

### Institution: University of Glasgow

## Unit of Assessment: 21 – Politics and International Studies

## a. Overview

Politics at Glasgow has a long and distinguished reputation for world-leading research. With 25 Category A staff (24 FTE submitted) and 25 doctoral students, it is a vibrant Unit that produces innovative and influential research across three main clusters: (1) *Comparative Politics*, with an emphasis on the quality of democracy, political communication and processes of political transformation. Principal affiliations to this cluster are: **Birch, Carman, Duckett, Habel, Langer, Lundberg, McLaren, Munro, Sagarzazu, Tsakatika** and **White**; (2) *International Relations*, especially European Union (EU) external relations and the normative dimensions of security. Principal affiliations: **Carbone, Head, Karyotis, O'Driscoll, Solomon** and **Valeriano**; (3) *Human Rights*, with a focus on the politics of protection and the gender, sexuality, rights nexus. Principal affiliations: **Hoehn, Hume, Kollman, Mills** and **Turbine**. Beyond these three clusters, we have also sought to maintain and reinvigorate our long-standing strengths in **political theory** with two new junior appointments in normative justice (**Knight**) and the Scottish Enlightenment (**Smith**).

Since the University of Glasgow restructured its academic Units in 2010, Politics has been a distinctive subject area of the School of Social and Political Sciences (the School) within a wider College of Social Sciences (the College). Restructuring has enhanced our ability to deliver on our commitment to collaboration, and our staff play a leading role in major University and wider interdisciplinary research centres and networks.

### b. Research strategy

Politics at Glasgow has always been committed to celebrating the plurality of approaches in our field and to producing theoretical insights through cross-cutting research that spans the sub-fields of our discipline. Our 2008 research strategy had three key objectives: (1) **revitalizing our mentoring system and research structures** (2) encouraging collaboration via **supportive research clusters**, and (3) **strategically targeting appointments** to build new areas of strength within these clusters. Over the course of the REF 2014 cycle this approach has enabled us to achieve our goal of producing world-leading research on the quality of democracy, the rising powers of China and Russia, human rights and the normative aspects of conflict and security. This strategy's success – and the vitality of Politics at Glasgow – is evidenced by our publication of 35 books, 210 articles and 98 book chapters since 2008; our growing number of research awards – especially major collaborative Research Council UK (RCUK) grants (over £2 million in this period compared with £1.3 million for 2008 RAE cycle); development of new networks and research centres; and the production of important policy-relevant research that has fed into formal policy making processes and public debate in the UK and internationally.

### Research Structure

The key to our strategy's success has been the creation of robust structures to mentor individuals and to create synergies within our collaborative research clusters as well as a sustained rota of **research leave**. To meet the objectives outlined above, in 2008 Politics appointed a **Research Champion and Committee** to coordinate and support its researchers. We formalised our research mentoring process by establishing **annual meetings** in which each individual member of staff reviews their achievements and future goals with the Research Champion and Committee. These discussions also serve to **identify opportunities for collaboration** within the Unit, and have led to several successful joint funding applications (outlined below). A similar end-of-year mentoring meeting is conducted with individual PGR students and is run by the Director of Postgraduate Research.

### Research Clusters and Achievements

The more individualised support offered by annual mentoring meetings is complemented by the activities of our three collaborative research clusters. All three clusters have grown and reoriented focus over the current REF cycle as we have identified new priority areas that take into account the changing nature of our discipline and new staff appointments.



# 1. Comparative Politics:

In the current REF cycle this cluster has produced world-leading research on the transformations of post-communist political systems in Russia (White) and China (Duckett, Munro) as well as in the area of political communication (Langer, Habel, Sagarzazu). Recent appointments (Carman, Birch, Habel, McLaren) have allowed the cluster to build strength in the area of 'quality of democracy' with a particular focus on the integrity of elections, electoral systems and public spheres. These appointments complement existing expertise on parties and electoral systems – notably by White in post-communist states, Tsakatika in Southern Europe and Lundberg in the UK and New Zealand.

Key Achievements of the Cluster during the period include:

- **Outputs**: White (Cambridge University Press 2011), Munro (with Rose and Mishler, Cambridge University Press 2011) and Duckett (Routledge 2009) have all published major research monographs on Russian and Chinese politics that draw on new data to produce theoretically driven understandings of these rising powers. **Birch** (Manchester University Press 2009; Oxford University Press 2011), **Carman** (Oxford University Press 2012), and **McLaren** (Routledge 2008) have published significant monographs in the field of quality of democracy through their work on electoral malpractice, the influence of culture wars on US political discourse and democratic consolidation in Southern Europe. In the political communication field, **Langer** published a major monograph (Manchester University Press 2012) on the personalisation of politics in the British media. Cluster members have also disseminated their research through internationally-leading journals such as *American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, Electoral Studies, Political Communication, Europe-Asia Studies, The China Quarterly, and The China Journal. Carman's article on Scottish ballot design won the prestigious American Political Science Association's Lawrence Longley award for best article on representation or electoral systems published in 2008-09.*
- Major Funded Collaborations: Cluster members working on the rising powers of China and Russia have been particularly successful in securing funding as part of multi-researcher and interdisciplinary groups. Since 2008 Duckett has participated in two (one with Munro) major ESRC collaborative projects (*Performance Evaluations, Trust and the Utilisation of Health Care in China; Expanding not Shrinking Social Programmes: The Politics of New Policies to Tackle Poverty and Inequality in Brazil, India, China and South Africa*), with health researchers at Glasgow and the University of Manchester, and with political scientists at the Universities of London, Johannesburg, Pernambuco (Brazil) and Peking. White (PI), Duckett, Munro and McAllister (Australian National University) are collaborating on a third project, *Rising Powers: Unequal Powers, Authoritarian Powers, Unstable Powers*, which explores the relationship between inequality and instability in authoritarian regimes. White has led three additional ESRC-funded collaborations that investigate electoral authoritarianism and Putin's presidency in post-Soviet Russia. Munro is collaborating with European and Chinese scholars on a Europe Aid-funded project to investigate environmental governance in Zhejiang province.
- Academic Public Goods: Cluster members have established and developed important research networks in the University and across Scottish HEIs e.g. Duckett directs the Scottish Centre for China Research, launched in 2008, which has organised international conferences and PGR workshops on contemporary developments in China. Carman serves on the Executive of the College's Policy Scotland initiative, developing an innovative interdisciplinary centre for policy research and knowledge exchange.

# 2. International Relations (IR):

Research in international relations at Glasgow traditionally has had a twin focus of normative IR theory and the politics of the EU and its external relations. Since 2008 we have invested heavily in the area of global security and the study of conflict, this includes appointing **Karyotis** and **Solomon** to create a particular strength in the normative aspects of conflict that deepens our existing expertise in normative IR theory (**O'Driscoll, Head**). **Valeriano's** work on cyber security



complements the latter group and contributes high profile and internationally leading research on this increasingly important topic. **Carbone** leads research on EU development policy and holds the Jean Monnet Chair of EU External Policies.

Key Achievements of the Cluster during the period include:

- Outputs: Head (Manchester University Press 2012); O'Driscoll (Routledge 2008); and Valeriano (Routledge 2012) all published substantial research monographs during the period on major issues of global security (Head on communicative action and peace-building, O'Driscoll on contemporary conceptions of just war and Valeriano on the origins of inter-state rivalry). The members of the cluster have also published numerous articles in high profile international journals such as International Studies Quarterly, Millennium, Journal of Peace Research and Journal of International Development.
- Collaborations and Academic Public Goods: O'Driscoll (with Head, Valeriano) played a leading role in founding the University's Global Security Network, which brings together an interdisciplinary group of Scottish scholars to promote research and knowledge exchange. The network has contributed to the intellectual life of the University and the broader community by organising events such as the high profile 'Security and an Independent Scotland' public lecture series and a major conference in 2013 including national and international political, military and academic speakers. It also runs an established series of academic research seminars.
  Carbone, as a Jean Monnet Chair, organised a series of international workshops entitled, 'The European Union in the International Arena' funded by the European Commission, which explored policy coherence within the development-trade nexus.

## 3. Human Rights:

This cluster produces innovative research in human rights that draws on the strengths of our comparative politics and international relations groupings. Research in this cluster focuses on the 'politics of protection' and the relation between gender, sexuality and rights. Work on the former is led by **Mills** whose research on humanitarian intervention dovetails with the normative conflict work in the IR cluster. Work on the latter theme is led by **Hume, Kollman,** and **Turbine** all of whom use comparative politics and area studies expertise to inform their research. These synergies across the comparative politics and human rights clusters have been strengthened with recent appointments (**Birch, Sagarzazu**) whose work focuses on the quality of democracy and democratisation processes.

Key Achievements of the Cluster during the period include:

- **Outputs:** Hume (Wiley-Blackwell 2009) and Kollman (Manchester University Press 2013) both produced important monographs on gender/sexuality rights, which respectively challenge understandings of everyday violence in Central America and the processes that produced the recent wave of same-sex union policies in western democracies. Cluster members have published articles in prestigious international journals such as *Democratization*, *Social Politics*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, *International Journal of Human Rights* and *Europe-Asia Studies*.
- *Major Funded Collaborations:* Cluster members have secured large awards to conduct collaborative research. **Turbine** is Co-Investigator with Oates (Professor at Glasgow until 2012 then Maryland) on an ESRC funded project entitled '*Internet and Everyday rights*' that examines how internet use informs human rights practices. **Kollman** with Bernhagen (Aberdeen, Zeppelin), is leading an ESRC-funded project, *Borderless Politics*, that investigates how firms participate in politics, including how they engage with evolving human rights norms.
- Academic Public Goods: Cluster members have played a leading role in creating crossdisciplinary University networks. In 2011 Mills founded the Glasgow Human Rights Network which brings together practitioners and researchers from across Scotland. Under Mills' leadership the Network organised an international conference on 'Protecting Human Rights' sponsored by the International Studies Association (2012) as well as a public seminar series



addressing human rights issues ranging from Rwanda to Afghanistan. **Hume** (with **Sagarzazu**) helped to found and contributes to the University's Latin American Research Network and also served as a theme leader in the Adam Smith Research Foundation, an interdisciplinary research centre located in the College of Social Sciences.

### Strategy for the Future

Over the review period Politics has met its objectives of establishing strong research mechanisms and structures to fulfil its overarching aim of producing world-leading research. To achieve that aim in the next five years, its goals are:

- To ensure that new staff are firmly embedded in a supportive and stimulating research environment by **further developing** research cluster interactions and collaborations.
- To continue to build strength in our priority areas in **comparative politics** (the quality of democracy, political communication and rising powers), **international relations** (security and normative theory) and **human rights** (humanitarian protection; gender and sexuality) through our hiring strategy and developing our existing expertise, while responding to a fast-changing discipline and dynamic political environment to ensure our research is academically excellent as well as responding to emerging global and local challenges.
- To play a leading role in the **development of sustainable national and international collaborative research partnerships**, building on our existing links in China and Russia. In addition to attracting external research funding, this will include Politics leading the establishment of a joint graduate School – with a programme in Politics and International Relations – with Nankai University in Tianjin.
- To **build expertise** in quantitative methods that draws on the strengths of new appointments, including **McLaren**, **Carman**, **Habel** and **Sagarzazu**, and marries this expertise with the resources of the prestigious £4 million Nuffield Q-step award that was recently secured by the University of Glasgow to integrate quantitative methods into Social Science teaching. Promising avenues of research innovation in this area include quantitative textual analysis (Sagarzazu); innovations in public opinion research (McLaren, Carman) and building new databases to measure cyber conflict (**Valeriano**).

### c. People, including:

### I. Staffing strategy and staff development

Politics' staffing strategy has focused on deepening research excellence and fostering its **sustainability** both by recruiting only the best researchers and by supporting the development of academic staff at all stages of their career.

### Recruitment

Since 2008 there has been substantial investment in the renewal and development of the Unit, which has expanded from 20 to 25 Category A staff. Together with five retirements, this additional investment enabled Politics at Glasgow to implement a staffing policy aimed at: (1) **focusing resources** to build critical mass and our talent base in priority areas by appointing world-leading junior and senior researchers; while (2) at the same time **enhancing the sustainability** of our world-leading research in the medium-to-long term by improving our demographic balance and ensuring we have staff at all career stages. As well as developing and promoting our best researchers, we appointed 2 colleagues at professorial level, 2 senior lecturers and 4 lecturers – 3 of whom were early career researchers (ECRs).

We have also attracted leading postdoctoral researchers through the British Academy Fellowship scheme (**Knight**; **Hoehn**, who is also funded through the University of Glasgow Leadership Fellow scheme) and will seek to retain them after their Fellowship funding ends. This is consonant with our policy of appointing the very best scholars and giving them the security to develop their careers. Most of our appointments – at junior as well as senior levels – have therefore been



conventional open-ended posts. We currently have only one short term (two-year) lecturer and 2 research assistants on short term contracts.

### Staffing strategy and wider research strategy

Our staffing strategy has been central to the success of our wider research strategy. We have used the University's significant investment in Politics to strengthen priority sub-fields where Glasgow has long had a world-leading research reputation. We have expanded our **Comparative Politics** research beyond our traditional strengths in political communication, communist/post-communist politics of Russia and China, and elections, into the broader study of the quality of democracy through professorial appointments (**Carman, Birch, McLaren**), while expanding our political communication group (**Habel, Sagarzazu**).

At the same time we have consolidated and developed new areas of strength in **International Relations** by refocusing our **core** strengths. We have built on **Carbone** and **O'Driscoll's** expertise in foreign relations and normative IR theory by recruiting **Head** and **Solomon**. In addition we have expanded into exciting new and important areas of **international security** (with the appointments of **Head**, **Solomon**, **Valeriano** and **Karyotis**). During the review period we have made a strategic decision to retain a core of excellence in classical political theory (with the appointments of **Knight** and **Smith**), but at the same time we have shifted our emphasis toward the empirical testing of theory using cutting edge mixed methods, and toward strengthening normative international relations theory.

We have sought to appoint both world-leading scholars and early career researchers across these areas, maximising opportunities to appoint people with research strengths in more than one of our priority areas. Our strategy of recruiting people whose work could 'speak' to more than one area of priority was driven by an aspiration to build a research environment that fosters collegiality, community and collaboration.

## Demographic profile

Since 2008 our staffing policy has produced a significant change in the demographic profile of Politics by taking advantage of several senior retirements to both promote our best researchers and recruit a new generation of leading researchers. We now have **3 early career researchers**, **14 mid-career colleagues** (between 4 and 15 years of gaining their PhDs), and **6 senior colleagues** (more than 15 years beyond PhD). This balance is crucial for us to sustain and build our research community, foster research excellence and sustain world-leading contributions to our discipline and its sub-fields.

### Equality and Gender balance

In 2007, the University of Glasgow was the first Scottish HEI to establish a dedicated Equality and Diversity Unit. It has since driven forward the University's commitment to promoting equality across all its activities and to providing a learning and research environment that is free of all forms of discrimination. Politics shares this strong **commitment to equal opportunity**. All academic staff, regardless of contract, are equally eligible for research leave. Building on the University of Glasgow's **mentoring scheme for women** in Social Sciences and Humanities, and the College of Social Science's commitment to **Athena Swan**, Politics has developed its own mentoring structures for female colleagues – including regular meetings to discuss gender issues and career trajectories. We have also **actively sought applications** for posts from the best female scholars, enabling us to make strong senior appointments. Cumulatively these measures have produced a substantial shift in the gender balance of Politics from 25% female full-time academics in 2008 to 40% in 2013. Notably, we have gender balance at the highest levels of seniority, with parity among professors (3 female, 3 male).

# Staff development

Politics aspires to recruit, develop and support staff to realise their ambitions. To meet this aspiration it draws from University, College and School resources to:

• integrate research into staff development, recognition and reward processes partly through annual **Performance and Development Reviews**, which dovetail with, but are separate from



the Politics specific annual research mentoring meetings.

- provide internal **training courses** and funding for external research training according to needs identified in the performance and development review process for all career levels.
- operate a transparent and highly equitable system of regular **research leave** (one semester every 3 years) for all academic staff.

## University of Glasgow Policy and Provisions

- The University of Glasgow launched the Concordat to Support the Career Development of Researchers at its first annual Research Staff Conference in 2009. The University is a regular contributor to national events relating to Concordat Implementation and in 2010 the European Commission awarded it one of the first 'HR Excellence in Research Awards' for its commitment to supporting its researchers' career, personal and professional development.
- The University's formal promotion and professorial zoning criteria provide **transparent targets** for research outputs, doctoral supervision, external research funding and knowledge exchange enabling Politics to feed these into staff performance and development reviews.
- The University Staff Development Service provides free on-campus training to support its researchers based on the HEFCE-funded Vitae Researcher Development Framework. Research-specific courses from which Politics staff have benefitted include: 'Building successful research collaborations', 'Impact statements in grant applications', 'Managing successful research projects', and 'Winning research income'.

## School of Social and Political Sciences Support

- The School operates a transparent **workload model** to ensure balance in the distribution of duties across all staff and an equitable allocation of research time.
- Funding for staff to take external research methods training such as that provided by AQMeN, the quantitative research training and development centre funded by the ESRC and Co-Directed by the University of Glasgow something that several Politics staff have taken advantage of to develop their quantitative research skills.

# Early Career Researchers

We have a particular focus on developing early career researchers. The University's 'Strategy 2020' commits us to 'nurture [their] development', and all ECRs participate in the University's newly established **Early Career Development Programme** aimed at providing training and support to foster timely career development and promotion. As part of this programme all ECRs are allocated a **mentor**, with whom they meet regularly to discuss their career development. They also benefit from an extensive training programme, including for example, **Income & Funding Generation**; **Impact**; and **Managing Successful Projects** as well as access to **conference support** and subject level **research funds** on the same basis as other staff.

Research assistants are also encouraged to develop their own research agendas and are offered tutoring and other forms of teaching experience to assist their career development as well as funding to attend training courses and conferences.

During the review period the University successfully nominated **O'Driscoll** as a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh Young Academy.

# c. II. Research students

Our PGR students (currently 25) are drawn from all regions of the world and have won scholarships from a variety of sources, notably the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology, the European Commission, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Nippon Foundation of Japan, and the Scottish Doctoral Training Centre, funded by the ESRC.

Administrative support for PGR students is supplied by the College of Social Science's Graduate School, which hosts an **induction week** for all new students and provides **research and employability** training under the auspices of the Researcher Development Programme, delivering approximately 30 workshops and training sessions annually, including courses on academic writing and research planning as well as research methods. Politics has a more tailored training



programme, which includes a **two-day retreat** at the start of each academic year exclusively for Politics students to create strong PGR cohorts.

Every research student is provided with dedicated office space, computing facilities, and financial support to attend conferences. Each student has 2 supervisors (the balance carefully calibrated according to staff expertise) to ensure continuity of supervision, for example when staff are on research leave. Progress is reviewed at an **annual meeting**, chaired by the Director of Postgraduate Research, which reports on student progress and sets targets for the year ahead. PGR students are **fully integrated** into Politics at Glasgow, for example as members of our research clusters and participants in our seminars.

The combination of a supportive research environment with attentive student supervision has yielded a high completion rate. Since 2008, 20 doctorates have been awarded, a significant increase on 11 in the previous cycle. Beyond completion of their PhDs, our doctoral students have enjoyed success over the review period in securing academic posts, with no fewer than 9 of our PhDs taking up posts at prestigious Universities in the UK, Europe and Asia. We also take great pride in the publications of our PGR graduates. Among other outlets, our PGR students have published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Europe-Asia Studies, Asian Politics and Policy* and *Journal of Contemporary European Research*.

### d. Income, infrastructure and facilities

The University's Research Support and Innovation Office provides a regular flow of information to staff on research funding opportunities, through *Funding Opportunities Bulletin* and *Research Professional, UKRO Information Services* and *Cordis*, advice on funder rules and requirements, and costings. The College rigorously reviews all RCUK grant applications to ensure the highest quality submissions in line with funder's policies. The internal Adam Smith Research Foundation provides seedcorn funding to encourage ECRs and more established staff to develop larger interdisciplinary proposals; Politics staff have secured 12 such awards during the current cycle. All staff – including research assistants and University teachers – can apply to the School for £1000 p.a. to present papers at academic conferences. Additional School research funding is available from an 'incentivisation fund' drawn from grant overheads. Within Politics, the Research Champion plays a proactive role in ensuring that colleagues are alert to relevant information on research funding sources, and advises staff preparing applications. In addition, many draft grant applications are 'work-shopped' within the subject research clusters before being submitted to the College review process.

These robust structures and review processes have resulted in a considerable growth of research income within the Unit since 2008:

- Total funding awards for this REF period have nearly doubled when compared with the RAE 2008 cycle, from £1.29 million to £2.21 million.
- Annual income from Research Councils in 2013 was over 400% higher than in 2008.
- Since 2008, income from awards has increased each year (except 2010).

We have been particularly successful in winning funding from research councils during the current cycle (10 ESRC funded projects; 1 AHRC; 1 EPSRC; 2 British Academy), totaling £1.86 million. In addition we have won significant awards from charitable organisations (1 Leverhulme (**White**), 11 Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland; 2 Royal Society of Edinburgh; 1 Oxfam America).

### Infrastructure and facilities

Glasgow is a leading research-intensive University, committed to strong research support at every level. Politics staff, research assistants and fellows are co-located in a well-equipped building that has recently been refurbished and upgraded with state of the art technology, and provides access to meeting rooms and videoconferencing facilities. Statistical packages (such as SPSS, EndNote, Matlab) are supported by site licences, and other software (e.g. Stata) is obtained for individual staff members where required. Researchers benefit from a world-class library with exceptional



physical and electronic holdings, a renowned department of special collections, a European Documentation Centre, and unrivalled depth in its specialist multi-media collections in Russian and East European and Latin American Studies in particular. The Russian and East European Collection includes c.80,000 titles and has attracted funding for a specialist librarian. A dedicated social science library, the Adam Smith Library, is located adjacent to the Politics academic offices.

### e. Collaboration and contribution to the discipline or research base

Politics staff have led the **establishment of interdisciplinary research centres and networks** such as the Glasgow Human Rights Network, the Scottish Centre for China Research, Policy Scotland and the Global Security Network (see above). These innovative networks bring together a range of academic disciplines as well as research users from business, government and the third sector to enhance collaboration. Politics at Glasgow plays a major role in a number of **international research initiatives**. We have several formal collaboration agreements, notably with the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Nankai University, Glasgow's strategic partner in China. Our staff have also developed national and international networks through visiting fellowships: **Tsakatika** was Visiting Fellow at the Juan March Foundation in Madrid, **O'Driscoll** was Snell Exchange Fellow to Balliol College, Oxford, and Research Associate at the Oxford University Institute for the Ethics and Law of Armed Conflict; **Duckett** is Guest Professor at Nankai University. **Knight** is Senior Research Associate at the University of Johannesburg.

Politics at Glasgow has been active in organising and hosting conferences and workshops, and playing an active part in the organisational life of the discipline. **Carbone** is a member of the Executive Committee of University Association for Contemporary European Studies; **Birch** and **White** are Fellows of the British Academy; **Mills** has served on the Executive Committee of the International Studies Association, **Duckett** was a member of the Executive Committee of the Political Studies Association (PSA), **Carman** co-convenes the PSA's Elections, Public Opinion and Parties section and **Habel** serves as Chair of the European Political Science Association's Political Communication section. Under the leadership of **Carbone**, Politics at Glasgow won a competitive bid to host the annual general conference of the European Consortium for Political Research in September 2014.

During the period Politics staff were senior editors of several journals —most prominently the *British Journal of Political Science, Politics* (a PSA journal), *Contemporary Italian Politics*, the *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, and *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. They have also been editorial board members of *Representation, East European Politics, Europe-Asia Studies, International Quarterly* and *Journal of Human Rights*.

Outside the discipline, Politics staff have fed their research into public policy debates, for example, by presenting research on parliamentary petition systems to seminars at the House of Commons (**Carman**), giving expert evidence on electoral system reform to the Irish parliament (**Lundberg**); acting as an expert witness in asylum cases in the US and Canada (**Hume**) and presenting research findings on China's unemployment and health policy to policy makers in China (**Duckett**, **Munro**). In addition Politics staff are frequent contributors to national (**White** on Russia; **Lundberg** and **Carman** on Scottish/UK elections) and international media outlets (**Carbone** on Italian elections; **Tsakatika** and **Karyotis** on Greek austerity politics; **Valeriano** on cyber conflict).