Contents

- What is Impact (or 'knowledge/evidence use') and why engage in it?

- What is policy? Different steps and stages.

- Theories and models of evidence use

- The REF – the research evaluation framework

- 'How to' achieve policy impact
  - A case study – Informing Policy for a Greener Brexit (2013-20)

- Tips for communicating to policy makers

- Resources, further reading etc.

B & E

What is Impact?

*"an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, **beyond academia**".*

REF-Research England

*"The **demonstrable** contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy"*

UKRI

Impact = Demonstrable change <u>beyond</u> academia......

UEA University of East Anglia

Academic motivations to generate impact

- Its part of being an academic (REF etc.)

- Research funders increasingly require it

- Desire to better understand policy making

- Personal motivations – to change the world? Salary enhancement (consultancy)?

- Other things?

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What is (public) policy?

A complex phenomenon consisting of *numerous decisions made by many individuals and organisations inside government,* while these decisions are *influenced by others operating within and outside of the state.* Public policy is, at its simplest, *a choice made by government to undertake some course of action*"

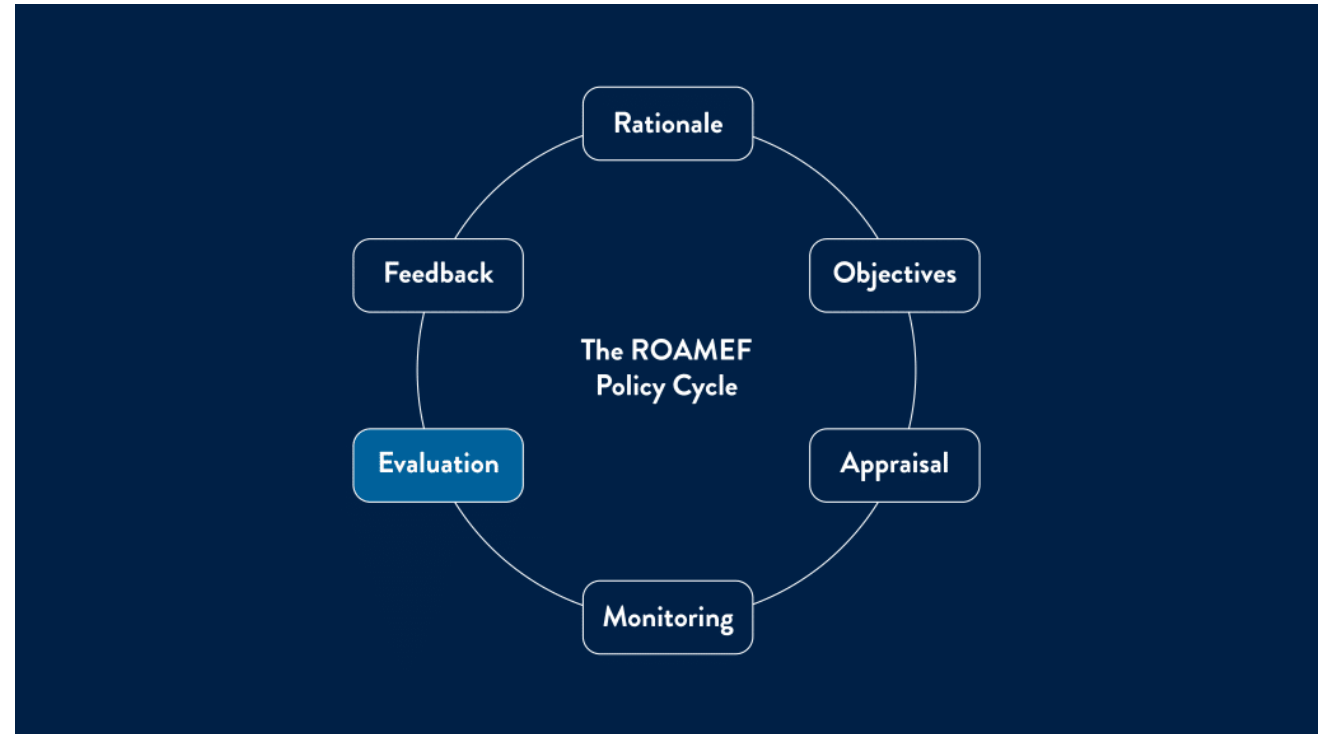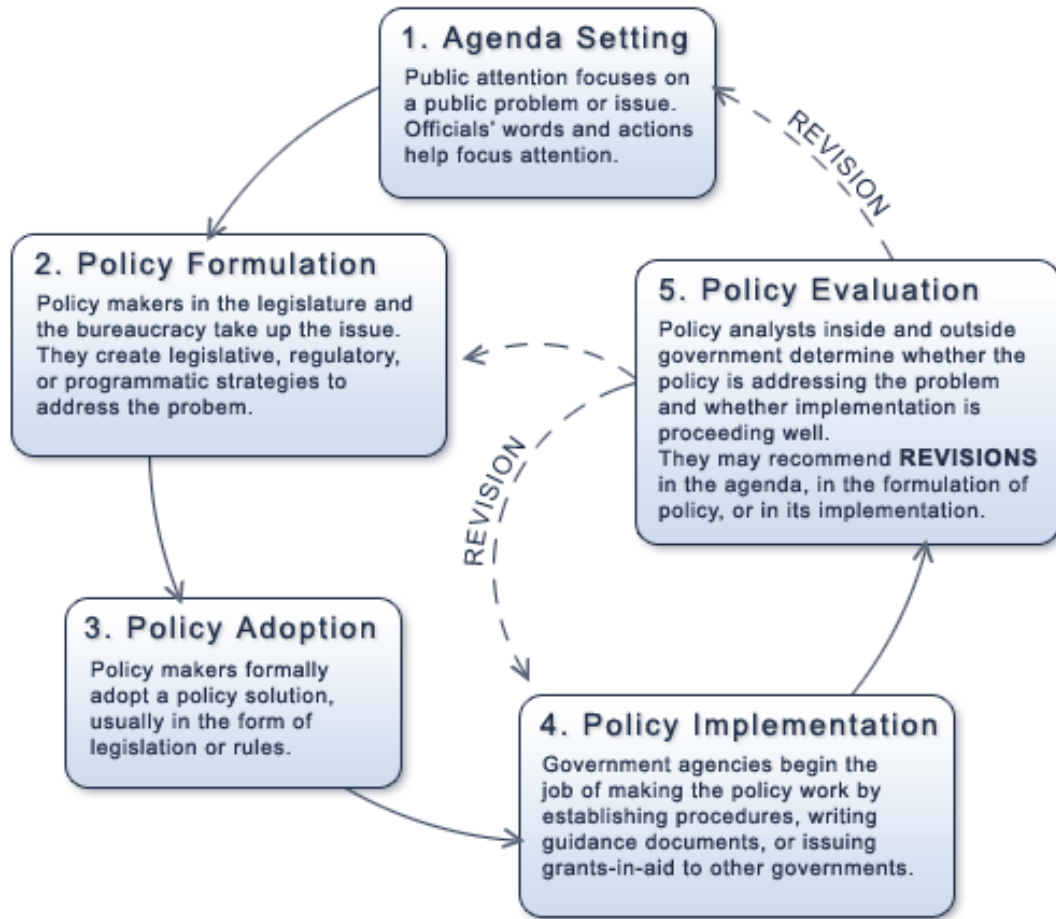*Howlett et al. (eds) (2022) Dictionary of Public Policy. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham. p195*

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What is (public) policy?

"the sum total of government action, from signals of intent to the final outcomes"

Policy in 500 Words: what is public policy and why does it matter? | Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy. 28 April 2016.

The policy stages – or cycle

1. Agenda Setting
Public attention focuses on a public problem or issue. Officials' words and actions help focus attention.

2. Policy Formulation
Policy makers in the legislature and the bureaucracy take up the issue. They create legislative, regulatory, or programmatic strategies to address the probem.

3. Policy Adoption
Policy makers formally adopt a policy solution, usually in the form of legislation or rules.

4. Policy Implementation
Government agencies begin the job of making the policy work by establishing procedures, writing guidance documents, or issuing grants-in-aid to other governments.

5. Policy Evaluation
Policy analysts inside and outside government determine whether the policy is addressing the problem and whether implementation is proceeding well. They may recommend **REVISIONS** in the agenda, in the formulation of policy, or in its implementation.

REVISION

REVISION

Rationale

Feedback

Objectives

The ROAMEF Policy Cycle

Evaluation

Appraisal

Monitoring

HMG - The Green and Magenta books

B & E

Why do policy makers seek evidence?

- They seek a better course of action – a guide to improvement
- They distrust information fed to them by other sources – a corrective
- The seek legitimacy for their policy actions – a source of integrity
- They want material that supports their *a priori* position – a source of ammunition
- They want to appear 'modern' – a source of expertise
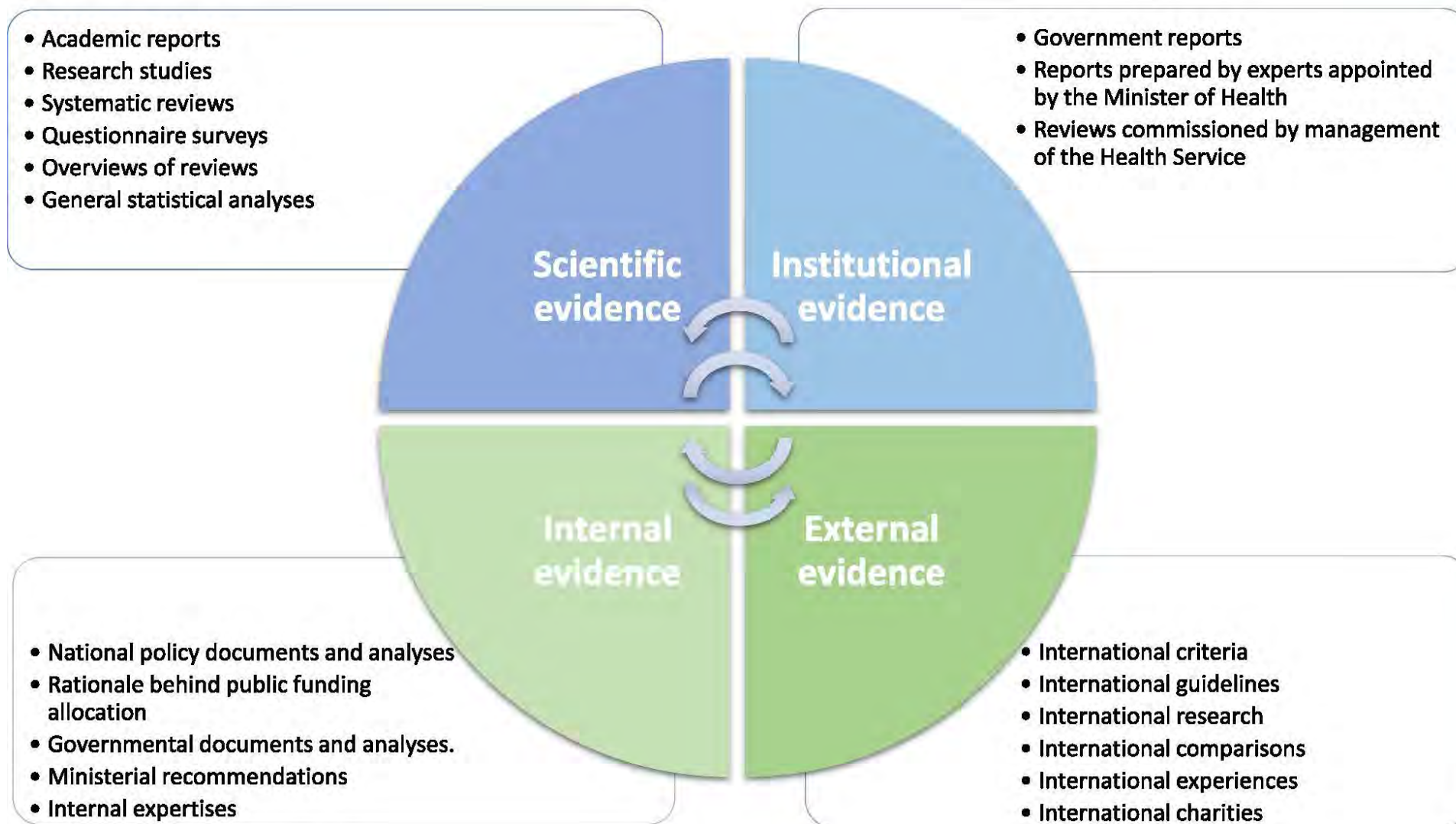- They want to know how much things cost – what is cost effective?

Carole Weiss (Harvard)
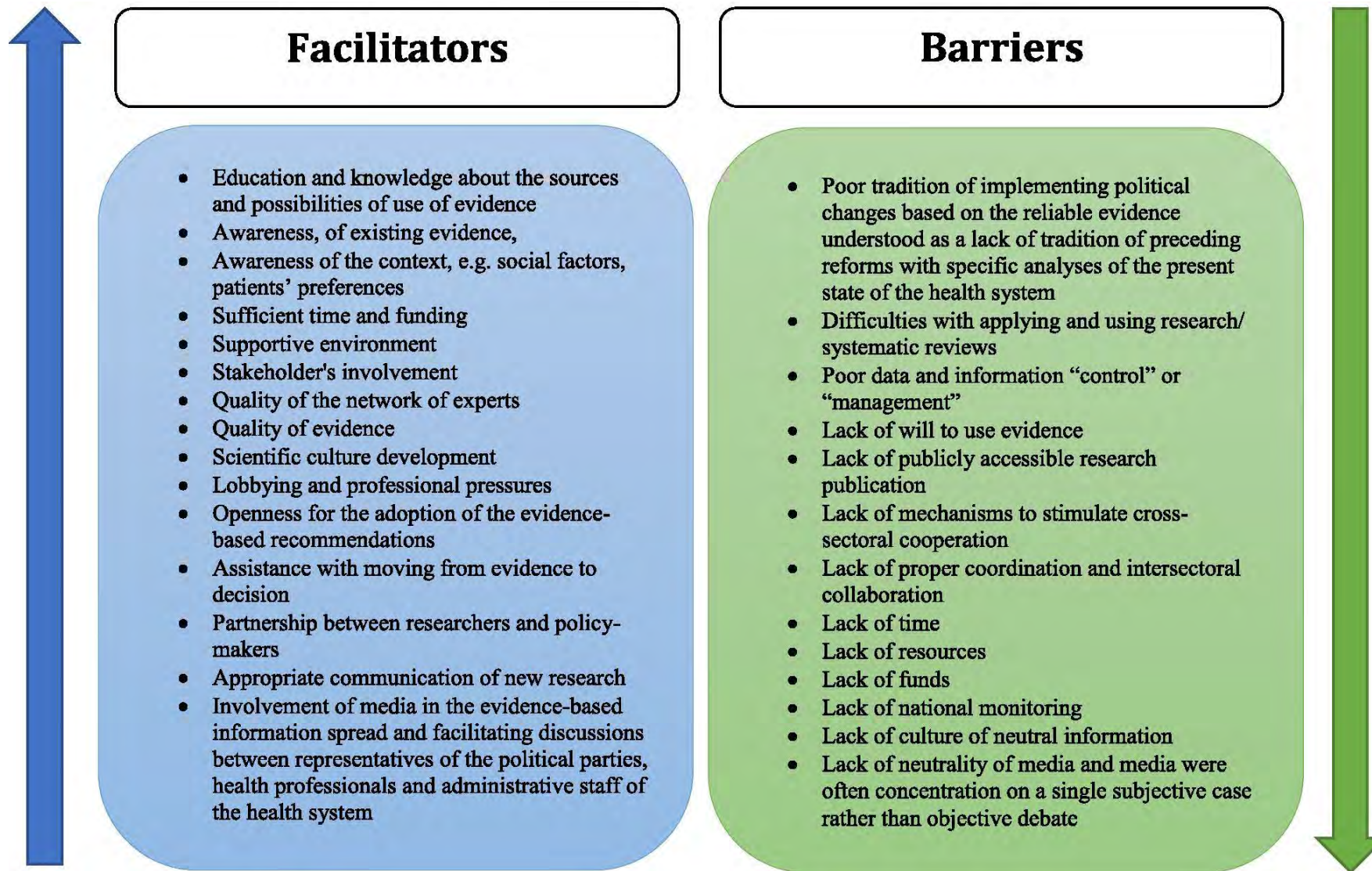The 'grandmother'
of evidence-based policy?

Weiss, C. (1999) The Interface Between Evaluation and Public Policy, *Evaluation*, 5, 4, 468-486.

B & E

- Academic reports
- Research studies
- Systematic reviews
- Questionnaire surveys
- Overviews of reviews
- General statistical analyses

- Government reports
- Reports prepared by experts appointed by the Minister of Health
- Reviews commissioned by management of the Health Service

Scientific evidence

Institutional evidence

Internal evidence

External evidence

- National policy documents and analyses
- Rationale behind public funding allocation
- Governmental documents and analyses.
- Ministerial recommendations
- Internal expertises

- International criteria
- International guidelines
- International research
- International comparisons
- International experiences
- International charities

Zdunek, K., Alexander, D., Schröder-Bäck, P. *et al.* Factors influencing the uptake of evidence in child health policy-making: results of a survey among 23 European countries. *Health Res Policy Sys* **19**, 136 (2021).

Facilitators

- Education and knowledge about the sources and possibilities of use of evidence
- Awareness, of existing evidence,
- Awareness of the context, e.g. social factors, patients' preferences
- Sufficient time and funding
- Supportive environment
- Stakeholder's involvement
- Quality of the network of experts
- Quality of evidence
- Scientific culture development
- Lobbying and professional pressures
- Openness for the adoption of the evidence-based recommendations
- Assistance with moving from evidence to decision
- Partnership between researchers and policy-makers
- Appropriate communication of new research
- Involvement of media in the evidence-based information spread and facilitating discussions between representatives of the political parties, health professionals and administrative staff of the health system

Barriers

- Poor tradition of implementing political changes based on the reliable evidence understood as a lack of tradition of preceding reforms with specific analyses of the present state of the health system
- Difficulties with applying and using research/ systematic reviews
- Poor data and information "control" or "management"
- Lack of will to use evidence
- Lack of publicly accessible research publication
- Lack of mechanisms to stimulate cross-sectoral cooperation
- Lack of proper coordination and intersectoral collaboration
- Lack of time
- Lack of resources
- Lack of funds
- Lack of national monitoring
- Lack of culture of neutral information
- Lack of neutrality of media and media were often concentration on a single subjective case rather than objective debate

Zdunek, K., Alexander, D., Schröder-Bäck, P. *et al*. Factors influencing the uptake of evidence in child health policy-making: results of a survey among 23 European countries. *Health Res Policy Sys* **19**, 136 (2021).

The rise of evidence-based policy making

Chief Scientific Advisers

Most government departments have a Chief Scientific Adviser (CSA) to provide scientific advice.

Contents
— Role
— Membership
— Guidance

Departmental CSAs work together under the leadership of the Government Chief Scientific Adviser to support each other and to resolve cross departmental problems.

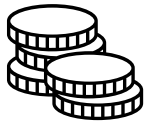They do this primarily through the CSA network.

Evaluation Task Force
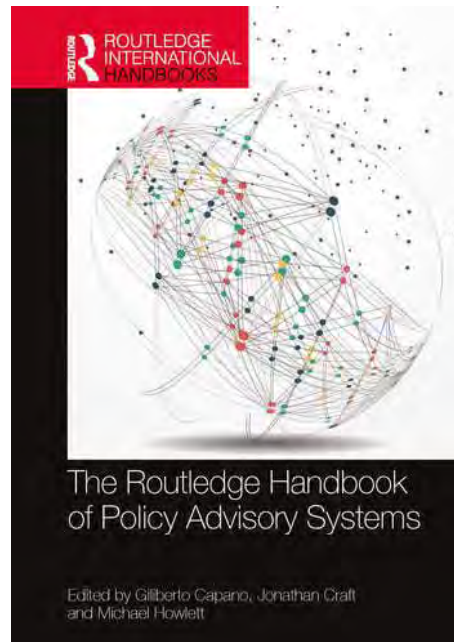
What Works Network

What Works Network Strategy

Evaluation Task Force

ROUTLEDGE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOKS

The Routledge Handbook of Policy Advisory Systems

Edited by Giliberto Capano, Jonathan Craft and Michael Howlett

palgrave pivot

THE POLITICS OF EVIDENCE-BASED POLICY MAKING

Paul Cairney
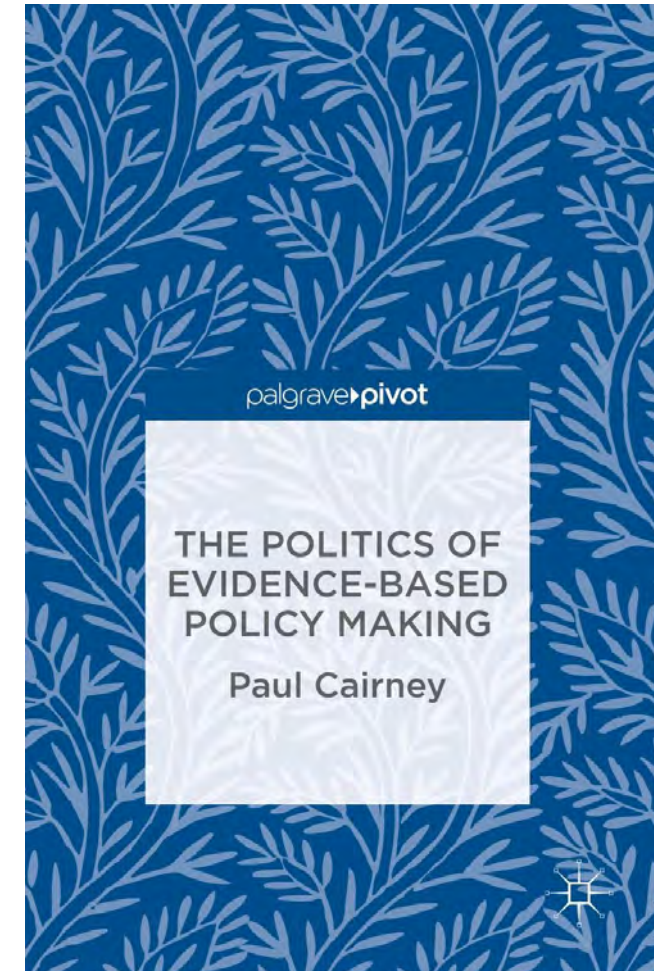
Increasing research-policy activity

"a vast and increasing mass of rudderless activity, which is *busy rather than effective.* Without clear goals, and without strategic coordination, it is impossible to pick out any signal over the noise. Worse, *without clearly collecting and building on existing evidence about these... interventions, or a well-founded understanding of the decision-making context, there are almost certainly harms being inflicted ...* wasted time and resources, reduced goodwill and interaction, and increased inequalities in terms of participation in evidence production and use" (Oliver et al. 2022: 704)

research article

What works to promote research-policy engagement?

Kathryn Oliver, kathryn.oliver@lshtm.ac.uk
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK

Anna Hopkins, anna@transforming-evidence.org
Transforming Evidence, UK

Annette Boaz, annette.boaz@lshtm.ac.uk
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, UK

Shannon Guillot-Wright, spguillo@utmb.edu
University of Texas, USA

Paul Cairney, p.a.cairney@stir.ac.uk
University of Stirling, Scotland

Background: To improve the use of evidence in policy and practice, many organisations and individuals seek to promote research-policy engagement activities, but little is known about what works.

REF: Purposes of the Assessment

1) To inform the **allocation of block grant funding** based on research quality (c.£1.6 billion each year in block grant funding across the UK).

2) To provide **accountability for public investment** in research (not just in terms of funding investment)..
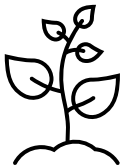
3) To provide **insights into the health of research in the UK** (the REF is a hugely important source of data about how the research system is performing).

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Impact = 25% of the REF outcome

66. A schematic to illustrate the relationship between submissions and assessment is provided below

In REF2021 Impact was weighted at 25% and a 4* case study was worth on average £58k - £113k/year to an institution**.

A 4* ICS is worth 4x as much as a 3* ICS.

For REF2029 each Unit of Assessment (UoA), the Impact component is made up of:
- **Impact case studies**
- **An impact evidence statement (NEW)**

**Range in values of a 4* case taken from: https://www.fasttrackimpact.com/post/how-much-are-ref2021-4-impact-case-studies-and-4-outputs-worth

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Examples: different impact types

Impacts on commerce and the economy
- A spin-out or new business has been created, established its viability, or generated revenue or profits.
- Contributing to innovation and entrepreneurial activity through the design and delivery of new products or services.
- Gains in productivity have been realised as a result of research-led changes in practice.

Impacts on public policy, law and services
- Policy debate has been stimulated or informed by research evidence, which may have led to confirmation of policy, change in policy direction, implementation or withdrawal of policy.
- Risks to the security of nation states have been reduced.
- A policy has been implemented (including those realised through changes to legislation) or the delivery of a public service has changed.

Impacts on the environment
- The environment has been improved through the introduction of new product(s), process(es) or service(s); the improvement of existing product(s), process(es) or services; or the enhancement of strategy, operations or management practices.
- New methods, models, monitoring or techniques have been developed that have led to changes or benefits.
- The management or conservation of natural resources, including energy, water and food, has changed in a developing country.

Non-exhaustive list of example impact types taken from Annex A of the 'Panel criteria and working methods' REF21 guidance: https://2021.ref.ac.uk/publications-and-reports/panel-criteria-and-working-methods-201902/index.html

Anatomy of an ICS

Impact case study (REF3)

REF2021

Institution:
Unit of Assessment:
Title of case study:
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken:
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:

Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:

Period when the claimed impact occurred:
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? Y/N
1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)
3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)
4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)
5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

ICS = 5 Pages total

Research

- Impacts must be **underpinned by research undertaken at submitting institution**.
- Research from **c.2008**

Evidence

- Case studies must provide **evidence to support impact claims** & **link claims back to the research**

   e.g. testimonials, guidelines/policy/independent reports citing research by submitting institution.

Impact

- Impact **from c.Aug 2020/Jan 2021** (TBC)

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Starred quality levels

Table A3: Impact sub-profile: Criteria and definitions of starred levels

The criteria for assessing impacts are 'reach' and 'significance': In assessing the impact described within a case study, the panel will form an overall view about its 'reach and significance' taken as a whole, rather than assess 'reach and significance' separately.	
Four star	Outstanding impacts in terms of their reach and significance.
Three star	Very considerable impacts in terms of their reach and significance.
Two star	Considerable impacts in terms of their reach and significance.
One star	Recognised but modest impacts in terms of their reach and significance.
Unclassified	The impact is of little or no reach and significance; or the impact was not eligible; or the impact was not underpinned by excellent research produced by the submitted unit.

Table from Annex A of the REF21 Guidance on Submissions: https://2021.ref.ac.uk/publications-and-reports/guidance-on-submissions-201901/index.html

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'How to' achieve policy Impact

- Do high quality research
  - Understand the policy process

- Make your research relevant and readable

- Be 'accessible' – engage routinely, flexibly and humbly
  - Build relationships and ground rules

- Decide your role – an 'issue advocate' or an 'honest broker'?

- Build relationships (and ground rules) with policy makers

- Be entrepreneurial – invest for the long term
  - But look for windows of opportunity

- Reflect continuously and critically
  - Keep track of what you do

'Influencing policy is a specialist, time consuming activity' that takes huge cognitive and emotional labour, often requiring community and institutional support' (page 9)

Cairney and Oliver (2020) How Should Academics Engage in Policy Making to Achieve Impact?, *Political Studies Review, 18, 2, 228-244. (Systematic review, n=86)*

B & E

Chalaby, O., & Witter, L. (2018). Eight Tips for Communicating Ideas to Busy Policymakers. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*

Eight tips for communicating ideas ...

1. Policy makers are time poor

2. Process, timeliness and scalability matter

3. Be upfront about risks, uncertainties and challenges

4. Focus on concrete results, and ideally solve multiple problems

5. Avoid factual overload

6. Need to do new research? Make it clear which partners you need and what it will cost

7. Bolster your case with existing 'real world' implementation examples

8. Stay as apolitical as possible

Chalaby, O., & Witter, L. (2018). Eight Tips for Communicating Ideas to Busy Policymakers. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*

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A Case Study of Impact – Greener Brexit

Phase 1 – pre-Referendum

- A Review of the Balance of Competences exercise – led by the Cabinet Office

- Cameron promised to hold an in out referendum – then unexpectedly won the 2015 General election.

Phase 2 – the 2016 Referendum

- The environmental movement sided with Remain, citing a range of expert reports; Leave said nothing.

- The referendum itself was emotional and values based; experts were dismissed.
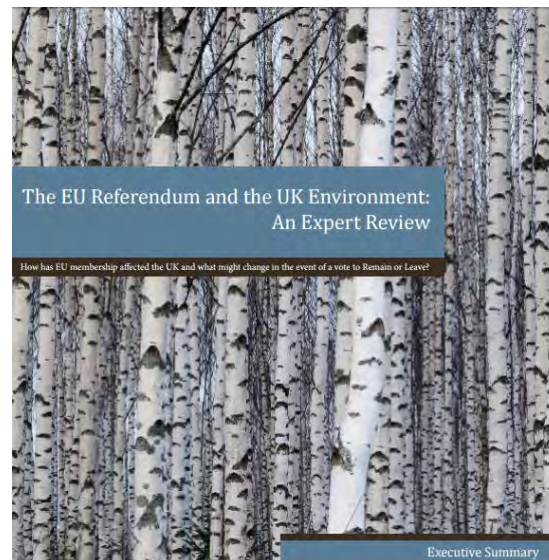
Phase 3 – The Brexit years

- B&E network ('think tank')

- Greener–UK

- Parliamentary work (4 nations)

- Advisory work (DEFRA, EEA etc.)

- Consultancy work – Friends of the Earth, TCPA, Soil Association etc.

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BREXIT & ENVIRONMENT

A NETWORK OF ACADEMIC EXPERTS ANALYSING HOW BREXIT IS AFFECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

www.brexitenvironment.co.uk

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Phase 3 – The Brexit years

- Established the B&E network ('think tank')

- Aligned with/advised Greener–UK

- Parliamentary work (acrees 4 nations)

- Advisory work (DEFRA, EEA etc.)

- Consultancy work – Friends of the Earth, TCPA, Soil Association etc.

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Greener UK

https://greeneruk.org/
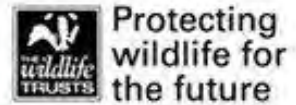
Phase 4 – post Brexit

- Informed the post Brexit landscape – the Env Act; the REUL Act; the OEP etc.

- Advised on post Brexit governance – the OEP and the 'Gravey review' of governance in NI

Host: Craig Bennett
Chief Exec. of The Wildlife Trusts

Wild LIVE · The Wildlife Trusts

#AttackOnNature

Phoebe Clay · Richard Benwell · Shantha David

Submission to the Panel Review of Environmental Governance in Northern Ireland

27.05.2025

Independent environment agency may be part of plan

GETTY IMAGES

There has been growing concern about the state of the waterways

19 November 2024

Options to create an independent environment protection agency in Northern Ireland are to be considered by a panel of experts as part of a new Stormont review.

The 2023 Retained EU (Revocation and Reform) Act

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Impact case study (REF3)

Institution: University of East Anglia	
Unit of Assessment: 7 – Earth Systems and Environmental Sciences	
Title of case study: Informing Policy for A Greener Brexit	
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 1/1/2000 – 31/12/2020	

Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:

Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Andrew Jordan	Professor	1992 – present
Tim Rayner	Research Fellow	1/6/2006 – present
Brendan Moore	Senior Research Associate	1/8/2018 - present
Viviane Gravey	Research Associate	1/1/2015 – 31/9/2016

Period when the claimed impact occurred: 1/8/2013 – 31/7/20	
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No	

Examples: different impact types

Impacts on commerce and the economy
- A spin-out or new business has been created, established its viability, or generated revenue or profits.
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- New methods, models, monitoring or techniques have been developed that have led to changes or benefits.
- The management or conservation of natural resources, including energy, water and food, has changed in a developing country.

Impacts (pre and post referendum)

- Policy – 2018 EUWA; 2021 Env Act
- New institutions – the OEP etc.
- Parliamentary work (4 nations)
- NGO tactics, strategies + targets

are transforming the landscape of UK environmental policy and governance. According to the *Chair of the House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee,* **Jordan** *"undoubtedly shaped the post Brexit environmental regulatory environment at the highest levels of parliament and government … through a tumultuous period of British political life"* **[S2a]**.

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ENDS POWER LIST 2025

Power List 2025: Dr Viviane Gravey

ENDS   22 May 2025

Senior lecturer in European politics, Queen's University Belfast

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'How to' achieve policy Impact

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'Influencing policy is a 'specialist, time consuming activity' that takes huge cognitive and emotional labour, often requiring community and institutional support' (page 9)

Cairney and Oliver (2020) How Should Academics Engage in Policy Making to Achieve Impact?, *Political Studies Review, 18, 2, 228-244. (Systematic review, n=86)*

Conclusions

- 'Impact' (or 'knowledge utilisation') is here to stay ....

- Academics seeking policy impact are not short of advice ...
  - There are lots of guides and handbooks .... and some pointed critiques.

- But there are no silver bullets
  - the process is complex and political; impact requires long term commitment; there are moral and ethical dilemmas to be negotiated; and there are structural inequalities – on both sides

- Hence: (1) think before you impact; (2) engage with the policy process that exists, *not* the process you wish existed.

- Take time to understand: the importance of how, for whom, when and how public policy is made (the 'public policy 101'), all within complex 'ecosystems' of knowledge use.

Academic studies

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'How to' guides

The Researcher's Guide to
Influencing Policy

MARK S. REED
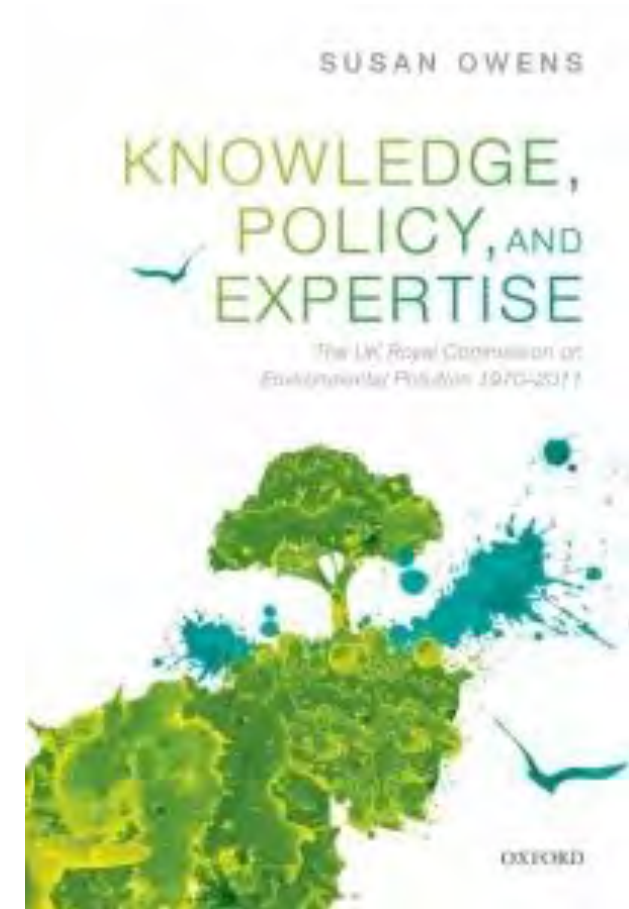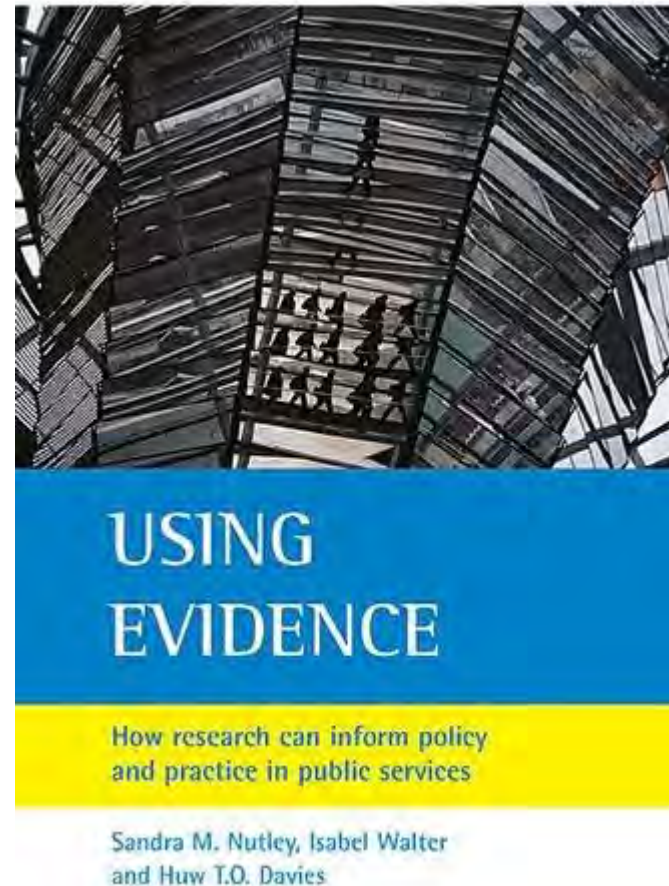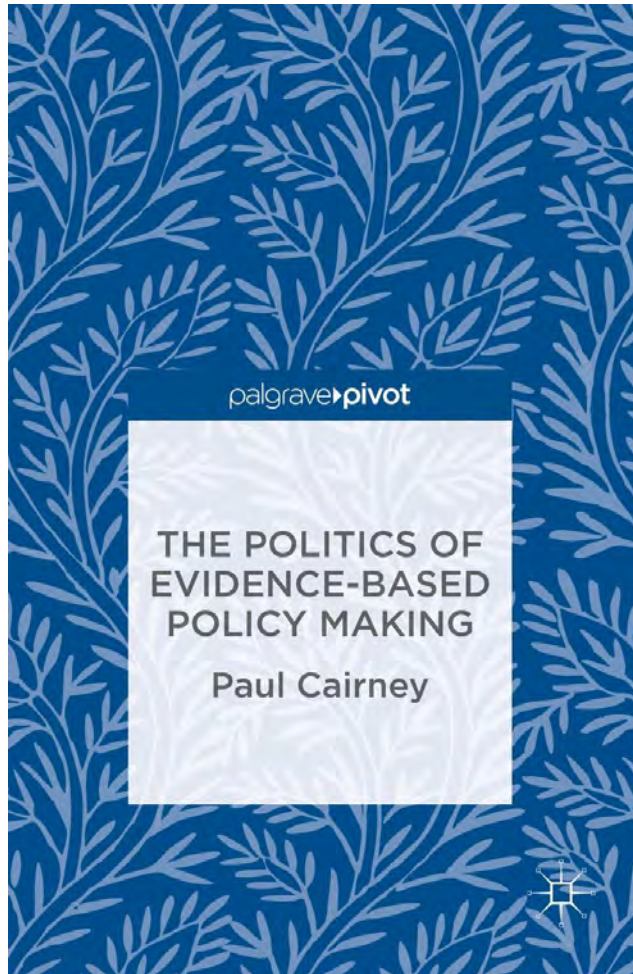
Home > Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) > Impact toolkit for economic and social sciences > How to influence policymakers

How to influence policymakers

UKRI
Economic
and Social
Research Council

Contents

- **Introduction**
- Why public affairs are important
- Social science and public affairs
- Presenting your case
- Different types of policymakers
- Working with parliament
- Building and maintaining contacts
- Support from specialist agencies

Introduction

This guidance covers public affairs – the process by which you can influence policymakers

B & E

Impact case Studies from REF21

- Searchable Database (no scores): https://results2021.ref.ac.uk/impact

- Top scoring institutions in each UoA can be explored here: https://www.stephenckemp.co.uk/ref2021-top-5-impact-case-studies/

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Academic accounts of Brexit

- Burns, C., Gravey, V., Jordan, A.J. and A. Zito (2019) De-Europeanizing or Disengaging? EU Environmental Policy and Brexit. Environmental Politics 28, 2, 271-292.

- Gravey, V. and A.J. Jordan (2023) UK environmental policy and Brexit: simultaneously de-Europeanising, disengaging and (re)-engaging? Journal of European Public Policy, 30, 11, 2349-2371.

- Abbott, C. and M. Lee (2021) Environmental Groups and Legal Expertise: Shaping the Brexit Process. UCL Press, London.

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Box 2.1: Seven different 'meanings' of research use

(1) The knowledge-driven model

Basic research identifies knowledge of potential value to the policy or practice community. Applied research tests this knowledge out in real-world contexts, research-based technologies are developed and implemented and research use occurs.

(2) The problem-solving model

Research helps policy makers find a solution to a particular problem. Researchers and policy makers agree about the nature of the problem and the goals to be achieved, and social science provides evidence and ideas to help clarify a way forward – drawing on existing research or commissioning new work.

(3) The interactive model

Policy makers actively and interactively search for knowledge to help support their work, drawing on multiple sources of information – including their own experience – alongside research. The relationship between policy and research is typically iterative, messy and dynamic, and progress is gradual, involving 'mutual consultations' between policy makers, researchers and other players in the political process.

(4) The political model

Where political opinions are long standing and fixed, or where interests have firmly coalesced, research is unlikely to have a direct influence. Instead it may be used politically, to support a particular stance, or else to destabilise opposing positions.

(5) The tactical model

Sometimes, the findings from research are irrelevant: what matters is that research is being done. Funding or conducting new research can be a way for policy makers to avoid taking action. Researchers may be blamed for unpopular policy outcomes; or else research 'experts' can be drafted in to give legitimacy to an agency or its policies.

(6) The enlightenment model

Over time, research will have a gradual and cumulative influence on the public policy sphere. Ideas, theories and ways of thinking that derive from the broad body of research-based knowledge gradually seep into the policy-making process through diverse and indirect routes, such as interest groups, journalists and the mass media. Research can thereby shape the ways both problems and their solutions are framed and can ultimately lead to fundamental shifts in the prevailing policy paradigm.

(7) Research as part of the intellectual enterprise of society

New policy interest in an issue may be stimulated by a wider social concern, and policy makers offer funds for its further research. Researchers are thereby drawn to study it, and may develop and reconceptualise the issue. This in turn shapes ways of thinking by both policy makers and at a broader societal level as well. The process is one of mutual, ongoing influence between policy, research and the social context within which both are embedded.

Source: Adapted from Weiss (1979)
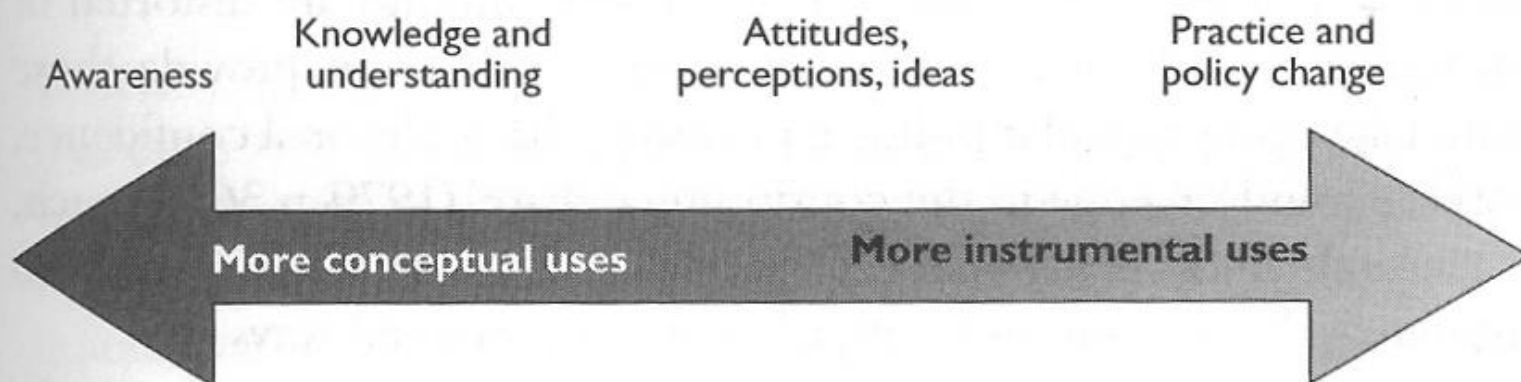
USING EVIDENCE

How research can inform policy and practice in public services

Sandra M. Nutley, Isabel Walter and Huw T.O. Davies

Figure 2.1: A continuum of research use

Awareness — Knowledge and understanding — Attitudes, perceptions, ideas — Practice and policy change
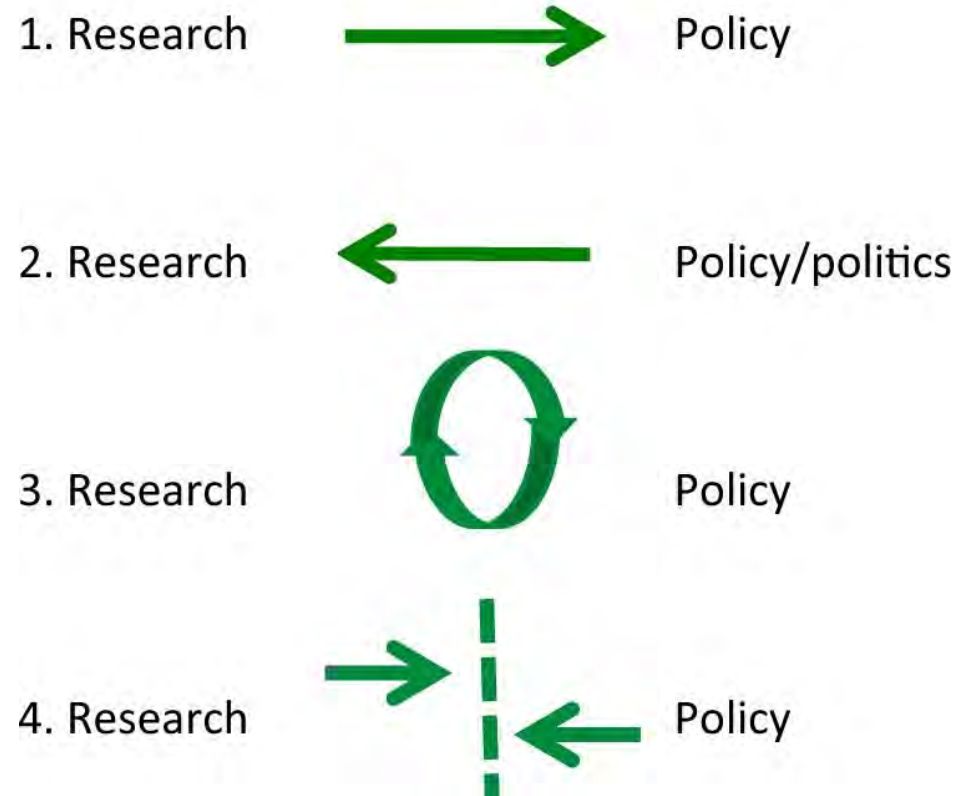
More conceptual uses ← → More instrumental uses

USING EVIDENCE

How research can inform policy and practice in public services

Sandra M. Nutley, Isabel Walter and Huw T.O. Davies

Research-Policy Relations

1. Research → Policy

2. Research ← Policy/politics

3. Research ⟲ Policy

4. Research → ⫶ ← Policy

Boswell, C., Smith, K. Rethinking policy 'impact': four models of research-policy relations. *Palgrave Commun* **3**, 44 (2017).

What is the Research Excellence Framework (REF)?

- The **Research Excellence Framework (REF)** assesses research quality of all UK HEIs. based on **outputs**, **impacts** and **environment** (with new names for REF29)**.**
  - **Impact & Engagement** will be worth **25%** of the overall REF score in REF2029.
  - Contribution to knowledge is 50%
  - People, culture and environment is weighted at 25%

- The next REF submission will be late **2028**, with results in 2029.

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How are REF ICS Scored?

- **ICS assessed via peer review and user reviews**

- Assessed on the **reach** and **significance** of the impact.

Reach
The extent and/or diversity of the beneficiaries of the impact, as relevant to the nature of the impact.

Reach will be assessed in terms of the extent to which the potential constituencies, number or groups of beneficiaries have been reached; it will not be assessed in purely geographic terms, nor in terms of absolute numbers of beneficiaries. The criteria will be applied wherever the impact occurred, regardless of geography or location, and whether in the UK or abroad.

Significance
The degree to which the impact has enabled, enriched, influenced, informed or changed the performance, policies, practices, products, services, understanding, awareness or wellbeing of the beneficiaries.

Rigour (new to REF29)
To ensure that appropriate focus is placed on the process of delivering impact, alongside its outcomes (expect this to be important in the impact statement).

Scoring:
- U (little or no impact),
- 1* (recognised but modest in
- 2* (considerable impact),
- 3* (very considerable impact
- 4* (outstanding reach / signi

Evidencing the link between research and impact
Case studies must link impacts and activities to underpinning research. Case studies must provide evidence to support impact claims.

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Evidence of impact

"Each case study must provide a clear and coherent narrative that includes an account of who or what audiences, constituencies, groups, organisations, places, publics, sectors and so on, have benefited, been influenced, or acted upon. The sub-panels will use their expert judgement regarding the integrity, coherence and clarity of the narrative of each case study, but will expect the key claims made in the narrative to be supported by evidence and indicators."

"In assessing impact case studies, sub-panels will consider both the evidence linking excellent research and bodies of work within the submitting unit to the impact(s) claimed, recognising that this relationship can be indirect or non-linear, and the evidence of the reach and significance of the impact. Within their narrative account in the case study, submitting units should provide the indicators and evidence most appropriate to support the impact(s) claimed."

'Panel criteria and working methods' REF21 guidance: https://2021.ref.ac.uk/publications-and-reports/panel-criteria-and-working-methods-201902/index.html

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Good impact evidence

Good evidence of research impact will demonstrate:

- 1.) The **specific *change* or *benefit*** that has occurred (the *what?)*

- 2.) **Who** has been affected/benefited (the *who?)*

- 3.) **Attribution to you research**

- 4.) The **reach and significance** of the impact within the **context**

Indicators of research impact should be:

- **Timely** e.g. within a reporting period for your funder/REF window, while any relevant external stakeholders are in post, in time to correct your course of action should things not be working as you'd hoped.

- **Robust and credible** e.g. from the appropriate credible third party, external to the submitting institution.

- **Linked to clear targets or baselines** to allow you to demonstrate the importance of a change within the context of the problem (e.g. a before and after comparison).

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**BREXIT
& ENVIRONMENT**

OUR BLOG

How green do you want your UK-EU 'reset' to be?

Dr Viviane Gravey, Prof Charlotte Burns and Prof Andy Jordan

📅 12th May 2025

'Doing What Matters Most' but not too much of it:

Dr Viviane Gravey

📅 12th September 2024

2024 Elections: Are UK Political Parties Ready for the Environmental

Dr George Asiamah

📅 3rd July 2024

Brexitenvironment.co.uk @BrexitEnv
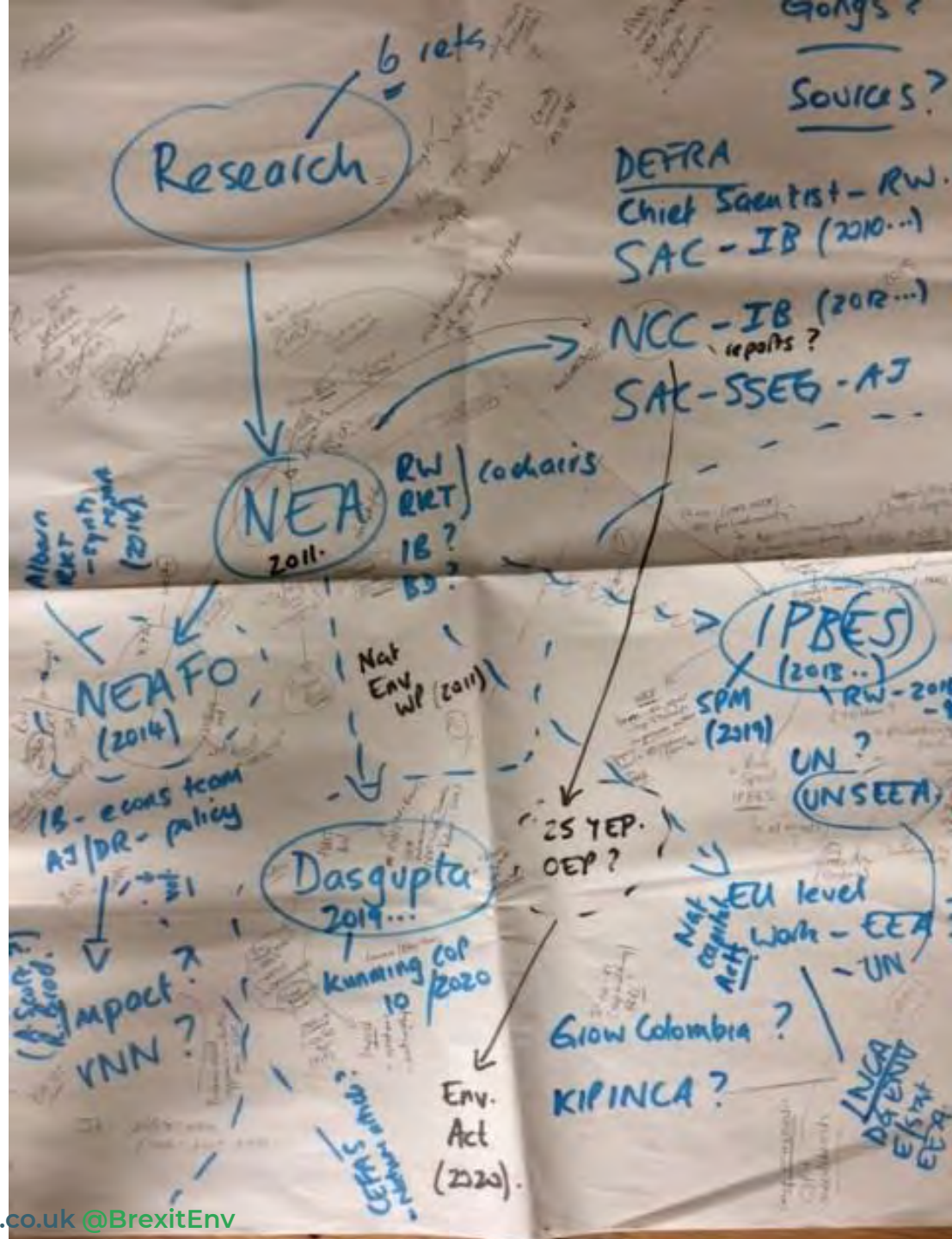
The academic 'policy entrepreneur'

To be a 'policy entrepreneur' is to *find out where the action is, learn the rules of the game, form alliances, frame your evidence in relation to the dominant language of policy debate, and respond to socioeconomic context and events* which help create windows of opportunity. However, to be a reflective scholar is to recognise that *few entrepreneurs succeed, and relative success results more from societal structures and the policymaking environment than simply from skilful entrepreneurship.*

Cairney and Oliver (2020) How Should Academics Engage in Policy Making to Achieve Impact?, *Political Studies Review, 18, 2, 228-244. (Systematic review, n=86)*

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