REF2021

Institution: Swansea University

Unit of Assessment: 19 Politics and International Studies

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1. Unit context and structure, research, and impact strategy

Our unit comprises researchers in the Departments of Political and Cultural Studies (PCS) and Media and Communication (MC), both within the College of Arts and Humanities (COAH). Our breadth of specialisms incorporates (i) international relations, area studies and international development; (ii) comparative politics, including sub-national politics; (iii) political communication; and (iv) political and social philosophy. Our research crosses boundaries with development studies, media and communication, and philosophy. We are intellectually pluralist, use a wide range of quantitative and qualitative research methods, and our geographical coverage includes Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America.

Research Strategy and Achievements

Our research strategy focused on maintaining world-leading and internationally excellent research and impact in our first two areas of specialism, recognised in REF2014. We then sought to innovate in the inter-disciplinary area of political communication based on synergies established at the start of the census period. Finally, we sought to develop more strongly political and social philosophy through staff investment and further staff synergies.

To achieve internationally excellent and world leading standards in all of these areas we were driven by the objectives to:
1. Facilitate scholarly innovation and achievement
2. Strengthen collaborative research through national and international partnerships
3. Increase research income and PhD completions
4. Deepen research impact through more and stronger external partnerships, and
5. Strengthen support for inter-disciplinary research, engage with open research and deepen research integrity principles.

Overall, our support of scholarly creativity led to the publication of 13 monographs and 120 journal articles, maintaining the significant rise achieved in 2014. Our research income (£953,218) represented an increase of over 78% compared to REF2014. This included funding from UKRI, charities and the private sector. We had 34 PhD completions, representing an increase of 45% from REF2014.

Research Areas, Research Groups and Centres

We achieved our objectives through developing original research in all our four research areas, each supported by research groups and centres. Staff developed synergies both within and across these groups/centres, as well as collaborating with staff from other disciplines. Our research foci and examples of achievements are given for each area.

<u>**International Relations, Area Studies, and International Development**</u>

Our research in this area is supported by the **International Studies, Conflict and Security (ISCAS) research group**, founded in 2009. ISCAS is co-convened by a professor and an ECR and is open to all staff and PGR students. It holds regular meetings and workshops to discuss research ideas and papers, and hosts invited guest speakers.

Research focused on theories of norm contestation and empirical analyses of norms regimes. It included Schmidt's post-PhD work theorising the normative dynamics of the UN Security Council and fundamental norms of the international legal order. Collins and Clarke conducted an analysis of norm contestation in Southeast Asia's evolving ASEAN human rights mechanism, funded by the British Academy. Trenta's 'Targeted killing' and 'Out of the Shadows' (BA Rising Star Engagement Award) projects were concerned with US/UK approaches to covert action and state sanctioned assassination. Trenta and Schmidt subsequently collaborated on a study of international norms on imminent threat, self-defence, and the use of drones.

We also addressed regional studies and international development, **developing human security and critical international relations theory**. Akcali researched the politics of the EU's semi-periphery and the Arab world. This included a fieldwork project on 'Diaspora business', funded by the British Institute at Ankara, on Syrian migrant business and community politics in Turkey following the 2010s migration. We also contributed to 'Enablement besides constraints' a Finnish-Norwegian led international project on Arctic security, part-funded by the ESRC. Sheehan completed pioneering fieldwork on human security and the Sami.

<u>**Comparative Politics, including Sub-National politics**</u>

Our research in this area is supported by the **Political Analysis and Governance (PAG) Research Group**, also founded in 2009. PAG is co-convened by an associate professor and a senior lecturer. Like ISCAS it is open to all staff and PGR students, and provides the same environment of meetings, workshops, and guest speakers. Research specifically on sub-national politics is also supported by the **Politics and Governance Research Network** (PGRN) of **the Wales Institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods' (WISERD).** We established PGRN with the financial support of WISERD in 2018, and we currently co-convene it with Aberystwyth. PGRN organises meetings and workshops for researchers on Welsh politics.

Research focused on multi-level government and politics, developing institutionalist and actor-centred approaches. It included the completion of Petersohn's collaborative work on constitutional policy in multi-level government, originally funded by the German Research Foundation, as well as Bradbury's project re-evaluating territorial politics and the early years of UK devolution policy. Curry completed research from an FP7 project and held a Marie Sklodowska Curie Intra-European Individual Fellowship on 'Policy innovation and legitimacy in regional multi-level governance'. Bradbury completed collaborative publications on multi-level political representation in Europe, drawing on the 'PARTIREP' project, funded by the Belgium Science Policy.

We also focused on political attitudes and behaviour. Wall conducted 'What are the odds?' funded by the AHRC, on online betting markets and political forecasting in UK elections and referenda This involved research with computer science to use a data scraping technique to show the responses of betting markets to events. Fahey created original datasets which shed new light on the effects of electoral system change and personal gain on representation in US state legislatures. We completed a wide range of projects applying quantitative methods to attitudes surveys. These included studies of internet usage in voter engagement; voter attitudes at the 2016 EU Referendum; and UK public attitudes to heroes.

Political Communication

Research in this area is supported by PAG in conjunction with the **University Research Centre for Digital Arts and Humanities (CODAH),** established in 2014. CODAH subsumed a fledgling Digital politics group, which had emerged out of PAG, providing for a larger critical mass of researchers across PCS and MC. CODAH is directed by an associate professor from the UOA and an inter-disciplinary management board of which we have regular membership. PAG and CODAH have jointly hosted research meetings, visiting speakers and workshops.

Research focused on media platforms, political engagement, and inclusion. This included Wall's collaborative projects to deliver Voter Advice Application (VAA) websites for the 2016 European elections, 2015 and 2017 UK General Elections and the 2016 Welsh elections. This has made us one of the main originators of VAA research in the UK. Thomas and Kilby delivered collaborative projects on news reporting at UK elections and on Welsh politics. Wu and Wall completed a novel inter-disciplinary study of Chinese nationals' usage of WeChat to discuss contentious political issues.

Political and Social Philosophy

Our research in this area is supported by PAG and CODAH in conjunction with the **Research Institute for Ethics and Law (RIEL),** established in 2016 to support the re-development of philosophy across the applied social sciences. RIEL is led by a professor and an inter-disciplinary management board, of which we have consistent membership. RIEL provides regular research meetings, workshops, and speakers, including joint events with PAG and CODAH.

Research explored identities and relationships in modern society, **developing engagements with feminism and phenomenology.** Cockburn completed two projects on political philosophy and economic justice, examining property claims and perceptions of economic dependence. Bortolan studied the role of emotions in determining moral judgements, and their impact on female autonomy. McQueen examined the ethics of changing sex, diagnoses of transsexuality and the significance of the UK Gender Recognition Act.

We also addressed media platforms and personal identities, developing phenomenology and critical theory. Merrin completed the Media Studies 2.0 project, considering the emergence of digital media and its material, cultural and personal implications. Evans conducted novel critical evaluations of the re-emergence of virtual reality, locative social media (e.g., GIS mapping), and location-based social media (e.g. text messaging in a social

network based in one location), and their effects on human experiences of spatiality, time and identity.

Impact Strategy and Achievements

Our impact strategy sought to deepen impact through more and stronger external partnerships. Applied to our substantive research this led to building strong platforms to achieve impacts on **(1) international and national policy,** and **(2) political engagement and civic inclusion.** We developed collaborations with beneficiaries in many of the projects already referred to, and evidence is given in section four of these collaborations and their results. Our impact case studies, which are based on further major projects completed during the census period, are most illustrative of how we built partnership platforms and achieved major impacts on policy, engagement, and inclusion, and are the focus here.

First, Bewley-Taylor's research on global drug policy, including drug policy metrics, responses to crypto-drug markets, and drugs and conflict in Afghanistan and West Africa, formed a further key part of our norms regime research. We have institutionalised this long-running research theme in the **Global Drugs Policy Observatory (GDPO).** The GDPO is now strongly embedded in the global drug policy community, with an extensive range of partnerships with governments, NGOs and UN agencies, and is core funded by a series of grants from the Open Society Foundations. Bewley-Taylor is its full-time director with the capacity to provide a standing source of expertise. This provided the necessary support for the major impacts described in the ICS: *Changing government and international organisations' approaches to the measurement of effectiveness in drug and crime control policy*.

Secondly, Peters' **'End of the Feeder Road' project** on the transport needs of rural communities in West Africa was a further key element of our international development research. We have developed a standing network of researchers with strong relationships with European international development departments, NGOs and national policy makers in West Africa. Peters has been funded by a series of grants (including ESRC/DFID), and research has led to rural development policy in West Africa moving away from support of conventional road development to support instead of upgrading tracks for motorcycle taxis. This change has had substantial economic, health and educational benefits for rural communities. These key impacts are relayed in the ICS: *Motorcycle taxi accessible tracks: achieving changes in donor and government rural transport policies in Liberia to benefit rural communities and individuals*.

Finally, Wu's **'DigComEquality' project** on sensory impaired users of digital media formed a key element in our political communication research to enhance civic inclusion, with a focus on specific societal groups. Wu and her team of researchers established strong relationships with hard of hearing and sight loss charities, broadcasters and Welsh policymakers. Regular funding was gained from a series of EPSRC Cherish-DE grants. On this basis the project pioneered research on problems of digital inclusion for people with sight impairment and the hard of hearing in Wales as part of the UK-wide focus on this issue during the 2010s. It subsequently changed both broadcaster and charity policies. The key impacts from this are described in '*DigComEquality: achieving changes in broadcaster and charity policies to benefit sensory impaired users of digital media in Wales.*

Open Research Culture

Our commitment to green OA is demonstrated by the fact that we made our published outputs publicly available at the earliest opportunity through the University's open access research repository (CRONFA). We also published four gold OA articles to comply with specific funder conditions. We comply with journal requirements for placement of replication datasets in public repositories. For example, we have placed original datasets used in two submitted outputs - 'The perks of being a lawmaker' and 'The ineffectiveness of electoral reform' – on the public data repository, Github. Original datasets used in two submitted outputs – 'Explaining co-operation over casework' and 'MPs inter-party contacts' are available at http://www.partirep.eu/datafiles. All members of the UoA have ORCiD accounts.

Research Integrity

All staff have completed the University's Epigeum Research Integrity training programme and are consequently trained in their supervisory roles to advise all PhD students and third year undergraduate and MA dissertation students on ethical requirements. We compose our research in accordance with the University's policy on research ethics, which requires researchers to make ethics applications to the COAH Research Integrity Committee. Participant information and consent forms are composed according to GDPR requirements. All undergraduate, postgraduate taught and PGR students compose their dissertation research on the same basis. Research ethics procedures comply with those set out by the AHRC and ESRC, including the ESRC's *Framework for Research Ethics*.

Future Research Objectives

From 2021 we will be part of a larger **faculty of humanities and social sciences**, affording new opportunities for staff investment, inter-disciplinary synergies, and enhancements of research support. The University is investing further in **international partnerships** with universities in India and China, which will create more opportunities for staff exchange and research collaboration. It will deepen its commitment to inter-disciplinary research through the **Morgan Advanced Studies Institute (MASI)**, which inter alia will promote more digital (and AI) inter-disciplinary collaborations.

In this context, we will advance research in our four areas by continuing to focus on (1) scholarly innovation, (2) collaborative research, (3) increased research income and PGR completions, (4) deepened research impact, and (5) support for interdisciplinary, open research and integrity. Our plans to achieve success are illustrated by projects already funded, commissioned and/or started: -

International relations, area studies and international development
- Hybrid international criminal courts and global justice (British Academy).
- Drugs and conflict in Afghanistan and Drug Policy Index (Open Society Foundations and the Robert Carr Foundation).
- Centre for cannabis research, GDPO in partnership with the University of West Indies, Mona (HEFCW GCRF).
- ASEAN and human rights (HEFCW GCRF and Foreign, Commonwealth and International Development Office).

- Urban food security and small holder farmers in West Africa, Infrastructure, and e-mobility in mountainous areas of Nepal (HEFCW GCRF).
- 'Finding Traction' a manual for governments and international donors on the upgrade of rural footpaths to motorcycle accessible tracks with community support (ESRC/DFID follow-on).
- Environmental politics in the Southern Mediterranean and possible co-operation between Turkey, Egypt, and Israel (Grant from the Centre for Advanced Turkey Studies of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs).

Comparative politics, including sub-national politics
- Constitutional Policy and Territorial Politics in the UK since 2007, and Government and Public policy in Wales (both contracted with BUP).
- The actions and motives of MPs and TDs in Northern Ireland's political parties (PSA Research and Innovation Fund).
- 'Civil society in turbulent times: Capacity Building in Ireland and Wales' (ESRC).
- Political trust after the UK referendum on EU membership (collaborative with psychology).

Political Communication
- 'My vote choice, 2021', including a VAA website for the 2021 Welsh election (British Academy).
- Beyond the Mainstream Media: understanding the rise of online political media' (ESRC).
- Digital media in China (National Social Science Fund of China)
- Sensory impaired users and digital media during the Covid-19 pandemic (Greatest Need Fund).

Political and Social Philosophy
- Economic dependence in personal relationships.
- Sexual ethics and the family.
- Emotions online: the philosophy of self-esteem in the context of living online.
- 'Space-software-human: the augmented reality of the smart city' (National Science Centre, Poland).

We will also be proactive in taking advantage of new opportunities, with an awareness already of the potential to develop:-
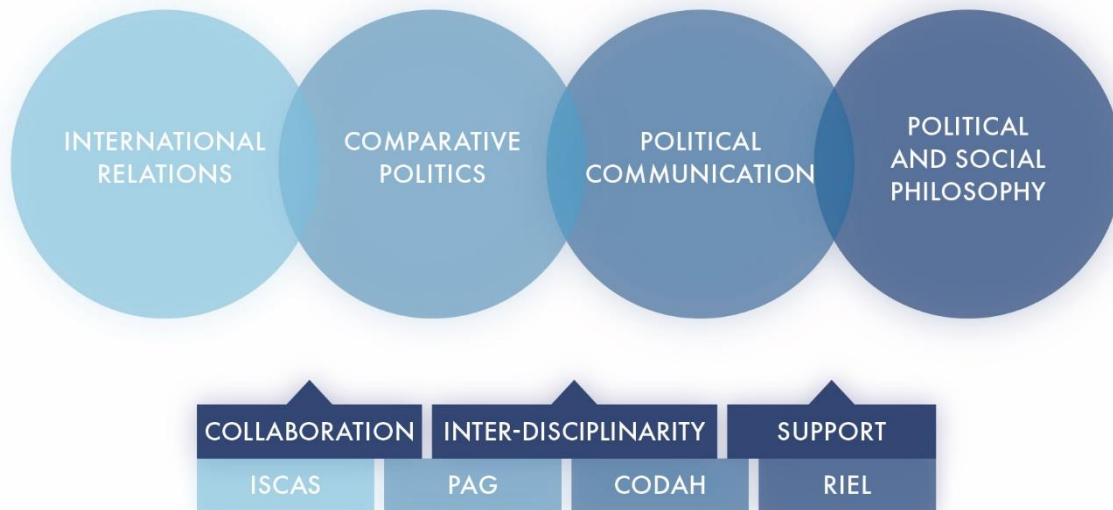- New inter-disciplinary research, notably on international norms and cyber security; and ethics, social policy and identities.
- International staff exchange and PGR opportunities (replicating the Central Oklahoma collaborative model - see section two).
- New research on virtual reality and political platforms (utilising a new VR suite – see section three).

Future Impact Strategy

We also envisage continuity in our impact strategy to build more and stronger partnerships so as to influence international and national policy and enhance political engagement and civic inclusion. In shaping the strategy further, we expect to

- take advantage of University internationalisation to develop more impacts on international norms and international development in global governance,
- develop the potential of the WISERD PGRN to build research partnerships to realise stronger impacts from comparative politics and political communication research, and
- explore how the re-investment in philosophy and its intersections with politics and international studies may also result in significant impacts.

UoA Structure

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS · **COMPARATIVE POLITICS** · **POLITICAL COMMUNICATION** · **POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY**

COLLABORATION · **INTER-DISCIPLINARITY** · **SUPPORT**

ISCAS · PAG · CODAH · RIEL

2. People

Staffing Strategy

Our staff headcount and FTE are both 20.0, representing increases of 122% and 143% respectively since 2013. Our staffing strategy strengthened each of our areas of specialism:

1. **International Relations, Area Studies, and International Development** with the appointments of Trenta and Schmidt on normative contestation in international relations and Akcali on migration and politics in the Middle East and North Africa.
2. **Comparative Politics** with the recruitment of Curry and Petersohn on governance and constitutional design, and Fahey on quantitative research of subnational politics.
3. **Political Communication** with Wu, Thomas and Kilby joining from MC with expertise on media and politics.
4. **Political and social philosophy** with the appointments of McQueen, Cockburn and Bortolan on political and social philosophy, and Merrin and Evans joining from MC with expertise in the philosophy of new media platforms.

Staff development

The UoA Director of Research mentors all staff based on an I**ndividual Research Portfolio (IRP).** The IRP provides a framework for considering personal strategies for publication; projects and grant bids; recruitment of research students; research impact; collaborations and contribution to the profession. We hold IRP meetings at six monthly intervals. PCS and MC Heads of Department also reflect on research performance with staff through **Professional Development Review**. This performance enabling mechanism measures performance against key indicators (including publications, grant applications/funding and PGR supervision). It is used as a basis for constructive feedback and setting agreed objectives on a 12-monthly basis (with interim review after six months).

During probation **ECRs receive additional mentoring and support.** A senior colleague acts as their Individual Mentor, and ECRs are given a reduced teaching load and exemption from major administrative portfolios. Since 2013, six ECRs have completed probation. The University's continuing professional development (CPD) courses underpin career progression for all staff. Our staff development policy is consistent with **the 2008 Concordat to Support the Career Development of Research Staff,** which is recognised with a European Commission HR Excellence in Research Award. This award was reaffirmed three times during the REF period.

We support our staff by providing permanent contracts. This not only offers our researchers security but helps us retain talent. In 2019/2020, all our Category A staff are employed on permanent contracts. During the census period we employed four research assistants on fixed –term contracts, and we provided them with research mentoring for career development**.** We had **nine promotions in the census period,** establishing a profile of 3 professors, 7 associate professors, 5 senior lectures and 5 lecturers. This profile enabled mentoring of associate professors to succeed into research leadership responsibilities, and staff at SL and Lecturer levels to gain experience relevant to progressing their careers.

Staff Support

We provide equality of research opportunities for all researchers. Researchers have **a research day each week** and extended research time during teaching recess. They are eligible to apply for a **sabbatical of one or more semesters after six semesters**. Staff can apply to work on research outputs, grant applications or research impact. We benefited from 18 sabbaticals in the census period. The UOA Director of Research organises peer review of publications and advice on grant bids when requested, as well as advice on how to respond to journal revise and resubmit decisions and research funder feedback. A key mechanism for supporting research is the **PCS Research Seminar Series.** This is organised by our PhD students, giving them experience of managing events and chairing presentations. This is used by all staff to present draft papers, and by PhD students to present draft PhD chapters, and receive feedback.

Our research environment was enhanced by the appointment of **Peter Hain**, former UK Cabinet minister, as a visiting fellow (2013-2016) and **Andrew Davies**, Minister in the Welsh Government 1999-2010, as an honorary professor from 2013. Baron Hain provided annual public lectures, and both provided talks to the PCS research seminar and to PhD students.

Davies provided advice on research bids related to Wales. There are **opportunities for staff mobility** through the University's Texas Strategic Partnership arrangement. During the census period two staff visited Universities in Texas under this scheme.

We place a strong focus on **integrating ECRs into the staff research culture**. ECRs undertake roles in research group convenorship and are otherwise fully included in deciding research group/centre activities. The culture of discussing ideas and circulating early drafts of work enables ECRs to benefit from early feedback. ECRs had significant success in grant capture, including a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship (Curry 2015), British Academy Rising Star Engagement Award (Trenta 2017); and co-investigator on 'Beyond Mainstream media', funded by the ESRC (Thomas, 2020).

Reward, Recognition and Support for Impact

Indicative levels of achievement in University review of outputs and/or impact case studies, grant capture, PGR supervision and contribution to the profession are all used as criteria for **promotion and annual remuneration decisions** for professorial staff. The nine promotions during the census period reflect our success against these criteria. The University also holds regular **Research and Innovation (R and I) awards**, funded by the EPSRC Impact Acceleration Account, as well as an annual Research as Art competition to promote impact. Against stiff competition with STEMM in the R and I award, we won the Outstanding Research Collaboration award in 2016 and achieved Runner up in the Rising Star ECR Staff researcher category in early 2020. The GDPO's "Drug Deal in Server Alley" was the runner-up in the Research as Art competition in 2015.

We have a designated **Impact Lead** who provides guidance in developing impact, supported by the Arts, Humanities and Law Hub Impact and Engagement officer (see section 3):

1. The Impact Lead and Impact and Engagement Officer regularly canvas for notification of impact activities and meet staff individually to develop their work. They help staff to recognise impact potential and develop approaches to engaging with end-users and capturing evidence.
2. They provide advice to staff in developing 'pathways to impact' plans in grant proposals.
3. They then integrate projects which are generating impact into a formal impact case study continuous assessment process. Feedback and guidance are provided on draft templates, as well as ongoing impact activities and evidence capture.

Our **Support and Review process** for potential case studies fits within a broader institutional framework which includes review and feedback from University panels and from an Impact External Assessor. At each feedback phase, we work with authors to incorporate comments and implement suggested actions.

Postgraduate Research Students

We achieved 34 awarded PhDs, an **increase of 45% compared to REF2014**. The table below details the number of PhDs awarded in each year of the assessment period. We do not award professional doctorates.

	13/14	14/15	15/16	16/17	17/18	18/19	19/20
PhDs awarded	5	7	1	8	4	3	6

We recruit nationally and internationally, promoting areas of staff expertise on a continuous basis. Recruitment was helped by securing **11 funded PhD scholarships**, including four continuing ESRC DTC studentships, the James Callaghan Scholarship, the Nawal Al Sharif scholarship, PhD scholarships awarded from the Turkish government and competitively awarded Swansea University Research Excellence Scholarships (SURES). Students from Wales, who were otherwise self-funded, received support from the James Pantyfedwin Foundation. We also recruited students through the **Swansea@UCO PhD programme**, a collaborative programme with the University of Central Oklahoma (UCO) in which PhD students based in UCO are supervised by a primary supervisor from Swansea. We currently supervise six Swansea@UCO PhD students.

We monitor and support our PhD students under the oversight of the COAH Graduate Research Centre (GRC). **The GRC organises generic induction training** and ensures that all research students have an appropriate **primary and secondary supervisor.** Students are provided with dedicated on-campus workspaces, with access to computing and IT equipment, lockers, library and support facilities. Our supervisors assess training needs and provide regular supervision to define their research project, mentor them, and monitor progress. Monitoring is maintained through the formal recording of **monthly student engagements** on an online Evision system**,** and **four formal progression report meetings per year**. Progression reports underpin University confirmation of candidature, probation, and six-monthly progression. This approach ensures close supervision and transparent recording of research progress, helping both our students and our completion rates.

The CoAH GRC organises **training in research ethics and** ensures that PhD students are aware of **University generic and transferable skills training**, employability training and interdisciplinary methods training. The COAH GRC also hosts an **annual postgraduate research conference** giving PhD students the opportunity to present papers and network a PGR community of larger critical mass. All PGR students are provided with £600 to support field research and conference presentations. We take the lead in **subject specific training**. We were a member of the ESRC Wales DTC language-based area studies pathway until 2017 and a legacy partner of the successor DTP from 2017. In this capacity we co-organised and/or contributed to **annual Wales DTC/DTP research training workshops.** PAG also strengthened our PhD research methods training by running from 2018 annual research methods workshops.

We are strongly committed to **integrating our PhD students into our research culture**, as evidenced by their role in the PCS research seminar and involvement in research groups and centres.   This helped to inspire significant achievements. Our PhD students organised

workshops and conferences, for example the interdisciplinary #CNC17 (Cyber Network Conference 2017) in conjunction with Law and Criminology and funded by the ESRC Wales DTC. One PhD student was the Vice-Chair of the Eurasian, East and Central European Studies Women Academics' Forum (EECES WAF). With a grant from the ESRC Wales DTP, EECES WAF held their second workshop in Swansea in September 2019. Another PhD student provided an expert statement on crypto-drug markets to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (Vienna, 2018). We achieved Runner up in the Rising Star PGR researcher category in early 2020 in the University's R and I award.

Our PhD students on graduation secured a wide range of University and government positions, including lecturing posts at: Birmingham City University; Swansea University; Ohio State University; the Defence Language Institute, Monterey; Cankiri Karatekin University, Turkey; and Gendarmerie and Coast Guard Academy, Turkey. They also developed careers in local government (Swansea Council), Welsh Government (the Welsh Revenue Authority), and UK government (HM Revenue & Customs, Office of Communications and Cabinet Office).

Supporting and Promoting Equality and Diversity

We are 15 FTE male and 5 FTE female staff. Two members of staff identify as BAME and none as disabled. We are comprised of 55% non-British nationalities. We recognise the staff gender imbalance as a problem and promote equality and diversity. Consequently, we make a conscious effort, through **positive action statements and inclusive language** in our job descriptions, to encourage applications by female and BAME candidates. We supported **training for career development for female staff**. Two staff members completed the **Aurora Women Leadership Programme** in 2018 and 2020 respectively, funded by CoAH. We also supported **female members of staff into promoted positions**. During the census period two female staff were promoted to associate professor. **Opportunities for sabbatical study leave** and flexible working, are available to all staff. During this REF period all female staff who applied for sabbatical leave were successful.

Staff take advantage of the University's onsite nursery and childcare voucher system. Timetabling and administrative duties are adjusted via a 'Staff Constraints' system to enable parents and carers to manage their commitments. **Core meetings** are held during carer-friendly hours of 10am and 4pm. Line managers oversee the phased return to work of staff with longer term health needs, and part-time working arrangements are implemented where required, though currently no staff have fractional contracts. The University is a member of **Stonewall's Diversity Champions** programme. There is an LGBT+ Network, which won Network of the year at the Annual Stonewall Cymru Workplace Equality Index Awards in 2017 and 2018 and has continued to rank highly since 2018. Two staff members served on the **CoAH EDI Committee** and assisted in the preparation of the CoAH **Athena Swan Bronze** application in 2020 (decision pending).

We supported female staff in developing research-related leadership roles. These included the roles of UoA Director, UoA Environment lead and co-convenor of PAG. A female staff member currently serves as Director of CODAH and two female staff are members of COAH's Research Ethics Committee. **In line with the University's Code of Practice and our unit Statement of Intent**, the team making the decisions on the final selection of outputs all received mandatory unconscious bias training as well as targeted REF specific training on the fair and transparent selection of outputs for inclusion in the submission. Consequently,

the **distribution of outputs across staff** in the standard data analysis reflects our unwavering commitment to equality and diversity. The submission comprises the one best-quality output from each Category A submitted staff member with the balance made up of the best-quality outputs from the available pool of eligible outputs that includes outputs of former eligible colleagues. **The University's Equality and Diversity Sub-Group** considered all self-reported individual staff circumstances and made recommendations on reductions to an individual's expected contribution to the output pool, which we have respected.

3. Income, infrastructure, and facilities

Research Income Strategy

Our research income strategy focuses on supporting all staff to make bids. ECR Staff are mentored to seek fellowships, small awards as PI and/or larger awards as Co-Is in the first instance and build from there. Mid-career and senior staff are encouraged to seek appropriately higher levels of funding. Our research income awards during this census period are listed below. The British Academy small grant, BA Rising star award, British Institute award, and ESRC Co-I award, all represent ECRs gaining early successes. The AHRC award and Marie Curie fellowship represent achievements for mid-career staff seeking higher funding. The ESRC 'Enablement beyond constraints' award represented success for a scholar with an already developed grant record. The latter also represented participation in a larger consortium leading to international publications.

Most of these grants led to publications featured in our submission. One of the BA small grants led to "The Obama Administration's conceptual change", published by *European Journal of International Security* being listed as one of its most influential articles of 2018.

Research income achievements also played a major role in supporting research impact. The Open Society Foundations funding for the Global Drug Policy Observatory was instrumental in supporting the ICS on *Changing government and international organisations' approaches to the measurement of effectiveness in drug and crime control policy*. Equally the ESRC 'At the end of the Feeder Road' and Institute of Development Studies grants were instrumental in supporting the ICS on *Motorcycle taxi accessible tracks: achieving changes in donor and government rural transport policies in Liberia to benefit rural communities and individuals*.

Our grant awards, 2013-2020:
- 'At the end of the Feeder Road' (ESRC, £73,101) and follow-on funding for 'At the end of the Feeder Road: Finding Traction' (ESRC, £58, 397)
- 'Enablement Beside Constraints' (ESRC, £86,916)
- 'What are the Odds?' (AHRC, £76.088)
- 'Beyond the Mainstream Media: Understanding the rise of online political media" (ESRC, £34,834)
- 'Initiative for Managing Policy Maker/Academic cooperation and Knowledge Transfer (IMPACKT)' (EPSRC Impact Acceleration Account, £9,246)
- 'Policy Innovation and legitimacy in regional multi-level government' (Marie Sklodowska Curie Intra-European Individual Fellowship, €183,455)
- 'Targeted killing' (British Academy, £9,431)

- 'Out of the Shadows' (British Academy Rising Star Engagement Award, £13,959)
- 'Exploring Hybrid International Criminal courts' (British Academy, £7,124)
- 'Diaspora Business' (British Institute at Ankara, £3,700)
- 'End of the Feeder Road Kisumu Workshop' (Institute of Development Studies, £8,300)
- 'Global Drug Policy Observatory' (Open Society Foundations, £182,846)
- 'Cannabis Innovate' (Equinox International Holdings Limited, £237,023)

Our strategy used University and College pump-priming schemes to help to develop grant capture. These comprised the Swansea University Research Grant Enabler fund (SURGE), Cherish-Digital Economy (funding for digital and social science initiatives) and the CoAH Texas Collaboration Fund (TCF) for staff mobility. We achieved 17 awards from these funds which supported research as well as the preparation of external grant bids. For example, Cherish-DE awards preceded successful bids for the 'What are the Odds' and 'End of the Feeder Road' projects. A Cherish-DE award helped the Global Drugs Policy Observatory to do the necessary pilot work to secure external funding from Equinox International Holdings. A TCF award supported a workshop that led to the successful BA small grant application on 'targeted killing'. A SURGE award provided the seed corn money for establishing IMPACKT (see section 4), which later achieved EPSRC IAA awards.

Pump priming funding was also important in developing impact and new research and continues to be so in preparing plans for the next census period. For example, Cherish-DE awards supported the research that led to the ICS: *DigComEquality: achieving changes in broadcaster and charity policies to benefit sensory impaired users of digital media in Wales.* A TCF award led ultimately to the inter-disciplinary collaborative project on WeChat and contentious politics in China. Towards the end of the census period the University also made available HEFCW GCRF funds and the Greatest Need Fund (focused on research with local impact). We won five HEFCW GCRF awards, with a value of £64K which enable us to build on research that led to ICS in this period to underpin partnerships and external research applications in the next census period. SURGE funding in 2016 and a HEFCW GCRF grant in 2019, with a value of £50k, supported continued research on ASEAN and human rights. We won two Greatest Need grants, including one to sustain research on digital media inclusion and sensory impaired users.

Organisational Infrastructure

We are able to apply to the COAH *Research Support Fund* (up to £1500 per person per annum) for help in presenting research at conferences, conduct pilot field research and to organise meetings related to grant bids. We secured 70 awards in the census period, totalling more than £34.5K. RIEL receives University funding and PAG, ISCAS and CODAH are financially supported by COAH's *Research Environment Fund* (up to £1500 per group per annum) to enable workshops and seminars with external speakers. This led to approximately forty events with external speakers over the course of the census period. These included: -

- **Workshops**, for example those co-organised with The Bush School of Government, Texas A&M on 'China and digital politics' (2017); and Kings College London on 'Cross-Domain Deterrence: Politics by Many Means' (2018).

- **Seminars** featuring for example, Johanna Schnabel (Newton International Fellow at University of Kent) on "The Politics of Conditional Grants in Federal States"; Rear Admiral Christopher Parry CBE, on "Sea Power in the 21st Century"; Mirva Salminen (University of Lapland), "A Human Security Perspective to Digitalisation and Cybersecurity in the European High North"; and Athina Karatzogianni (Leicester University) on "Leaktivism, Disinformation Architectures, & Ideological Polarisation on Digital Networks".

We also receive support from COAH for our membership of **the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)**. Membership not only enables staff to participate in the annual conference and joint sessions, but it also provides access for staff and PhD students to ECPR summer and winter schools. During this census period we were a **founding member of ECPR's research network on VAAs.**

We also benefited from the collaborative opportunities provided by the **Welsh Crucible,** funded by the Welsh Universities and HEFCW. Welsh Crucible selects 30 researchers from across Wales each year to participate in residential workshops where they explore how they can benefit from working with researchers in other disciplines, how their research can have greater impact, and how they can build international research careers in Wales. The **Initiative for Managing Policy Maker/Academic cooperation and Knowledge Transfer (IMPACKT)** (see section 4) developed from this programme.

Operational and Scholarly Infrastructure

We operate a scheme where senior researchers have responsibility for mentoring and supporting staff in the development of research ideas into grant bids. When researchers are ready to progress their ideas, they then have access to professional services staff available in the **Research Enterprise and Innovation Services Arts, Humanities and Law Hub**. The REIS AHLHub is staffed by a Hub Manager, a Research Development Officer (RDO); Research Bid Writer; Research Impact and Engagement Officer; and a Research Support Advisor (RSA). They are all on-site in COAH. The AHLHub identifies external funding opportunities, and works with academics to cost and build bids. They run local briefing events for specific schemes and publicise University-level sandpits and town hall meetings with major funders.

REIS AHL Hub staff support each research grant application: comprising general research project management by the RDO; research application content by the Bid writer; advice on pathways to impact by the Impact and Engagement Officer; and costing and financial details by the RSA. All applications are recorded and checked on the University's Advanced Management System ahead of confirmation of content on external grant forms. The AHL Hub organises demand management **peer review procedures** ahead of submission of research council grant applications, as well as pre-submission peer review for other grant applications. This infrastructure helped considerably in supporting a substantial increase in our funding and research expenditure.

The AHLHub, through its Impact and Engagement Officer, also supports the development of post-award public engagement and impact. COAH provides a *Research Impact Fund (RIF)* to support research impact. This includes funding for events and activities to enhance reach

or significance, and for data collection to evidence impact. We secured 6 RIF awards during the census period, which supported our ICSs, as well as other early-stage impact work.

We are also supported by the **COAH Research Office**, which advises staff on entering publications on to the University's **Research Information System** and ensuring that they meet **open access** requirements. The Research Office oversees **University publication review procedures** and provides administrative support for the CoAH Research Support Fund and Research Environment Fund. It also supports the COAH inter-disciplinary conference, **Research Across Boundaries**, run for the first time in 2019, and research ethics procedures. The CoAH Research office is co-located with the REIS AHL Hub, providing staff with a one stop set of research support services close at hand.

We significantly benefited from the **University's investment in its infrastructure** and facilities because of the move to a dual campus. This led in 2017 to a £2 million refurbishment of the Taliesin Building, which is close to the PCS and MC departments. Now known as **Taliesin Create**, it has become an inclusive and flexible area for student, staff, and community use. Taliesin Create was the venue for many of our conferences, workshops, visiting speakers and PGR training events, including for example the WISERD Politics and Governance Research Network's workshop on "Welsh Policy and Politics in Unprecedented Times" co-organised with the Welsh Government/ESRC funded Wales Centre for Public Policy (2019).

Equality and Diversity

All staff had equal opportunities for support from our research income strategy, organisational infrastructure, and operational and scholarly infrastructure. Female and BAME staff members were among those successful in external grant awards and those receiving support from the University EPSRC Cherish-DE and Greatest Need funds. All received support from the COAH Research Support Fund. **All staff benefited from the events** supported by the COAH Research Environment Fund, and female and BAME staff members received support for visiting speakers they wished to invite. Female staff members attended ECPR events. **All staff members had equal access** to support from the REIS AHL Hub for grant bids and the COAH Research Office. Female and BAME staff also received support from the Research Impact Fund.

Specialist Infrastructure

We benefited from investment in 2018 in CoAH in a Virtual Reality suite. This is a critical facility in enabling us to respond to the ESRC's agenda for understanding "New ways of being in a digital age". Political theory and philosophy staff have engaged with the resource, and it helped to secure the award of the grant on "Space-software-human: the augmented reality of the smart city" with researchers in Poland (see section one).

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

National and International Collaboration

The Global Drugs Policy Observatory (GDPO), funded by the Open Society Foundations**,** and led by Bewley-Taylor (with Schmidt, Trenta and Wall as research associates), is a leading centre in an international network of expertise on drug policy. **Ruth Dreifuss,** the former **President of the Swiss Confederation** and **current chair of the Global Commission on Drug Policy**, is **the GDPO's Patron**. She said of the GDPO 'Nothing is timelier than the establishment and operation of an observatory to provide analysis and to allow policy reforms to be based on evidence: evidence of failures and evidence of success". The GDPO has research associates at Manchester, Glasgow, and Cardiff Universities. Partner institutions include the Centre on Drug Policy Evaluation (Toronto); Harm Reduction International; the Washington Office on Latin America; and the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. It organises its research in seven work streams, and produces policy briefs, reports and working papers series, situation analyses and podcasts as well as academic outputs.

Trenta's "Out of the Shadows" project, funded by the British Academy**,** provided leadership for an ECR network to study covert action in state foreign policies.   The project facilitated the professional development of 11 PhD students based in UK universities, including a workshop in 2017, and the running of a blog. It drew on the support of researchers at Pittsburgh, Nottingham, and Cardiff.

We established the Welsh Politics and Governance Research Network, funded by the Wales Institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods' (WISERD). From 2018 the network provided workshops and online seminars for scholars from the five Welsh partner universities. WISERD Co-Director, Paul Chaney described the network as ''an exciting development with strong potential to link-up leading experts working on politics and governance issues in Wales and beyond – and to advance research that will have real impact on scholarship, policy and public life."

Peters' research on West Africa, funded by the ESRC, led to leadership of the 'End of the Feeder Road' expert network on regional development and transport infrastructure. This comprises researchers at Reading, Wageningen University (Netherlands), Ngala University (Sierra Leone), and the University of the Cape Coast, Ghana. Peters developed partnerships with the UK, German, and Swedish International Development Departments, and US and West African NGOs. These collaborations produced both reports and academic outputs, and they were instrumental in achieving changes in international donor and government policies in West Africa on rural transport infrastructure.

Wall's research on voter advice applications was based on research partnerships with VAA projects at Vrije University Amsterdam**.** He collaborated with EUVOX for the 2014 European Elections, Election Compass for the 2015 and 2017 UK General Elections, and Kieskompass for the 2016 Welsh election. In UK research of VAAs he is part of a consortium with researchers at Oxford Brookes, the Oxford Internet Institute and the Universities of Surrey and Bath. He also co-publishes on internet effects in election campaigns with researchers at Essex, McGill Montreal, and UC Dublin; and collaborates (with Thomas and Kilby) on gambling websites, election forecasting and reporting with Limerick.

Other research partnerships include **Clarke and Collins' British Academy funded research** with the University of Philippines Diliman to study the ASEAN Human Rights mechanism. **Akcali's research on migration and the Middle East** involves collaboration with Glasgow Caledonian University and MEF and Kadir Has Universities in Istanbul. **Cockburn's research on political philosophy and economic justice** included collaboration on an edited collection with Aarhus and Copenhagen Universities. **Evans' research on locative media** was conducted in collaboration with Maynooth University and City University London. **Kilby and Thomas' research on political reporting** of devolution and UK general elections both involved collaboration with researchers in political journalism at Cardiff.

Collaboration also involved contributions to major projects organised elsewhere. Sheehan and Collins' research on Arctic security was co-ordinated from the Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, and involved collaboration with the Universities of Victoria, Canada and Wien, Austria. **Bradbury's research on representation in multi-level democracies** formed part of the 15 country PARTIREP project, based at Vrije Universiteit Brussels. **Curry's research on public sector reform in Europe** derived from his participation in an EU FP7 project, led by Erasmus University Rotterdam. **Both Bradbury and Curry** presented at seminars in Berkeley, California, leading to essays in Mark Bevir's co-edited books *Rethinking Governance* and *Decentring European Governance*.

Wu's research on digital media and civic inclusion included collaboration with Heilongjiang University. **Petersohn's outputs as an ECR** derived from earlier international collaborations on: the dynamics of multi-level states at the University of Konstanz; and constitutional policy in multilevel government at Technische Universitat Darmstadt. In 2017, after joining Swansea, she collaborated with colleagues at Wilfried Laurier University and Nottingham to edit a special edition of *Publius, the Journal of Federalism*.

Relationships with Research Beneficiaries

We held roles as advisors and expert witnesses for elite policy making. Bewley-Taylor held several roles, including Member of the Advisory group on drug policy for the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and Member of Advisory Board, Uruguay Ministry of Health. He informed government debates on the reform of drug policies. Akcali was an invited panellist at the British Academy, US Institute of Peace and Peace Research Institute Oslo seminar on the future of Cyprus (2019); as well as a member of a roundtable on security and the reunification of Cyprus, Hellenic Centre (2019). Participation in such roles enriched the UoAs expertise in international policy processes and norm contestation.

We made submissions to parliamentary committees to contribute to legislative inquiry. Petersohn and Bradbury contributed five submissions of evidence to UK Parliamentary committees: from the HoL Constitution Committee inquiry into The Union and Devolution (2015); to the HoC Scottish Affairs Committee inquiry into The Relationship between the UK and Scottish Governments (2019). Such evidence enhanced legislator understanding of devolution and the implications of Brexit in Scotland and Wales. In turn, this engagement consolidated our expertise in territorial politics and UK devolution.

We developed an Initiative for Managing Policy Maker/Academic cooperation and Knowledge Transfer (IMPACKT). This was established in 2016 by Curry with colleagues in engineering and medicine. Curry provided researchers across Swansea University STEMM subjects with policy toolkits and 32 policy clinics, leading to policy briefs and evidence to parliamentary committees. The initiative enriched the UOA's understanding of how to develop inter-disciplinary research to inform policy.

We developed vehicles for encouraging democratic participation. Wall's Voter Advice Application (VAAs) websites had a substantial impact on public awareness and understanding of election campaigns. The VAA for the 2014 European Parliament elections reached over 125,000 unique users, and generated coverage in *The Economist*, *The Guardian*, and the *Daily Mail*. The VAA for the 2015 and 2017 UK general elections attracted around 70,000 unique visitors, and a Wales-specific VAA in the 2017 UK election reached over 4,000 unique users. The VAA for the 2016 Welsh Assembly Elections reached over 8,000 unique users. This experience has made VAA development a key focus for innovation in the UOA.

We developed public and educational understanding of international politics. Trenta's 'Out of the Shadows' project on covert action in foreign policy included: -
- A public lecture at the National Assembly for Wales, and a Workshop for the Youth Parliament Wales (2018).
- Public talks at the 2019 Hay-on-Wye book festival and at the AHRC funded Swansea Being Human Festival 2019.
- Podcasts - three episodes received more than 600 listens.
- A prototype graphic novel on the Central Intelligence Agency with the Folio Art Agency and the artist Eric Schmitt.

The project organised events for secondary schools in 2018, attended by 300 pupils and 50+ teachers from 25 schools. It provided CPD resources, which were used by teachers responsible for delivering *Reaching Wider* (a partnership to increase participation in higher education from underrepresented groups/communities in South West Wales) and *SEREN* (a network of regional hubs to support Wales' brightest sixth formers). **The project produced a "Challenge" assignment for the Welsh Baccalaureate's Skills Challenge Certificate.** This work reinforced covert action as a focus for innovative research in the UOA.

We made over 500 media contributions including: -
- **Regular columns**, for example Wall (weekly in *South Wales Evening Post*); Akcali (monthly in Turkish Cypriot daily newspaper *Havadis*); Thomas (regular morning newspaper reviewer for BBC Radio *Good Morning Wales*).
- **Articles for The Conversation**. These comprised 22 articles which reached 437,130 readers worldwide, receiving 737 comments.
- **UK and Welsh TV, Radio and Blog contributions** on Brexit; Welsh, UK and European politics and elections and policy-related issues, e.g., Bewley-Taylor on Drug policy (BBC Radio 4 *Today)*.
- **Welsh Radio contributions on US politics,** e.g., "The Inauguration of Donald Trump", on *Good Evening Wales (2017).*
- **Media consultancy**, e.g., Trenta was script consultant for a short movie on assassination produced by BBC Ideas. He participated in four episodes of the History Channel documentary, *Secret Wars Uncovered*.

In addition, we co-host the online platform JournalismKX. Thomas created this web-based platform in 2019 as a knowledge exchange mechanism for engaging professional journalists. By 2020 it had 30+ articles written by journalists and academics exploring the challenges of contemporary political journalism. Media engagement has enriched the focus in our research culture on the challenges and potential of a wide range of forms of political communication.

Overall, our wider contributions to the economy and society focused on providing policy advice to support global norm development, security, UN sustainable development goals and state territorial balance.

Our engagement with diverse communities and publics focused on raising awareness and understanding to enhance political engagement, civic inclusion, public debate, and educational opportunities. We provided benefits of particular importance to users of our research in Wales, including specific societal groups.

Contribution to the Discipline

Merrin edits the journal *Digital War* and Trenta is assistant editor of *Diplomacy and Statecraft.* We serve on the editorial boards of five further journals. Clarke and Wall are members of the **ESRC and AHRC Peer review panels,** respectively. We provided **members of UKRI grant committees**. These comprised the ESRC Initiative on Britain in a Changing Europe commissioning panel (2015); the ESRC Doctoral Training Programme (DTP) Review College (2016); the ESRC GCRF Strategic Networks commissioning panel (2016-17); the RCUK GCRF 'Intractable Problems in Developing Countries' Research Hubs commissioning panel (2017-18); and the ESRC DTP panel of academic assessors for +3 Studentship Annual Assurance Checks (2019, 2020). We provided an Adviser to the Commonwealth Scholarships Commission (2013-2017).

We gained recognition through fellowships, prizes, and translation. In addition to Curry's MSC fellowship (see section one), Akcali held an IMéRA resident fellowship for world-class foreign researchers at Aix-Marseille University Institute for Advanced Study in 2016. Bradbury was an associate fellow at Cardiff University 2014-18 and was elected a Fellow of the Learned Society for Wales in 2015. Bewley-Taylor was an associate fellow at the Transnational Institute Amsterdam from 2013. Schmidt was a visiting fellow at the LSE Centre for International Studies, 2018-19. Schmidt's work on international criminal courts earned him the ISA International Law Section best paper award (2016). Collins' edited book, *Contemporary Security Studies* (3rd edition) was translated into Chinese (2014), Mongolian (2015), Turkish (2015) and Albanian (2016).

We contributed to professional leadership through memberships of the QAA Benchmarking Committee for Politics and International Relations (2014); the ESRC Wales Doctoral Training Centre (DTC) Management Group 2013-2016; and the ESRC/DFID Impact Initiative (2016, 2018). We provided members of the executive committees of the Association of South East Asian Studies, UK, and the International Centre on Human Rights and Drug Policy, both from 2013. We co-convened two UK Political Studies Associations specialist groups: Global Justice and Human Rights; and Territorial Politics.

We delivered over 50 invited lectures and chair roles. Typical of keynote lectures were Sheehan's 'American and European visions of space security' at a conference on the militarisation of space, Free University of Berlin, 2014; and Wu's 'Building a digital inclusive society: the UK experience' at a conference on New Media, organised by Capital Normal University, Beijing, 2016. Chair roles were exemplified by Bradbury's invited position as Chair for a public question time for Carwyn Jones, First Minister of Wales, in the Dylan Thomas Centre, Swansea (2015).

We refereed 16 research grant proposals for UKRI, UK charities and non-UK research councils, including the US National Science Foundation and Dutch Research Council, and **35 GCRF applications** for UKRI. **We refereed article submissions for 130 different journals**, including *American Political Science Review, Review of International Studies, British Journal of Political Science* and *Media and Society*. **We provided publisher reviews of 32 book manuscripts,** and **external examiners for 23 PhDs** in the UK and **5 PhDs** overseas.

We organised more than 30 conferences and workshops. These included the six conferences/workshops we co-organised with the University of Philippines Diliman, held in Swansea and Manila (2014-2016). **We organised over 50 panels** at international conferences, including annual conferences of the UK Political Studies Association, Mid-West Political Studies Association, International Studies Association, International Communications Association and the ECPR, and **presented over 210 papers** at these and other conferences. We were consistently active in eight PSA specialist groups, the ISA's English School and Foreign Policy Analysis Sections: and BISA's US Foreign Policy Group.

Finally, we contributed to collaborative arrangements for PGR training. Contributions included co-organisation of annual training conferences with Cardiff in the language-based area studies pathway of the Wales ESRC DTC, 2013-2017, and contributions to security research training in the politics and international studies pathway. We co-organised the Association of South East Asian Studies UK Postgraduate Symposium at the LSE in May 2015. From 2017 we contributed to annual training conferences of the global language-based area studies pathway of the ERSC Wales DTP.