visiting Professor, University of Johannesburg (2016-2021); Bennett, Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, Amsterdam (2019), Queen's University Belfast (2015-2016), King's College London (2014-2015); Calderaro, Libera Università

Internazionale degli Studi Sociali (2019-2020); Dyson, Honorary Professorship, University of Luxembourg; Radchenko, Public Policy Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center (2020-21); Sutch, Visiting Research Professor, Witwatersrand (2017); Wynne-Hughes, Al Azhar and Cairo Universities (2020); Zalewski (2014-2015) the Gender Institute, LSE.

Esteem is further underscored by awards: Awan-Scully, the 2017 Political Studies Communicator of the Year, and 2019 National Mentoring Award; Dyson, UACES Best Book Prize 2015, for *States, Debt and Power* (2014); Thornton, RIBA President's Award for *Demolishing Whitehall* (2014). As well as honorary degrees and fellowships from the Universities of Bangor, Cardiff Metropolitan, Swansea, Trinity St David's, and South Wales, McAllister was awarded a CBE for her work in sport (2016). Wyn Jones was appointed Fellow of the Institute of Advanced Studies (Edinburgh 2016), and ESRC Constitutional Change Knowledge Exchange Fellow (2015-16). Among our ECRs, Drieschova was the recipient of a Käte Hamburger Kolleg, Fellowship (2020); Leahy was awarded the Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Two-Year Postdoctoral Fellowship at the NUI Galway worth €90,000 (see Section 2).

4.2 RESEARCH NETWORKS AND COLLABORATIONS

Reflective of our global interests, we maintain extensive **research collaborations with academic institutions in the UK, Europe and globally**. These collaborations have been nurtured through the University's visiting fellows and international collaboration seed-corn funds (see REF5a). For example, Sutch and Boucher in 2017 hosted Allsobrook, Director of the Centre for Leadership Ethics in Africa, Fort Hare, **South Africa**, consolidating their research on colonisation and decolonisation. Marsh and Culley (PGR) built a new institutional partnership with the Smithsonian Library on Anglo-American relations in 2017, extending our capacity in cross-Atlantic relations. Tholens, funded by internal international initiatives funding (£7,600), together with the CCSS co-director Basham, created the Cardiff-Rio-Beirut (CARIBE) **Globalising Security** Network. This engages participants from three continents, including the Beirut School of Critical Security Studies and Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, in rethinking security beyond binary Western/non-Western conceptualisations.

Furthering POLIR's connections in **Asia**, Radchenko (CCSS) has close links with East China Normal University (ECNU, Shanghai), with whom he co-organized the 2016 conference on the Chinese Civil War (funded by the Chiang Chingkuo Foundation, Taiwan, €22,000). Radchenko served as Zi Jiang Distinguished Visiting Professor at ECNU, collaborating with its International Cold War History Research Centre and the Woodrow Wilson Centre (WWC). He and Tholens co-organised a 2019 conference on NATO with KCL and WWC. Attended by over 30 NATO experts from around the world, as well as diplomats, it resulted in a special issue of the *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol 43/6-7 (2020). POLIR also hosted the NATO summit conference at the Pierhead Assembly Building in 2014, explored NATO's future challenges and the means and mechanisms of meeting them, highlighting the Unit's engagement with **intergovernmental diplomacy**.

Our political theorists collaborated on **colonial and postcolonialism legacies** with NYU, Abu Dhabi, Witwatersrand University of the Free State, Fort Hare, Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study (JIAS), leading to reciprocal staff exchanges. Their work aimed at informing and influencing public debates on decolonisation and social justice. Sutch and Boucher participated in a symposium on Freedom as Power in Cape Town (2017), resulting in a Special Issue of *The Good Society* (2018). They organized five conferences on the legacies of colonialism, four at JIAS (2017-20) and one in Cardiff.

The work of our political theorists (Boucher and Vincent, with the University of Hull) generated important partnerships with China, resulting in two prolonged residencies. Xiang Wang visited Cardiff for six months in 2014 to work with Boucher on his tradition of Historical Reason, and Baoliang Duan (16 months, 2019-2020) worked on Collingwood and Voegelin. With Waseda, Kobe, Nagasaki and Yokohama National universities, POLIR colleagues created an **Anglo-Japanese consortium**, funded partly by the Daiwa Foundation and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. We hosted Hiraishi Ko for two years (2016-18) as visiting fellow to work on Lindsay with two further visiting fellows postponed (Naoki Kitta and Yamada Ryusaku) due to Covid-19.

4.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Colleagues in POLIR have long-standing **partnerships with policy makers and politicians**, especially in the Welsh government, significantly contributing to the policy agenda and conversation on devolution and multi-level governance from a Wales perspective. Two of our ICSs (Wyn Jones; McAllister) demonstrate how we help shape the Welsh government's policy agenda through the work of the WGC and its associated staff (see Section 1:2). WGC serves as a forum for dialogue with the policy community, hosting an extensive programme of lectures and research seminars with political leaders, diplomats and academics, including Gordon Brown, Nicola Sturgeon MSP, Julia Gillard, Michelle O'Neill MLA, and successive Welsh First Ministers. Over this REF cycle, WGC organised specialist conferences on (*inter alia*) the Welsh legislature, territorial finance, the Welsh Conservative tradition, the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum and the Wales Act 2017.

Colleagues are frequently called upon to contribute their **expert testimony at the Welsh and national levels**. Awan-Scully, McAllister, Minto, Poole, and Wyn Jones acted as expert witnesses for committees in the Welsh Senedd, Scottish Parliament, House of Commons, and House of Lords. Minto gave evidence on the implications of Brexit to the House of Lords EU Committee (2017) and presented their research on Wales and Brexit to the Cabinet Office (2020). Briefings to party conferences in Wales and for Senedd groups included: Poole, speaking at Welsh Labour and Plaid Cymru conferences on voting behaviour and Brexit (2019); Wyn Jones, four briefings to 10 Downing Street on the Scottish Independence referendum and 2015 General election (2014-15). Poole also served as Expert Advisor to the Senedd Finance Committee, scrutinising the Welsh Government's budget (2018); Awan-Scully served as a member of the Welsh Government Election Reform Programme Board, 2017-2019; McAllister chaired the Expert Panel on electoral reform (see ICS McAllister et al: *Reshaping the Senedd*) resulting in the lowering of the voting age to 16. Minto is a member of the Welsh Government's expert group on Regional Investment in Wales, and a joint co-ordinator of the Women in Europe (Wales Network), hosted by the Welsh Parliament's Cross-Party Group on Women.

In view of the Unit's commitment to the development of stronger international networks (Section 1.3), our **multi-level governance work** reaches beyond the UK. Thus, we established new collaborative links with sub-state level election survey teams in Flanders and Quebec, as well as the Basque Country and Catalonia, via the international reach of the Wales Fiscal Analysis team, comparing attitudes towards regional taxation and fiscal transfer systems across a range of European regions.

Within the UK, Basham (CCSS), **engaging with the military establishment**, presented her research findings to an All-Party Parliamentary Group on Reserves and Cadets (2016) and served as a member of the Ministry of Defence Enterprise Review Challenge Team and Veterans Strategy Academic Advisory Group (2018 and 2019), providing evidence as an expert in critical military studies.

Through involvement with **global intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations**, POLIR colleagues are at the forefront of global agendas shaping how we live today. Key arenas where we make a contribution are: *environmental protection and governance, democratisation, cyber security, distributive global justice and intergovernmental capacity-building*.

With regard to *environmental protection and governance*, POLIR colleagues are shaping policy and debate. Egede's research (e.g., 'The Area: Common Heritage of Mankind, Sponsoring States of Convenience and Developing States' in Kotzur, M. et al. eds. *Sustainable Ocean Resource Governance: Deep Sea Mining, Marine Energy and Submarine Cables* (2018), pp.155-184), and membership of the Advisory Board of the *Brazilian Yearbook of Law of the Sea*, led to his appointment by the UN to the International Seabed Authority (ISA). He acts as an expert author on the strategic roadmap for deep sea mining (see ICS: Egede, *Embedding Deep Seabed Mining into Africa's Blue Economy Policy*). Further work on *environmental governance* (see Section 1:2) contributes to debates around climate change. For example, Allan co-authored over 100 reports for the *Earth Negotiations Bulletin* (International Institute for Sustainable Development) on climate change and plastic waste. She briefed the Polish Presidency of the UN climate negotiations in 2018, as well as the UK government on its diplomatic strategy for the upcoming Glasgow UN

Climate Conference (2021) and post-Covid-19 green recovery. Hughes led an international project on methodological innovation (2017-18) for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES). This resulted in the publication of a special section in *Global Environmental Politics* (2019) on methodological innovation in global environmental politics, producing new concepts and approaches for environmental negotiations.

In relation to *democratisation and election observation*, Radchenko served on four election observation missions (two in Mongolia, 2016-17, one in Turkmenistan, 2017, and one in Hungary, 2018) helping draft policy reports for the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Further work in the area of election monitoring is highlighted in Arnold's long-standing partnership with the National Democratic Institute, using Artificial Intelligence to predict election day turnout in rural areas and helping to develop methods for uncovering electoral fraud.

Calderaro's work on cybersecurity (an emergent impact area) led to his involvement with the EU External Action Service/DevCo EU (2017–2018), where he contributed to the Operational Guidance for the EU's International Cooperation on Cyber Capacity Building. He also advised the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Parliament, the Italian Parliament and the UK House of Lords on cyber security capacity building and internet governance.

Basham and Bennett (CCSS) set up the Network for Critical Engagement with the Defence Establishment which supports work on *distributive global justice*. Financed through GW4 (2018, £19,826), the Network aims to improve lawyers' and NGOs' understanding of the social harms affecting military personnel and civilian populations. Hillebrand and Leahy (CCSS) are the University leads for GW4's network on Secrecy, Power, and Ignorance (2020, £19,330), which seeks to understand the pervasiveness of secrecy in social and political life.

More broadly, POLIR colleagues are committed to supporting knowledge transfer programmes that enhance diplomatic working *and intergovernmental capacity-building*, such as the UN-Nippon Foundation Fellowship Programme for mid-level government officials from developing countries. In 2018, we hosted the Cameroonian diplomat, Andréa Booh, to work on Cameroon's ocean policy.

4.4 PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

We demonstrate our relevance and contribution to public debate through commentary **in the news media**, including the BBC and ITV (Allan, Awan-Scully, Calderaro, McAllister, Minto, Poole, Radchenko, Wyn Jones); the *Sunday Times*, *New Statesman*, *Spectator* (Awan-Scully, Wyn Jones); *Guardian*, *Independent* (Wyn Jones, McAllister, Awan-Scully); *New York Times* (Craig, Harrington, Radchenko); *Washington Post* (Radchenko), *Irish Times* (Leahy, Wyn Jones), *Times of India*, and *The Indian Express* (Thornton), *Times Radio* (McAllister, Awan-Scully), *CSPAN* (Valeriano), *Al Jazeera* (Calderaro), *German TV ZDF* (Arnold). Since 2018, McAllister has contributed weekly to *Wales Online* and *The Western Mail*; with Wyn Jones contributing monthly for 20 years to *Barn*, as well as appearing regularly on Norwegian and German television. Radchenko contributed to a documentary by the leading Japanese broadcaster *NHK* on the 1973 War in the Middle East. Allan's podcasts include *Sweaty Penguin*, *EcoPolitics*, the *PlanetPod*, where she talks about, amongst other matters, green recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic.

Extensive relationships with **non-academic audiences**, such as TEDx (Awan-Scully); Aberystwyth Arts Centre (Boucher); Do Not Go Gentle Festival (Boucher); Dinefwr Literature Festival (Boucher); Public University (Chapter Arts Centre, Minto, Allan, Boucher, Drieschova); National Eisteddfod (Wyn Jones) and the Hay Festival (Wyn Jones), facilitated presentations of research findings to large audiences. Allan conducted a public webinar on the UN Climate Summit in Madrid (2019) for the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), viewed by over 2,000 people. She writes a monthly newsletter for IISD on global environmental governance called *Linkages*, which has over 15,000 subscribers.

Our colleagues also make **major contributions to the civil society through public service**. A major highlight in this arena is the work of McAllister as Chairwoman of Sport Wales from 2010-16 and her service as a Board Member of UK Sport. She has served as Director and Vice Chair

of the Board of the Football Association of Wales for over 12 years, and, since 2016, she has been a deputy chair of UEFA's Women's Football Committee, contributing to the UEFA women's strategy, Time for Action. Arnold served on the advisory board of the Government Statistical Service at the Office for National Statistics, while Radchenko's advisory board roles include The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (USA).

Through further investment in seed-corn funding for collaborative activities and support for impact-related work and public engagement, POLIR will build on its record of **partnership with policy makers, national and global**, to influence the research agenda positively. We will continue to contribute to urgent debates of our time, thereby making a **difference to research beneficiaries** in key arenas such as **environmental change, global security, and social justice**.