

Ready or not:

Negotiating gender and institutional environment on the path to professorship

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Abstract

Starting from the puzzle of the ‘leaky pipeline’ in academia (that is, the lack of women professors despite an overrepresentation of women in lower ranks), this thesis explores how women in a social science research institute in Norway negotiate gender and institutional environment on their path to professorship. Norway uses a competence model for promotion to professorship where candidates may be promoted in the context of an existing position, thus I focus on the process leading up to the submission of an application. I use the concept of ‘readiness’ to draw attention to not only meeting the criteria for professorship, especially in terms of academic publications (‘objective readiness’), but also the motivation and confidence to apply (‘subjective readiness’). Drawing heavily from academic literacies theory, which sees academic writing as a situated social practice, I use a critical ethnographic approach to examine how expectations related to gender and the institutional environment create sites of negotiation in everyday writing and publishing practices. I find that even within the same institutional setting, women face different choices than men about not only work–life balance, but also ‘work–work’ balance – that is, how to prioritize writing and work towards professorship in the context of other work-related demands. I argue that ideas about what constitutes the ideal woman or mother act as an ‘invisible thumb on the scale’, shaping not only sites of negotiation related to readiness, but also the agency that women enact in response. Unlike the previous literature that implies women are simply passive agents in response to institutional constraints, my findings demonstrate a conscious resistance to defining their career pathways in terms of the ‘ideal academic’. This study emphasizes the significance of the situated context in addressing challenges related to readiness and the leaky pipeline.

Impact statement

The point of departure for this thesis is a real-world problem faced by universities and other research-producing settings throughout the world: the relative lack of women professors even though, in many departments, women make up the majority of doctoral students and mid-career researchers. Debates about how best to address this problem have focused on whether to ‘fix the women’ (e.g., train women to act more strategically) or to ‘fix the system’ (i.e., remove structural barriers to women’s promotion). What has been missing is a nuanced understanding of how context matters. Even though the problem might look the same around the world, the way it manifests and the solutions that are likely to work can be quite different. A specific intervention, such as a mentorship programme, may work well in one institute but be perceived as unnecessary and time consuming in another because the contexts of what it means to be a woman and an academic differ significantly between the two places.

This research contributes specifically to better understanding the situated nature of the challenges that women face on the path to professorship, and to how this knowledge can be used to design more effective interventions at the institutional level. While the thesis does include a section that covers implications for policy based on the findings from the institute I investigated, the research more broadly suggests that department leaders need to better understand the challenges of their own institutions before adopting an intervention that may have been tailored for another context.

This doctoral work was carried out in conjunction with a project funded by the Research Council of Norway (RCN), where, as project leader, I developed and implemented a set of practical interventions for my own institute (resulting in increasing the number of female professors from 2 to 6). Because I was able to complement the practical aspect of my project with in-depth academic research, the RCN has recommended me as a consultant for other organizations in Norway seeking to increase their ranks of women professors.

This research has had impact also in relation to one of the articles I published in connection with this research: Nygaard, L. P., & Bahgat, K. 2018. 'What's in a number? How (and why) measuring research productivity in different ways changes the gender gap'. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 32, 67–79. The article was promoted by the Norwegian Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research (www.kifinfo.no) and discussed extensively on Twitter. I was then interviewed by two different Norwegian journalists. This discussion prompted researchers in the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU) to invite me to collaborate in a 3-year research project that will, among other things, adopt our basic research design more widely to a dataset that covers all research published in Norway.

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Declaration

I, Lynn Alison Parker Nygaard, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Lynn Alison Parker Nygaard

Acknowledgements

I would first and foremost like to thank my colleagues at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) who so whole-heartedly agreed to participate in this research, as well as engage with the development of my ideas and writing of this text. This thesis would not have been possible without their willingness to speak so openly about themselves, about PRIO, and about their writing. I also want to acknowledge PRIO leadership for both supporting the costs of my doctoral studies through our core grant as well as giving me time and space to write. Two of my colleagues deserve special thanks: Gee Berry, who proofread the entire thesis when I was too blind to see, and Cindy Horst who gave me much-needed advice on ethnographic methods.

I would also like to thank everyone at the IOE who guided me along the way, particularly my main supervisor Lesley Gourlay for careful supervision throughout the entire process, and my secondary supervisor Tatiana Fumasoli who was willing to step in and offer additional support during the crucial final stages. Gwyneth Hughes, who acted as a third reader, also brought a useful outside perspective on a penultimate draft.

Special thanks also go to Nancy Eik-Nes, who was willing to spend some of her valuable Easter holiday reading through and commenting on the entire text.

Finally, this work would not have been possible without the support of my family, especially my husband, Harald Nygaard, who had his own mountains to climb during this period and yet was willing to listen to me talk about my research for hours on end and then make me dinner. The little things mean more than you know.

Reflective statement

I started the part-time EdD programme for international students at the Institute of Education after many years of helping academics write for publication. As a practitioner, I help researchers tell their stories – to develop a core argument and find a structure and voice that works to effectively convey their message to their audience. But I was coach who had only ever observed from the sidelines, never having played the game myself. While I had worked with writers from a wide variety of disciplines, I had never conducted research myself, nor had my own story to tell. I was convinced that embarking on a doctoral journey – to learn to carry out my own research and write about it – would make me a better practitioner. So, throughout my doctoral journey, I embraced every opportunity to become a researcher in my own right by trying to do all the things that researchers do: I attended and presented at conferences (both poster conferences at the IOE and international conferences); I applied for and received a grant from the Research Council of Norway; and, most important, I published my research.

Surprisingly (to me), this ‘becoming’ became increasingly difficult over time as I dug deeper into what it means to make and support knowledge claims rather than to just tell a good story. I knew from the beginning I wanted to conduct research on why some researchers seem to write and publish with greater ease than others – as this was central to my practice as a professional. What I did not expect was how complex that question would be to answer, both in terms of process and content:

With respect to the process, I struggled to identify relevant academic literatures – including even what search terms to use – because the way I understood the question as a practitioner was not the way it was approached in academic communities. I also discovered that carrying out research was far more complex and ambiguous than it appeared from the outside: There were many junctures

where I stood without an obvious ‘right’ direction to take and had to find my own way. Even the writing – which I hoped would be easy for me because of my profession – was unexpectedly difficult. Being an expert in helping others find their academic voices did not seem to make it easier for me to find my own. Indeed, my greatest strength as a practitioner – my familiarity with a wide variety of different disciplines and styles of writing – made it difficult for me to figure out which ones were right for me.

With respect to content, the problem of identifying relevant literature mirrored the complexity of the topic. There were two key turning points in this respect: First, after much fruitless searching, I accidentally stumbled upon the term ‘research productivity’, which led me to a body of literature that seemed to at least get at the problem of why some faculty publish more than others. But virtually all this literature was quantitative, focusing on factors such as age, gender, rank, and so on to explain variations in productivity. This was not what I was after. It did not help explain why writing is different for different researchers. Second, my supervisor introduced me to the literature on ‘academic literacies’. While this literature focused mainly on students rather than faculty, it offered much more promise in terms of helping me understand why. I thus sought to apply the academic literacies perspective to the topic of research productivity.

That journey has culminated in writing this thesis. But the thesis is part of a more complete portfolio of work, where each piece played an important role. (See Appendix 15 for images of each of these publications.) As an academic, I published four journal articles and one book chapter:

1. Nygaard, L. P. (2014). The professional without a profession: An entrepreneurial response to supercomplexity in research environments? *Educate*, 14(3).
2. Nygaard, L. P. (2017). Publishing and perishing: An academic literacies framework for investigating research productivity. *Studies in Higher Education*, 42(3), 519-532.

3. Nygaard, L. P., & Bellanova, R. (2018). Lost in quantification: Scholars and the politics of bibliometrics. In M. J. Curry & T. Lillis (Eds.), *Global Academic Publishing: Policies, Perspectives and Pedagogies*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
4. Nygaard, L. P., & Bahgat, K. (2018). What's in a number? How (and why) measuring research productivity in different ways changes the gender gap. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 32, 67-79.
5. Nygaard, L. P. (2019). The institutional context of 'linguistic injustice': Norwegian social scientists and situated multilingualism. *Publications*, 7(10), 1-13.

Each of these contributed in some way to the thesis. Reflecting on my professionalism in the first article gave me a foundation for thinking through my positionality, and is evident in the methods chapter of this thesis. The concept of sites of negotiation I introduced in the *Studies in Higher Education* article emerged from the research in my IFS, and was developed and extended in this thesis to foreground gender and the path to professorship and become the core theoretical framework. The book chapter I wrote on bibliometrics helped me think critically about what constitutes productivity (which I hadn't really done before I started this doctoral work). The article on the gender gap helped me think more systematically about the ways in which publication practices between men and women might differ, and how different practices might be valued differently. This quantitative article not only grew out of questions I was asking myself during the research for the thesis that I could not find answers to using an ethnographic approach, it also helped inform the analysis of my interview data. Finally, the article on 'linguistic injustice' was originally written a few years earlier, building on the data from my IFS, but was not included in the special issue I wrote it for. I picked it up again as I was about halfway through the analysis of the data for this thesis, where I was already seeing just how important the situated context is for the kinds of sites of negotiations authors face. Reframing this article helped solidify my thinking on this, and this

is evident in the way that the institutional environment plays a much larger role in this thesis than I had expected it would.

It was not only the content of these ‘side’ publications that helped shape the final thesis, but also moving back and forth between qualitative and quantitative research forced me to think critically about what kind of knowledge claims are possible to make based on different kinds of data. And working with co-authors on two of the pieces not only helped me find my voice as an academic writer, but also pushed me into unfamiliar territories. My co-author for the book chapter was an expert on big data and Science and Technology Studies (STS), and he helped me think about how bibliometrics play a non-neutral governing role; my co-author for the gender gap article was a methods specialist, and working with him gave me a new appreciation for how complex even seemingly straightforward quantitative research can be (particularly when it comes to decisions about how to capture and measure abstract concepts in quantifiable indicators).

As satisfied as I was with the development of my identity as an academic, the main purpose of the EdD is not to produce researchers, but rather researching professionals. And indeed, the possibility of becoming a better professional – a better coach – is why I chose the EdD instead of a PhD programme. The academic publishing I carried out was only a means to that end. In the context of becoming a better professional, there are three things I would like to point to:

First, I used what I was learning as a doctoral student to also develop my writing as a practitioner. I was approached by an editor at SAGE with an offer to write a revised second edition of my book *Writing for Scholars: A Practical Guide to Making Sense and Being Heard*. This was an offer I could not refuse, and during the revision process I realized I had more to say than would fit comfortably in a revision. The new thoughts I had about academic writing were unquestionably stimulated by what I was learning as a doctoral student. The revision was finished in 2015, at which time, at my editor’s urging, I started writing a whole new book, which eventually became *Writing Your Master’s Thesis: From A to*

Zen (2017). The work on both books helped me reflect further on the nature of academic writing and what it means to be a writer.

Second, the coursework in the EdD was deeply formative, particularly the module on professionalism and higher education. While I had often reflected on the nature of my professional role, I had never done so in the context of the larger picture of higher education. This changed how I saw not only my current role, but also my future trajectory. I continue to be interested in the larger context of changes in the landscape of higher education and what that means, especially for vulnerable groups within HE (including researchers on the periphery). In addition to my increased attention to this in my everyday role as advisor, this interest is also evident in (a) a current writing project (in its final stages) where I am co-editing an anthology on 'becoming a scholar' with another former EdD student from the IOE where we have gathered and reflected on personal narratives from other members of our EdD cohort (focusing largely on issues of identity related to being on the periphery of HE), (b) a new writing project (contract with Routledge) where I and a colleague from another Norwegian university discuss the emerging genre of the thesis by publication, and (c) my pro bono mentoring of a promising young scholar in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Each of these projects gives me an opportunity to continue to reflect on the changing landscape of academia and how it affects different groups in different ways.

And third, the research I carried out, especially for this thesis, has had a direct impact on both my organization and my professional role within that organization. The most obvious change is that we have dramatically increased the number of female professors, and continue to focus on how to develop our staff. About halfway through my doctoral journey, I was promoted to a leader position in my organization with a general responsibility for professional development at PRIO, training researchers in the 'soft skills' (e.g., writing and presentation skills). What I have learned about how researchers view the various tensions in the environment and the different ways in which they conceptualize

their identities as researchers has deeply affected how I approach not only skills training and other institutional writing support, but also how I feed back into the leader team about how we can address diversity more effectively. And as a coach and workshop facilitator, I sense a dramatic change in how I approach my work. What I did purely on instinct and experiential learning before has become more deliberate, more considered, and more reflective. I have a much more sophisticated understanding of context, and a greater ‘vocabulary’ for understanding the challenges researchers face. I can put words on things that earlier I only had a vague sense of, and as a result I can give much more substantive feedback and think more creatively about how to support researchers.

In conclusion, I can say that the doctoral journey, from the moment I first entered the classroom at the IOE until I prepared this thesis for submission, was often painful and humbling. It was especially difficult for me personally to let go of my identity as an expert in a professional context to become a learner in an academic context. But, as a result, I was able to emerge with stories of my own to tell – stories that help me better understand what it is like to be in the game.

List of abbreviations

CRISTin: Current Research Information System in Norway

IFS: Institute Focused Study

IOE: Institute of Education, University College London

NPI: Norwegian Publication Indicator

POWER: Positioning Women for Research Professorship: Early Intervention at
PRIO

PRIO: Peace Research Institute Oslo

RCN: Research Council of Norway

UiO: University of Oslo

1. Introduction

This study starts from an empirical puzzle: in a country with top scores on most gender equality indicators, there is still a ‘leaky pipeline’ in the progression towards professorship for female academics. Despite Norway’s advanced policies on gender equality, and women being overrepresented among PhD students, women are underrepresented at the professor level.

To shed light on this puzzle, this thesis uses an academic literacies theoretical framework and focuses primarily on writing practices that affect women’s ‘readiness’ to apply for promotion to professorship. In doing so, this thesis contributes to the literature on academic literacies, the leaky pipeline in academia, and research productivity. The overarching aim is to better understand the challenges women face in qualifying for professorship status, how these challenges manifest in writing-related sites of negotiation, and how they are linked to gender and the institutional environment. Although the study is situated in one specific institutional context (the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)), it can shed light on the broader sociopolitical forces that serve to gender the journey to professorship.

This chapter presents an overview of the thesis. After presenting the problem of the ‘leaky pipeline’ and gender gaps in research productivity, I outline how a critical ethnographic approach using an academic-literacies-based theoretical framework can contribute greater knowledge about the challenges women face on the path to promotion. Next, I explain how this study is situated at my place of employment, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), in Norway, and how this context shapes my approach to investigating how writers negotiate choices that have a bearing on their ‘readiness’ for promotion. I then present the main research questions, the organization of this thesis, and its contribution to the literature.

The 'leaky pipeline' in academia: Why are there so few women professors?

The 'leaky pipeline' in academia – where the proportion of women faculty decreases as they move up the career ladder – is a worldwide phenomenon (S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; Blickenstaff, 2005; Hancock, Baum, & Breuning, 2013; Howson, Coate, & de St Croix, 2017; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Santiago, Carvalho, & Vabø, 2012; 2013). Throughout Europe and the United States, women commonly make up the majority of students and at least half the PhD candidates, while they make up fewer than 20% of the professors (Coate & Howson, 2016; Smith, 2017).

While the presence of the leaky pipeline is undisputed, what causes it – and by extension, what to do about it – is highly contested (Santiago et al., 2012; Seierstad & Healy, 2012; Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011, 2012). Some interventions have focused on 'fixing the women', on the assumption that the path to professorship is clear, unambiguous, and gender-neutral, and it is women who need to learn how to act more strategically; other interventions have focused on 'fixing the system', by removing structural obstacles that constrain women's choices and create an environment hostile to women (O'Connor & O'Hagan, 2015; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). The distinction between 'fixing the women' and 'fixing the system,' however, becomes less clear upon closer examination: Baker (2016), for example, argues that women's own decisions hinder promotion when they pick topics they are interested in rather than prestigious or lucrative topics; when they are less dependent on career for self-esteem; they are more ambivalent about striving for success; and when they are more likely to accept a job that pays less to be better able to take on a caretaking role. Men, on the hand, she argues, are more likely to seek out mentors and try to learn 'the rules of the game' (Baker, 2016, p. 893).

This raises the question of whether women are choosing differently, or whether they have different choices to make. In other words, what is perceived as being an individual choice or action might be related to larger social structures that are

gendered (see, e.g., Baker, 2016; B. H. Nielsen, 2004). Seeing women's choices as embedded in a larger context draws attention to the importance of studies that analyze both the situated institutional context and gendered patterns of behaviour more generally (Collinson, Collinson, & Knights, 1990) – including how we as a society frame 'choice' (Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; Stone, 2007).

One aspect of context that can give rise to gendered choices relates to how exactly professorship is attained. Some institutions use a competition model, where candidates compete for a vacant professorship, while others (perhaps in addition to competing for vacant professorships) allow candidates to apply for promotion within their existing position. While the competition model might be most common (Crawford, Burns, & McNamara, 2012), its lack of transparency can be highly problematic for women because women's work is often interpreted as being less 'excellent' than men's, so they will often lose out to 'the better candidate' (Coate & Howson, 2016; Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011). While the competence model (which is the primary model used in the US and UK) has been shown to increase the number of female professors (Olsen, Kyvik, & Hovdhaugen, 2005), ambiguous criteria for promotion might put women off because 'a feeling of insecurity as to whether they will meet the criteria may cause reluctance to even try' (Coate & Howson, 2016, p. 577).

Productivity and sites of negotiation

Whether professorship is achieved through promotion from an existing position or applied for in the context of a vacant chair, academic publications are the key measure of eligibility. Although secondary criteria, such as teaching and supervision, are important, the extent to which the candidate has published academically and contributed substantively to a body of scholarship is the primary criterion (Crawford et al., 2012; Leisyte, 2016; O'Connor & O'Hagan, 2015; Sutherland, 2017).

Hancock et al. (2013, p. 510) describe publishing as 'the Achilles heel of many women scholars'. In the literature on research productivity – which seeks to understand why a relatively small percentage of academics produce the vast

bulk of publications (e.g., Kweik, 2015; Kyvik, 1991) – one persistent finding is the so-called gender gap. Men not only seem to produce more publications than women, but they are also over-represented among the top producers, while women are over-represented among the low or non-producers (see, e.g., Creamer, 1998; Kweik, 2015; Sax, Hagedorn, & Dicrisi, 2002). Cole and Zuckerman (1984) call this the ‘productivity puzzle,’ and note that the gender-based skewness seems to persist even as discrimination against women in science has decreased. These findings, however, have not been consistent across institutional contexts (or over time): some studies find that the gender gap has reduced, or even disappeared (Bentley, 2011; Østby, Strand, Nordås, & Gleditsch, 2013; Tower, Plummer, & Ridgewell, 2007; van Arensbergen, Weijden, & Besselaar, 2012). Some argue that although it might take women longer to reach the level of top producer, they are more likely to stay highly productive than men (Kelchtermans & Veugelers, 2013; Rørstad & Aksnes, 2015).

One reason for the inconsistency in findings is that productivity is also – and perhaps, more strongly – related to geographical location, discipline, and academic rank (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018; Padilla-Gonzalez, Metcalfe, Galaz-Fontes, Fisher, & Snee, 2011; Rørstad & Aksnes, 2015). In other words, the situated context seems to matter for women’s productivity. It stands to reason, then, that the situated context will also matter for how women negotiate the path to professorship. Different national and institutional contexts create different conditions under which research, writing and promotion take place. Different disciplines create different expectations for writing and publishing. Given the apparent situated and gendered nature of research productivity, and the important role assigned to academic writing and publishing in the assessment of (full) professor competence, there is thus a greater need to understand how the writing practices that matter for professorship might be related to both gender and the situated institutional environment.

This doctoral project addresses this need by using one specific setting as a point of departure to examine links between writing practices, institutional setting, gender, and professorship. A key analytical concept in this respect is *site of negotiation* (Nygaard, 2017). A site of negotiation is a situation of ambiguity, tension or contested space arising from the conflicting demands of the situated institutional setting, the larger environmental context, and different aspects of identity. What makes it a site of negotiation, rather than simply a state of ambiguity, is that some sort of outcome is required: for the writing event or practice to occur, the writer must move beyond this state of ambiguity, negotiate the various tensions and take some kind of action, make some kind of decision, enact some kind of agency – even if this action is non-action (which can be a very strong statement when action is demanded). While sites of negotiation can occur in individual texts with respect to e.g., word choice and structure (see, e.g., Flower, 1994), my interest is in the sites of negotiation that appear behind the production of text: what genres are valued and produced, how writers collaborate, how excellence is conceptualized, and how writing is prioritized (Nygaard, 2017). Because sites of negotiation are so closely linked to the situated context in which writing takes place, I first describe the setting for this study and the concept of ‘readiness’ that emerges as a direct result of this setting, before I present my formal research questions and methodological approach to answering them.

The background for this study: Professorship in Norway and PRIO

This study is situated in Norway, which is far ahead of most other countries on most gender equity measures – and as of 2015 ranked highest on the United Nations Development Programme’s Gender Inequality Index (Kearney & Lincoln, 2016). Compared to other European countries, it is ranked first in the proportion of female heads of institutions in higher education, second in the proportion of women on boards, and shows perhaps the greatest gender balance in research funding success between men and women (with a slightly higher success rate for women) (European Commission, 2013, 2016). Norway also

provides long, paid parental leaves, as well as available and affordable childcare. It is a paradox, then, that it remains only average compared to other European countries when it comes to gender balance at the professor level, with about 20% female professors (European Commission, 2013).

The specific institutional setting for this study is the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), an independent social science research institute where I am employed as Special Adviser on Project Development and Publications. As an independent institute, PRIO is not part of the university and college sector (because it is not a degree-granting institution) but does have a mandate to produce research (see Chapter 5 for more discussion on this). It has a research staff of about 60 full-time equivalents, as well as a support staff of about 15. In 2015, total operating revenue was NOK 123.1 million (about GBP 11 million): 14% as a core grant from the Research Council of Norway (RCN), 40% from competitive grants from the RCN, 20% from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the rest from other smaller funders.

Because it is separate from the university and college system, researchers are ranked somewhat differently, with only three main categories: *junior researcher* (doctoral fellows), *senior researcher* (those who have completed a doctorate), and *research professor*. The qualifications for research professorship are equivalent to those in the university sector when it comes to the scope and quality of publications. (See Chapter 5 for more detail.) When this project started in 2014, women made up only 14% of those in the research professor category at PRIO, compared to 25% in the university sector.

This doctoral project was partially funded by the Research Council of Norway under a programme called BALANSE, which was started in 2012 to fund institution-based initiatives to increase the number of women professors.¹ PRIO was granted NOK 6 million (about GBP 570,000) by the BALANSE programme to carry out a project called ‘Positioning Women for Research Professorship:

¹ www.forskningsradet.no/prognnett-balanse/Home_page/1253964606519

Early Intervention at PRIO (POWER)', with me as project leader (see appendices 1 and 2). The project ran from January 2014 to December 2016, with the explicit aim to increase the number of female professors at PRIO. The participants in the POWER project comprised all women in senior researcher positions at PRIO (14 different women over the course of the three years). The project's subtitle, 'Early Intervention at PRIO', referred to the fact that the project also comprised those who had only recently completed a doctorate and could not realistically attain professorship during the project period, thus the project aimed at building a solid foundation for building professorship competence even after the project was finished.²

At the time I applied for this funding, I had completed my Institute Focused Study (IFS) (Nygaard, 2014b) and was ready to embark on the main study for my doctoral work. I thus designed the POWER project to synergize with my doctoral work and include a specific research component not to study the project itself (i.e., to make claims about the success or failure of the project), but rather to shed light on how the women themselves understood the path to professorship and the challenges they faced.

Because Norway (and thus also PRIO) uses the competence model where individuals can apply for promotion to professorship within an existing position, our focus for potential interventions was on the process leading up to the submission of an application: in essence, having enough publications, motivation, and confidence to apply. In terms of practical interventions, the POWER project provided researchers with support in producing publications and in preparing for promotion through mock evaluations and group discussions aimed at increasing the participants' motivation and confidence. The academic part of the POWER project built on findings from my IFS regarding the sites of negotiation that PRIO researchers face and that can directly affect their productivity (Nygaard, 2014b, 2017). POWER extended this inquiry to

² Three women achieved professorship during the project period, and an additional two have successfully applied between the time the project ended in 2016 and the time of writing.

investigate how these sites of negotiation could be gendered, and how this could shed light on the path to professorship. I thus built into the project a series of participant interviews, which took place throughout the project's lifetime.

Norway provides a unique setting for exploring the path to professorship because its generous welfare state means that so many of the traditional obstacles that women in academia face are either absent or greatly diminished (such as its exceptional level of child-care provision and parental leave arrangements). And the specific setting of PRIO has not only had an explicit goal to achieve gender balance but has supported the POWER project to specifically address this (note that the funding for the POWER project involves 50% matching funds from PRIO). Moreover, as PRIO is a research institute, PRIO researchers do not have teaching responsibilities, which means that explanations for the leaky pipeline that rely on arguments that women take on larger teaching burdens are irrelevant (Leisyte, 2016). In other words, I have access to a group of women who ostensibly have an unfettered path to professorship: available and affordable childcare, generous parental leave arrangements, minimal or non-existent teaching commitments, and institutional support with professorship possible through promotion. This means that the traditional explanations for the disparity between men and women – 'work-life balance, high levels of competition and lack of transparency in promotion criteria' (Leisyte, 2016) – seem less salient. This affords a unique opportunity to explore subtler sites of negotiation related to social structures and identity that might not be visible when other, more obvious, obstacles are apparent.

['Readiness' as a pragmatic point of departure](#)

Because I knew that the women in my group would obtain professorship through promotion (rather than competition for an available position), my concern as a practitioner was making sure they were 'ready' for promotion – and as an academic, understanding why they might not be. (See Chapter 5 and Appendix 3 for more detail on promotion criteria at PRIO). As a practitioner, I knew from the start that there were two kinds of 'readiness'. The first, which I call

‘objective readiness’, relates to the extent to which they have met the criteria for promotion, especially in terms of publications. In my experience, producing academic publications at PRIO relies on having conducted academic research (rather than consultancy or policy-related work), having time to write, being able to finish and submit, and getting the work accepted for publication by a journal or press. And the extent to which the publication merits inclusion in a portfolio of work submitted for professorship evaluation depends on its genre (journal article, book, book chapter, or something else), where it is submitted, whether it was co-authored or not, and perhaps the extent to which it was cited. In this doctoral study, investigating objective readiness means looking at how the researchers themselves perceive challenges to their own productivity, and exploring the extent to which gender might play a role.

The second type of readiness is what I call ‘subjective readiness’, and is related to the more intangible aspects of promotion – particularly the desire and motivation to become a professor in the first place, and the confidence that the criteria have been met. Interview and survey data from my earlier study on productivity (Nygaard, 2014b) suggested that some PRIO researchers (particularly, but not exclusively, women) were ambivalent to the idea of being a professor, or were not confident that their level of production was sufficient (despite being within the stated range), so they wanted to delay long enough to be sure. This doctoral study thus aims to follow up on these findings to explore the nature of this ambivalence or lack of confidence.³

The concepts of objective and subjective readiness are used in this thesis as a pragmatic point of departure for inquiry and analysis (see also e.g., Sutherland, 2017 for similar use of ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ in the context of success). However, the two categories can overlap substantially: for example, objective readiness may be about simply ticking the boxes, but knowing when a box is

³ For those who had recently finished a doctorate and were nowhere near ready to apply in objective terms, the question was more whether they saw professorship as a natural career goal, and whether they thought they could ever achieve this goal.

ticked may be problematic. It is not always clear whether a given publication is ‘good enough’ to be included among those that are submitted for evaluation. No matter how explicit the criteria, there is room for interpretation that invites contestation rooted in each individual’s academic identity: the appropriate balance between solo-authored and co-authored works; the balance between journal articles, books, and book chapters; the understanding of ‘excellence’, ‘originality’, and ‘good enough’. Despite the potential messiness of these concepts of readiness, they are nevertheless used here to frame the research question and analysis.

Research questions

To shed light on why there are so few women professors in a country that otherwise ranks among the top in gender equality indicators, this study examines what might impede ‘readiness’ to apply for professorship. Challenges related to objective readiness focus on generating enough academic publications to meet the stated criteria, and can involve, for example, choosing whether to spend time on writing something non-academic that cannot be included among the submitted academic publications, choosing to take on administrative roles, and so on. Challenges related to subjective readiness focus more on issues of identity and desire – wanting to become a professor and identifying with the title – as well as evaluations of excellence, particularly with respect to being confident that one’s body of work will be considered good enough. Thus, the main research question is:

What challenges related to objective and subjective readiness do women at PRIO face on the path to professorship?

To answer this question, I address two sub-questions related to context on the one hand, and sites of negotiation and agency on the other. Looking at this question ethnographically means that I see the role of context as crucial: it would be foolish to expect that academic writing and career trajectory would be the same for a political scientist sitting in a think tank in Korea as it is for an

anthropologist writing her thesis in a university in Guatemala. Paltridge, Starfield, and Tardy (2016, p. 119) argue that ‘the social, political, and economic dimensions of context need to be fully understood if we are to grasp how academic texts are produced in specific contexts that are at once local and global’. Following this logic, I begin by trying to capture the salient features of Norway and PRIO. While I clearly cannot provide a comprehensive review of every relevant aspect of the context, the aim is to focus on key elements that create constraints and opportunities related to gender, academic writing, and professorship. I aim to illustrate not just the concrete, observable aspects of context, but also the ‘unwritten rules’ and expectations that are communicated by this context. Thus, the first sub-question is:

CONTEXT: How does the situated environment shape ideas about how gender and academia should be performed?

I then investigate how these ideas about how gender and academia should be performed play a role in shaping sites of negotiation that arise in writing practices that take place behind the text, such as those related to decisions about where writing fits in in everyday work, which writing projects to prioritize, who to collaborate with and how, how to understand excellence, and so on. Just as important as the site of negotiation itself is how women engage with it – that is, how much agency women at PRIO feel with respect to their ability to make meaningful choices, and what kind of choices they make. This sub-question can be expressed as follows:

SITES OF NEGOTIATION and AGENCY: What sites of negotiation in writing practices are generated by expectations about how gender and academia should be performed, and how do women engage with these expectations?

Below, I provide a brief introduction to the methodological and theoretical perspectives that are embedded in these questions.

Academic literacies and the critical ethnographic approach to understanding (gendered) writing practices

With its focus on the situated nature of academic writing and the importance of identity, the academic literacies perspective as a theoretical point of departure provides a rich lens through which to view how women produce and publish texts on their path towards professorship, and what kind of sites of negotiation might arise. Academic literacies theory sees writing as highly situated, as taking place within an institutional environment that presents a complex network of opportunities and constraints, support systems, and overlapping and sometimes conflicting expectations (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Street, 1984, 2003). Rather than seeing writing as a straightforward process requiring knowledge of grammar and syntax, it argues that in the production of text, writers engage in negotiations between various aspects of identity and expectations from the environment (within which some kinds of literacy are valued more than others and thus power is distributed unevenly).

According to Barton and Hamilton (1998, p. 23), ‘Reading and writing are things which people do, either alone or with other people, but always in a social context – always in a place and at a time. To make sense of people’s literacy practices we need to situate them within this context’. By extension, the academic writing carried out to qualify for professorship is also situated in a place and time with respect to what the requirements for professorship are (or are perceived to be) and what other activities are demanded by the workplace.

By drawing attention to the social context of writing rather than the finished text, academic literacies has a transformative aim. When text is in centre stage, then both policy and practice bend toward fixing the text. But when practices are in centre stage, attention is drawn to their social – and historical – nature, which calls attention to possible alternatives to these practices (Lillis & Scott, 2007). The transformative aim of the academic literacies approach is highly relevant for the underlying practitioner-related aim of this thesis: by focusing on writing

practices situated within a specific institute, this thesis moves away from the 'fixing the women' vs 'fixing the system' binary towards shedding light on the relationship between the two. Rather than attempting to identify a one-size-fits-all solution to the leaky pipeline, this thesis aims to shed light on the links between individual writing practices and larger social structures (including the institutional environment), which will allow a more situated and targeted approach to addressing gender imbalances at individual institutions.

Academic literacies research often uses critical ethnographic approaches to look at how writing practices are embedded in social, political, and economic contexts that are at once both local and global, and valued differently across contexts (Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Paltridge et al., 2016; Street, 1984). The explicit aim of critical ethnography is to address social inequalities through an epistemology that understands that the way people think is mediated by socially situated power relations, and that facts cannot be isolated from values (Carspecken, 1996, p. 9). The focus of this kind of research is often on writing practices rather than individual texts, in order to draw attention to how writers perceive these practices, and what might be contested or negotiated (Lillis & Scott, 2007, p. 11).

Lillis (2008) argues that the value of these ethnographic approaches is that they can help close the ontological gap between context and text. My aim here is to narrow the ontological gaps between gender, institutional setting, research productivity, and career trajectory to better understand how they are linked. The data described here combine ethnographic insight drawn from immersion in the study site with in-depth interviews with my participants. Most participants were interviewed multiple times to help shed light on how decisions are made over time, how priorities shift, and how some things get finished while others languish, revealing much about how different sets of priorities are not only negotiated on a daily basis, but also how at a cumulative level they affect different aspects of readiness. My analysis seeks to connect these sites of negotiation with expectations from the institutional and social environment

about how gender and academia are performed. Paltridge et al. (2016) write that linking text (or in this case, the production of text) to context 'is more likely to produce a more critical ethnography, as considerations of these dimensions of context will almost inevitably implicate the unequal power relations involved, and the motivation for the study inevitably arises from a desire not only to understand but to seek to change an existing condition'.

Original contributions

The context of Norway provides an ideal lens through which to observe the more subtle and tacit aspects of a gendered society because once the issues of access to affordable childcare and rights to paid maternity leave are removed as obstacles, other obstacles that might have been harder to see are brought into sharper relief (Seierstad & Healy, 2012). Looking at a research institute rather than a university setting takes this a step further by removing another oft-cited obstacle to women's productivity: teaching obligations. Since researchers at PRIO do not have teaching responsibilities, the activities that take place at PRIO revolve primarily around research and writing about research. This provides an ideal setting for observing writing practices related to productivity and promotion that are not obscured by activities related to teaching and students. To my knowledge, such a setting has never been investigated with a view to understanding gender, academic writing, and promotion to professorship.

Because the thesis takes an ethnographic approach and studies a small group of women in a specific context, the aim will not be to make generalized claims about sites of negotiation, but rather to shed light on the ways in which research productivity and career trajectory are embedded in the larger social and institutional environment. It thus provides an original contribution to, and generates implications for, three different bodies of literature:

- (1) *The literature on the leaky pipeline*: The women in this study represent the full spectrum of mid-career researchers – from those who have recently finished a doctorate to those who have been senior researchers for several years – and thus looks at the development of identity that

takes place during that entire period. What academics do from the very beginning of this period – the decisions they make, the actions they perform – has an impact on whether they will be in a position to apply for professorship later. The mid-career period is when many women are also struggling with the burdens of caring for young children, aging parents, and administrative or leadership roles. Despite the central role that writing for publication has for promotion, studies that have looked more deeply into the experiences of mid-career academics (Coate, Kandiko Howson, & de St Croix, 2015; Howson et al., 2017; Lund, 2015) have generally not put writing practices at the centre. This study thus contributes to the leaky pipeline literature by shedding light on how cumulative writing practices have an impact on career trajectory.

- (2) *The literature on research productivity*: With its highly quantitative approach, the research productivity literature has had little opportunity to investigate how the production of academic knowledge and publications are embedded in larger social structures. Moreover, although increasingly sophisticated bibliometric indicators are being developed to measure productivity, critical discussions of what exactly is being measured – and how productivity, like literacy, can be a result of practices that are socially and historically situated – remain notably absent (Lillis & Curry, 2010; Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018). This study contributes to the literature on gender gaps in research productivity by broadening perspectives on how gender, beyond being a demographic characteristic, can play a role in the production of academic writing.
- (3) *The academic literacies research on faculty writing*. Academic literacies research has traditionally focused on the work of students in higher education, particularly marginalized students, such as adult students returning to higher education. While it is increasingly turning its gaze to writing for publication and other faculty writing practices (Lea & Stierer, 2009; Lillis & Curry, 2006a, 2006b, 2010; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Vacek, 2016), the main focus has been on the challenges facing those writing in

English as an additional language (Paltridge et al., 2016). With the exception of a study by Lillis and Curry (2018), gender has not been investigated. This thesis builds on and extends the academic literacies research on writing for publication by exploring how faculty writing practices are shaped not only by language norms (i.e., the pressure to publish in English), but also other situated expectations governing how different writing outputs are valued, how gender is performed, and how these together shape career trajectories.

Chapter overview

The purpose of this chapter has been to introduce the problem area, and to lay the groundwork for exploring the writing practices of women at PRIO on the path to professorship. The main body of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2: Literature review: What do we know about challenges to readiness? This chapter reviews some of the most relevant literature related to what is already known about challenges to readiness: namely, literature on the gendered nature of productivity and how it's measured; gender bias and conceptualizations of excellence; gendered identities and the situated landscape of academia; narratives about risk and agency; and how the question of whether women 'simply prioritize differently' might be reframed.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework: Conceptualizing identity, institutional environment, and sites of negotiation. This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the thesis, drawing mainly from academic literacies theory. It explains the philosophical assumptions of my approach, and how I conceptualize identity and how identity is related to larger social structures, the institutional environment and how prestige operates in academia, and finally how writers exercise agency through navigating sites of negotiation in their concrete writing practices.

Chapter 4: Methodology: Capturing situated sites of negotiation. Chapter 4 describes the overarching critical ethnographic approach of this study, my

positionality, how I moved from insider knowledge to ethnographic insight, and the specific steps I took to collect and analyze my data.

Chapter 5: What does it mean to be a woman at PRIO? Situating gender and professorship. This chapter relies primarily on ethnographic insight and looks at some of the key social and institutional structures that shape expectations about gender and writing practices. Specifically, it investigates how social structures in Norway generate expectations for womanhood and motherhood, and how the institutional context of PRIO shapes expectations for professorship and what kinds of writing practices are valued over others.

Chapter 6: Sites of negotiation and agency in everyday writing practices at PRIO. Drawing primarily on interview data, this chapter investigates the sites of negotiation that arise in the production of academic publications and the assessment of ‘readiness’. It then looks at how these sites of negotiation are deliberated and acted upon.

Chapter 8: Discussion: Readiness as a balancing act. This chapter discusses the findings from the two preceding data chapters and draws from the existing literature to answer the overarching research question of how the situated environment creates sites of negotiation in everyday writing practices that shape women’s ‘readiness’ to apply for professorship. It argues that the women in this study attempt to achieve a balance across multiple sites of negotiation, where gender acts as an invisible thumb on the scale that delays readiness.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: Readiness and the winding path to professorship. The conclusion summarizes the main findings, discusses the implications of this study for practical interventions to increase the number of female professors, and suggests some directions for future research.

Appendices

2. Literature review: What do we know about challenges to readiness?

The previous chapter introduced the idea of ‘readiness’. In the context of competence models of promotion, this means that candidates for professorship have to have produced a substantial body of academic literature (‘objective readiness’), and must feel motivated to apply and reasonably confident of success (‘subjective readiness’). Drawing from multiple discourses and disciplines, this chapter provides an overview of the existing literature that can shed light on the gendered nature of challenges related to readiness.

The gendered nature of productivity and how it’s measured

As argued in the previous chapter, most measures of research productivity show women lagging behind men in the production of academic publications (Creamer, 1998; Kweik, 2015; Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018; Sax et al., 2002). A common explanation for women’s inability to generate enough academic publications to apply for professorship is that they simply prioritize differently: they spend more time on teaching and administration (‘academic housekeeping’), spend more time with their families, and are less interested in academic publications (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Armenti, 2004; Kessler, Spector, & Gavin, 2014; M. W. Nielsen, 2015; Sax et al., 2002).

Norway is similar to other countries in this respect: compared to their male colleagues, female academics spend more time advising students (Seierstad & Healy, 2012). Compared to their colleagues in Sweden and Denmark, female academics in Norway are more likely to feel like they have to sacrifice time with their families to pursue an academic career (Seierstad & Healy, 2012). Another Norwegian study shows that men on average work 1–2 hours more on academic work at home (Vabø, Gunnes, Tømte, Bergene, & Egeland, 2012); while this alone might seem to explain women’s lower productivity compared to men, Sax

et al. (2002) (in a non-Norwegian context) claim that women manage to use their time more effectively than men who publish at comparable rates.

Not only do men and women differ in the time they spend writing compared to other activities, they also show different publication practices. In the field of international studies, Hancock et al. (2013) found that women were more likely to publish in newer subfields, and that men were more likely to author monographs. There is also evidence that men are more likely to produce quantitative work, while women are more likely to produce qualitative work (Evans & Bucy, 2010; Hancock et al., 2013). Moreover, women seem more likely to have short-term funding, which is negatively correlated with productivity (Leisyte, 2016) because it less often results in academic publications. And finally, women generally collaborate less than men. Or stated more accurately, it has been demonstrated that in fields where collaboration is common (e.g., natural sciences), women are less likely to benefit from collaborative networks (Bentley, 2011; O'Meara & Stromquist, 2015; Seierstad & Healy, 2012).

The gendered differences in types of outputs and patterns of co-authoring raise the question of how exactly productivity is conceptualized and measured. In other words, perhaps women are not producing less – perhaps they are producing different things in a different way than what counts most.

Most studies on research productivity are based exclusively on counting journal articles – even though academics (both men and women) regularly produce a wide variety of outputs (journal articles, monographs, edited volumes, book chapters, keynote addresses, reports, textbooks, and so on). Moreover, because disciplinary structures differ at the epistemological and ontological level, the writing practices and genres that are developed from these structures will necessarily be different (Clarence & McKenna, 2017). For example, natural sciences produce journal articles almost exclusively, while humanities produce relatively more books and book chapters, and the social sciences are somewhere in between (Piro, Aksnes, & Rørstad, 2013; Rørstad & Aksnes, 2015). While a

few studies take into account additional outputs, such as book chapters (see, e.g., Aiston & Jung, 2015; Kyvik, 1990), they are more the exception than the rule.

The way that outputs differ systematically depending on discipline becomes gendered when men and women are distributed unequally across disciplines. Men are overrepresented in natural sciences (and quantitative social sciences) where journal articles are the norm, whereas women are overrepresented in humanities (and qualitative social sciences) where other outputs (such as books and book chapters) are also common (Cameron, Gray, & White, 2013; Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018). This means that aggregate measures of productivity might be reflecting the fact that men are concentrated in fields with higher levels of journal article production than women are, rather than men being more productive.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in how co-authorship is accounted for. In most studies of productivity, authors are given full credit for each article they have been a part of, regardless of how many other authors might have been involved. It is undisputed that the natural sciences and quantitative social sciences produce more co-authored works than the qualitative social sciences and humanities (Aagaard, Bloch, & Schneider, 2015; Hug, Ochsner, & Daniel, 2014). At the same time, women tend to be concentrated in the humanities and social sciences (Hancock et al., 2013). If all articles that a given author has been involved with are counted using whole counts (in other words, if an author is only one of 50 co-authors and is nevertheless given credit for one full publication), then men (overall) will score much higher than women. However, if authors are only given credit for a fraction of the publication (e.g., $1/50^{\text{th}}$), then productivity scores are likely to be more equal (Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018).

How the data on research productivity is acquired also matters, and may have gendered implications. Many studies rely on self-reported data, the validity of which suffers both from at times very poor response rates and lack of quality control (Kyvik, 1990; Xie & Shauman, 1998). There is some indication that women might underreport their work, while men might overreport (Sherry,

Hewitt, Sherry, Flett, & Graham, 2010). Most studies, however, use data from large commercial databases (such as the Web of Science or Scopus), which represents a higher degree of quality control than self-reported data, but these databases seldom capture outputs other than journal articles and languages other than English (Lillis & Curry, 2010; Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018). The Norwegian studies (e.g., Rørstad & Aksnes, 2015) stand out in that they not only include more outputs than journal articles, but they also rely on data that has a high degree of quality assurance, as it comes from a national database that systematically collects publications data from all research-producing institutes on all the journal articles, books, and book chapters produced by Norwegian academics (Aagaard et al., 2015).

How the data is aggregated or disaggregated among various groups also matters. Measuring the gender gap at an aggregate level does not account for men comprising the bulk of the higher-ranked academics while women are often the majority of the youngest staff; in other words, what is being measured is more accurately the gap in productivity between professors and young research staff rather than the gap between men and women (Rørstad & Aksnes, 2015). And when age groups are used, many studies show that women (likely because of child-rearing) take longer to reach high levels of productivity, although they are likely to remain productive for a longer period of time (Kelchtermans & Veugelers, 2013).

In our 2018 study, my colleague and I took advantage of the high-quality data in the Norwegian publications database and combined it with information about individuals to take a closer look at how the gender gap in productivity might be sensitive to how productivity is measured and how the data was disaggregated (Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018). Our reasoning was that if writing practices are situated (varying across disciplines, methodological orientations, countries, or institutions, for example), and if academic writing is a gendered social practice where women are concentrated in different demographic groups than men, then the gender gap could be expected to vary depending on what groups were

looked at and how productivity was measured. We looked at journal articles, books, and book chapters (although we lacked data on non-academic publications) for researchers during the period 2010–2014, and found that the gender gap varied considerably depending on what kinds of outputs were counted (e.g., just journal articles or also books and book chapters), how they were counted (e.g., whether co-authorship was fractionalized and how the outputs were weighted), and how the data was disaggregated (e.g., whether we compared women versus men throughout the institute, or whether we disaggregated by academic rank). We found that when we looked at the aggregate figures, counting only journal articles and not fractionalizing for co-authorship, men appeared to produce about 50% more than women. However, the gender gap all but disappeared when we disaggregated by academic rank, included all outputs, and fractionalized for co-authorship.

In addition to conceptualizing productivity in terms of what is produced and how much is produced, many bibliometric indicators attempt to capture aspects of ‘quality’ – primarily by measuring citations. Here, too, there are some gendered patterns. Many studies have shown that men cite women less than they cite other men (Dion, Sumner, & Mitchell, 2018; Maliniak, Powers, & Walter, 2013; S. M. Mitchell, Lange, & Brus, 2013; O'Connor & O'Hagan, 2015). Some studies show, however, that per article, women seem to be cited as much as men (see, e.g., Østby et al., 2013).

The way productivity is conceptualized and measured matters because universities have become increasingly corporate, moving away from a traditional collegiate model to a model that attempts to increase transparency, accountability, and productivity of academics (Ball, 2008, 2012; Clegg, 2008; Gingras, 2014; Leisyte, 2016). Reliance on bibliometric indicators to capture ‘excellence’ is symptomatic of what has been framed as the ‘audit explosion’, the ‘culture of accounting’, ‘neoliberalism’, or ‘new public managerialism’ (Archer, 2008; Ball, 2012; Deem, Hilliard, & Reed, 2008; Gingras, 2014; Graham, 2015; Leisyte, 2016). Howson et al. (2017, p. 12) argue that ‘Over the

past few decades, what “counts” in higher education in terms of academic careers has become more and more tied to metrics and indicators’. And these metrics and indicators are tied to ‘research and research outputs’ (Coate & Howson, 2016, p. 574).

The focus on managerialism means that measuring productivity is not simply a pastime for academics who are interested in who produces what, it has also become a way for research-producing settings to report on their activities – as well as to evaluate individual researchers and grant funding. The focus on productivity indicators increases the pressure to ‘perform’ in what some argue are narrowly prescribed ways (J. Acker, 2006; Archer, 2008; Ball, 2012; Leisyte, 2016). Because productivity indicators are almost without exception tied to academic publication, scholars who are involved in policy-related research perform more poorly in assessment than those in basic research (European Commission, 2004, p. 22).

Bibliometric indicators of excellence might also exacerbate gendered social structures. This is because, although ‘bibliometrics in themselves are not gender biased, they exist within a larger environment where there is structural gender bias’, and they ‘privilege well-established fields with long-standing publication traditions and clear boundaries’ (European Commission, 2004, p. 16). (See also Baker, 2016; O'Connor & O'Hagan, 2015; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). Howson et al. (2017, p. 2) argue that ‘the hyper-individualistic reward and recognition processes through which men gain easier access to the indicators of esteem (“the right metrics”)’ is a main factor inhibiting women’s progress.

Together, this research shows that the way that productivity data has traditionally been conceptualized, analyzed, and reported helps construct a narrative of women simply not being as ‘excellent’ as men. The section below takes a closer look at conceptions of excellence in academia and how gender bias works.

Gender bias and conceptualizations of ‘excellence’

Any type of bibliometric measure will legitimize some types of output and delegitimize others, and thus not only *measures* productivity, but also *co-defines* it and feeds into the notion of what constitutes excellence (Gruber, 2014; Moore, Neylon, Eve, O'Donnell, & Pattinson, 2017; Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018). A report titled *Gender and Excellence in the Making* commissioned by the European Commission in 2004 argued that using bibliometric indicators to determine who is ‘excellent’ results in a socially constructed distribution of excellence that depends on (a) what abilities are considered relevant, (b) what indicator of excellence is chosen, and (c) who is considered to be within the group to be evaluated (European Commission, 2004) (See also Moore et al., 2017; Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018). Moreover, each step on this path requires evaluations by gatekeepers, who – like everyone else – are vulnerable to gender bias (Smith, 2017).

One important effect of gender bias is that it can produce double standards both when something is evaluated as either a success or a failure, and when inferring competence as a result (Foschi, 1996, 2000). In a psychological experiment, Foschi (2000) finds that when those with a lower status (e.g., women, people of colour, etc.) are successful, their performance will be scrutinized (because it is inconsistent with the status) and evaluated more harshly than those with a higher status (e.g., white men). Further, when high-status actors fail, the evaluator is likely to assume that the poor performance is not indicative of their actual competence. But when low-status actors fail, the poor performance constitutes ‘proof’ of their competence. A more recent study illustrates this same mechanism: A simulation was conducted asking employers to hire someone to do a job that required skills in mathematics, and 90% of the erroneous hires (hiring a less qualified person over a more qualified person) were due to hiring a less qualified man over a more qualified woman (Reuben, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2014).

The need for women to produce more than men to be considered equally good – or to be ‘five-legged sheep’ (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011) – has been reported in multiple contexts, illustrating how bias affects gatekeepers at each step. O'Connor and Fauve-Chamoux (2015), for example, examine a committee that evaluates grant proposals in Scandinavia. In the round of evaluations they examined, women led 45% of all applications (and 44% of those assessed as excellent), but only 22% of those were funded. (See also Bornmann, Mutz, & Daniel, 2007). Similarly, a study that looked at fictitious CVs – differing only in whether the name was female or male – found that male applicants were considered more qualified and were offered higher salaries (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). This was true whether the evaluators were male or female. Even in the arena of teaching, often considered a woman's domain, men are evaluated more favourably seemingly regardless of their actual performance: MacNeill, Driscoll, and Hunt (2015) found that in an online course where students never actually saw the teachers, switching the names led to the female teacher (now presented as a male) getting higher marks, while the male teacher (now presented as female) got lower marks.

In perhaps one of the best-known studies on gender bias in academia, Wennerås and Wold (1997) found that in the context of applications for fellowships, women had to have about 2.5 times as many publications as men to be considered equally good. Although a critique of the Wennerås and Wold study by Sandström and Hällsten (2004) suggests that this might be due to a possible selection effect, this underscores the point that gender bias extends also to the women who are applying: if the only women who apply are ‘overqualified’, this suggests that women – either consciously or unconsciously – wait until their qualifications are indisputable. A study by van Arensbergen et al. (2012), which aimed at challenging the gender gap in publications, also unwittingly illustrated this point; rather than looking at complete publications lists for individuals, they drew from reported publications in grant applications as their source of data on productivity. Although it was meant to illustrate that women publish as much or

more than men, in my view it also reflects a selection effect where only the most highly productive women are likely to apply for grants in the first place.

There is also evidence that gender bias extends beyond women themselves and into phenomena that might be construed as ‘feminine’. This applies both to specific academic topics (Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn, & Huge, 2013), as well as specific fields, disciplines, or professions where women achieve equality of representation or dominate (European Commission, 2004, p. 41; Peterson, 2014). Armenti (2004, p. 80) argues that although the number of women is increasing in academia, ‘the historical precedence dictates that as professions become feminized, they lose much of their prestige in political and economic power’. B. H. Nielsen (2004, p. 320), looking specifically at the University of Oslo in Norway, suggests that the very concept of ‘excellence’ is associated with and symbolized through maleness, while women are associated with ‘the masses’. (See also Blickenstaff, 2005). In other words, maleness is associated with exclusivity and prestige, and when women begin to dominate a particular field, it loses this prestige. And Moore et al. (2017) argue that the more ‘excellence’ is emphasized, the greater the pressure to ‘conform to unexamined biases and norms within the disciplinary culture’. The next section explores issues of identity and the gendered landscape of academia more deeply.

Gendered identities and the situated landscape of academia

Professorship can be seen as the culmination of a larger process of ‘becoming’ an academic (Archer, 2008), which means that it is not just a question of credentials, but of identity, of perceived legitimacy, of belonging. Although norms regarding excellence described above are ostensibly not gendered, they are consistent with traditional norms of maleness and other privilege. Lund (2015, p. 115) argues that the tenure track system and the notion of the ideal academic that is embedded within it ‘is holding people within as well as outside the system accountable to a specific measurable and comparable notion of quality and excellence’. Judging by what is valued in academia, the ‘ideal

academic' views working in academia as a calling, and is willing to devote themselves to 'a lifetime of work in pursuit of knowledge, while the partner (usually female) attends to his other needs' (Armenti, 2004, p. 78). (See also S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; European Commission, 2004; Lund, 2015).

Archer (2008) argues that 'success' depends not only on how 'success' is conceptualized, but also how it interacts with other aspects of identity. Even within the same institute, women and men face different (official and unofficial) expectations for research and publications (Hancock et al., 2013). For example, the expectations for women in a female-dominated field will be different than those in a male-dominated field (Monroe, 2013). This is because women in the academy are 'subject to the contradictory discourses of "good mother" and "successful academic"' (Armenti, 2004, p. 80). And those who 'cannot commit themselves to research 24 hours a day' become disadvantaged (European Commission, 2004; Lund, 2015, p. 8). Although men also struggle with the contradictory demands of academia and parenthood, ideals of 'good mother' and 'good father' are different; women have to be more physically present in the family, while men can delegate and focus on earning (Baker, 2010, 2016). Moreover, femininity discourses include a 'caring' discourse that 'emphasizes the importance of one's family commitments, but also collegiality and emotional work in terms of providing encouragement, advice, comfort, support and help to solve tasks or ameliorating workload burdens' (Lund, 2015, p. 131).

Lund (2015) connects this to a fundamental gender-based division of labour in society, where men are productive, and women are re-productive. This translates into different writing practices in academia. Not only do men do a better job of protecting their writing time, but they are also less modest about their accomplishments, and have an easier time saying no to additional work that does not lead to promotion. Women, on the other hand, find meaning in non-research related activities, including teaching and writing textbooks (Baker, 2016; Lawrence, 2017).

Because these ‘choices’ are in line with what is expected of men and women more generally in society, ascribing these choices to ‘different priorities’, and ‘personality traits’ becomes problematic. As some of the informants in Lillis and Curry’s (2018) study describe, administrative tasks are taken on not necessarily because they are experienced as being meaningful, but because of a generalized obligation to the collective. Similarly, Baker (2016) noticed a pattern where women were less likely to see themselves as experts, and would partner with older men, taking on the ‘second shift’ of household labour ostensibly because their partners were more established as professionals – without seeing this as gendered behaviour. This not only means that women and men experience academic work differently (Coate & Howson, 2016, p. 572), but that the expectations for women in a female-dominated field will be different than those in a male-dominated field (Monroe, 2013).

Narratives about risk and agency

Different expectations for men and women both inside and outside academia also lead to different considerations of risk – that is, how they perceive the costs and benefits of pursuing professorship or parenthood. Baker (2016), for example, argues that women find ‘playing the promotion game’ less attractive than men do, and fear negative consequences to promotion – loss of friends, more responsibility. When women simply behave as men do, their actions can be viewed differently. Women seeking promotion were viewed as more ruthless and scheming (Baker, 2016, p. 894). This applies not only to promotion seeking, but also grant writing and other activities that require ‘boasting’ (Baker, 2016; Lund, 2018). Archer (2008), for example, notes that women associated grant writing with accumulating prestige, and called it ‘soul-destroying’ and ‘begging and bragging’.

Men, however, may have a completely different perspective: promotion seeking, grant writing, and other activities that require ‘boasting’ fall well within what is expected of a man. While for women, much of the risk lies in *pursuing* the activities (regardless of outcome), for men, the risk lies in not succeeding. In the

report by the European Commission (2004, p. 96), Addis describes how men do not want to compete academically with women because it has only a small potential gain in terms of honour if they win, but a high potential risk of losing face if they should compete with a woman and lose.

The risks of starting a family are also viewed differently by women compared to men. While men generally do not consider starting a family to pose a risk to career progression (in fact, men may experience a 'daddy bonus', see, e.g., Hodges & Budig, 2010), women are constantly warned about the risks of combining children and a career in academia (Armenti, 2004; Baker, 2016). And while institutionalized childcare is considered important, Armenti (2004, p. 74) claims that women are also warned that childcare represents a mixed blessing because childcare institutions 'do not accommodate professionals who work more than 45 hours per week', plus children 'get sick all the time' – which implies that not only do mothers have to stay home with sick children, but they themselves are also exposed to germs (Armenti, 2004, p. 74). It is worth noting that in this narrative of risk, it is assumed that an academic career requires more than 45 hours per week in the office, and that only women will be staying home with sick children; these are not safe assumptions in a Scandinavian context, in which people work a 37.5 hour week and men are also likely to stay home with sick children. Armenti (2004, p. 78) concludes that 'In a sense, women professors must behave like men by conforming to the expectations of the university which assume that family commitments and biological differences should remain separate from academic careers'. The risk is that if women do have children, they will be seen as being less serious about their careers.

This suggests that women may face different sites of negotiation than men – where the social costs and benefits of failure or success are different. Howson et al. (2017, p. 1) argue that the women in their study were 'more ambivalent about gaining recognition through prestige: they understood the importance of status and knew the "rules of the game", but were critical of these rules and sometimes reluctant to overtly pursue prestige'. In other words, it is not a question of

women needing to better understand how to act strategically, but recognizing that female academics face more difficult compromises than their male counterparts because being a woman means something different than being a man within the social context (Barry, Berg, & Chandler, 2006).

However, because gendered social structures are sometimes hard to see, women sometimes end up blaming themselves for their own perceived inability to succeed, or at best, claiming that their decisions to act differently than what is expected were a ‘personal choice’. Howson et al. (2017, p. 12) write, ‘The phrase “not criticizing the system but mainly myself” that emerged in the research is telling: many women we interviewed seemed at some level to accept that they knew what was required, and perceived it to be a personal and individual decision to either play or to not play by the rules’. They argue that blaming oneself for ‘decisions taken in career progression deflects attention from the criticisms of the system that are arguably needed’ (Howson et al., 2017, p. 12).

And yet women seem to indirectly criticize the system when they choose to define success differently than what seems to be valued in their immediate institutional environment. Similar to the way I have distinguished between objective and subjective readiness, Sutherland (2017) distinguishes between ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ success, and notes that there is a tension between meeting criteria and feeling like one has succeeded. She points out that what constitutes success varies between different institutional environments, and that personal feelings about what success means, in connection with perhaps mixed signals about what constitutes success in a particular environment, play an important role in workload deliberation – not only with respect to balancing work and family, but also different aspects of work. She describes older staff telling stories about their own negotiations and how they were able to reconcile their own goals with institutional goals, ‘a new kind of hero story’ (Sutherland, 2017, p. 756). In other words, agency is not a question of playing the game correctly, but rather understanding how to navigate and negotiate conflicting

demands to meet one's own idea of success. This is echoed in Baker (2016), who finds that the women in her study claim a 'balanced life' was more important than occupational success.

Reframing the questions

The question of whether women prioritize differently can be re-framed as whether women have different choices to make. Even in Scandinavia, where gender equality is higher than almost anywhere else in the world, there are indications that rather than women 'choosing' to spend more time with students, students demand more time of their female teachers/professors; and rather than 'choosing' to stay home with the children when they are young, parental leave schemes that do not require (or perhaps even allow) fathers to take some of that time in paternity leave may make it impossible for women to do otherwise (Seierstad & Healy, 2012). In other words, what feels like a personal choice is actually an outcome of social processes; 'Historical, cultural, and ideological contexts impact significantly on people's subjective definitions of career success, which in turn affects their career behaviors and decisions' (Dries, 2011, p. 377).

Correll (2004, p. 98) describes how women 'continuously transform necessities into strategies, constraints into preferences' by assessing their own abilities and competence differently than men, and developing different ideas about what career paths are relevant for them. She argues that, 'if gender is salient in the setting, gender will impact the performance expectations men and women hold for themselves'. In line with Foschi (1996, 2000), she argues that because men expect that they will perform better, they will interpret their evaluations more leniently than women do, which means they are likely to overestimate their abilities, whereas women will underestimate their abilities. While this explains preferences for one career over another, the question is whether this holds for the smaller choices individuals make within the same career path – such as writing and publication practices.

The literature above suggests that the sites of negotiation women face on the path to professorship and the concrete writing practices that result will almost certainly have a gendered element. Barton and Hamilton (1998, p. 175) observe that ‘To the extent that men’s and women’s activities in the home and their networks in the neighbourhood are different, then their literacy practices will be different too’.

The question of why women might not apply for professorship thus seems more complex than merely being a question of not being able to generate enough publications, or facing institutional obstacles, or even lacking confidence. It seems that both ‘objective readiness’ (meeting the criteria) and ‘subjective readiness’ (confidence and motivation) are shaped by deeper issues of identity and gendered social structures that affect not only what women produce, but how that production is perceived (by themselves and others). Double standards and biases can both prevent women from evaluating their body of work as sufficiently ‘excellent’ to meet the criteria for professorship, and mean that their work actually is judged more harshly than men’s so that they genuinely have more to risk. Thus, readiness can be seen as resulting from a series of a complex negotiations that take place within a situated environment and bring issues of identity to the fore. While these general tensions are very well described in the literature cited above, little seems to be known about how women navigate these contexts when it comes to concrete writing and publication practices: what kind of work is prioritized? How do issues of identity and perceptions of institutional expectations come to the fore in the way women perceive and enact agency? The next chapter presents a theoretical framework for grasping how women might perceive the choices and negotiations they face in their writing practices, how they might be shaped by various levels of the institutional environment, and how we might begin to understand the gendered nature of these choices and negotiations.

3. Theoretical framework: Conceptualizing identity, institutional environment, and sites of negotiation

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the key theoretical ideas used in the formulation of the research questions and analysis of the data. I build explicitly on an academic literacies perspective on academic writing, which foregrounds the significance of social structures (including the unequal distribution of power within these social structures) and identity in the production of text. Rather than focusing on the sentence-level text itself, however, I bring the critical gaze of the academic literacies perspective to investigate how women on the path towards professorship navigate the writing process and prioritize some forms of writing over others.

The framework builds on and extends the theoretical framework I developed for my Institute Focused Study (Nygaard, 2014b) and later refined and published in Nygaard (2017). Specifically, it deepens my initial perspectives on identity, broadens the notion of context to comprise not only institutional setting, but also larger national and international contexts (particularly in relation to the prestige economy in academia), and extends productivity to encompass ‘readiness’. After first explaining the rationale for using the academic literacies perspective as a point of departure, this chapter unpacks the key theoretical components of this framework – identity, situated context, negotiations and agency – and describes how they will be used in the subsequent analysis.

Academic literacies as a framework for viewing research productivity as a social practice

Academic literacies theory springs from New Literacies Studies, which challenges the idea that literacy is autonomous (absolute and divorced from context), and argues that it is ‘ideological’ – that is, situated within a particular

socio-cultural context that views reading and writing in terms of a given ideology (Street, 1984). (See also Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Barton et al., 2000; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Street, 2003). The academic literacies tradition is firmly rooted in the student experience, and the demands they face to switch genres and writing styles from one context to another (Lea & Street, 2006). Arising in response to the ‘deficit’ perspective of literacy in higher education, where students are seen to be lacking core writing skills and programmes are intended to fix that deficit (Lea & Street, 1998, 2006; Lillis & Scott, 2007), academic literacies theory posits that students bring with them more than one kind of literacy. In line with a strand of academic literacies research that extends the focus to look at *faculty* writing (Lea & Stierer, 2009; Lillis & Curry, 2006a, 2010, 2018), my aim is to bring the academic literacies perspective to bear to better understand challenges women face in the production of publications relevant to professorship.

Unlike much academic literacies research, I do not use the written text as my focal point for analysis (e.g., I do not examine how text changes from one stage of revision to the next). My focal point is a further step back to decisions involved in transforming knowledge into outputs that are valued and counted differently within a given context. In Nygaard (2017), I use this perspective to present the argument that productivity is not simply a function of time and resources (as suggested in much of the productivity literature); rather, productivity can be seen as an outcome of sites of negotiation, where issues of identity and environmental expectation create tensions that are resolved through various writing practices that affect what kind of academic writing is produced and how much that writing ‘counts’ (see Figure 1). Based on what ‘counts’ in Norway, the key sites of negotiation I identify are genre (the type of output that was produced), prestige (how highly ranked the publication channel is, and how the writer conceptualizes quality), co-authorship (the extent to which authors collaborate with others), and prioritization of writing (how much writing is prioritized over other relevant tasks). The thick arrows feeding back from

productivity to perceptions of the self and the environment also suggest that how one's work 'counts' shapes perceptions of one's abilities as a writer and of the environment in which one is writing.

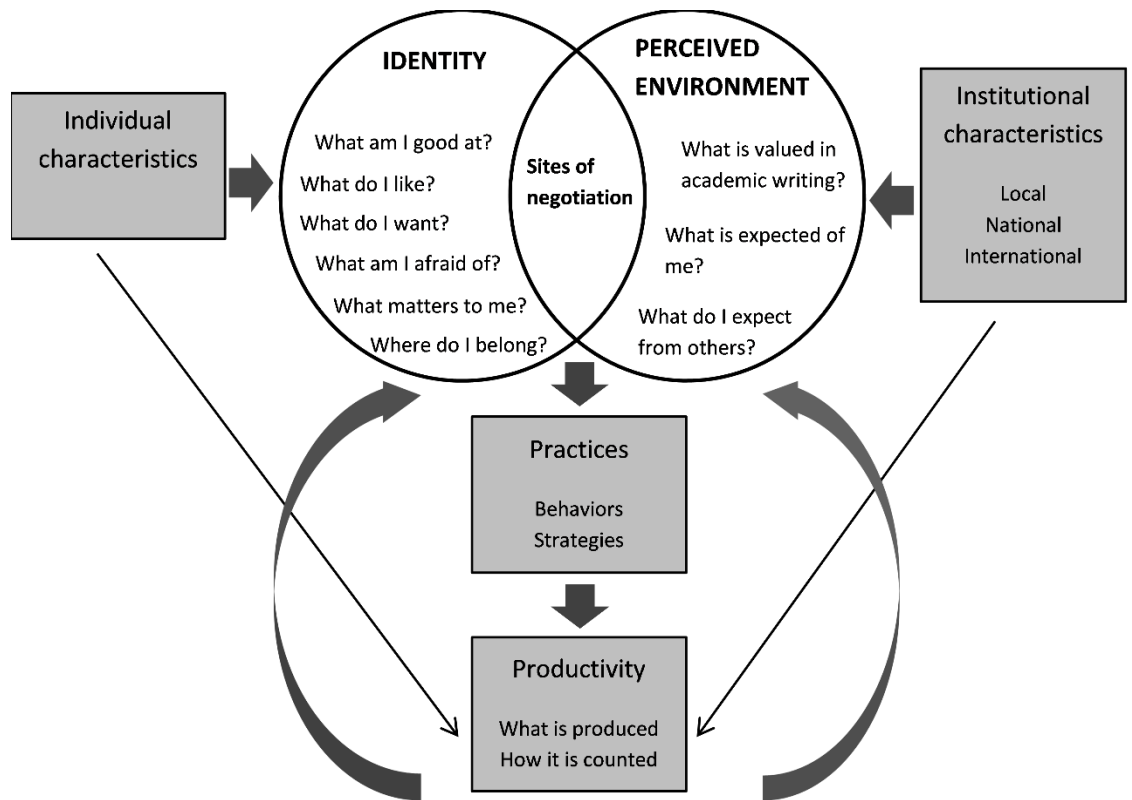


Figure 1. Model of research productivity using an academic literacies framework. From Nygaard 2017.

At the heart of the academic literacies perspective is the understanding that academic writing is not merely the transposition of thought to paper (where thinking has occurred in its entirety before writing), but that the act of writing takes place within a social context that profoundly informs this process. In this thesis, I build on the above model to explore how the institutional environment – and how it is embedded in the larger national context and international academic practices – interacts with gender to shape how researchers produce publications relevant for professorship. Below, I describe in more detail the key elements of this theoretical framework: identity, the (perceived) institutional environment, sites of negotiation, and agency.

Identity as positionality

Moje and Luke (2009) argue that literacy research draws from five main metaphors for understanding identity: identity as (1) difference, (2) sense of self/subjectivity, (3) mind or consciousness, (4) narrative, and (5) position. They describe 'identity-as-position' as bringing together all of the other metaphors, seeing identity as 'produced in and through not only activity and movement in and across spaces but also in the ways people are cast in or called to particular positions in interaction, time, and spaces and how they take up those positions' (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 430). This also reflects a conceptualization of identity as being performative: something you do, not just something you are (see, e.g., Butler, 1988; Gherardi, 1994; Goffman, 1959).

Academic literacies research, with its focus on socially situated power and agency, falls clearly into the 'identity-as-position' metaphor. Academic literacies research views the relationship between identity and writing as discursal: that is, writing both expresses identity and helps construct it (Ivanic, 1998, 2006; Lea & Stierer, 2009). Identity is also considered to be socially situated, mediated and produced, as well as multi-faceted and dynamic (Ivanic, 1998, 2006; Lea & Stierer, 2009; Moje & Luke, 2009), which means that the identity of the individual at least partly depends on the surrounding social structures.

In sociological perspectives on identity (see, e.g., S. Acker & Webber, 2006; Moje & Luke, 2009), emphasis is placed on the social groups to which an individual belongs. Group membership comprises both groups that one actively chooses to belong to (such as political, religious, or disciplinary groups), and groups that one belongs to by virtue of other individual characteristics about which one may have limited control, such as age, gender, social class, ethnicity, nationality, and so on (see, e.g., Ivanic, 1998).

In addition to group membership (which can be described as the sociological understanding of identity), individuals also describe their identities in terms of how they assess their own personality characteristics, attributes, or competencies

(which might be called a psychological understanding of identity) (Williams, 2018). This psychological understanding of identity includes not only ideas about the self that are directly relevant to identity as a writer ('I am not a good writer', 'I work well with others', and so on), but also ideas about what individuals fear or desire more broadly such as 'I am afraid of looking ignorant', or 'I want to achieve professorship before I turn 40' (Ivanic, 1998). Conceptions of success, failure, and meaningfulness are particularly relevant in this context (Sutherland, 2017).

Both group membership and beliefs about the self comprise what Ivanic (1998, p. 23) calls a writer's 'autobiographical' self: thoughts about the self that are relevant to the production of text. A person's understanding of their autobiographical self is not necessarily fixed. While beliefs about the self and understanding of group membership normally extend beyond a given context and are more or less persistent over time (Moje & Luke, 2009; Williams, 2018), they are not impervious to change – not least as a result of experience (Bandura, 1991). For example, it is not unusual for a young scholar to feel like a 'good writer' because they got good marks on their writing at the university, but to have that belief shaken after a few harsh peer reviews. The effect of publication experience on beliefs about the self (as well as perceptions of the environment) is depicted in Figure 1 through the thick curved arrows.

The role of the situated context in shaping identities and practices

As suggested above, beliefs about the self and identification with different groups are not impervious to context. Evidence suggests that culturally situated beliefs about groups can directly affect a person's assessment of their own individual characteristics and attributes (see, e.g., Spencer, Logel, & Davies, 2016). One way this occurs is through the idealized categories (Lauger & Densley, 2018), such as the 'ideal academic' or 'good mother' presented in the previous chapter (see, e.g., Lund, 2015). Idealized categories can vary widely across contexts: what makes a good mother in one cultural context may be different from what makes a good mother in another. This means that although

gender is one of the most salient identities throughout the world (Smith, 2017, p. 812), the idealized categories related to gender can vary according to the context in which women are situated – and how women are positioned within that context (Barry et al., 2006).

The different position of women in different contexts also means that gender might not always be perceived as the most salient group that individual women identify with; women are often simultaneously members of other marginalized groups (e.g., related to class, race, nationality, or religion), and within a given context, membership in these other groups might feel equally if not more salient (Marbley, Wong, Santos-Hatchett, Pratt, & Jaddo, 2011; D. Mitchell, Simmons, & Greyerbeihl, 2014).

Related to the notion of idealized categories are the implicit expectations or ‘unwritten rules’ that are associated with different contexts (see, e.g., the concept of ‘fields’ Bourdieu, 1985, 1991). Carspecken (1996, p. 37) writes that social systems, particularly external resources and constraints, can influence people’s ‘volitions’ by ‘helping to constitute their values, beliefs, and personal identity. With every act, actors draw upon cultural themes they are familiar with so that the act will uphold certain values, be consistent with certain beliefs, and reclaim certain social identities’. This is consistent with the academic literacies understanding that writing practices are developed as a result of engagement with specific social settings, and what is valued in those settings.

The prestige economy and multiple institutional environments in academia

In the context of academia, many of the most important ‘unwritten rules’ that determine how power and prestige is distributed relate to the so-called prestige economy (Blackmore & Kandiko, 2011; Howson et al., 2017). The prestige economy refers to an underlying power structure in academia that bestows prestige unevenly by placing greater value on some activities, outputs, and roles

than others (Blackmore & Kandiko, 2011; Coate & Howson, 2016; Fyfe et al., 2017). In the modern university context, academic publishing in high-ranked journals is perhaps the greatest source of prestige, which contributes to the prevailing view of research being a more prestigious activity than teaching. The cumulative effect of prestige is non-trivial (Coate & Howson, 2016, p. 573). A strong publication and citation record leads to a positive evaluation by committees, which may lead to both grants and promotion, as well as allow mobility (easily moving from one academic position to another, often across borders), network building (through increasing attractiveness as a partner), and agenda-setting activities (such as participation in committees to evaluate grant proposals or hire faculty in research positions). In this way, prestige is converted to power, which is used to accumulate more prestige. This so-called Matthew effect (Bol, de Vaan, & van de Rijt, 2018; Merton, 1968) has long been recognized in academia: the more prestige you have, the more you get. The reverse effect has also been identified, and in the context of gender is called the Matilda effect (Rossiter, 1993): the less prestige you have, the less likely you will be recognized for your work (i.e., men are likely to be given credit for the work women do).

Maintaining this social structure requires the complicity of not just researchers, but other agents – e.g., funders, project managers, peer-reviewers – who on a day-to-day level make decisions that preserve these conceptualizations of excellence and directly affect the access of other academics to prestige. One way this is accomplished is through the construction of metrics to measure excellence. The power of the number can disguise biases because it appears to be so neutral (Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018; O'Connor & O'Hagan, 2015), and thus reinforce inequalities (Adler & Harzing, 2009; Jain & Golosinski, 2009; Knights & Richards, 2003; Nkomo, 2009). As pointed out in the previous chapter, most bibliometric systems privilege journal articles (compared to books, book chapters, or any other output) published in English-language journals. This has a gendered effect when women are more concentrated in the

humanities and social sciences (which have a wider publishing profile), and when women are less mobile than men and thus more likely to publish in local languages (European Commission, 2016; Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018; Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018).

While the prestige economy underlies academia at the international level, the way in which it specifically manifests varies at both the national level and the institutional level. For example, while highly-cited journal articles published in English might be the international ‘gold standard’ for measuring excellence, some countries or some individual institutes might also place value on outputs published in other languages, genres other than journal articles, or activities other than academic publishing (such as teaching or supervision). The academic literacies perspective emphasizes that academics participate in *multiple* communities, each of which may conceptualize ‘success’ and ‘excellence’ differently. Sutherland (2017, p. 745) points out that academics ‘belong to, move between, juggle, construct, and are challenged and influenced by various communities simultaneously, from their immediate departments, to the university as a whole, to their international disciplines and the wider academic community’.

In this thesis, the institutional environment is conceptualized not only as the institute in which the academic is employed, but also the larger national context in which the institute is embedded and the international context that embodies ideas about the profession and discipline to which the academic belongs. Each of these contexts might have different ideas about what kinds of work and output matter (Sutherland, 2017). And even though academics might physically spend most time in the institute that employs them, they might feel a stronger loyalty to their discipline than their institute (Jenkins, 1996). This broader view of the institutional environment is suited for drawing attention to the potentially competing narratives about what ‘counts’ most in assessment of professor competence.

Agency: sites of negotiation and writing practices

The above sections have illustrated how I conceptualize identity and the situated environment, and the relationship between them in terms of how an individual understands what is expected from them either through the idealized categories of groups to which they belong, or through expectations of what ‘counts’ in the environments to which they belong. Academic literacies theory foregrounds how problematic it can be for writers to move from one environment to another, and how a person’s understanding of what is expected from them might be challenged regularly in the course of developing as an academic. Blackmore and Kandiko (2011, p. 408) write that ‘academics are constantly negotiating their roles and positions related to their intellectual work, their academic community and the structures of the department and university’. Different aspects of identity (established and developing) may clash with each other, or with the writer’s understanding of the environment(s) in which she operates. Even without moving from one context to another, the barrage of mixed messages academics receive create ‘multiple and possibly conflicting positions that people find themselves in on a daily basis’ (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 431).

In Nygaard (2017), I call these encounters ‘sites of negotiation’, a term I adapted from Flower (1994), where it was used to specifically refer to conflicting ideas about text (what constitutes good writing at the sentence level). (See also Paltridge et al., 2016, p. 42 for similar usage of this term.). I expand the use of the term to also refer to situations of ambiguity, tension, or contested space *behind* the production of sentence-level text that require the researcher to make a choice that will have an impact on measured productivity (primarily genre, prestige, collaboration, and priority, as described earlier in this chapter). Negotiations take place between one’s sense of identity and perceived expectations from the environment, but may also come from competing signals in the environment, or competing aspects of identity. For example, a researcher might feel that, as a young activist, they have an obligation to ensure that their research also benefits disadvantaged groups and thus may strive to write outputs

aimed at policymakers or the disadvantaged groups themselves; however, as a non-tenured academic, they may feel that they have to emphasize academic outputs (especially journal articles, perhaps) in order to secure a permanent position. In terms specifically related to gender, women may feel less comfortable about pursuing high-prestige activities (Howson et al., 2017; Lund, 2015, 2018).

When sites of negotiation emerge, writers have to make choices, and develop strategies for negotiating these different expectations. Blackmore and Kandiko (2011, p. 406) write that academics feel ‘a constant need to manage conflicting interests and to satisfy a variety of different expectations and needs, from oneself and others, within and beyond the disciplinary context. Those who are successful can work effectively amongst those tensions’. The way choices are made, and strategies develop, will depend largely on the sense of agency an individual has in the endeavour to make ‘personal goals fit within the institution’s expectations, or at least to minimize conflict between the two’ (Sutherland, 2017, p. 746). Agency in the context of writing can be understood as ‘the perception, drawn from experiences and dispositions, that the individual can, in a given social context, act, make a decision, and make meaning’ (Williams, 2018, p. 9). (See also O’Meara & Stromquist, 2015 for a similar definition.).

A person’s sense of agency can be both constrained and enabled by social structures (Bourdieu, 1985; Giddens, 1984). As a concrete example, having government subsidized childcare readily available can increase a person’s sense of agency when deciding whether and how much to work after having a child. Agency can also be situated in a particular aspect of one’s life, such as career or personal life (O’Meara & Stromquist, 2015). In other words, the same person might have a strong sense of agency at home, but not at work, or vice versa. Or perhaps they have a strong sense of agency when it comes to writing but not in other aspects of their work.

Importantly, agency is connected to power and prestige: the more status one has in a specific context, the more agency they perceive themselves as having. As informants in Lillis and Curry (2018) point out, an academic has a much greater sense of agency *after* having achieved professorship: that is, they may sense that they have a greater range of options than they had earlier. For example, they might take more risks in the way they research and write, perhaps defying convention to a greater degree, because they no longer risk being passed over for promotion and they have already established themselves as scholars. In this sense, agency is related to privilege.

While stopping short of seeing all decisions as being strategic or rational, the understanding of agency used here suggests that when faced with a need for negotiation, individuals will consider their options based on what is most salient for them: their ideas about what is expected from them, their own struggle to make meaning, and their ideas about what they are capable of doing. It is not given that environmental expectations will always determine practices. This is not only because an individual might actively challenge the status quo, but also because they might not entirely understand what is expected of them, or they simply find other practices more meaningful, or they do not feel capable of meeting those expectations and seek alternative solutions (Sutherland, 2017).

The concrete outcomes of negotiations are specific practices related to writing and publication. Depending on the individual's sense of agency, she will either feel like she has a wide range of options, or very few. Practices in this sense include not only the time she spends writing, but also the degree to which she goes about it as a collaborative venture, the decisions she makes about what to produce, and the efforts she makes to ensure quality (Nygaard, 2017). For example, she may feel she has no choice but to produce journal articles, and thus she sets out to do just that. She may feel that other tasks are more important than writing (and perhaps more meaningful), and thus abandon writing in favour of other activities. She may actively carve out time to write, or she may simply

wait until she feels inspired. And she may actively seek help in the writing process, or expect herself to manage everything alone.

On the path to professorship, women can be expected to face multiple sites of negotiation. The strategies they choose (based on their sense of agency), and their concrete writing practices, will ultimately determine their sense of ‘readiness’. In other words, the decisions they make about writing will ultimately result in a publications portfolio, and they will have to decide whether or not that portfolio makes them ‘ready’ to apply for promotion to professorship. The next chapter explains the methods I use to identify specific sites of negotiation and the writing practices that result.

4. Methodology: capturing situated sites of negotiation

This chapter describes the methodological approach of this study and how the methods are suited to answering the research questions: identifying aspects of the institutional context and identity that generate sites of negotiation related to readiness. While qualitative studies relying on semi-structured interviews are generally sufficient for grasping how individuals perceive their writing practices, they are not sufficient for understanding the role that the institutional environment plays in shaping these practices – largely because some of this influence, and the way power is distributed, might be taken for granted and therefore difficult to see. Although ‘ethnography’ is a contested term in the field of education (see, e.g., Paltridge et al., 2016, pp. 9-10), ethnographic approaches are recognized as being well suited for interrogating the culture of a specific institutional environment, and thus shedding light on how a specific institutional culture, and the way it is embedded in larger social structures, shape situated expectations for writing practices. Spending a sustained period in the field and drawing from multiple sources to better understand the context of the individual participants gives researchers a tool for understanding the forces that shape the perceptions of these individuals in a way that a standard semi-structured interview alone cannot (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Lillis, 2008).

Inspired by the references to critical ethnography in the academic literacies research (see, e.g., Lillis & Scott, 2007), I draw particularly from critical ethnographic traditions. What makes critical ethnography ‘critical’ is that it is explicit about its aim to right social wrongs (Anderson, 1989; Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2012). While traditional ethnography often focuses on giving the participants voice and describing a culture through their eyes, critical ethnography aims to read between the lines of what is spoken about, to examine the social structures in place and how they reinforce inequalities that might not be easy to see. Lillis (2008, p. 354) argues that this approach is particularly well suited for understanding ‘what is involved and at stake in academic writing’ – or

in the case of this research, understanding what is involved and at stake for women on the path towards professorship.

Focusing specifically on ethnographic approaches to research on academic writing, Paltridge et al. (2016) argue that the main criteria for ethnographic approaches in the field of education are participation; immersion; reflection, reflexivity, and representation; thick description; an active participation in ethics; and empowerment and understanding. Methodologies that adopt ethnographic perspectives use the principle of situatedness to inductively add complexity to our understanding of social settings (Blommaert & Jie, 2010). With these criteria in mind, I combine ethnographic insight derived from immersion in the context with a series of semi-structured interviews conducted over an extended period (three years). Below, I discuss my positionality as an insider, the ethical challenges related to insiderness, how I moved from insider knowledge to ethnographic insight, how the interviews were conducted, and how the data was analyzed.

[Insiderness and outsidership: reflections on positionality](#)

Giazitzoglu and Payne (2018) describe three levels of insiderness in ethnographic research: (1) lived familiarity with respect to age, gender, race and/or social class (i.e., identity markers), (2) ability to ‘talk the talk’, that is, an understanding of the unwritten rules of the game, and (3) ability to ‘walk the walk’, that is, being a full participant in the environment in question. In each of these areas, I straddle a line between insider and outsider.

With respect to identity markers, I have much in common with the participants – first and foremost as a woman. We are also all white, and like most of my participants I come from a middle-class background. However, I am about fifteen years older than most of the participants and I am not Norwegian. Most (but not all) of the participants in my study are in their mid-30s, while I am in my early 50s, and most (but not all) were born and raised in Norway, while I am an immigrant from the US (although I have lived in Norway since 1986).

Because gender-related constraints and opportunities, as well as social

expectations, change over time and are different across different geographical contexts, what being a woman has meant for me is likely to be different than what it has meant for most of my participants.

With respect to ‘talking the talk’ and ‘walking the walk’, I again straddle the line between insiderness and outsiderhood. I have been employed at PRIO since 2008 as Special Adviser on Project Development and Publications, and it is unlikely that any other single person at PRIO knows as much as I do about how researchers across the entire organization approach academic writing and publication. My role is to support all PRIO researchers in academic writing and publication, project development, and professional development (Nygaard, 2014a). I provide this support by giving individual feedback on specific pieces of academic writing (primarily journal articles and grant proposals), holding courses on academic writing and presentation skills, and working at the management level to develop institutional support systems. All contact with me is voluntary; I do not have any approval or evaluative function, merely support and advisory. I am situated organizationally in the Director’s Office group, and in 2016 – partly as a result of the work I carried out through the POWER project – was promoted to the Leader Team with an overarching responsibility for coordinating professional development initiatives (in addition to my existing support functions). Thus, as much as I know about PRIO and how it works, I am nevertheless a member of the support staff, and not a researcher. Until I embarked on this doctoral journey, I had never carried out my own academic research for publication – only supported others in doing so. Moreover, despite having raised children in Norway, I did not undertake my doctoral work until my children were in their late teens, which means I never had to balance raising children with developing as an academic. Giazitzoglu and Payne (2018) write that those who ‘talk the talk’ look on, while those who ‘walk the walk’ participate: I do a combination of both. I am enough of an insider to have a good starting place for interrogating the invisible, implicit rules of the game, but I am

not enough of a player myself to fully understand and take for granted how researchers understand and deliberate sites of negotiation.

In addition to reflecting on my insiderness, I also reflected on the different roles I was playing throughout this research. Conducting research on my own organization, and on participants that are not only colleagues (and friends) but also participants in a project that I am leading, clearly poses a challenge not only to objectivity (Coghlan & Brannick, 2014), but also to juggling the multiple hats I have worn throughout this research. My various roles as adviser, project leader, and researcher overlapped to a large degree, but they were not always the same. The difference between them would often lie not in the activities I was carrying out, but in the nature of my gaze in that moment.

As a special adviser, my concern was how PRIO can provide an optimal level of support for its research staff, male or female: what structures should be in place, and which individuals need tailored intervention and how. My focus was not always on promotion to professorship, but was rather divided more agnostically between helping researchers develop research projects, build professional competence, and write about and publish their research. My work in this respect is practical: designing workshops and retreats, providing coaching and editorial support, and so on.

As leader of the POWER project, my attention was still on practical interventions, but focused exclusively on women in the staff category *senior researcher* (that is, those who had finished their PhD but not yet completed professorship), and on building professor competence. At times, it felt unnatural for me to focus only on this group and the objective of achieving professorship. However, as leader of the POWER project, I had an obligation to the funder, the Research Council of Norway. Wearing this hat meant that my priorities were to ensure that the activities I organized were those most likely to make a positive difference in increasing the number of women professors, which sometimes detracted from the more generalized support I normally provide in my day-to-day work as a special adviser.

As a researcher, my gaze was drawn away from the practical interventions and towards better understanding obstacles to productivity and professorship. This meant that the practical interventions I introduced through the POWER project were only interesting to the extent that they provided another platform for discussing writing practices and gendered social structures. When wearing my researcher hat, I viewed the POWER project as a metaphorical stone dropped into a pond, where my interest was less in the stone itself than what happened to the pond. I was less interested in how many women among the participants ended up applying for professorship than I was in their reflections on what matters to them in terms of their writing, publication, and career development.

It would be naïve to think that it was possible for me to separate my different roles completely. Balancing my desire to ‘help’ with my desire to ‘understand’ was a constant challenge throughout this doctoral project (see below for further reflection on this). Moreover, it would also be naïve to think that introducing practical interventions related to productivity and professorship would have no impact on how my participants thought about writing and professorship. Similarly, I was cognizant that studying a social phenomenon is likely to change it, which meant that looking intently at how researchers prioritize writing practices was very likely to change the way they prioritize them. For all these reasons, I needed to maintain a high degree of reflexivity throughout the entire project. One way I did this was to discuss openly with the participants how I was thinking about these issues, giving them an opportunity to reflect on them as well. I did not expect this to prevent me from blending my various roles, or to enable me to detect how my participants would have thought about these issues had the POWER project or my research not existed. Rather, the discussions we had about this, both during and outside the formal interviews, allowed for deeper reflection about the relationship between writing practices and institutional structures – both big and small – including how simply having regular conversations about priorities might change how you think about them.

In short, my insiderness had both advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, I had almost unrestricted access to knowledge about the situated nature of the writing practices at PRIO (and I describe how I moved from insider knowledge to ethnographic insight later in this chapter). Indeed, this kind of insiderness is often considered essential for carrying out ethnographic research. Giazitzoglu and Payne (2018, p. 1155), for example, describe ‘success’ as when the participants seem to ‘forget’ that the researcher is present as a researcher; they claim that participants act more naturally, data is more authentic and rich, and ‘theoretical interpretations about participants were more likely to be based on participants’ natural actions, rather than on participants’ actions modified to suit him as an observer’. However, insiderness also entails serious complications related to ethics and making the familiar strange. These are described in more detail below.

Ethics and the challenges of insider research

In critical ethnographic research, the primary ethical responsibility is to the people who are the subject of research, and is not simply limited to protecting confidentiality, but also extends to acting in their best interests to address issues of social justice. Madison (2012, pp. 97-98) writes, ‘As critical ethnographers, we are compelled to act morally; in other words, we feel a responsibility to make *a difference in the world* – to contribute to the quality of life and to the enlivening possibilities of those we study’.

Acting as an advocate, according to Madison (2012), first and foremost requires being aware of what you are advocating. From the beginning, I knew that I did not want to ‘push’ the women in my study to become professors if they were not (yet) ready, but rather my advocacy would be focused on communicating to the wider environment some of the everyday challenges they faced. My interest in ‘sites of negotiation’ came from a frustration with the productivity literature not taking into account the varying conditions under which different academics conduct research and produce academic writing, and that what is ‘counted’ represents only a small part of what academics are expected to do. Both in my

practice and my research, I aim to be an advocate for not only women, but for many different groups that for structural reasons have different choices to make and whose performance, by traditional measures, seems to fall behind more privileged groups. Addressing the problem of why women (and some women more than others) might have less access to the high-prestige position of professorship than others is part of this advocacy.

The nature of this project, and my role as insider, created some ethical challenges when it came to balancing my role as advocate for social change, on the one hand, and protecting my informants as individuals on the other. To best advocate for social change, I would have to reveal personal details about my informants (perhaps examining other aspects of their identity than those related to gender or academia and threatening anonymity); to protect my informants, however, I would have to reveal minimal detail. The main strategy I developed to ensure that I truly represented the best interests of my informants was to involve them as much as possible in the development of the final product through a phase of extended member-checking (Carspecken, 1996).

After the first draft of this thesis was finished in its entirety, all participants were given the opportunity to read it through and comment: not just check their own quotes (and the context in which they appear), but comment on everything I wrote about being a woman and a researcher at PRIO.⁴ The extended member-checking served a dual purpose. First, it ensured that I was not revealing too much (or too sensitive) information about each individual. Because the setting of the study is identified and the number of participants in the study is relatively small, it was close to impossible to fully anonymize the data. Even with the use of a pseudonym and minimal identifiers, individual informants might be identifiable to someone with some knowledge of PRIO. Since complete anonymization was impossible to guarantee, I had to make sure that the

⁴ See Paltridge et al., 2016, p. 37 for a description of how others have used a similar approach in ethnographic research on writing.

participants felt comfortable with how much I revealed and what was attributed to them (Hockey & Forsey, 2012, p. 77).

Second, and perhaps more important, the extended member-checking also served to enrich the research. The participants all have a high degree of analytical skill and reflect regularly on the kinds of issues addressed in this research, thus it was important to me that they could engage with how the entire argument was unfolding, particularly with respect to my interpretation of ideas about what is expected from them as women and academics. Madison (2012, p. 141) points out that the writing of ethnography can give too much meaning to some things, and not enough to others. Introducing an extended round of member-checking after the first draft of the entire thesis was finished, where the writing tells the story, allowed me to further develop the story in a kind of co-creation of knowledge, making them part of a ‘long conversation’ (see, e.g., Lillis & Curry, 2018 where this approach is also used).

In addition to balancing the need for contextual detail versus protecting individuals, I was aware of and anticipated many other ethical challenges related to conducting ethnographic research in my own place of work. To mitigate some of the potentially difficult ethical dilemmas, I adopted the following conscious strategies.

First, although informed consent was given by each participant (see appendices 4–7 for ethical approval forms, sample consent form, and information given to the informants), I was aware that it was difficult for participants to know which hat I was wearing outside of the formal interview context, and thus I did not use any of the observations I made regarding individual participants outside the interview setting as data (with the exception of one vignette presented in Chapter 5 where the individuals involved gave permission). If I made a relevant observation about a participant outside the context of the formal interviews, I would note it down and ask them about it in the interview (for example, if I observed them talking to a co-author about an article I knew they were struggling with, I might ask in the interview, ‘I saw you talking to x about the

article. Can I follow up on that here?’). If they did not want to speak about it, then I disregarded the incident (Coghlan & Brannick, 2014). I thus treated informed consent as dynamic and continuous (Madison, 2012, p. 132), and limited the observations that counted as data to the general institutional environment. Moreover, to avoid the participants feeling pressured to take part in the research component in order to benefit from the interventions on offer through the POWER project, I informed them that they could withdraw from the research component at any time without jeopardizing their participation in the POWER project.

Second, I was aware that immersing myself in and participating in an environment *as a researcher* would be problematic when I was already immersed in and participating in that same environment as a practitioner. I made sure that everyone in the institute understood that I had a researcher role as well. This was especially relevant when I sought out explicit information about the institute (such as whether women took on more non-academic tasks than men), even if I would normally have direct access to this information in my capacity as special adviser. If I had a question about the institutional environment that I could not find the answer to through public documents, I would discuss with both the director and whoever had access to the information I needed about the potential sensitivity of the information in the context of research; I used only data that was anonymized and at the aggregate level.

A third challenge was that I was asking women who were already very busy to begin with to participate in some lengthy interviews. For this reason, I wanted to make sure that the interviews had intrinsic value for the informants, beyond the possibility of the research leading to an improved situation at PRIO. Virtually all informants commented afterwards that the interviews were helpful because they provided an opportunity to think through their workload and articulate their priorities. During the member-checking process, one participant described the interviews as ‘emancipatory’, noting that it wasn’t just the discussion, but the preparation for it, that helped her think through her own priorities. This was

because she felt it wasn't an issue of getting it right or wrong, but rather examining how she really does prioritize without fear of judgment.

A fourth challenge was that sometimes, within the context of a formal interview, we would touch upon a sensitive subject. Even though the informants had signed consent forms giving me permission to use the interview data, I discounted from the data comments that I thought would be too sensitive. While the participant may have felt comfortable talking about the subject during the interview, I was aware that they might have been simply comfortable talking to *me* about the issue, and not thinking about how it would be used in the research and writing.

Finally, there was sometimes a tension between what was told to me in confidence as a researcher, and what I should communicate further or act on as a practitioner. From the beginning, I made the decision to keep what was told to me in the course of an interview confidential, even if I felt that breaking confidence would be in the best interest of the individual. For example, if an informant disclosed that she was struggling with something that I felt could be addressed at the institutional level, I could not act unless I had her explicit permission to do so. There was more than one occasion when I asked a participant if they would like me to follow up on something, and they declined, and thus the particular problem was not addressed.

Moving from insider knowledge to ethnographic insight

Moving from insider knowledge to ethnographic insight for me was about shifting from *passive* observation of PRIO from the perspective of my own positionality to *active* inquiry about the viewpoints of others. A core strategy in ethnographic approaches is to make the strange familiar: that is, to look at an entirely different culture and draw connections to one's own. But when the researcher is already an insider, the researcher then attempts to render the familiar strange by examining taken-for-granted practices through the eyes of an outsider (Paltridge et al., 2016, p. 42). The critical ethnographic gaze also brings an imperative to better understand where these practices come from and how they serve to recreate patterns of social injustice (Carspecken, 1996; Madison,

2012) – issues I had not necessarily reflected on before conducting this research. Shifting to an active inquiry thus meant purposefully setting out to articulate the culture at PRIO and identify the institutional features that intentionally (or unintentionally) place value on some practices more than others, and then to link these institutional features to larger social structures. To do this, I drew from a variety of sources and used multiple strategies to challenge the insider knowledge I started with and develop genuine ethnographic insight (Paltridge et al., 2016, p. 9). Throughout the project, I took ethnographic field notes and kept a journal to reflect on my observations of institutional life at PRIO (see appendices 8 and 9).

One way I made the familiar strange was through juxtaposition: comparing other environments to what I knew (or thought I knew) about PRIO. Every year, I hold about 10–12 courses on writing for publication in different universities in Norway, different research institutes, and other research-producing settings. I also run 1–2 writing retreats per year, with participants not only from PRIO, but also other institutions in Norway and abroad. Both the courses and retreats include discussions about writing practices where we talk openly about fears, desires, and experiences around writing. It was through these discussions, for example, that I realized that what was a common experience for many researchers in Norway – the difficulty of writing in English – was seldom a theme at PRIO. This led me to go back to PRIO and examine the institutional features through the lens of language and reflect on how English is used at PRIO (which led to the publication of Nygaard, 2019). In other words, exposure to different environments, and individuals from different environments, triggered questions about PRIO and in that way helped make PRIO ‘strange’.

A second strategy was to deliberately keep the interviews only partly structured, so I could let the participants follow their own train of thought. When I was ‘surprised’ by something they said about how they saw PRIO, or about being a woman in Norway, I would not only dig further, but reflect on it afterwards. In addition to making notes about each interview, I kept a journal recording my

thoughts about what was said, and what I found surprising. I would reflect on my own reactions and use my developing insight as a point of departure for further inquiry – not only through subsequent interviews, but also additional reading and probing into the institutional environment. Much of this reflection involved remaining mindful of power and prestige – paying attention to not only what was communicated, but also the position from which it was communicated. For example, I noted that aspects of the organization might be considered unproblematic or positive for those who benefited from it, but highly problematic for those who did not.

A third strategy was to ask questions about things I thought I already knew the answer to because I was aware that my insider knowledge came about through my own situated context. For example, I ‘knew’ that people at PRIO found grant writing to be stressful. But upon reflection, I realized that I ‘knew’ this because they come to me for help close to the deadline when everyone, including me, is stressed. When I asked about grant writing in the interviews, outside the context of a looming deadline, I realized that very many, if not most, enjoyed the process of developing a project – except for the final stages just before the deadline, which is when I usually come into the picture.

Finally, transitioning from passive knowledge about PRIO to active ethnographic insight took place through the writing, and involving the participants in the writing process through member-checking. Simply putting down on paper what I initially thought of as ‘background’ (and what eventually became Chapter 5) became a complex act of articulating and challenging my insider knowledge. Deciding even what publicly available background facts to include or leave out represented difficult deliberations about what most meaningfully conveyed the ethos of PRIO. Simple statements such as ‘PRIO is part of the institute sector’ caused me to look more deeply at what that means. Particularly when it came to statements about what ‘matters’ at PRIO, I questioned everything I wrote: how do I know if this is true? How would I know if it were not true? I dug through PRIO annual reports and strategy documents,

PRIO web pages, reports on PRIO and the institute sector written by the Research Council of Norway, and so on, to identify the historical threads of PRIO's institutional identity and how it compares to the universities, as well as other institutes. For information not publicly available, I asked direct questions to those at PRIO who were in a position to know the answer: for example, I asked about the gender balance in recent committees to the person who had this overview.

During the writing process, I became even more observant of everyday life at PRIO, looking more critically at what is rewarded and celebrated at PRIO (both formally and informally), and what is held up as problematic. Even before sharing the first full draft of this thesis with all the participants, I openly shared my reflections on PRIO and the gendered nature of academia with the participants, and anyone else at PRIO who asked. People (both participants and others at PRIO, both men and women) would often stop by my office and ask about the research, and then share their own thoughts. While these discussions were not treated as data, in combination with the formal round of member-checking, they shaped how I extrapolated a dominant narrative, and in what ways I refined and nuanced this narrative.

[Accessing lived experience through semi-structured interviews](#)

In explaining the significance of interviews for ethnographic research, Hockey and Forsey (2012, p. 83) write that 'Interviews conducted with an "ethnographic imaginary" ... commit the research to understanding the lived experience of the participant/interlocutor by asking about and listening closely to the beliefs, the values, the material conditions and structural forces that underwrite the socially patterned behaviours of all human beings, along with the meanings people attach to these conditions and forces'. The purpose of the interviews I conducted in this research was to understand the lived experiences of the women in this project, particularly how they perceived sites of negotiation in writing practices, the institutional environment, their own identities, and their sense of agency. In this way, I was able to gain access to what is otherwise difficult to observe: how

these women understood what was at stake, constructed meaning, and negotiated various and sometimes conflicting priorities. By repeating interviews with the same individuals over the course of the three years, I could gain insight into how perceptions change over time or are affected by various experiences, as well as minimizing the limitation that arises from taking as ‘truth’ what might have been said at any one isolated moment in time (Lillis, 2008, p. 361).

Those who participated in the interviews for this study were the same as those in the POWER project: all women at PRIO who have completed a PhD but not yet become research professors. (Note that the project comprised *all* women in this category to observe the entire range of experiences around readiness – also from those who are recent graduates and were not likely to be thinking about promotion at all). Over the course of the project, this group included a total of 14 individuals.⁵ Because the interviews took place throughout the three-year project period, the composition of this group was continually in flux: two attained professorship during the period of the project and thus left the group; two went on extended leaves of absence; and two joined the project later because they were either new to PRIO or had just completed their doctorate. Nine were interviewed for the first time during the Institute Focused Study phase of this research, where the interviews focused more generally on perceptions of the writing and research process, without an emphasis on gender and professorship (these interviews were re-analyzed for this study). In addition to the nine preliminary interviews, I carried out 26 new interviews for the express purpose of this study. There was a core group of 8 interviewees that were interviewed at least three times. (See Appendix 10 for schedule of interviews). Interviews lasted about an hour each, and all interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The interviews are inspired by what Lillis (2008, 2009) calls cyclical ‘writer-focused talk around text’, where informants are encouraged to comment and reflect on issues beyond writing. Rather than using a specific text as a point of

⁵ All participants were white, although not all were Norwegian citizens.

departure, however, we talked about the production of multiple texts – and why they prioritized some over others. In this writer-focused talk, I encouraged the participants to comment and reflect on topics that went beyond the production of academic writing for publication, and into topics such as their own professional development goals, what they feel is expected of them as an academic and a person, and so on (see Appendix 11 for sample interview).

For the preliminary interviews that took place in 2013, I asked each participant to bring with them something they wrote that they were satisfied with, and something they were not satisfied with (see Appendix 12). We used this as a point of departure for talking systematically through each stage of the writing process – from conceptualizing the research project, to writing, to publishing.

For the interviews that took place in 2014–2015, I focused on publication and professional development goals, how participants understood the nature of the challenges they face, and how they prioritized and carried out various writing practices (see Appendix 13). The participants themselves could choose the site of the interview. Most preferred to be interviewed in their own offices, while a few preferred to be interviewed in my office. The interviews for this study had three main parts:

First, I asked the participants to tell me about the writing projects they were currently working on, what made each project important or meaningful, how these might fit in to their overall portfolio, how they prioritized them (both relative to one another and relative to other tasks), and how they intended to carve out the time required. The aim here was to avoid sweeping generalizations (such as, ‘I have a lot to do’), but rather to be as specific as possible about writing and what sites of negotiation emerged. Some informants prepared for the interviews by creating an overview in a Word or Excel document, others pointed to existing lists they normally keep, and still others would simply lean back and think through what they are working on. Although the focus of the study was on writing practices, by deliberately talking about workload beyond research and writing, I learned more about how writing fit in among the other tasks that

researchers felt obliged to carry out. I listened specifically for reasons why one project might be prioritized over another to understand mechanisms for making the small everyday choices that lead to some things getting finished and published while other things languish.

Because I repeated the same interview with most participants at least one more time over the course of the project, I was able to compare what they said they would prioritize with what got finished, which provided information about how various pressures are negotiated. When we went through the list of priorities during the interview and I noted discrepancies about what was prioritized in the previous interview, I would ask about it. I explained that the purpose was not to ‘catch’ them in saying they prioritize one thing while completing something else, but to look honestly at the kinds of things that get done or don’t get done, and why. As Hockey and Forsey (2012, p. 76) write, ‘...interviewees are more than able to show an awareness of the gaps between what they say and what they do; they highlight the contradictions of their social world in interesting ways’.

In the second part of the interviews, I asked them more generally about what challenges they faced, and what kinds of interventions could help. The aim of this part of the interview was to see how they conceptualized not only obstacles, but also their own agency. It was particularly during this phase of the interview that I used my insider knowledge to ask follow-up questions. For example, when I asked about things that might get in the way of writing, a couple of the informants failed to mention some time-consuming committee work that I knew they were involved in. This knowledge allowed me not only to ask about that work, but also ask why they failed to mention it.

I left the third part of the interview open for general reflections on women in academia. Here, I was particularly interested in reflections on the academic culture at PRIO, sub-cultures within PRIO, sub-cultures within Norway, and cultures outside of Norway. In combination with the other responses, this line of discussion gave me insight into how each informant viewed the situated nature

of academic writing and publishing, as well as to what extent gender might play a role in shaping environmental constraints, opportunities, and expectations.

Analyzing the data

Observing and interviewing participants over a three-year period gave me access to both what people say and what people do, allowing me to explore the differences between them – what Heath and Street (2008, p. 16) describe as ‘contradictions between what is believed and expressed and what is actually done and is often inexpressible’. As described above, the purpose here was not to identify failure to perform adequately, but rather to acknowledge that in between theory and practice lie the negotiations we make every day as practicing scholars – negotiations that might not always reflect a consistent set of values or priorities. What they do reflect is the humanity of the researcher and the multiple layers in the life of a scholar: the various aspects of identity, the long reach of the various environments they belong to, their own sense of agency, and the visions of who they want to be – or do not want to be.

To get at these multiple layers, I analyzed my ethnographic insights about the institutional environment in the light of the interview data, and vice versa. Lillis (2008, p. 356) points out that in using ethnographic approaches as a method, ‘a key aim is the weaving together of data in order to understand a particular phenomenon’. I started by analyzing the interview data based on the six-step approach to thematic analysis of qualitative research described by Braun and Clarke (2006): (1) read through the interviews, (2) generate initial codes, (3) identify themes, (4) review, (5) establish theme names, and (6) produce report. I first read through all the interviews on print outs, concentrating on one person’s interviews at a time, noting down a set of initial codes. Then using NVivo software, I went through the interviews digitally, coding them using the initial set of codes and adding other codes as needed. (See Appendix 14 for list of codes). To identify the larger themes, I analyzed the NVivo reports for each code, making notes of what I was seeing – both common viewpoints, and

viewpoints that differed from the others. I then manually (without using NVivo) set about compiling an initial set of themes.

In reviewing and refining the themes, I combined the interview data with perspectives from my ethnographic observations. I first worked ‘bottom up’ by taking a point of departure in the themes emerging from the interview data and analyzing them in the light of my ethnographic insights about the institutional environment and theoretical perspectives. I then worked ‘top down’ by thinking systematically through features of the institutional environment and the theoretical framework to interrogate the interview data. I then attempted to name these themes and describe these themes by drawing holistically from all the data. This ‘report’ went into the first full version of the thesis and was commented on by the participants.

This recursive practice of working bottom-up and top-down – of going back and forth between interviews, observations, more fact-checking about the institute, writing, member-checking, and more writing – was intended to increase what Cho and Trent (2006) call transactional validity. They define transactional validity as ‘an interactive process between the researcher, the researched, and the collected data that is aimed at achieving a relatively higher level of accuracy and consensus by means of revisiting facts, feelings, experiences, and values or beliefs collected and interpreted’ (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 321). In the final draft, the presentation of the data was refined yet again based on input from the participants and by organizing the results to more closely reflect the theoretical framework used in the analysis. While the final version of both data chapters weave together different types of data, the first (Chapter 5 in this thesis) relies primarily on my ethnographic insight to shed light on the institutional context, whereas the second (Chapter 6) relies more exclusively on interview data to shed light on sites of negotiation and agency.

Strengths and limitations of the research design

One clear limitation of the research design is that I interview only women, which makes it impossible to compare their experiences with the experiences of

men at PRIO. This limitation is related to the project's roots in the POWER project, which comprised only women at PRIO. The absence of men, however, did make it possible to analyze women's experiences in more detail.

A second limitation is that the small sample size and relative homogeneity of the group, in combination with the challenges of anonymization, prohibited explicitly addressing intersectionality. All the women in the sample are white, and only one explicitly identified herself as coming from a working-class background (although this did not come up in a context relevant to readiness). The research was designed to foreground aspects of identity related to gender (mother, feminist, etc.) and being an academic (peace researcher, political scientist, geographer, etc.), although I did listen for other aspects of identity that emerged throughout the interviews and paid close attention in my observations at PRIO. Based on both the interview data and my observations, the only relevant category I could have analyzed in more detail was nationality (two were non-Norwegian citizens from a European country, and two had immigrant background from a European country). However, concerns about anonymity prohibited this line of analysis. I nonetheless bring up issues of race and class and how they might relate to privilege in the discussion chapter.

Finally, the situated nature of this study (and the homogenous sample) preclude generalizable claims such as 'women in general face the following sites of negotiation'. However, the ethnographic approach allows me to instead dig as deeply as possible into the situated context to better understand how gender and institutional setting interact and explicate 'the unique, idiosyncratic meanings and perspectives constructed by individuals, groups, or both who live/act in a particular context' (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 328). By remaining as truthful as possible about the situated context, I hope that it will be easier for readers to see what aspects might be transferable to their own contexts.

5. What does it mean to be a woman at PRIO? Situating gender and professorship

As described in the theoretical framework, the academic literacies perspective sees writing as highly situated, taking place within an institutional environment that presents a complex network of opportunities and constraints, support systems, and overlapping and sometimes conflicting expectations. Moreover, individuals are also part of a larger society that also sets expectations beyond academia. This chapter is the first of two analysis chapters and addresses what it means to be a researcher at PRIO and a woman in Norway. It describes the institutional environment at PRIO, and how it is embedded in national and international contexts. It then examines how this environmental context shapes ideas about how gender and academia should be performed at PRIO. I interweave objective description (facts and statistics from publicly available sources) with my own ethnographic insight and perspectives from my informants.

PRIO's institutional identity and branding: What makes PRIO 'PRIO'

PRIO was established in 1959 to provide the Norwegian government with evidence-based input that could be used to create a more peaceful world. From the beginning, it struggled to be taken seriously as an academic institute. In a comprehensive historical account of PRIO, Forr (2009) writes that even PRIO's founder, Johan Galtung, said that the term 'peace research' did not sound very academic. Forr describes how in the 1970s, PRIO had a reputation for being a place for hippies and left-wing radicals, and was viewed with suspicion by the government. In 1979, two of its researchers were charged with treason (for publishing information about the military that was open to the public, but had not yet been systematized).

PRIO in the 2010s bears little resemblance to its radical-left roots. Although its mission is still to conduct research on ‘the conditions for peaceful relations between states, groups and people’, it spends more time collaborating with the Norwegian ministries of foreign affairs and defence rather than working against them. Roughly 30% of PRIO’s funding comes directly from these ministries (and the rest from competitive grants).

And it has worked hard to establish its academic credentials: A 2018 evaluation of the 34 social science research-producing settings in Norway (including university departments) found PRIO to be one of only five entities ranked as world-class (‘excellent’) in terms of academic output, and the only representative of the institute sector on the list. PRIO also owns and houses two top-ranked international relations journals, *Journal of Peace Research* and *Security Dialogue*, and PRIO researchers act as editors of *Journal of Military Ethics* and *International Area Studies Review*.⁶

In the 60 years since its foundation, PRIO has evolved from being a handful of intellectuals in a basement debating the meaning of peace, where salaries were the same for everyone and everyone took turns manning the reception, to being a top-ranked academic institute with over 60 full-time equivalent researchers, about 15 full-time support staff, and a satellite organization in Cyprus.

Located in a renovated building in the centre of downtown Oslo, PRIO’s current headquarters reflect its modern identity as a peace research institute that speaks to both academics and policy makers, as well as the general public. Themes of peace and conflict are visible throughout the entire building (see Figures 2–10). All meeting areas have names related to peace research: Gandhi Hall, Philosophers’ Hall, Pioneer’s Hall, the Peace Room, the War Room, and so on. Every floor displays thematic artwork, such as stylized portraits of philosophers, thinkers, and politicians who have contributed to knowledge about peace and

⁶ See <https://www.prio.org/Journals/>

conflict. It is simply not possible to forget that PRIO is dedicated to the study of peace and conflict.

The interior design emphasizes not only the nature of the research, but also the output related to that research: publications by the staff at PRIO are highly visible in the areas of PRIO where visitors are most likely to congregate.

Approaching the reception at PRIO, visitors are met with a front desk that displays the books written by PRIO researchers, PRIO reports, and PRIO journals. The hall leading to the largest meeting room showcases PRIO policy briefs, recently published academic articles, and newspaper clippings of contributions PRIO researchers have made to public debates.

PRIO has a highly visible branding: the PRIO logo figures prominently in both the reception area and the main meeting room where most of the public seminars take place. The seminar room is also painted in the PRIO colour palette to reinforce the brand. The logo and colouring are also visible on all stationery and templates, such as the PRIO PowerPoint template that is supposed to be used in all presentations given by PRIO staff members.



Figure 2. Detail of the PRIO reception area. The PRIO logo is highly visible behind the front desk, and the desk area is covered with books produced by PRIO staff. The shelves below display annual reports, PRIO papers, and recent copies of the PRIO journals.



Figure 3. After guests pass the reception, they are guided by signs (with the PRIO logo) to the main seminar rooms, both of which have clearly peace-related names: Philosophers' Hall, and the Peace Room. Both rooms are located in the 'Nobel Wing'.



Figure 4. Heading down the Nobel Wing towards Philosophers' Hall and the Peace Room, visitors are met with displays of PRIO publications (detailed in figures 4–6).

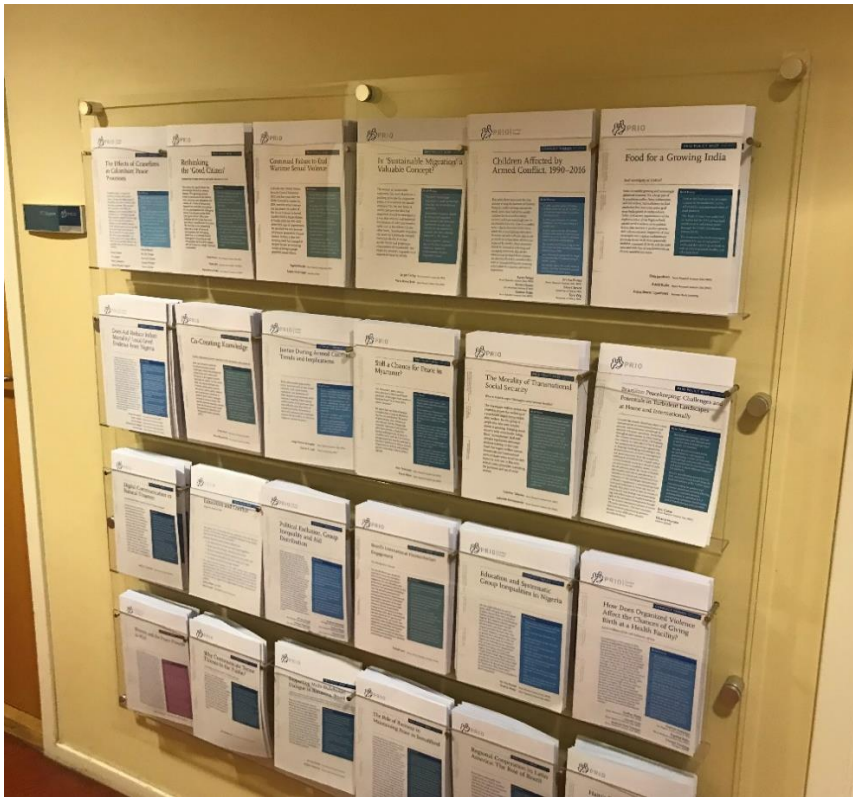


Figure 5. Detail of display of PRIO Policy Briefs.

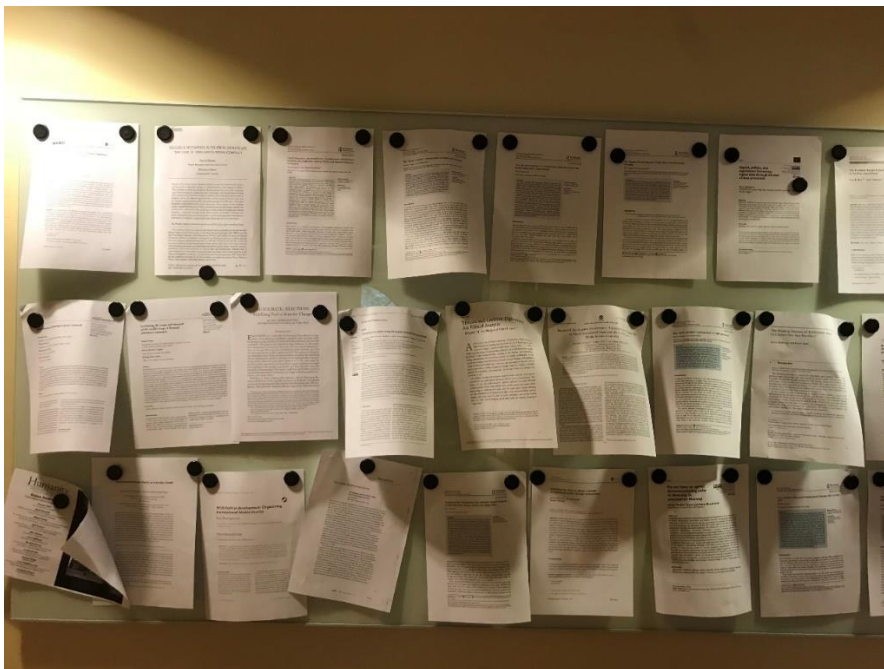


Figure 6. Detail of display of recent journal articles published by PRIO staff.



Figure 7. Detail of display of newspaper articles by, or about, PRIO staff or research.



Figure 8. Front of Philosophers' Hall where speakers stand. Note the PRIO logo superimposed over a world map, emphasizing the international aspect of PRIO's focus.



Figure 9. Detail of wall in Philosophers' Hall covered by portraits of philosophers with a connection to peace.



Figure 10. Another wall of the Philosopher's Hall showing peace-related artwork.

The visible reminders of PRIO's institutional identity stand in stark contrast to one of PRIO's closest cooperating partners, the Department of Political Science at the University of Oslo (UiO). The halls of UiO are relatively anonymous, with few (if any) visible indications of either the subject matter studied or the output produced. Moreover, at UiO, when the door to the individual offices are shut, it is impossible to see whether someone is inside. In contrast, PRIO offices have windows facing the hallway, with minimal coverings. This 'openness' policy came in direct response to the atmosphere at UiO. The leadership did not want PRIO to be a 'researcher hotel', a building that simply housed researchers, but rather a place where peace researchers from many different disciplines could come together and work in an atmosphere of creative energy and openness – as well as belonging. PRIO is not just a place to work, it is a place to belong. There is even a word for it – 'PRIOite' – which means more than just 'someone who works for PRIO'; it means 'someone who belongs to PRIO, and to whom PRIO belongs'.

Professorship at PRIO

Achieving professorship at PRIO is also shaped by PRIO's institutional identity and, more specifically, its formal status as an independent research institute. The institute sector was established to produce policy-relevant applied research, while basic research would be carried out by the universities and colleges (RCN, 2017 p. 54). Research institutes are not degree-granting institutions (and thus have no teaching mandate), and receive only a small core grant from the government, requiring them to raise funds from either competitive grants (e.g., from the Research Council of Norway or the EU framework programmes) or commissioned assignments.

In multiple contexts, I have observed an unofficial hierarchy between the two sectors that mirrors the hierarchy in the prestige economy in academia: basic research is considered more prestigious than applied research, therefore the institute sector is often considered (especially by outsiders) to be less prestigious than the university sector. In practice, however, individual researchers often

have dual positions (e.g. a primary position in one sector, and a secondary position in the other) and there is extensive collaboration (and competition) between the two sectors on research projects funded by the RCN. In my experience, the two sectors differ more in principle than they do in practice, and much of the tension between them comes from efforts to enforce the distinction.⁷ For example, when it comes to the nomenclature of professorship, the title ‘professor’ is a protected title in the Norwegian language, and as such can only be used by those in the university and college sector; the equivalent title used in the research institute sector is ‘research professor’ or ‘Researcher I’.

Although – as a part of the institute sector – PRIO is restricted from using the title ‘professor’, the aim is nonetheless to mirror the university requirements and process as closely as possible. The PRIO guidelines for promotion to professorship state that:

the candidate possesses and is able to demonstrate academic competence that corresponds to the level of professor in universities, approved by publication in peer-reviewed academic channels. The candidate shall possess depth within a particular topic of specialization, as well as breadth within his or her area of expertise. The definition of a research area may emphasize analytical approach, methodology, or substantial thematic focus. A demonstrated capacity to inspire and direct research at PRIO within one’s area(s) of specialization is required.

While the demand for academic excellence and focus on academic publications is the same, the basic differences in the framework conditions between the university sector and the institute sector mean that some of the secondary

⁷ In November 2018, for example, the Research Council of Norway commissioned a synthesis report that recommended a new policy for the institute sector, which included an increase in their core funding. The Research Council’s own board refused to accept the recommendations of its own committee that had been tasked with the evaluation, citing a conflict of interest with their personal roles. One board member in particular, representing one of Norway’s largest universities, vocally opposed the recommendations because they would further erase the distinctions between the university and institute sector – and that the institutes would be competing for the same funding as the universities. See <https://khrono.no/forskning/institutter-forskningssradet-instituttsektoren/forskningssradet-her-er-interessene-som-sto-i-veien-for-stotte-til-ny-instituttpolitikk/255790> and <https://khrono.no/forskning/institutter-forskningssradet-gunnar-bovim/ntnu-rektoren-vil-ha-debatt-om-stotte-til-institutter-som-ikke-lever-av-oppdrag/258303>

requirements are different: while the universities emphasize teaching and supervision experience, PRIO places greater weight on grant acquisition and project management. The secondary criteria at PRIO comprise the following, where weakness in one area may be compensated for through strength in another:

- Leadership of large research projects
- Project development
- Contribution to academic communities (i.e. refereeing; board memberships; organizing of conferences and networks)
- Research collaboration
- Engagement with policymaking and practice
- Popular dissemination of research
- Curricular development, teaching and supervision of students and junior researchers.

To demonstrate academic competence, the candidate selects for consideration a maximum (and in practice, minimum) of 15 publications, five of which will be scrutinized in detail by a three-person external committee consisting of at least one international member. In the application (which is normally about 10 pages long), the candidate first provides an overview of the selected publications and describes their core areas of focus and main thematic and methodological contributions; they then describe their competence and experience in the secondary criteria. The committee evaluates the merits of the selected publications (including presence or absence of co-authorship, range of topics, and the quality of the publication channels), the originality and quality of the five key publications submitted for evaluation, the presentation of the core themes, and the candidate's performance on the other criteria. The application process takes about 6–8 months on average.

Although the criteria appear to be quite transparent, in my observation, the terms 'breadth' and 'depth' are ambiguous. Many of the discussion groups carried out

throughout the POWER project focused on interpreting these criteria for individual portfolios of work: how broad is broad? How many core areas of focus should one have in one's body of work? What was too broad, or too narrow? How deep is deep? How did they know if their work was original enough? What if they published a book, did that mean they could submit fewer journal articles? What if they didn't publish a book? Did it matter? What if they wrote a report that was used in the field by, say, the United Nations – shouldn't that count for something? And so on.⁸

Most (if not all) candidates apply for professorship after they have already been given a permanent contract – a process which closely resembles the process for evaluating professor competence but requires fewer publications and puts more emphasis on long-term fundability. Temporary contracts are common at PRIO, and are generally issued to those who have recently finished a PhD at PRIO or are new hires from other institutes. A researcher can be hired on further temporary contracts for a maximum of four years before they must be hired permanently or let go. Most of my informants said that thinking about professorship competence does not feel relevant until they have a permanent position. The number of participants on temporary contract varied from year to year throughout the duration of this research, but in general made up about 30% of those who were in the staff category of senior researcher.

The basis for academic publications: conducting research at PRIO

As suggested above, the primary criterion for professorship is the production of academic publications, and a prerequisite for producing publications is academic research. PRIO's institutional identity lays the foundation for what kind of research is conducted at PRIO, and what kind of output results.

PRIO's presentation of itself includes three specific descriptors – referred to internally as 'the three I's' – all stated explicitly in PRIO's presentation of itself

⁸ One concrete activity of the POWER project was to gather examples of successful applications, so the participants could look at different strategies for presenting their qualifications and publication record.

on its website, stationery, and other institutional presentations: *independent*, *international*, and *interdisciplinary*. Each have their own impact on the conditions under which academic research and writing are conducted.

Independent: Being an independent research institute primarily means that, apart from the 10–15% of its income that comes from a core grant from the Research Council of Norway (RCN), PRIO's income is obtained through competitive grants and commissioned work. This sets PRIO apart from university settings, where externally funded research is largely prestige-driven and not crucial for everyday survival. While the percentages fluctuate from year to year, about 30–40% of PRIO's funding comes from competitive grants issued by the RCN; about 20–30% from the ministries of foreign affairs or defence; about 8–10% from the European Commission; and about 10–20% from other Norwegian or international funders. The responsibility for getting these grants and commissions lies with the individual researchers: each researcher is expected to acquire funding for 1,200 hours per year. Those on short-term contracts will not be able to renew their contracts without acquiring funding. The need to acquire funding (whether the research is empirically or conceptually based), and the project-based nature of the work, means that the everyday writing practices of researchers at PRIO often involve relating directly to funders, either applying for funding or reporting on progress. Moreover, not all funders want academic publications as deliverables: for example, while the RCN grants encourage academic outputs, commissioned work from the ministries generally requires a tailored report.

International: With its thematic focus on international issues related to peace and conflict, PRIO's international orientation is visible both through the extensive use of English at PRIO and in its collaboration with international partners. Because PRIO aims to attract talent from all over the world (in 2017, about 25% of the staff were non-Norwegian), the official language of the institute is English: all information on the web (both the intranet and internet) about PRIO is in English (with no Norwegian version), all internal

administrative communication is in English, and all formal meetings are conducted in English. The expectation to speak English is so strong that even at informal meetings or casual encounters I have observed, people will sometimes look around to see whether there are any non-Norwegian speakers and ask, ‘I can speak Norwegian here, right?’ Virtually all published output is in English, including (most) reports written for the Norwegian ministries. Norwegian is mostly reserved for communication with general public (Nygaard, 2019). The international orientation not only affects the language used in academic publishing and communication with other researchers, but it also means that researchers have to engage with collaborating partners who have different ideas about what kinds of output are expected and what constitutes good research and writing.

Interdisciplinary: Peace research is interdisciplinary. Although political science and international relations dominate the disciplinary backgrounds of researchers at PRIO, a wide variety of other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities are also represented to a greater or lesser degree, including history, anthropology, human geography, philosophy, psychology, religious studies, history of religion, sociology, sociology of law, and various area-specific studies (such as Middle East studies). The variety of disciplines at PRIO also implies a range of publishing practices, with some disciplines and methodological orientations (e.g., quantitative political science) producing journal articles almost exclusively, and others producing a larger share of books and book chapters (e.g., human geography, anthropology, and philosophy).

What ‘counts’: conceptions of productivity and academic excellence

Because PRIO engages with a range of different funders, the publications that result are partly a function of what the funders want. However, the form that research output takes is also a result of what ‘counts’ – that is, what meets the expectations for productivity and excellence. The way that productivity and excellence are understood at PRIO (when it comes to publications) reflects both

the national system for measuring productivity in Norway and the prestige economy.

PRIO's mandate and institutional core values suggest a broad publications profile that includes not only academic publications, but also outputs that take other forms and are targeted at audiences outside of academia. Indeed, the current strategy documents (approved by the PRIO Board 7 June 2018) describe the concept of 'engaged excellence', which is elaborated on as follows:

PRIO is positioned to provide exceptionally high-quality knowledge; we not only strive for excellence in our scientific and applied work, we also approach research agendas with a strong sense of purpose. Participating in or monitoring peace processes, engaging in dialogue and reconciliation initiatives, training and supervising mediators, collaborating with researchers in conflict areas, attending to gendered aspects of conflict, contributing to institutional capacity building, and providing evidence-based input to policy processes all rely on solid expertise and unwavering commitment. Our academic research provides a solid foundation for engaging in processes that, at different levels, can lead to real change and improvement in peoples' lives.

The above wording, with the explicit examples of 'participating in or monitoring peace processes', 'engaging in dialogue and reconciliation initiatives', 'training and supervising mediators', and 'contributing to institutional capacity building' all suggest that PRIO researchers are expected to do more than simply produce academic articles. However, PRIO is also embedded in a larger national system that explicitly counts only academic output; a portion of the core funding allocated to research-producing institutes is based on how well the institutes perform on the Norwegian Publication Indicator (NPI) (see Aagaard et al., 2015). The same system is used for universities and colleges, independent research institutes, and the health sector throughout Norway. The NPI is calculated using data on publications (journal articles, books, and book chapters) compiled by the Current Research Information System in Norway (CRISTin) database (see www.cristin.no/english/).

Points are calculated based on type of output, the quality of the publication channel, and the number of authors. The outputs that are recognized are books

(monographs), book chapters, and journal articles. If they are published in a top-tier journal or press, they receive additional points (Table 1). Committees on the CRISTin board representing various disciplines determine which journals or presses are deemed Level 0 (not acceptable, usually due to a lack of rigorous peer review routines), Level 1 (acceptable), or Level 2 (the top 20% in each field).

Table 1: Points awarded to each type of output for Level 1 (standard) and Level 2 (top-tier) channels in the Norwegian Publication Indicator (NPI)

	Level 1	Level 2
Journal articles	1	3
Book chapters	0.7	1
Books	5	8

The points are then fractionalized by co-authorship, which means that institutes receive points relative to the shares of ‘author fractions’ (unique combinations of authors and institutional affiliations) accredited to the institute. Roughly speaking, a publication with two authors – each from a different institution – would give each institution half the points.

Because the NPI is used to distribute funding, the indicator sends clear signals about what is valued – and what is not (Nygaard & Bellanova, 2018). Peer-reviewed journal articles have the greatest relative value – particularly at the higher level (Level 2), where the value of points triple for journal articles but do not even double for books or book chapters. Reports, textbooks and popular scientific books are not counted at all because they do not represent original work targeted at an *academic* audience. Edited volumes do not count as ‘books’, although the individual chapters (with the exception of chapters called ‘Introduction’) are counted because the role of compiling, editing, and quality assuring academic work is not considered academic writing.

PRIO has developed its own internal publication rewards system that mirrors the NPI in the types of outputs that are rewarded and in fractionalizing by co-author and institutional affiliation. The rewards system gives money to researchers (which can be taken out in cash, but is generally used to pay for books or travel) when they have published a journal article, book, or book chapter. For example, if someone writes a single authored journal article, they will receive NOK 13,200; if they write a co-authored book chapter, they get NOK 2,200. If they use a dual affiliation, these awards are cut in half.

Doing the ‘ideal academic’ at PRIO: local variations

Basing its publication rewards scheme on the NPI sends a strong message about what PRIO expects and values from its researchers: academic publications, preferably journal articles. Yet, PRIO’s institutional core values, as illustrated through its strategy documents, suggest that PRIO researchers are expected to produce far more than just academic outputs. In my observation, this creates contrasting ways to perform academia at PRIO. On the one hand, the ‘ideal academic’ is expected to concentrate mainly on producing academic output, preferably journal articles. On the other hand, the ‘ideal peace researcher’ is expected to conduct a wider range of activities and produce a variety of different outputs that have a purpose beyond communication with other academics and have a broader societal impact.

Thus, one could say that there is also an ‘ideal PRIOite’: someone who ‘does it all’ – as long as academic publishing comes first. Evidence suggests that PRIO does indeed stand out in its push to combine academic excellence with societal impact. An evaluation of the institute sector in 2017 calls PRIO an ‘exemplar among the institutes’, praising its ability to ‘exploit synergies across communication channels and audiences, [and] pursue the highest standards in academic publishing while at the same time inspiring discourse, informing debate, and challenging established “truths”’ (Forskningsrådet, 2016, p. 79).

While it is conceivable that an institute as a whole could produce such a wide variety of outputs, it would seem a tall order for any single researcher to perform

equally well in all areas – especially when academic publications are given the greatest weight in the context of securing a permanent contract and promotion to professorship. Before turning to how these different expectations are negotiated by the participants in this study, I examine how social constructions of gender also play a role in shaping ideas of what is expected and valued.

Doing womanhood and motherhood in Norway: ‘no excuses’

Women at PRIO not only operate under (sometimes conflicting) expectations of what it means to be an academic, peace researcher, or PRIOite, but also what it means to be a woman in Norway. Especially relevant in this context is Norway’s generous scheme for parental leave and childcare.

Although the details of the scheme change somewhat depending on the political party in power, the essential system allows up to a year of paid parental leave to be divided between the two parents. Currently, 2-3 months of the total parental leave is reserved for fathers. After parental leave is over, parents have access to (and a right to) childcare, although in practice many families may have to wait some weeks (or occasionally months) before a place becomes available. The cost of the childcare is subsidized by the state (depending on the income of the parents). The state also regulates the acceptable ratio between children and staff, the pedagogical content of the activities, and the number of hours the children can attend day care. What this means is that parents know what to expect, and employers have a good idea of what the parameters are. At PRIO, meetings are seldom scheduled after 15:30, when many parents have to leave to pick up their children, and PRIO-wide events are never scheduled during school breaks (when childcare centres are also normally closed).

While the generous parental leave (with the expected involvement of the fathers) and reliable childcare arrangements remove (or at least reduce) some of the traditional barriers for academic women in Norway, they also seem to contribute to a social expectation that women will indeed have children. Norway ranks second (behind only Iceland) in the proportion of women researchers with children (European Commission, 2013, p. 100). Not only do most of the women

in this study have children, but of those with children, most have more than one (and four participants have more than two). In other words, having a family while being an academic in Norway is considered normal – indeed, as my observations suggest, also expected.

An incident that illustrates the contrast between Norway (or Scandinavian countries) and other European countries occurred after a seminar I arranged through the POWER project, where two women were invited to describe their personal journeys to professorship. One of the speakers was in her 70s and shared some personal reflections on how much things had changed since her time. She asked the women in the audience to raise their hands if they had children, and most hands were then raised. This, to me, was not the remarkable part of the story: I already knew most of them had children. What was remarkable to me were two things that happened afterwards. First, a guest researcher from Germany approached me and said that she was shocked by the number of hands raised because where she is from, you are not taken seriously as an academic if you have children; and second, when I recounted this story in London, the women I told it to were horrified that the speaker could have asked the question in the first place, and considered it highly unethical. In other words, the first reaction suggested that having children at all was considered incompatible with being a researcher; the second response suggested that one could have children as long as they were never mentioned.

The reality in Norway, however, is that children are both expected and visible; neither I nor any of the other Norwegians at PRIO were surprised (or offended) by either the question or the number of hands raised. Children are common topics for lunch and corridor discussions, and it is not unusual for staff (men and women) to bring a child with them to work for a few hours. Family members are invited to the annual summer parties, giving everyone a chance to interact with each other's families. When both men and women at PRIO take parental leave, it is treated as non-dramatic: plans are made in advance to cover their absence, they are congratulated warmly and told we will miss them, they visit

occasionally (bringing the child around for everyone to see), and pick up where they left off when they return. During my period in the Leader Team at PRIO, two of the research directors (one woman and one man) went on parental leave, and neither time was it seen as problematic.

While parenthood might not be framed as problematic by PRIO, it undoubtedly increases the number of expectations an individual must juggle. As in many places in the world, parenthood in Norway requires a higher degree of physical and emotional availability to the family and family life, and this was reflected in the interview data. Sara, whose children are in their early teens, says:

I've been at home quite a bit and writing, and I still get interrupted. I want to be interrupted when my kids get home from school. I want to be part of their lives.

Sara's comment draws attention to the importance of remaining physically and emotionally available to her children even though they might be old enough to not need constant follow-up from adults. She not only refers to leaving herself vulnerable to interruption from her children, but also frames those interruptions as positive, as a sign of connection with her children. Rather than seeing her availability to the family as only a source of distraction in her work, Sara also sees it as having a positive impact:

I think the advantage of [...] the Scandinavian family life is that you're forced [to participate in the activities of your children]. It's frowned upon [...] not showing up at [...] the meetings at school, and you can't send your nanny... or just the moms. And then you meet other people. You have other kinds of conversations, basically. You see other worlds by virtue of meeting parents of your kids' friends and engaging with them, not just, you know, dropping them off and picking them up. So [you get] insight into how school systems work, how all these things [work] that you engaged with through having a family basically, and then a structure that allows you to actually be at home a lot more.

Evident in Sara's comment is the enabling role that the Scandinavian welfare system has in this respect – not just in terms of making it possible for women to

be active in the work force in addition to having a family, but also in terms of expanding expectations of fatherhood. Her reference to not being able to send ‘just the moms’ alludes to the expectation that also fathers attend meetings at school. While the traditional ideal father could ‘contribute to the family’ by simply earning enough money to meet material needs, the Scandinavian model for parental leave expects fathers to take a leave of absence and spend a certain amount of time at home in the first year – and follow up this involvement by attending the children’s school events and playing a role in their outside activities.

The difference between Norway (or Scandinavia in general) and other countries when it comes to the role of fathers was made particularly evident for one participant who took a partial leave of absence to go to a Latin American country for three years. She was often shocked by the culture differences with respect to gender that came to the fore, especially when she would occasionally return to Norway for a couple of weeks, without her child, for work-related reasons:

The first time I left I had a fantastic conversation with one [Latin American woman] saying that, you know, how is he going to manage? And I said, you know, well, he is the father of the child, he will manage. Yes, but does he know what to do? I said, you know, of course he knows what to do. Why should he not know what to do? These kinds of conversations you have to have very often.

The assumption of the Latin American woman in this conversation was, evidently, that husbands are not involved in childcare at all, and will thus be utterly at sea if the mother leaves town. The assumption of my participant, however, is that her husband will manage perfectly well, because – like all good fathers in Norway – he has been at least somewhat involved in childcare duties from the beginning.

A common observation is that the expected parental leave for fathers has increased the father’s role as stakeholder in the family since it was introduced in

1993.⁹ One participant who has teenage children commented: ‘I think this [paternal leave] has done wonders in terms of taking ownership for family life or for men not just bringing home money but actually being part’. This is not to say that expectations for fathers are the same as they are for mothers – only that men take on a larger role in the family than they do in many other countries. The combination of state support and the changing role of the father offers women in Norway more opportunities when it comes to combining work and family.

However, with opportunities also come constraints; women without children (for whatever reason, including not having children ‘yet’) frequently complain about being questioned about their childless status. The expectation seems to be that, since the parental leave and childcare schemes are so generous, there is no valid excuse not to have children. Because it is theoretically possible, women are expected to ‘have it all’: both a fulfilling career and a satisfying home life – in addition to meaningful hobbies and a healthy lifestyle. There seems to be no room for inadequacy on any front. When I listen to women at PRIO talking about work–life balance, I hear them talking about more than balancing family obligations with work obligations: the ‘life’ part also means, for example, singing lessons, training for marathons, or learning a new language, each of which they feel they must excel at.

The perceived salience of gender at PRIO

Despite the acknowledgement that women face different expectations than men outside of PRIO, few of my informants seemed to feel that gender plays a significant role in their everyday writing practices. Almost none of my informants brought up issues related to gender unless I specifically asked them. And when I did ask, the majority seemed to feel that gender posed little if any challenge to their professional development – even though (especially through

⁹ In 1993, fathers were required to take four weeks of parental leave; it increased to 12 weeks in 2005.

the introduction of the POWER project) they understood that there were persistent gender imbalances at the professor level. Heidi, for example, says:

I don't feel that my gender is a problem in any way. I don't feel treated differently, but I don't know. [...] Men have a tendency to group together and do stuff together but so do we. [...] I don't know if women feel sort of the pressure of things at home more than...I don't know because, you know, I know how I feel, but I don't know how my colleagues, male colleagues, feel about having to take kids all over the place or staying home with kids, sick kids or... I mean I would think it's the same for them in a way because at least my colleagues here seem to be very sort of sharing responsibility.

She adds, 'I mean, we have very few female professors. I see, and we should have more, but I can't sort of say why that is'.

While most could point to at least one concrete incident of being overlooked, passed by, discounted, disrespected, or in some way not being taken seriously that made them wonder if something more was happening, few felt comfortable in labelling these things as gender bias – at least not at a general, systemic level. Perhaps because they are researchers themselves, they understand that it is difficult to know whether the cause of an isolated event – or even a series of events – can be definitively ascribed to gender or gender bias. As Hilde points out, 'It's almost impossible to say.'

Nevertheless, several participants talked about the relevance of gender at a more general, and subtler, level – such as focusing on the collective or expressing insecurity. Nora observes that:

Young female scholars are really struggling with existential issues. 'So why am I doing this? Am I doing it in the right way? Is this good enough?' ... And I never hear the same from any guys around here.

Karoline suggests that perhaps men feel as much insecurity, but they face more pressure to not show it. She recounts an incident at lunch when a male colleague says 'he just banged out this paper' and 'just like shoved it off somewhere'. She

suspected he didn't mean that he puts any less effort into his publications than others do, but rather that he intentionally played it down to handle potential rejection better. She says, 'It's both about what you do, and also how you think about it, and how you talk about it'. The next chapter investigates exactly that: with writing practices as a point of departure, the next chapter looks into what women at PRIO do, how they think about it, and how they talk about it.

6. Sites of negotiation and agency in everyday writing practices at PRIO

The previous chapter showed how institutional context shapes expectations for how both academia and gender are performed. With a point of departure in writing practices, this chapter examines how these expectations are negotiated at an everyday level in choices that can affect both objective and subjective readiness to apply for promotion: choices about what tasks to take on, what research to pursue, and what form the research output will take. The data presented here come primarily from the interviews, but are also supplemented with ethnographic observations and factual information about PRIO and Norway when relevant.

Negotiating productivity: building objective readiness

The concept of ‘objective readiness’, introduced in Chapter 1, refers to the extent to which the researcher meets the qualifications for professorship, particularly in terms of academic publications. However, as described in the previous chapter, not everything produced by a researcher ‘counts’ equally in terms of how productivity is conceptualized in Norway or PRIO, nor in terms of what matters most for professorship. Below, I present some of the difficult sites of negotiation that researchers at PRIO face in producing academic outputs that could count for professorship.

Dependence on funding: laying the foundation for academic writing

A prerequisite for producing an academic publication is having conducted research to draw from. At PRIO, that means spending a significant amount of time pursuing grants (also for those who conduct non-empirical research). Unfortunately, grants are difficult to get. The average rate of success for PRIO’s main funder (the Research Council of Norway) is around 10%, which means a lot of grant writing may not amount to anything.

The core dilemma for many researchers, particularly those who want to secure a permanent contract or apply for professorship, is essentially whether they should

spend their time focusing on academic writing for publication or ‘chasing the money’. Nina describes this as a pendulum that swings back and forth:

I think it's a pendulum in the way that I know that for my academic CV here, the most important is to show my publications, the record. So, I think that should... be my overall priority. But then, at the same time, I also know that I have three projects now that last for the next three years [...] So, they still go on for a while, but they're not filling up the year completely, either. So, I need more funding as well. That's how it works, so I need to also be on the lookout for new funding opportunities.

The deliberation involves more than just a concern about one's own productivity, but also the obligation researchers have to meet their thresholds. Pernille, for example, claims that the pressure to acquire enough funding to cover her hours is her main obstacle to academic publication, particularly when she feels forced to take on projects with a high degree of administration and no research simply to cover her hours.

Evident in Pernille's viewpoint is the framing of grant writing as a collective responsibility. Virtually all my informants made some reference to the obligation to write grants, and how shirking that responsibility was morally wrong. Anne, for example, says:

If I was more egotistical, just thinking of my own CV and not giving a crap about PRIO, I could just sit in my office and write my book. Who cares about funding for it? [...] That would be like the rational, individualistic thing to do, but I don't really think I'm built that way. So, I work on getting funding first and then doing the work.

While she sees that her CV might be better off if she focused more on writing for publication, she feels incapable of systematically putting her own needs ahead of those of the institute, and thus prioritizes writing grant applications ahead of finishing her academic publications.

The dependence on grants also has an impact on the kinds of output that result. As stated in the previous chapter, PRIO has a broad mandate to conduct research

that is socially relevant, which means seeking funding not only from academically oriented funders, but also ministries, governmental organizations, and others. However, this also means that building expertise and generating academic publications as a result of this research is challenging. Lise, who has worked extensively on EU projects that demand tailored reports as deliverables, says:

You can't become a research professor only based on EU projects because you will need time to write, [...] to become part of the [academic] discourse. And EU projects are policy projects. [...] their output is reports that are simple to read with checklists and things. This is not an academic article. [...] Then you have to ask yourself every year, do I want to be part of this, do I want to spend my efforts in summer on writing, or on writing new projects? I may not be funded, versus I will have an academic publication. Should I mainly spend my efforts writing on other projects, on the Research Council, for example, that allow me to do more research? So, these are big questions, and people make it sound like, come on, you can just join this one EU proposal, that's just OK, just join it...

Lise's comment points out that EU projects fund only time to produce the policy report, which is not an academic deliverable. Even though the research may generate knowledge that is relevant for an academic article, she would have to write it outside of this funded time.

Research carried out for the ministries not only tends to result in non-academic outputs, but also tends to be short term (just a few months in duration). Nadia observes that these short-term deadlines mean that 'you're able to do the work that you need to survive, but you're not able to do the work that is required to build a career'. Pernille, who often takes on work for the ministries, says:

I'm so extremely frustrated about that because my problem is that I've actually done so much research in my life. Even for my Ph.D. I still have material I could write articles without doing any more research. I have so much material but because of the money, I don't have time to do this writing. I just always have to think about writing applications to get new.

The way funding works at PRIO – with researchers being required to acquire external funding for 1,200 hours per year – means that Pernille nevertheless feels she should prioritize the chase for funding over drawing from her well of accumulated knowledge to write academic outputs. Both Nadia and Pernille suggest that this can be a cumulative problem: over time, it results in a lack of academic productivity.

The dilemma of taking on short-term or policy-relevant projects is further augmented when researchers feel that the output from these projects not only does not help build their academic careers, but also goes unrecognized: PRIO's rewards system mirrors that of the NPI, which recognizes only academic output. In my observations at PRIO, the money itself from the publications rewards means less to the researchers than what it implies: a recognition that what they produce is valued at PRIO. More specifically, those who do not get the rewards do not lament the lack of money, but rather the lack of recognition. Lise explains that despite PRIO consistently expressing a wish to get more EU funding, she has been disappointed at the lack of recognition for the outputs that such funding entails: 'I mean, years, there were years of struggling of having these EU projects recognized in house; however, there is still no recognition, no formal recognition of all these reports that we wrote'. Nadia suggests that the lack of recognition given to non-academic outputs leads to a development of a 'B-team' at PRIO:

It always goes back to that same stupid division that we have in-house between whether you're doing basic research, or you're just doing investigative journalism, which is the way they tend to look at it. [...] It does sort of over time [...] wear down confidence.

The asymmetry between PRIO's core value of 'engaged' excellence (with an emphasis on social relevance) and the rewards system that is embedded in the larger national NPI system that counts only academic output raises the question of why anyone would choose to take on projects that are more policy-relevant

than academic. Pernille, however, explains that sometimes other considerations take precedence:

Pernille: *It's a short-term project, ... funded for two months. It's only me. [...] It's very policy relevant. And I really like it. [...]*

Lynn: *It won't result in any publications, though, will it?*

Pernille: *No. [...] it's a kind of off-the-record project, yes. But it really gives me an enormous lot of experiences. And it's a thing I love to do. I'm right where I like to be.*

Lynn: *Sort of in the middle of things happening.*

Pernille: *Yes, I couldn't have been in a better place. So, this was just something I managed to find a space for.*

In other words, as a peace researcher, Pernille is drawn towards policy-relevant research because it is something she loves to do and feels meaningful for her. The quest for meaning is also evident in Nora's explanation of why she prioritizes research with a high degree of policy relevance:

I'm still this naïve 18-year-old girl wanting to change the world to a better place. But then at the same time, also work with theory development, kind of stay in the inner circle of academia. But doing just that would [...] frustrate me. [...] I need to feel that what I'm doing [...] means something to somebody. And it could potentially change something. So, this activist voice is quite strong. And that's why I like to work with tasks that are not rewarded at PRIO as, you know, academic excellence.

Nora describes valuing her 'activist' identity over her 'academic' identity as being in a 'squeeze between your employer and your conscience':

I understand the need to push research and to publish. [...] But, we also have a responsibility to communicate research outside academic circle and being engaged in the public sphere. [...] It's so many people who don't have a clue who engage in these discussions, and I really felt this responsibility of actually saying something [...] But, then again that requires a lot of work. And if you don't get any score out of that, then, of course, you're not going to prioritize it. So, I guess the more I get into

this new weird job of being a researcher, the more I [feel the] squeeze from my employer of what I should produce and from my ideas of what is important to produce.

Because Nora does not yet have a permanent contract, she not only feels the ‘squeeze’, but also less sense of agency than she imagines others might have as they move up the ladder. She points out that right now she does not feel like she has a lot of options, but ‘once you’re more established and then funding just keeps flowing in, I guess maybe you’re in a freer position to do more of what you think is right to do, as well’.

Negotiations between what researchers feel is expected from them as academics and as peace researchers, as well as what they find meaningful, are further reflected in dilemmas associated with collaborating with others in conducting and writing about research.

Writing with others: co-authorship and networks

In both the NPI and the rewards system at PRIO, co-authorship is fractionalized – which means that co-authors receive only a fraction of the ‘credit’ (and reward) each (where the size of the fraction is proportional to the number of authors). This would suggest that solo authorship is more valued than co-authorship. However, writing at PRIO usually involves more than one author, and my informants suggest that decisions to include co-authors involve far more consideration than simply concern about maximizing points.

Evident in both my observations and the interview material were the differences between how co-authoring was viewed by those who used quantitative methods compared to those who used more qualitative methods. The quantitative researchers saw mostly benefits in co-authoring: not only can one divide up the work more efficiently, but it also creates a safety-in-numbers feeling, where the pain of rejection or harsh criticism is mollified by sharing it with others. Those drawing from qualitative methods, however, found co-authoring to be more challenging in terms of voice and ownership (see also Geetz, 1988; Gnutzmann

& Rabe, 2014; Nygaard, 2014b, 2017), yet they often chose to include additional authors because they believed that it would improve the quality of the work.

Negotiations around co-authoring were also affected by a perceived need to have a good ‘balance’ between co-authored and solo pieces to apply for professorship. Frida, for example, comments, ‘It is equally important to show that I can do it on my own, and that I can do it with other people’. However, what constitutes the ideal balance was unclear. Sarah, for example, was convinced she did not co-author enough, while Karoline, Anne, Frida, and Heidi were concerned that they co-author too much. Karoline, for example, in one early interview described a piece that was intended to be solo-authored, but in a later interview informed me that it had been transformed to a co-authored work because she felt her co-author could bring in some important additional data. Because she felt that she lacked solo pieces in her portfolio, she admitted that perhaps the article lost some priority when she brought in an additional author, but nonetheless felt that the article itself was improved enough to justify her decision.

In addition to the desire to improve quality and achieve balance in the portfolio, loyalty to specific individuals and a sense of fairness also influenced the decision to bring in specific co-authors. For example, Karoline describes one paper where she actively sought out collaboration with some former research assistants as ‘the achievement of the year’:

I could have just said that that was a single author publication if I wanted to, because I know they weren't in a position to discuss. But I really wanted us together and they chose to engage, and [...] the result was good.

For her, this collaboration meant more than the production of an article; not only did the analysis improve as a result of making that extra effort, but it also represented the closing of a circle and meeting her goal of achieving more equal collaboration with researchers from the global South, and not just using them as assistants. Importantly, an increasingly explicit goal in PRIO’s strategy

documents is collaboration with researchers from the global South. Karoline's comments acknowledge that although this goal has some costs in terms of both additional effort and reduced 'reward' (fewer points, and a finished product that is less relevant for inclusion in a professorship application), it has value in terms of contributions to peace research and Karoline's own sense of professionalism.

In my observation as a practitioner at PRIO, co-authoring is also a reflection of deep networks: connections with other scholars that result in project ideas, research collaboration, and eventually co-authorship. While it is outside the scope of this project to examine this in any depth or make any strong claims in this regard, the interview data revealed how important entanglement and thick networks are – as well as how potentially gendered. Heidi observes:

I think there is a divide between who co-authors here. And, I'm not sure what it is, but it does seem like more females co-author with females and males co-author more often with males. And, why that is? I don't know. [...] For me it's easy to talk to [my female colleagues] and say that, hey, do you want to...? This is interesting! We talk more together, maybe. We have lunch together. And then, you get ideas and start papers there. [...] And, maybe, it's just a coincidence.

While Heidi is reluctant to say that networks are gendered, she does observe that informal patterns of socialization often lead to research ideas.

Thus, negotiations about co-authorship involve more than a simple consideration of prestige and value. They involve considerations of loyalty to other academics, and sometimes honouring the values of peace research by including marginalized authors from the global South. Co-authorship also reflects the formal and informal networks to which a researcher belongs: brainstorming over lunch one day can lead to a project idea, which can lead to joint publications. The question of 'balance' between co-authored material and solo authored material is not then simply a question of strategy based on institutional values, but also a reflection of disciplinary identity, methodological approach, and

participation in networks. The question of genre, what kind of (academic) outputs to produce, reflects similar considerations.

Genre: negotiating outputs

With the greatest relative value placed on the production of journal articles by both the PRIO reward system and the NPI, it could be expected that the researchers would see little point in producing anything else. This was far from the case, with respect to both the production of other genres of academic publishing (books and book chapters), as well as the genres that don't 'count' at all.

Books, which arguably represent the longest-term commitment on the part of the author, are also the most difficult to commit to in a context like PRIO, which is dependent on external funding that seldom has a timeframe that would allow book production as a deliverable. However, several of my participants gave good reasons for why they wanted to publish books. Sarah, for example, prefers writing books because 'journal articles are so limited [...] and you can only focus on one piece of a bigger puzzle'. Anne, while preferring articles, nevertheless feels that she should write at least one book because it is expected in an international context:

And if you want to change jobs, having a book with a reasonable press is the ticket to getting a decent job. Certain places won't even consider hiring anyone in a permanent job without one.

For both Sarah and Anne, personal preferences, disciplinary identity, and concerns about international mobility all outweighed the straightforward calculation of value in the rewards systems of the institutional environment.

I observed an even greater complexity with respect to book chapters in edited volumes, which are given the least relative value compared to journals or monographs value by both the NPI and PRIO. Augusta, for example, stated categorically in an early interview that participating in edited volumes is useless because 'it doesn't give you any points', '[they] aren't read', and 'there are so

many bad edited volumes'. In subsequent interviews, however, she softened her stance, pointing out that despite how they are viewed by the NPI, there are sometimes good reasons for writing book chapters – such as an opportunity to work with the others involved in the book, or as a way of developing ideas that will later become articles. She decided to co-edit two different edited volumes because one of them allowed her to further explore an idea that was underdeveloped in her doctoral work, and the other represented a useful way to examine a new idea from multiple perspectives. In other words, she conceptualizes excellence not only in the narrow sense of accumulating the maximum number of points for each publication, but also in the broader sense of using genres to explore or further develop different topics in collaboration with others. Augusta's increased willingness to work on edited volumes also shows that views about the value of specific writing practices can change over time in connection with what becomes meaningful.

The connections between finding meaning, the way outputs are valued, and PRIO's reliance on external funding are further illustrated in this exchange with Nina, where I asked her about an edited volume project I knew she was working on (because of my role as a practitioner), but she had not listed among her current writing projects:

Nina: *Yes, that's... I should have mentioned that as well. It's [a co-authored] edited volume [...], where I'm currently writing my chapter for that, and we have to finalize our introduction for the end of the month [...].*

Lynn: *It's kind of a big thing, isn't it?*

Nina: *It is! Yes. Which is very useful in the sense of, I'm learning a lot through that as well, through the co-editing and [collaboration]. And also the reviews we're doing on the other contributions[...]. It's different than being an assessor for students, which I have done before, and I have reviewed other academic work earlier as well. But it's interesting to be in the position to say, well, that's not exactly what we are asking for, because we have the concept for the book and it's an interesting and meaningful experience as well.*

Lynn: *I'm just wondering why you forgot to mention it, because it's kind of a big thing. In some ways, in your head, does this not count?*

Nina: *It's because it's ... not part of one of my [funded] projects here at PRIO. And that maybe also makes me sometimes think that I'm spending a lot of time on it because [...] I can't write hours on it. [...].*

Lynn: *So, you don't have any project hours you could write this on? So, how are you getting it done?*

Nina: *A little bit here, a little bit there. [...] And my chapter has been an idea that I've had for a long time, but it's been scrapped together in the last two weeks. [...]*

Lynn: *So, what's the benefit of doing this kind of project?*

Nina: *It's the experience of doing an edited volume, which I think is a good experience in it itself and it's... I think it's also something beneficial on my publications CV. [...] Thematically, it pushes me to develop something from the topic of the first project that I started to work on here at PRIO [...] while also bring it in [...] a direction that I'm interested in.*

Here, Nina seems less concerned that edited volumes have little value in the NPI or PRIO's own rewards system. But she is concerned that it is not connected to a specific project, and thus is difficult to fit into PRIO's business model of external funding. This means she feels forced to work on this book in between other, more 'legitimate' writing projects. Yet she does this work because of both the experience it gives her, and its potential role of filling out her CV.

What is 'good enough' when excellence is what matters?

The NPI has a specific way of measuring excellence by giving more credit to articles and books that are published by 'Level 2' journals or presses; the PRIO publication rewards scheme does not currently make this distinction (although it occasionally comes up for discussion in the Leader Team). My interview data suggests that the prestige of the target journal did not seem to matter nearly as much to my informants as their perception of the overall quality of their work

and the extent to which they felt they were making a genuine contribution to scholarship – regardless of the outlet.

My informants seemed to struggle with knowing when something was ‘good enough’ – or even with feeling that ‘good enough’ (rather than ‘excellent’) could be acceptable. Rather than focusing specifically on what kind of journals would accept their work, most spoke about the fear of not having anything original to add, or having data that isn’t good enough. Almost everyone seemed to be insecure about their own quality or excellence, but in very different ways, and ways that are tightly connected to the kinds of research they are doing and their methodological approaches. One researcher, who relies heavily on qualitative fieldwork, is primarily concerned about her ability to connect that fieldwork to more generalizable discourses:

I guess it comes back to having that good idea and being sure that it’s good enough and that it’s theoretically grounded and that you’re making some sort of conceptual contribution. I know that the stuff that I do based on fieldwork [...] And my data, and I know that it’s interesting and new and I can say something which hasn’t been said. But making it theoretically relevant to academic debates, that’s where I feel the most insecure and I know that’s where I can improve.

Despite several of the qualitatively oriented researchers suspecting that their quantitatively oriented colleagues had a much more straightforward writing process, this did not appear to be the case: all the quantitative researchers in my study expressed concern about the quality of their data and the best way to present it. For example, a paper that got rejected was a topic for all my interviews with one informant. In the initial interview, we discussed whether she could keep the presentation of the data the same, but rather reframe the introduction for a different audience. She was more concerned about getting it published than finding the most prestigious journal (arguing that citations by important people would be just as good). In a subsequent interview, however, she said that while she was attempting to rewrite the introduction, she ‘came to realize that the data isn’t sufficiently good’, and thus abandoned a simple

reframing of the introduction in favour of a total restructuring of the data.

Similarly, another paper on her list of priorities that she had expected to be straightforward ended up being more complicated ‘because the data was not as good as I had hoped for’.

The concern about the quality of data was particularly acute for papers that for some reason or another had languished: the more time put into them, the harder it was to give up – and at the same time, the less likely it became that they would amount to anything. The data gets old, and the papers get pushed down further on the list of priorities, ending up just being a source of stress and guilt. One researcher has struggled with what she calls her ‘nemesis’ paper for years, working with the data, adding new data. But it is ultimately her theoretical contribution she is concerned about:

So, no one has done exactly what I want to do, or what I’m going to do, but there is more that’s closer to it today than it was. [...] So it’s the reason why it takes so long, because I decided to do both analyses instead of only the last analysis. And I think I have to do that. The way I’ve developed the argument over time, it has become much more context independent.

She traces some of the problem back to some extremely positive feedback she got at the beginning: ‘It’s very cool that I’m getting that kind of feedback; it’s super. But it just made it even worse for me to be satisfied with it and complete it and say this is good enough, because it’s just never good enough’. Moreover, she describes what feels like a closing window of opportunity that has closed faster for her because of taking a break to have a child: ‘I didn’t stop because I hit a wall. I stopped working because I didn’t have time. [...] So, I’ve been, I’m always behind, but I’m more behind’. Expectations of excellence and closing windows of opportunity create a very distinct site of negotiation, forcing researchers to prioritize between papers that are new, still have momentum, and are likely to be finished within the deadline, and papers that have lost momentum but represent hours of invested time and energy that will be wasted

if they never come to fruition. And as pointed out above, the negotiation becomes even more difficult for women who take lengthy leaves of absence to have children.

Deciding to stop working on something, acknowledging that it is probably as good as it will ever be, or that expediency should outweigh concerns of excellence, is a particularly difficult site of negotiation. Those who were able to achieve professorship during the course of the POWER project (or shortly thereafter) seemed to have developed an ability to know when to let go of something even if it hadn't met their original expectations for quality. One, for example, talked about a co-authored paper where she and the co-author reached a point where they were unsure what they should do with it, and decided to send it to a lower ranked journal:

And the idea was that we need to get it out. She doesn't have any time to work on it. It's not really my thing. But we spent too much time on it to just leave it. So it was more under those where, OK, we need to actually get the location out and this is a decent enough journal. It's just not an excellent one.

For most of the others, however, letting go was difficult, not least because it was difficult to separate the potential excellence of research and writing from the high standards they set for themselves. Anne was aware that her perfectionism prevents her from finishing:

It's getting in my way, yes. [...] It needs to be really good, and I feel like it's not, and even if everyone else is telling me it's good, I don't really feel that it's good. But I sometimes have like little glimpses when other people think that it's good, where I think it's good, too. And it's just a matter of controlling those negative voices when they appear.

The theme of 'negative voices' came up repeatedly for many of the informants. I saw multiple examples of my informants judging themselves more harshly than is perhaps called for. Frida, for example, says:

I'm not skilled enough so I do small mistakes that just [...] I mean, you know, I forget a quotation mark and then I spend an awful lot of time not understanding why my formula is not correct [...] and then after 15 minutes, when I've looked down again, it's like, there's a quotation mark lacking. So, I was correct in the first place it just lacked that one.

Here, she draws conclusions about her competence based on an error that many might consider to be unrelated to basic competence. Had she had confidence in her competence, she might have been annoyed with herself for making sloppy mistakes, but instead her conclusion is that she is 'not skilled enough'. I noted a gendered element in these kinds of evaluations when male colleagues seemed to be forgiven for what some might consider to be far more egregious shortcomings than the introduction of a typographical error in a formula. For example, Heidi described a male colleague as 'a really good leader, and very good at including, very transparent ... sure, he doesn't send you the things always when .. but, a side issue'. In this case, the colleague's assessed competence is not threatened by his occasional unreliability, whereas for Frida, her assessed competence *is* threatened by the occasional typographical error. This may well simply reflect how people judge themselves more harshly than they do others, but it also illustrates a gendered double standard in how people extrapolate competence from performance (Foschi, 1996, 2000).

Doing the academic housework: taking on tasks that do not lead to publications

The negotiations described above take their point of departure in what kinds of publications are valued by the NPI and PRIO, examining why the women in this study would prioritize one kind of writing over another. Another set of negotiations is represented by decisions to take on tasks that do not lead to publications at all.

Although there is no teaching mandate at PRIO, there are still other kinds of administrative and leadership roles and tasks that need to be carried out. As described in the previous chapter, there is an expectation at PRIO that researchers will contribute to the collective interests of the organization, and not

just focus on their own career development. Some of the most difficult choices faced by my informants involved decisions about whether or not to take on leadership or management responsibilities. Making these decisions requires them to negotiate between not only their writing and general obligations to the collective, but also their careers in a more general sense and their funders, because prioritizing one could come at the cost of another.

For Nadia, taking on the role of head of department came at a clear cost. Although she enjoys working with other researchers and felt that taking on a leadership role was an important step in her career trajectory, she noticed that it cut into her research time: ‘It’s a balancing act that if you don’t perform as a researcher, you don’t gain respect either’. She pointed out that the ‘culture of excellence’ at PRIO is so strong that people are reluctant to take on leadership roles because of this cost: ‘I mean, yes, everyone loved to be asked, but nobody wanted to do it’. She expressed concern that the emphasis on excellence is tipping the balance away from the concern about the collective and leading to a ‘culture of overachievement’:

We've become such an excellent institute in you know, excellent also meant sarcastically where we don't, we don't have room for normal people anymore. [...] We are hiring people that are excellent but who, none of them are going to be, wanting to be department manager, or you know, do those kinds of things or make it a nice place to be or have fun. You just get so many people that are on this kind of train track towards excellence and that's the problem I think, again, with being so excellent, is that we have to stay there ...

This comment acknowledges that the decision to take on the leadership roles not only implies a potential cost to the individual’s career by taking on such roles, but also to the collective by *not* taking on these kinds of roles. The negotiation entails weighing a single-minded focus on academic publishing against the expense of creating and maintaining a healthy work environment.

One question I sought an answer to was whether women at PRIO are carrying out more of the ‘academic housework’ compared to men. While it was difficult

to answer this question definitively, I saw that senior women registered far more hours than their male counterparts on activities that do not result in any academic publishing – such as leading a research group, editing the journals, coordinating the research school, etc. During the period 2012–2017, a larger share of women than men (half the women compared to about a third of the men) registered hours on non-research-related activities, with a greater number of hours per person (about 70 hours per person for women compared to 40 per person for men).

It should be noted that these are *registered* hours (which means they can be put on a specific project). Much of what we think of as ‘academic housework’ is not acknowledged by being given specific hours to carry it out: committee work, participation on panels, peer reviewing, and simply being collegiate. Several informants saw this kind of ‘academic housework’ as being gendered. Anne says:

I think if you're sort of balancing academic achievements versus things like teaching and admin and community building and all this sort of more sort of softer things, then I think a lot of women do a bunch of that other stuff that doesn't really show up as the hard-core things that you can slam on the table. 'I wrote this book, and it's been received fantastically' you know. [...] It is in those decisions made up at the late point of spending that time doing those things that are good for [...] the greater good, but they're not egotistically good for my CV. [...] [It's about] prioritizing things that are good for your own CV over things that are good as a human being and as a colleague.

Ingrid recalls being one of many asked to give a short presentation to a visiting group who would be at PRIO for a day. The coordinator for the seminar was suddenly called away, and she realized that no one was taking care of the group. The men who had been asked to contribute with a presentation just came and gave their presentations and left, but she felt obligated to act as chair and show the group around PRIO afterwards. She spent half a day with them instead of half an hour: ‘I think it’s very typical for the women here that we feel not only

an obligation, but we feel that it is important for the image of PRIO, you know, to take good care of visitors ...’

To get an indication of whether women at PRIO indeed spend more unregistered time on academic housework, I looked at an overview of who participated in some of the regular and ad hoc committee work (which is not allocated hours) over the past few years,¹⁰ and senior women appear to be highly overrepresented. That is, while the committees appear to be gender balanced, the men who participate have already achieved professorship, or are in management.

One example of this type of work was the so-called pension committee, an ad hoc committee that was formed to assess the implications of pension reform for PRIO. The committee comprised members from both management and the research staff, and all three of the research staff on the pension committee were senior women. I asked one of them why she agreed to take on the task:

Why did I say yes [to the pension committee]? That’s a very good question. [...] I think we sort of decided that we’d have people from more than the union board [...] and then there weren’t that many people to choose from. And there was also a case of [a senior woman being on leave and a senior man being away]. [A man from management] was already involved into a million things from the union and also has a position where it was a bit complicated for him to take that role. [...] So I think both [another senior woman] and I felt like, OK, we’re not really doing anything in the union this year. [...] So I think both of us felt like, OK, we’ll do it. And we certainly did not imagine how much work it would be. [...] So why did I say yes? I didn’t really consciously say yes as in like I was asked and felt like I had an option of saying yes or no. It was more sort of this is part of having said yes to being in the union board, and it’s part of doing that, I suppose. And also a sort of sense of like everyone has to do something in that board [...].

¹⁰ Committees include the director recruitment committee, the deputy director hiring committee, the pension committee, and the strategy committee. Of the research staff that participated, eight were women (one professor, six seniors, and one junior) and three were men (all professors).

In her description of ‘those to choose from’, she names one senior man, one man from management, and four senior women (including herself). In other words, the choice was already narrowed down by those who chose to be active in the union to begin with – a group where senior women are overrepresented.

Taking on work that doesn’t count also includes decisions to participate in activities outside of PRIO, such as panels at conferences, media interviews, and so on. Media interviews can be especially time consuming; because PRIO conducts research on peace and conflict, which includes the migration of individuals as a result, researchers at PRIO are often called upon to comment in the media when events unfold on the world stage. While this is a pressure that both men and women face at PRIO, there is an aspect to this site of negotiation that is unique to women: the pressure to ‘represent their gender’ in conference panels, committees, or media presentations that aim for gender balance. Anne comments:

That’s the dark side of gender balance: It always looks good to have a young woman who can say something smart in a meeting or presentation, or whatever, so you end up being in the category, then you might be overused for certain things, rather than getting the time to be excellent and just continue doing your work.

Work that ‘doesn’t count’ thus represents a key site of negotiation because, on one hand, it takes time away from writing, but on the other hand, it contributes to the collective – both at the local institutional level and the larger academic community. At PRIO in particular, the ‘PRIOite’ identity carries with it a strong obligation to be part of a larger community, but everyone is left to figure out for themselves what this means in practice – how much time they should invest in the collective, and how much they should focus on their own publications. For the women, however, it seems that this balance tips more towards the collective than it does for men.

Negotiating identity: building subjective readiness

Negotiating identity as an academic, peace researcher, and PRIOite does not take place in isolation, but in the context of other aspects of identity – including gender. Although my informants were hesitant about claiming that sites of negotiation in the workplace were gendered, several drew attention to the difficulty of balancing a career, a family, a full social life, self-care, and meaningful hobbies, on the one hand, with a single-minded focus on academia on the other. Sarah says:

You're not employed as an academic, you are an academic. [...] And that can be hard to juggle if you have a lot of kids [and are] very conscientious, you know, do everything right. And then you are going to be conscientious on the home front on all levels of the home front, baking the cake and being at the meetings and [...] time just doesn't add up.

According to my informants, as well as my own observation, men seem to be forgiven if they focus on one thing to the exclusion of others. Nadia talks about how it feels unfair to her that her husband can concentrate fully on work for 12 hours a day, while her attention is pulled in multiple directions. She feels that it is harder for women to push for 'excellence' in the same way that men can:

I think the women I work with are a little bit like me, that they enjoy what they do, but they have so many other things they also have to do. Whereas it seems like the men are more able to put everything aside and just keep their eye on the ball.

Augusta notes that a man is allowed to be a 'single-minded genius that can work and work and work', but a woman opting out of marriage can be difficult 'because you're socially stigmatized in a very different way'. What is being suggested here is that women face different choices than men: opting out of family means they fail at being the ideal woman, as does focusing on their own work without taking care of the collective. And yet, the notion of the ideal academic, and academic excellence, is associated strongly with the person who can do just that: focus on their work and generate products that look good on a CV (Armenti, 2004; Lund, 2015).

One context in which identities of motherhood and the ideal academic clash most clearly is maternity leave. As pointed out earlier, both men and women take parental leave, but women take more: around 9 months compared to 2–3 months for men. This conflicts with the demand for the ideal academic to produce academic publications regularly. Nina says: ‘you know that you have the right to be on leave, but you sense that there shouldn’t be too much of a gap’. What she means by this is that even when women are on leave, they feel pressured to keep up with academic publishing so that they do not have too big of a gap in their CV between publications. On the other hand, by focusing on academic publishing while on maternity leave, they are not committing as fully to the role of mother as what is expected from them. Ingrid describes how committing fully to her role of mother during her maternity leave had a cost:

I realized my male colleagues at the same age, they, kind of, speeded ahead of me. They had also children at the same time, but their wives had taken the majority of the leave, and suddenly they had published things. And suddenly they were offered positions. [...] You don’t stop, but you move much more slowly than you probably would have done if you didn’t have a family.

For Ingrid, like many other women in Norway, the decision to take out as much maternity leave as possible when her children were young left her lagging behind her male colleagues.

The difficult dilemmas women face while trying to live up to the ideals of what a woman, mother, and academic should be – coupled with what these dilemmas mean in practice when trying to prioritize work and writing tasks – have perhaps played a role in why some of my informants seemed ambivalent about aiming for professorship. My interviews with Marit reflect the many different directions in which women feel pushed and pulled when it comes to thinking about professorship. In an early interview, Marit says:

Well, it would be a higher salary, that’s not a big driving force either. The prestige is, perhaps, to me, a bit scary, again. Again, I would question, ‘should I really be a professor?’ or something. People are expecting even more. [...] But I guess it

would open up new doors perhaps. It would make me – I don't know if there are so many things you can do as a professor which you can't do right now. I'm not sure, actually. What I am sure of is that's the goal that we should pursue always.

In a subsequent interview, she notes that in addition to creating higher expectations for performance, becoming a professor might also lead to increased demands on her time. This is because the lack of female professors means that the few who are professors are disproportionately asked to contribute (for example, to lead defence committees, participate on panels, take on leadership roles, and so on). Thus, on one hand, she didn't see any strong reasons to become a professor, and yet on the other she feels that – as a good academic – she should nevertheless pursue it as a goal. Similarly, she feels obligated – as a good feminist – to become a role model by adding to the numbers of female professors, although she is aware that this might bring on extra obligations. She feels that, in principle, she should be able to do this, and yet expresses a lack of confidence:

I've reached more than far enough for me to feel very proud about – at least, objectively – about my title and what I do. Although, I'm not, like I said, always confident that I'm entitled to all this.

While lack of confidence may be linked to gender, it might also (or instead) be linked to the process of becoming an expert: having (or lacking) confidence that one could *ever* be a professor is not the same as being unsure as whether one can unequivocally be considered an expert *right now*. Lise, for example, sees the whole point of being a professor as being able to 'stand alone', whereas having just finished her doctorate, she still feels like she is under someone's wings; this does not mean she will never feel able to stand alone, only that she is not there yet. Augusta, who is much further along in her career, talked about making the transition to becoming an expert, and noted that there are elements of it that make her feel uncomfortable: she still prefers having people around her who are more experienced and can correct her if she gets off track, but she is increasingly aware that she is becoming one of those who are more experienced:

‘It’s a little bit like moving from being sort of young to being established, and realizing that you are established’.

For several of the participants, identifying as an expert was not just related to time and experience, but also to their identity as a researcher. Nadia, for example, describes herself as ‘not a natural academic. [...] I’m a foreign policy person. I’m good with that, and I know where my strengths and weaknesses lie’. Later she says: ‘I think part of the professorship is also that I feel like I’m not a real researcher, and I don’t know if I will ever feel that way’.

Others felt a strong sense of being an academic, but struggled with pinpointing exactly what kind of academic they were. Professorship at PRIO is granted for a specific discipline (e.g., ‘political science’), or interdisciplinary field of studies (e.g., ‘migration studies’), which means that applying for professorship means identifying the field in which one is an expert. One participant, who successfully applied for professorship during the course of the project, deliberated extensively about how to label herself: on one hand, she might stand a better chance for a successful evaluation within one field, on the other, she might be more highly regarded as an academic should she choose a different field. Another reflected on what aiming for professorship might mean for her solidifying her academic identity. Hilde reflects:

If I did want to become a professor, it’s going to be in one discipline, and I’m really going to have to profile myself towards that because ... I’m getting more and more bored by [my original field] and basically moving towards [something else].

For Hilde, then, the issue of labelling was also connected to establishing her future trajectory as a researcher. Her comment about becoming ‘bored’ with her original field reflects the notion that academia is more than a job, but also a calling: the subject matter should be something one is passionate about and dedicated to.

Somewhat ironically in the context of this thesis, the only field about which any participants expressed an explicit reluctance to be identified with is gender research. Despite more than half of my participants being involved in at least one research project with an explicit focus on gender, several recognized an element of risk associated with being identified as a gender researcher. One participant warned that women should be careful to not be labelled as ‘female researchers’ rather than ‘researchers’, and that doing something gender-based risks being perceived as ‘not proper researchers’. Indeed, another participant, who works primarily on gender-related research, describes how difficult it has been to get acknowledgement for the research she has carried out:

I remember a female friend of mine said that I really admire what you’re doing. I think it’s courageous. [...] I think what she meant was that I would never be taken seriously [...] and to some extent, she’s been right.

She goes on to describe how those developing the curriculum for a university course on peace and conflict not only ignored her work and the work of her PRIO colleagues on the same topic, but also the topic of gender altogether.

For most, however, risk was mostly associated with applying prematurely. Anne says:

I think that would be very bad for myself. [...] I mean, I already know how I respond to negative reviews, even if they’re kind of positive but they’re saying negative things. I don’t take it well. I have a very hard time picking it up again and starting and, sort of getting back into it and revising and stuff when I’ve been rejected. So, to have my whole career on the line and be rejected, I’m likely to not have a very good psychological reaction to that. [...] So why put myself in that risk when I could just wait to be a little bit more sure?

For Anne, it is a much greater risk to apply and be rejected – even though rejection does not impede a candidate’s ability to apply again in any way – than to unnecessarily delay professorship and have other colleagues pass her by.

I am unsure how the role of the POWER project might have influenced my participants' perception of risk. The POWER project might have inadvertently increased this sense of risk for the women at PRIO by bringing attention to the literature on gender bias suggesting that women's applications are evaluated more stringently than men's. On the other hand, the POWER project might have mitigated against an even greater risk aversion by pointing out that women might delay applying for promotion unnecessarily.

Ironically, the competence model that allows candidates to apply for promotion within an existing position might increase the perception of risk. Although the literature suggests that women benefit from a competence model of promotion compared to a competition model (Coate & Howson, 2016; Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011), losing out to another qualified candidate does not necessarily entail the same feeling of inadequacy that being turned down after an assessment of one's portfolio does. In my observations at PRIO, most researchers seem to know of at least one person whose application was rejected, and the fear of landing in such a position oneself causes both men and women to think twice before applying.

Expressing agency through resistance: 'In my own time'

Despite the difficult deliberations and risks associated with applying for professorship (prematurely), most of my informants were not ambivalent to the idea of professorship in an absolute sense, but rather the idea of pursuing professorship simply did not seem relevant – or at least, not yet. Before conducting this research, I expected that even those who had just finished their PhDs would say something like, 'Of course, I intend to apply for professorship after I have built up my portfolio. Why wouldn't I?' But most, even those who had finished their PhDs many years earlier, expressed a 'wait and see' attitude, because there were just too many things to take into consideration to focus solely on professorship. The women in my study were working on an average of 10–15 different writing projects at any given time (one reported working on as many as 26 different articles, book chapters, and reports). This made it difficult

for one set of priorities to consistently outweigh others. For example, when I asked Marit which of her on-going writing projects she thought was most important, she answered with some frustration that it all depends on what is considered the most important:

Is it the professor track thing? Should I be selfish and prioritize the articles where I'm the lead author or the single author? Or should I prioritize [these topics] which are tied to my own [...] project? Or should I prioritize the more social aspects and co-authored works related to other projects where I'm not the project leader[...]? Should I be nice, egoistic, or theme-focused? [...] Oh, there's a third element: I think maybe I should focus on the things that I find fun as well, because in general I tend to find things a bit boring and much of a hassle at the time. [...] No, but seriously, I think that's quite important. And that's why maybe even though the paper with [colleague] shouldn't be very highly prioritised, it's still tempting to prioritize it exactly because [...] it's going to give me energy.

She names the 'professor track thing' first, ostensibly because she is aware of the purpose of my research and the POWER project. But for her, emphasizing writing projects that would be good for her professorship seems to feel 'selfish'. Competing with that are deliverables for projects where she is a leader and feels a responsibility for the team and her own role. In addition, there are the co-authored pieces, prioritization of which she frames as being 'nice'. Almost as an afterthought she mentions projects that simply bring her satisfaction. All these deliberations reflect different aspects of her identity: ambitious academic, project leader, good colleague – and person who wants to find satisfaction and meaning in what she does.

Similarly, when Anne looks at the list she has presented to me at the beginning of the interview, she says:

Some things are important for deliverables for certain projects. Some things are important to do just because other people are relying on me to do something so that they can do something. And other things, some things are important for my journal career and standing as an academic. Some things are important

for my research professor competence possibilities. So, if it was all about becoming a research professor, then two solo articles and the book would be the things that are the most important. But I can't ditch people [...] all of a sudden because I have a responsibility there, too, because I'm leading the project [...].

To help sort out her priorities, she keeps two lists on a daily basis. One is a list of writing projects that are ranked in terms of importance for professorship, where the lowest ranked are those where she is a co-author with little independent contribution, the highest ranked are theoretical contributions, and somewhere in the middle are pieces where she has a substantive (solo) contribution. Her other list includes all items and is ordered more in terms of deadlines, which, she says, 'is kind of like a different logic'.

In addition to negotiating competing demands in a work context, my informants also talked about needing to balance these concerns against their life outside of work. For Marit, a key illustration of her feelings towards work–life balance occurred in the context of discussing a leadership training course. She described how most of the others in the course say

that they have this nice arrangement that they work every second weekend, and their partner spends time with the kids, and they alternate so that the other can spend full days in the office on Saturday and Sunday. [...] They almost brag about this arrangement. And I'm thinking, OK, I'm the normal person at this place. To me, this is not a lifestyle.

Frida says something strikingly similar when she reflects,

I do remember some friends of ours [...] I think they had two evenings each, like two days in the week each where they could do other stuff. And that, then you end up with only one day being a family. And I said, that's not for me. I mean, we are a family of three. [...] I want a normal afternoon to be the three of us. [...] But ideally, from my working perspective, I should have been at work much longer in the afternoon.

Both Frida and Marit see how others sacrifice some of their family time by working long hours and weekends to meet the demands of being an academic. But they actively resist doing the same. Marit says:

[...]it makes me a little bit rebellious as well. I don't try to hide the fact that I work less, and I've actually [...] invited discussions on this very topic because I'm not ashamed about this. I think one should be proud if you're able to juggle a normal family life with research.

When I ask her what kind of response she gets, she says people ask her how she is able to get everything done: 'and apparently, I'm not able to get all these things done, but so be it. I don't want their life. If it's going to be like that, I'd rather do something different'. She stresses that she thinks working at PRIO is a meaningful job, but she wants a life in addition, and while she feels professorship will happen, she is not in a hurry.

Several others echoed these thoughts. A running theme throughout the interviews was a refusal to sacrifice everything simply to meet the goal of attaining professorship. Augusta says simply, 'I'm going to work a lot, [...] but not in the weekends'. Sarah elaborates:

[The professorship application] has to show that I've excelled in a different sort of direction, or that I have another academic leg or whatever to stand on. And I could have pushed myself maybe earlier to do that. But it's a quality of life, kind of. [...] I mean, I like writing. I like what I do. But I have to balance it. [...] So I haven't been willing to prioritize, really. Or to sacrifice other things to have time to do that.

In practice, this refusal to sacrifice the well-being of their families (and to a certain extent themselves) means that time to write is not always predictable, and can be pre-empted by other demands. The individual agency expressed by my informants was clear: they felt that it was up to them to prioritize, and were not entirely sure what PRIO could – or should – provide in terms of support. Sarah, for example, was not only sceptical about the benefits of the POWER project, but was also concerned that, even though it was meant to provide

support, it could be interpreted as still more pressure in an already pressured environment. She reflects:

Well I'm thinking about, you know, everyone at PRIO, all the women at PRIO and, you know, how can you make sure that people get professor... get to the professor level but in a way that's not too... And this is no criticism against you, Lynn, [...] but against this total pressure of getting to professor competence so fast that we kill some enthusiasm along the way. I would be worried about that, also because these women are under a lot of pressure, they have little kids – at least here at PRIO. [...] We don't have to be professors everyone before we're 40 or 35 even.

Implicit in Sarah's point is not only that the push for professorship happens at a time when women are also concerned with family, but that viewing it as a kind of race – as a goal to attain before a certain age – is unhealthy, and that too much 'institutional support' could exacerbate this unhealthiness. This is further reflected in a conversation I had with Heidi, where I referred to an earlier interview in which she expressed a high degree of motivation to become a professor, but then suggested that the POWER project put so much focus on professorship that it became a stress factor. She emphasized her continued motivation, but resisted the pressure to push herself prematurely:

But I am motivated and that's definitely what I'm working towards. [...] I'm definitely getting there. It's not a choice or an option not to do it. I'm just not... It doesn't matter if I get it in four years, or five years or six years.

What is being expressed here, not just through Sarah's and Heidi's comments but through all of those who suggest that professorship should not have to come at the expense of a fuller life, is a kind of subversiveness that challenges the notion of the 'ideal academic'. In other words, my participants were not looking to be 'fixed' so they could act more like men, nor for PRIO to remove institutional obstacles so they could advance as quickly as men, but rather for us to question whether the straight and narrow path to professorship is the best, or only, way to make a valuable contribution to academia. The next chapter

discusses what these sites of negotiation and resistance mean for understanding 'readiness', and how it connects to institutional environment and gender.

7. Discussion: Readiness as a balancing act

The overarching research question for this thesis is: *What challenges related to objective and subjective readiness do women at PRIO face on the path to professorship?* Chapter 5 presented the context in which women at PRIO operate: what it means to be a woman in Norway, and what it means to be a researcher at PRIO. This context shapes expectations for how gender and academia should be performed. In Chapter 6, I then presented key sites of negotiation related to building up a portfolio of publications to meet the criteria for professorship, as well as building an identity as an expert. This chapter summarizes some of the main findings and discusses them in light of the existing literature and their implications for the overarching research question. It then presents the key contributions of this thesis to the literature.

Challenges to objective readiness: generating publications that ‘count’

As in any other research-producing setting, researchers at PRIO do more than simply produce academic writing, and applying for professorship requires more than an impressive portfolio of publications. But, as argued earlier, academic publications are what ‘count’ the most. Producing academic publications requires, at the very minimum, that:

- (i) *Research has taken place upon which to base the publication.*

Presumably, it is difficult to produce an academic publication without having conducted academic research (either empirical or conceptual) upon which to report.

- (ii) *The researcher (with or without co-authors) has been able to write and complete the work for submission.* Research alone is insufficient; researchers must transform research results into written form and submit a manuscript for publication. Obstacles can include activities that compete with writing time, as well as the author’s ability to recognize the work as ‘finished’ and ‘good enough’ to submit.

- (iii) *The work is published in a form that ‘counts’.* With the current emphasis on bibliometrics and measurable output, writing does not ‘count’ as

academic output unless it is published in a specific form. In the case of Norway, that means a journal article, book, or book chapter published by a recognized journal or press.

Below, I discuss the main findings in this study relevant for each of these points.

(i) Relating to funders: shaping the premises for research-based publications

PRIO's position in the institute sector in Norway shapes the premises for what kind of research takes place in two important ways: first, the mandate of the institute sector is to produce applied research and not necessarily academic publications; and second, the independent institutes rely primarily on external funding. PRIO differs from many other institutes in the institute sector, however, by choosing a more deliberate focus on academic excellence, and by obtaining most of its funding through competitive grants rather than direct commissions. The necessity of writing grants, and expectations from funders regarding how research findings should be presented and disseminated, represent key sites of negotiation reported by my informants.

The way that grant writing was framed by my informants as an obligation to the collective implies that deliberations around how much to prioritize grant writing might have a gendered component. While the literature suggests that women steer away from grant-writing because it involves 'boasting' or 'begging and bragging' (Baker 2016, Lund 2018, Archer 2008), the context of PRIO makes grant writing an everyday necessity, and thus not associated with prestige as much as it is associated with obligation to the collective. And when it comes to an obligation to the collective, the literature also suggests that conceptions of femininity include a caring discourse, which extends beyond the home and into the workplace, where women find it more difficult to protect their time and are more likely to take on work that supports the institutional environment rather than their individual careers (Baker, 2016; Lillis & Curry, 2018; Lund, 2015).

The type of funding that is granted also matters for what kinds of publications result (or do not result) from the research. Short-term funding (1–6 months) from the ministries is far less likely to result in academic publications compared to longer-term funding from the Research Council of Norway (3 years or more). The extent to which my informants sought out funders who value non-academic output, or focused on reaching out to non-academic audiences, seemed to be a question of identity: how they balance performing the ‘ideal peace researcher’ (by engaging with other audiences than academics and conceptualizing deliverables in outputs other than publications) with performing the ‘ideal academic’ (by focusing primarily on academic publications). The role of the prestige economy (Blackmore & Kandiko, 2011) here is clear. When academic output (and specific kinds of academic output) is valued over other kinds of deliverables, those who lean towards policy-oriented, short-term funding face disadvantages when it comes to professorship in two different ways: first, in the short term, this type of funding rarely results in academic publications; second, in the long-term, it is difficult to build an academic career based on short-term research that does not allow enough time or depth for the researcher to develop their expertise.

While Leisyte (2016) suggests that women are more likely than men to have short-term funding, there was little evidence that this is true at PRIO.¹¹

However, when women struggle more than men to see themselves as experts (and to be seen by others as experts) (Baker, 2016; Foschi, 1996, 2000; Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011), this would make it even more difficult for women at PRIO who identify more strongly with the policy aspects of peace research to build an academic career that leads to professorship.

¹¹ In the years 2012–2017, both men and women at PRIO received about 35% of their funding from policy-oriented, short-term sources. However, this is at the aggregate level; it was beyond the scope of this research to look at whether there are relatively more individual women than individual men at PRIO who have short-term funding as their main source of funding.

(ii) Writing about research: making time and recognizing quality

Two main obstacles stood out when it came to writing: taking on tasks that are not related to research, and being unable to finish because the quality is not seen as good enough.

With respect to the first, I have already mentioned how grant writing research can interfere with writing academic publications. In addition, senior women at PRIO also seemed to take on responsibilities that were not related to research at all (e.g., leadership and management roles, as well as committee work and other kinds of ‘academic housekeeping’). Consistent with many other studies (e.g., Baker, 2016; Lund, 2015), my interview data suggest that women take on more of these non-research tasks than men do because the way the ‘ideal woman’ is understood – contributing to the collective and providing care to others – makes it more difficult for women at PRIO to decline such activities to simply concentrate on their writing. My participants felt it was more acceptable for men to say no to such roles and focus on their individual productivity, whereas women would be more stigmatized. In combination with the tendency of men to work more on their academic writing outside of working hours than women do (Vabø et al., 2012), women seem to have less total time available to them to focus on writing. While a few of the women in the group talked about the need to plan and negotiate extra time to work with their partners, most seemed reluctant to sacrifice family time for work.

Although the decision to take on non-research related tasks might be seen as non-strategic, the interview data also show that women are thinking about their professional development in a broad sense, and sometimes prioritize activities that do not lead to publications because it develops their competence in other ways. The negotiations in this respect became explicitly gendered when they expressed feeling obligated to ‘represent women’ in areas where women have traditionally been underrepresented. An additional push from the institutional environment comes from the leadership at PRIO actively encouraging women to take on leadership roles precisely to correct for a historical lack of gender

balance. This creates an additional site of negotiation that men simply do not face: the push to take on a task (such as participation in panels) not because it will provide immediate benefit to either the individual or the organization, but because it will improve gender balance in a more general sense.

As for evaluating the quality of their work, I found that my informants were setting exceptionally high standards for themselves. Almost all talked about how various papers needed to be rewritten before they could be submitted anywhere. Even the quantitative researchers talked about having to restructure data, gather more data, update the data, and so on. Nobody's writing process was straightforward, but what seemed to make it worse for some people was the pressure to be 'excellent'. The rhetoric of PRIO is such that 'excellence' becomes a mantra, and this at times makes it difficult for individuals to feel that their work is good enough. Thus, a key site of negotiation was related to where to draw the line between simply finishing something and aiming for excellence.

While this does not seem to be a gendered problem on the surface, the literature does point clearly at women having a more difficult time seeing their own excellence, and an easier time interpreting setbacks (such as a critical peer review) as a sign that they lack competence (Foschi, 1996, 2000). That is, the focus on excellence at PRIO might exacerbate this double-standard, meaning that women might be spending more time re-writing, re-framing, and re-thinking. This could not only delay initial submission (particularly to high-ranked journals), but it might also make it harder for women to respond efficiently to invitations to revise and resubmit.

(iii) Producing work that 'counts'

In the previous chapter, I described several sites of negotiation related to producing publications that 'count' most in the NPI in terms of co-authorship, genre, and publication channel. Although the criteria for professorship at PRIO do not specify what counts the most, non-academic publications cannot be included among the 15 works selected for evaluation.

The interview data shows that although the NPI exerts a clear pull, my informants felt that qualifying for professorship should demonstrate a ‘balance’, especially between solo-authored and co-authored works, and between different types of genres. Moreover, they often made deliberate choices to prioritize outputs they knew would not give them much credit (such as edited volumes). Rather than behaving non-strategically, this may be a case of attempting to meet multiple strategic goals at the same time and thinking critically about what constitutes success (Sutherland, 2017). Publishing genres that have little or no value in the prestige economy may nevertheless be considered meaningful in the context of real-world impact and representing the ‘ideal peace researcher’. Similarly, the choice of some women at PRIO to pursue gender research, despite it being considered less prestigious than other research (Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2013) suggests that the meaningfulness of the research often outweighs the prestige associated with it.

When it comes to publishing in top-ranked journals, my interview data shows that the women in this study were often sceptical of their own excellence. The literature shows that women publish less in top-ranked journals (see, e.g., Nygaard & Bahgat, 2018), and reviewer bias has often been examined as a cause (see, e.g., Østby et al., 2013). My data suggest, however, that women being sceptical of their own excellence might also make them reluctant to submit to top journals in the first place. Foschi’s (1996, 2000) work on double standards would suggest that both could be true: not only might women be less likely to have their work accepted, but they might also be less likely to submit to top journals because they are likely to evaluate their own work more harshly than men’s.

For each of these potential obstacles to productivity – demands from funders, making time for writing, understanding ‘good enough’, and producing work that counts – the cumulative effect is what matters for objective readiness to apply for professorship. Everyone I have seen at PRIO, not just the researchers in this study, occasionally takes on work that doesn’t count, or spends time on an

output that isn't recognized. PRIO's emphasis on 'engaged excellence' implies a certain amount of engagement in non-academic activities. However, if a researcher consistently lands on the side of taking on non-research related tasks, carrying out short-term research, and presenting findings in a form that is not recognized, then developing professor competence will be very difficult indeed.

Challenges to subjective readiness: identifying as an expert

Simply producing an adequate number of academic publications is no guarantee that a researcher will feel ready to submit an application for professorship.

Among my informants, subjective readiness – identifying as an expert and being reasonably confident that the professorship application would be successful – seemed to lag somewhat behind objective readiness. The same types of deliberations about 'good enough' that apply to each manuscript also take place at the portfolio level: it is difficult to know what is 'good enough' for professorship when excellence is what matters. The participants who were preparing to submit an application for promotion during the project period all talked about wanting to be completely convinced that their application would be successful before they would dare to submit. And for them, this meant meeting all the primary and secondary criteria by a good margin – leaving nothing to chance.

When it came to developing subjective readiness, time emerged as an important theme over the course of the research, particularly in terms of building an identity as an expert. As implied by the feedback loops in the theoretical model presented in Chapter 3, the choices researchers make over time about publishing not only have a cumulative effect on their objective levels of productivity, but can feed into and reinforce the ideas they have about themselves. The more academic publications they produce, the easier it is for them to think of themselves as an expert – and thus a candidate for professor. This also means that those who more strongly identify with being a policy-relevant peace researcher rather than a pure academic, and regularly prioritize non-academic publications, can then find identifying as a professor difficult.

The relationship between time and subjective readiness became particularly evident during the member-checking phase of this research. Because three years had elapsed from when I finished the interviews to when I finished the draft I sent to the participants (largely because I took two interruptions of studies), several participants observed that their interview extracts in the manuscript no longer reflected how they felt. While they did not dispute what they had said or what I had written, they reflected on how much things change when they have had a few years to publish more and think about their career development. For some, those few years meant a transition from a temporary contract to a permanent one, and for two, those few years also meant a shift to ‘readiness’ and professorship.

Time was also important in the way they expressed resistance: they did not challenge the criteria for professorship, but rather the pressure to reach professorship early. The women in my study seemed to be resisting what Archer (2008) describes as the pressure to ‘be’ an academic without being given permission to ‘become’ one. They were also unwilling to sacrifice other areas of their lives in order to prioritize reaching professorship at an early age. This resistance is similar to what Sutherland (2017) observed in her study where a ‘new kind of hero story’ emerged among staff who were able to reconcile their own goals with institutional goals in a different way and defined success in their own terms.

It is worth speculating on the extent to which this resistance relates to privilege. It is easier for an individual to resist pressure when they are situated in a society with a strong welfare system, have job security, or otherwise have a relatively high status. It is also perhaps easier for women to resist the pressure of conforming to the ‘ideal academic’ when they are in a context with a certain degree of gender balance already and they are not under pressure to act as pioneers. It might be that women in more vulnerable groups or other contexts – with less gender balance and little sense of security – do not consider resistance

as an option and either sacrifice other aspects of their lives or opt out of academia.

Gender as the thumb on the scale

A primary concern across all sites of negotiation discussed in this thesis – related to both objective readiness and subjective readiness – has been ‘balance’, where my informants have emphasized the need to meet multiple goals. That is, when the participants in my study are faced with a particular site of negotiation – where multiple courses of action are possible, and they feel different pressures being exerted in different directions – they do not always make the same choices every time: most seem to aim for a sense of balance. Baker (2016) also finds that women feel that the balanced life is more important than ‘success’.

For my informants, the issue of balance was not only related to work–life balance, but also *work–work* balance: balancing long-term research and short-term, co-authored works with solo-authored, research with administration and leadership, and so on. The deliberations around balance show that the production of academic text is far from straightforward – in contrast to what is implied by the productivity literature that compares simple input (R&D investments) to output (published journal articles). And while popular conceptions of ‘the writer’ in academia suggest a lone scholar, chewing over the perfect wording, working far away from others on one publication at a time, the reality for researchers at PRIO is collaboration with others, juggling multiple writing projects, and thinking more about the intellectual work behind the writing than the words themselves.

While it is arguable that both men and women strive to achieve balance and excellence, what I am suggesting here is that the push and pull of larger gendered social structures means that, all else being equal, gender acts as an invisible thumb on the scale that ever so slightly, but persistently, tips the balance so that men and women face different choices. When men who isolate themselves to get their work done are admired as being eccentric, while women who attempt to do the same are characterized as misfits and ‘hard to work with’,

then their choices are weighted by different social costs and benefits. Similarly, when women are asked to participate on boards, committees, panels, and leader groups in order to provide voice and representation for women's interests, they face a different choice than (white) men who need merely consider their own preferences.

Moreover, despite the progress Norway has made in its generous parental leave and childcare arrangements, the choices men and women face with respect to work–life balance remain different: women are still expected to be the most important figure at home, while men are still expected to devote most of their energy to their careers. This plays out on the micro-level, where women are criticized for infractions so minor as picking up children from day care a few minutes late or bringing store-bought cake to a party, while men who do the same hear ‘at least you tried’. These pressures allow (or perhaps force) men to spend more of their free time working than women do (Vabø et al., 2012), making their visible involvement in family life still seen as ‘wonderful if you can, but understandable if you can’t’. For women, not only is lack of visible involvement in family life seen as less understandable than it is for men, but in my observations, a woman without a child is called on to defend her choices far more often than a woman without a career. In other words, the expectations that women should be mothers, and mothers should be more present in the family than fathers (Baker, 2010, 2016) still applies to Norway. These expectations mean that although men could potentially take a larger share of the parental leave than they do, most women in Norway (and at PRIO) take as much of the quota as they can, leaving most men with the minimum allotted to fathers. (The fact that this is often framed as the woman's choice, and not a choice the couple makes jointly, is telling). This leaves women with a much longer ‘gap’ in their CV, and a much more difficult time producing an equivalent number of publications as men within the same time period.

Although PRIO might be a kind of a bubble where gender balance in the workplace is better than most other places, women still face systematically

different choices than men because PRIO still exists within a gendered society. Similarly, while Norway might be more gender-balanced than other countries, it still exists in a world where the ideal academic can focus on academia 24/7, presumably with a 'wife' to provide support (S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; Armenti, 2004). The longer maternity leaves that Norwegian women take, and the resulting 'gaps' in their CVs, puts them at a greater disadvantage when their work is evaluated in absolute terms (without allowing for absences). This means that while performing academia is difficult for everyone, it becomes just a little harder for women because of the different choices they face, and the different social costs of those choices.

Perhaps most importantly when it comes to professorship, gender tips the scale when it comes to waiting to apply. Not only do women have additional pressures that pull them away from academic publishing, but gendered double standards affect both their own evaluation of readiness as well as how the committee might assess their work (Foschi, 1996, 2000; Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011; Wennerås & Wold, 1997). In the context of applying for professorship, 'risk aversion' might reflect a realistic understanding of how their work might be evaluated rather than exaggerated perfectionism.

[Contributions to the literature: Sites of negotiation as a theoretical lens](#)

Throughout this thesis, I have used the concept of 'sites of negotiation' as a lens to identify specific areas of tension and ambiguity that arose for my participants in relation to their 'readiness' for professorship. I have been developing this concept throughout my doctoral studies to look at areas of tension, contested space, or ambiguity in academic writing and publishing that arise from conflicting demands of the institutional setting, the larger environmental context, and aspects of identity. Because the purpose of this study was to look at challenges women at PRIO face on the path to professorship, I foregrounded gender and the aspects of the institutional context relevant for promotion at PRIO (particularly in terms of the publishing requirements). However, the

concept itself can be used in a much broader capacity and is far more generalizable than the specific findings of this study.

All institutions are embedded in their own unique combination of local, national, and international contexts; and all academics have complex identities with multiple intersections. While the configuration of specific pressures might vary between contexts and groups of researchers, the necessity for individual academics to negotiate competing interests is arguably universal. Foregrounding different aspects of identity (not only gender, race, class, ethnicity and sexuality, but also discipline, and perhaps political or religious affiliation) and how they intersect can shed more light on how different sites of negotiation emerge for different groups in different contexts. Moreover, it can also provide a tool for better understanding how beliefs about the self (e.g., ‘I am a good writer’) are related to both experience over time (e.g., the building of expertise) and group membership (e.g., gender or race).

Using sites of negotiation as a theoretical lens can help tease out how, exactly, power and prestige are distributed differently throughout academia. As argued here, some sites of negotiation may look the same on the surface for different groups (e.g., both men and women at PRIO have to weigh writing grants against the producing publications), but when we look at what is at stake, it becomes evident that different groups face different choices with different consequences. Moreover, some groups might also face entirely different sites of negotiation that privileged groups never have to face: the difficult question of publishing in a native language versus English is a negotiation that native English speakers simply do not encounter (Nygaard, 2019). Thus, the concept of sites of negotiation can contribute to the growing academic literacies research on faculty writing.

The notion of sites of negotiation also contributes an important nuance to the productivity literature that seldom if ever problematizes the relative value of different kinds of output for a given context. It can give rise to new sets of research questions that explore how different aspects of productivity vary across

disciplines and geographical contexts – rather than simply attempting to make statements about who is more productive than whom.

Finally, in combination with the concepts of objective and subjective readiness, identifying key sites of negotiation that women face in their specific contexts, and how they understand ‘balance’, can lead to a more nuanced understanding of the leaky pipeline, and how reasons for leaving academia (or remaining at lower levels in academia) might vary between contexts and stages of the career trajectory. This could then lead to more effective solutions than one-size-fits-all interventions that do not take context into account. If women in Norway face different sites of negotiation than women in the UK, or if women at PRIO face different sites of negotiation than women based at a university, there is no reason to assume that interventions that work well in one of those places will work equally well in another.

8. Conclusion: Readiness and the winding path to professorship

The point of departure for this thesis is the puzzle of the leaky pipeline, where the proportion of women in academia decreases as rank increases. I have used a critical ethnographic approach to look at writing practices, and examine how gender and institutional setting interact to create sites of negotiation for promotion. The study site is the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), an independent social science research institute in Norway. PRIO represents an interesting case for investigation because most of the traditional obstacles to women's progress in academia have been removed: for example, because it is based in Norway, researchers have the right to maternity leave with a guarantee of returning to the same job and access to affordable day care; and because PRIO is a research institute, its staff does not have teaching obligations, which is often framed as one of the main challenges to generating academic publications. Moreover, gender balance at all levels has long been an explicit goal at PRIO, and the research took place against the backdrop of a related project to increase the number of female professors at PRIO.

Because PRIO uses the 'competence model' rather than the 'competition model' for promotion, the primary criterion for promotion is a sufficient body of publications that demonstrates breadth and depth, quantity and quality. The researcher herself decides when she is 'ready' to apply. My point of departure, then, has been to identify challenges related to both 'objective readiness' (i.e., generating a substantial body of publications) and 'subjective readiness' (i.e., being motivated to apply and reasonably confident of success).

My theoretical perspective, grounded in academic literacies, sees academic writing not merely as a neutral transcription of research, but rather as a social practice where the communication of research is shaped by the situated context. The production of academic publications requires researchers to make choices in a context where more than one legitimate choice can be made and where

pressure is exerted in more than one direction. Everyday writing practices are shaped by decisions about what to prioritize, who to co-author with (or to co-author at all), what kind of publication to produce (e.g., journal article, book, or book chapter – or even something that is not recognized as being academic), and where (and when) to submit the publication.

Behind these sites of negotiation lie a prestige economy, reflected in bibliometric indicators of productivity, which places greater value on some outputs and activities than others – such as valuing journal articles more than book chapters. While the prestige economy is arguably similar for academic institutions across the world, the situated nature of research production means that certain counter pressures are also exerted by individual research environments at the local or disciplinary level. For example, while publications in ‘international’ (i.e., English language) journals might be more valued in general, an individual institute whose primary purpose is to provide input to government institutions might more consistently produce reports in a local language. Likewise, while journal articles might be a more highly valued genre than books, some disciplines in the social sciences and humanities consistently produce a larger proportion of books and book chapters than disciplines in the natural sciences. Push and pull is also exerted by the individual’s sense of identity: not only the social groups to which they belong (based on gender or discipline, for example), but also with respect to their own beliefs about themselves – including the degree to which becoming a professor is consistent with their self-image.

To qualify for professorship, what matters is the cumulative effect of these individual negotiations – to what extent a researcher has landed more often on the side of publishing works that are valued in the prestige economy. And a key question in this thesis has been how gender and institutional environment might tip the balance. Drawing on interviews and observation of the institutional environment at PRIO, I examined how academic writing is understood, practiced, and prioritized, and what sites of negotiation emerge. I have

demonstrated that ‘readiness’ to apply for professorship is a complex process that is affected both by gender and the institutional environment.

First, ‘objective’ readiness involves being able to generate a sufficient body of work. At the very basic level, this means making sure there is research (empirical or theoretical/conceptual) upon which to base academic publications, and time for writing. At PRIO, sites of negotiation about what to prioritize are profoundly shaped by the role of external grants. Grant-writing takes up a considerable amount of time (not least because the success rate is so low), and it also determines the nature of the research and the expected deliverables. I have argued that not only does gender play a role in women prioritizing the interests of the collective (both at work and at home), but also other issues of identity matter in what kind of writing gets done: identity as an academic, as a peace researcher, as a policy expert, as a political scientist or anthropologist, and so on.

Second, ‘subjective’ readiness requires that the candidate be motivated to apply and be reasonably confident of success. While motivation for professorship seemed to increase over the course of the project – not least because talking about the criteria and the process so openly made it seem more realistic and normalized – subjective readiness seemed to lag behind objective readiness. Even those who were ‘objectively’ ready – who had a much larger number of publications than needed, as well as significant leadership experience – wanted to wait until they were *absolutely sure* there would be no question with the application. While this may be interpreted as a lack of confidence, or at least risk aversion, it might also be an (un)conscious awareness that women are judged more harshly.

This thesis began with a mention of the Scandinavian paradox (Seierstad & Healy, 2012). Despite the high marks on gender balance in most other areas, Scandinavia still lags behind other countries in gender balance at the professor level. What I have argued here is that the social welfare system has made participation of women with families in academia *possible* – but not necessarily

easy. The absence of obvious obstacles allows women to feel like they are weighing their options, thinking about balance, without gender being an immediate concern. Indeed, most of my informants claim that gender bias plays little role in their everyday lives. But it's there in the way society conceptualizes the ideal woman, the ideal mother, and the ideal academic. This means that although some sites of negotiation may not *appear* to be gendered on the surface (e.g., everyone struggles to find time to write), men and women face different social consequences of their choices – making the underlying decision matrix different. This filters down to the way individuals approach writing on a daily basis – shaping the amount of time they have for writing, the types of writing they prioritize, and the way they conceptualize the excellence of their work. In the struggle to achieve a balance between conflicting pressures, then, gender acts as an invisible thumb on the scale – unobserved, but constantly exerting pressure – informing the choices men and women make.

Challenging the 'ideal academic' and what needs to be fixed

Refusing to compromise when it comes to meeting the demands of the ideal mother/woman (and being in the privileged position to do so), many of the women in my study instead challenged the demands of the ideal academic. Instead of questioning why they can't *also* have a couple of hours in the afternoon to write (like men do), they are questioning why *anyone* would need to have those hours when they've already worked a full day. Rather than wanting to act just like men are supposed to act, they are asking whether acting in that way is a good idea for anyone (including men). The structural problems that women in Norway face are not lack of childcare, parental leave, and so on, but rather the assumption that a life in academia is one uninterrupted concentration of focus lasting for 40 years. Social benefits have changed, but not conceptions of career development. Regardless of how legal and expected it is for women to take extended leaves of absence in connection with having children, they feel the consequences of having 'gaps' in their CV.

When it then comes time to prioritize writing, and deciding what kinds of writing to prioritize, they are not willing to sacrifice any of their competing sets of interests. They are fully aware of what kind of writing should be prioritized if professorship is their overriding goal, but even those who are motivated to be professors also want to do the kind of writing that feels meaningful (in the context of peace research) or personally satisfying. The only way to manage all these different goals is to take extra time. Thus, they demonstrate a kind of subversiveness: they know what the ideal academic is supposed to be doing, but they intentionally go their own way, and at their own pace.

Implications for practice

The subversiveness described above – with the implicit goal of challenging discourses of the ‘ideal academic’ – has some distinct implications for practice. While it is arguably beyond the scope of any individual institute to change implicit conceptions of the ideal academic and the entire prestige economy on which these conceptions are built, it is possible to keep a critical view of the ‘ideal academic’, and the situated nature of academic writing, in mind when designing interventions.

For example, interventions aimed at ‘fixing the women’ – that is, working with individual women – can focus less on teaching women the rules of the game so they can act more like men, and instead help women to understand the various kinds of pressures they are under, where those pressures come from, and to define their own strategies. In other words, instead of (or perhaps in addition to) sending individual women to leadership courses, women can learn more about how implicit gender bias and double standards might make it difficult for them to see the excellence of their own work, and how they might take steps to counteract that. Another useful intervention could be individual coaching that would allow women to systematically think through their own priorities, aiming at a greater sense of agency. It is worth noting here that in the context of the POWER project, several participants commented that they appreciated how the project did not push them against their will, but rather provided a ‘nudge’; by

giving them space to think through their own priorities and an opportunity to talk about professional development, they felt that they better understood what was expected from them for promotion to professor, but could proceed at their own pace.

Interventions aimed at ‘fixing the system’ would have to pay special attention to the role of institutional culture: what kinds of publications are valued (e.g., academic publications vs other kinds of publications) and how participation in the collective might be unintentionally gendered. Interventions would have to be tailored to the specific challenges each institution faces. For example, if only women are participating in committee work, then perhaps committee organizers might have to deliberately seek out men. Moreover, it will be important to be conscious about what signals are sent out at the institutional level when it comes to parental leave and researchers with families. For example, in the context of Norway where parental leave can last up to a year and is divided between the two parents, fathers who decline to take more parental leave than required should not be ‘rewarded’ by praise for their dedication to the company, just as both mothers and fathers who take the full amount of parental leave they are entitled to should not be punished. Encouraging role models and network building can also take place at the institutional level, as can general efforts to demystify professorship by making promotion criteria as transparent as possible and encouraging those who have achieved professorship to share their experience. And not least, care should be taken to not imply that professorship should be achieved as early as possible in one’s academic career.

Finally, institution-wide interventions can be designed specifically to provide writing support. Interventions that benefit women in particular are flexibility related to working from home (or outside the office in general), writing retreats (Murray & Kempenaar, 2018), and coaching (particularly around deliberations about what constitutes ‘good enough’ and selecting target journals). Institutions can also counteract the unconscious tendency to reserve the terms ‘brilliant’ and ‘excellent’ to only the work done by men by actively seeking out the excellent

publications that women have produced and promoting them at the institutional level. This can also mean deliberately promoting work on gender-related topics, particularly in fields and disciplines where these topics are neglected.

Revisiting readiness: concluding remarks

Carrying out this research has changed my original thinking in three main ways. First, I approached my research with an idea that, although objective and subjective readiness were imprecise concepts, there was nevertheless a utility in looking at them separately. An observation I can make now that the project is over is how much they inform one another: the more publications researchers generate, the easier it is for them to think of themselves as experts. Likewise, the less distant and more realistic professorship seems, and the more researchers are motivated to think of themselves as experts, the easier it is to prioritize publications that ‘count’. This means that although there might still be some utility to thinking of these separately, they are intimately connected and interventions to improve readiness should take both into consideration.

Second, I began this research with a clear idea about the differences between identity as group membership and identity as beliefs about the self. Over the course of the research, however, I have come to see how closely they are related: membership in a group influences the beliefs about the self (demonstrated most vividly here in relation to women finding it difficult to think about themselves and their work as excellent), and beliefs about the self influence the groups people seek to belong to (e.g., a belief in the importance of social change leads to greater identity with ‘peace researcher’ than ‘ideal academic’). This has implications for understanding the impact of gender on subjective readiness, in terms of both interventions and future research.

Third, I initially saw the institutional context of PRIO as ‘background’ and something I could describe in a few paragraphs of the introduction. However, over the course of the research (and writing about it), I developed the ethnographic dimensions of this research more fully and became increasingly aware how the context in which the writing takes place shapes what is being

written, how it is being written, and what value it will be ascribed. Moreover, the more I examined ‘context’, the more evident it became that it extends far beyond the immediate institute in which the researcher is employed. The way the prestige economy in academia operates across international borders, the way Norway distinguishes between the institute sector and the university sector, and what it means to be a woman in Norway, for example, all played a much stronger role than I originally anticipated. This suggests that much more work remains in ‘closing the ontological gap between text and context’ (Lillis, 2008).

With respect to the above, an avenue of research that has been underexplored and could be the topic of future research is the role that extended paternity leave has had in (i) changing ideas about masculinity, (ii) changing dynamics within the family, and (iii) blurring the distinctions between work life and home life (particularly with respect to forcing work settings to adapt to employees with children). Specifically, research could investigate how the changing role of fathers in Norway affects conceptions of how academia should be performed. Future research could also look more closely at potential gender differences in the time spent writing and revising (both before and after peer review), as well as in how individuals evaluate the quality of their work and decide where to submit.

In conclusion, the subversiveness I have observed in this study suggests that, far from being in a ‘deficit’ position and needing assistance, my informants feel a strong sense of agency and imply that what should be changed is not the women, but rather our understanding of the ‘ideal academic’. Thus, instead of valuing only singlemindedness of purpose, we should perhaps value an ability to make connections between different aspects of life, as well as an ability to engage in not only research but also the activities around research. This means recognizing that the path to professorship can be long and winding, but that those who arrive later might bring with them a wealth of valuable knowledge. A shift in perspective like this would not just benefit women, but all researchers who

understand that knowledge comes from many sources of input, and good academic writing comes in many forms.

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Appendices

1. POWER project grant proposal
2. Final report for POWER project
3. Criteria for promotion to professor at PRIO. (Taken from the PRIO intranet.)
4. Ethical approval from NSD in Norway
5. Ethics application form from the IOE
6. Information about the project given to the participants
7. Sample consent form given to participants
8. Sample from handwritten journal / ethnographic fieldnotes
9. Sample from electronic journal / ethnographic fieldnotes
10. Schedule of interviews
11. Sample interview, redacted
12. Interview guide for interviews undertaken in 2013 (for the IFS)
13. Interview guide for POWER/ thesis interviews (2014-2015)
14. NVivo codes
15. First pages of publications produced during doctoral studies
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POsitioning Women for Research professorship (POWER): *Early intervention at PRIO*

1. Analysis and targeted interventions

If the gender imbalance at the professor level is worrying in the university sector¹² in Norway, it must be outright alarming in the institute sector where it is even more pronounced.¹³ At PRIO, a leading interdisciplinary research institute in the social sciences and humanities, women make up only 14% of those in the research professor category. In other words, we have only one female research professor with her primary work place at PRIO.

The “leaking pipeline” – i.e., the shrinking proportion of women at the top of the career ladder – is found throughout the world in academic settings, and explanations for this are sought at both the structural/institutional level and at the individual level. At a structural level, women may have to produce more to be considered equally good, and may be systematically overlooked with respect to leadership development. At the individual level, perhaps because of the structural impediments, many women simply see professorship as unattainable or undesirable: they both overestimate the amount of work required to achieve professor status and underestimate their own achievements. Preliminary doctoral research at PRIO (see section 6) reveals that many have the attitude of “It would be nice to have the title, but I don’t know if it’s worth it.”

The POWER project will target all women researchers at PRIO who have completed a PhD, which represents the time when the pipeline starts to leak. The period immediately after earning a doctorate is often a vulnerable period for all researchers: But in the institute sector it is even more so because they are responsible for acquiring their own funding, they may be forced to change the focus of their research in order to secure employment, and for the first time they do not have a supervisor. Women in particular seem negatively affected by this insecurity, and at PRIO many have left during this period to seek more secure work in the private sector or to work in positions that are less research oriented. Currently, about 12 women, representing 62% of the senior

¹² See White Paper 18 (2012-2013). In Norwegian.

<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kd/dok/regpubl/stmeld/2012-2013/meld-st-1820122013/8/3.html?id=716102>. In the university sector, women make up about 25% of professors. In the

institute sector, the average is 16%.

¹³ <http://kifinfo.no/c64497/seksjon.html?tid=64500>

staff at PRIO, have completed their PhDs but have not yet achieved professor status; the project will also invite eligible women from the PRIO Cyprus Center and any relevant new hires. This particular group of potential participants is very well positioned to benefit from this intervention: three might reasonably attain professorship within the next 3 years, and seven could apply within the next 5-7 years. The POWER project represents a unique opportunity for PRIO to achieve a critical mass of top-ranked women and permanently change its gender landscape.

The overall aim of this project is to better position these women for promotion through a combination of structural changes at PRIO and interventions designed to build competence, increase confidence and create opportunities so that professor status does not seem unattainable, but rather a natural extension of what they are already doing and thus well within reach. It will also test a model that can be replicated by others in the institute sector.

We conceptualize readiness for professorship as a combination of a sufficient publications record and experience in leadership. The gender gap in research productivity is well-known throughout the world, and equally evident at PRIO: Men at PRIO seem to out-publish women by a significant margin.¹⁴ This project thus focuses on improving research productivity (quantity and quality of publications) and building leadership skills – as well as increasing motivation and self-efficacy in both of these areas. The specific elements of the program are put together on the basis of evidence from current research on research productivity, including Nygaard's doctoral work (outlined in section 6), and preliminary evidence from similar programs (e.g., University of Tromsø¹⁵). We envision the program as follows:

1. **Initial interview** (*year 1 of the POWER project*): Participants will be asked about their attitudes about achieving professorship, academic publication, and leadership. Here we are interested in documenting the cost-benefit calculations women make (How much would I benefit from being a professor, and what will it cost me to get there?), what motivates them, and what their career goals are, in addition to asking them to estimate how long they think it will take, what they think they need to do, and whether or not they already have an existing plan or strategy. This will provide a baseline.
2. **Initial retreat**⁵: We envision this week-long retreat as an opportunity to build a positive writing and leadership culture – to foster a shared

¹⁴ As reported in PRIO's report from the Gender Strategy Task Force in 2010.

¹⁵ http://www.forskningssradet.no/prognett-balanse/Nyheter/Eksempel_pa_tiltak/1253985118388/p1253964606571#Opprykksordning ⁵ The venue chosen will allow for researchers with young children to bring both their children and their spouses.

understanding of where we want to go and how we can help each other get there. The aim is to lay the foundation for follow-up measures (writing retreats, writing groups, leadership development) by focusing on the following:

- a. *Developing good writing habits*: Building on Nygaard's doctoral work, these sessions will help build awareness of the writing process in general, and what in particular each researcher can do build confidence in their ability to write and publish, as well as achieve and maintain a good writing momentum.
 - b. *Giving and receiving peer feedback*: Here we will focus on how participants can give effective feedback to one another. The aim is to not only increase productivity, but also to help build mentorship skills. Nygaard will facilitate.
 - c. *Leadership*: Led by PRIO staff who have already participated in leadership training, these sessions will concentrate on building leadership skills, and focus on three areas: leading groups of researchers; leadership challenges related to the framework conditions for research in the institute sector; and self-awareness and development of personal leadership skills. We will pay particular attention to the potential gendered impacts of different leadership styles. The sessions will combine case studies and experience sharing, and focus on the individual's development as a research leader.
3. ***Intensive writing groups***: Building on the positive momentum established at the writing retreat, we will create one or two intensive writing groups. The groups will have a maximum of 6 members each, with fairly similar backgrounds. Using the feedback techniques developed at the initial retreat, members will meet every 4-6 weeks and present ongoing work, with one researcher highlighted at each session. The groups will be administrated and facilitated by Nygaard, and we expect these writing groups to become a permanent structural feature at PRIO.
 4. ***Writing retreats***: Writing retreats can be effective way to increase writing productivity by allowing participants to focus on a specific writing task and build momentum with minimal distraction. Twice a year, Nygaard can take up to four participants to the PRIO cabin to facilitate a 3-4 day retreat. Participants can attend as often as they like.
 5. ***Mock assessment***: Participants who have completed their PhDs at least three years ago will send their CVs out for external assessment of their "readiness" for professorship. Evaluators will be asked not only to assess how ready a candidate is for promotion, but also to identify areas the

candidates should focus on in order to improve their readiness. The purpose of this step is two-fold: First, the evaluation should help candidates think of their CV in a long-term, portfolio perspective, which should help them be able to plan future publications more strategically. Second, the evaluation exercise will help candidates become more familiar with the procedure of evaluation itself, so that when the time comes for them to apply for promotion, the process will not seem so daunting. The assessment will be followed up by a meeting to help the candidates put together both a one-year and a five-year publishing strategy. If successful, we will consider making this a permanent structural change at PRIO, with regular evaluations every three years, starting from three years after completion of a PhD.

6. ***Mentors:*** Research shows that women in particular can benefit from mentors. We envision the mentor as someone who could help the candidate identify appropriate publications channels, know when a draft is polished enough to submit, build international networks, and keep at the forefront of the research frontier. In some cases, the mentor can also act as a role model and give advice for work-life balance and career development. Nygaard and relevant PRIO management will help participants identify suitable mentors and facilitate agreements with them, funding the meetings when necessary: We anticipate that for most project participants, the most relevant mentors will be located outside of PRIO – perhaps even outside Norway.
7. ***Role models:*** Although attendance at international conferences is strategically important for productivity, women do not always fully benefit from the network building that takes place at traditional conferences. We address this by more specifically targeting the benefits of networking: facilitating deeper connections between researchers and key role models. We propose inviting two key female role models per year to PRIO to present some of their on-going research and then to meet individually with a selected number of project participants. Individual meetings will be a onetime mentoring session that consist of providing feedback on a draft paper, talking about networks and resources, and giving advice on such topics as which journals to target and which activities to participate in. Relevant role models include: Sara Mitchell, Monica Toft, Elisabeth Wood, Rose McDermott, Philomena Essed, Halleh Ghorashi, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Valentina Mazzucato.
8. ***Writing stipend:*** Nygaard’s preliminary research shows that women are less likely than men to write academic articles if there is no specific funding in place to cover the hours required. Many participants have article ideas that do not require additional research but simply time to write. The stipend will allow us to set aside a certain number of hours (roughly three months) for

each participant at some point during the project period so they can complete an otherwise unfunded academic writing project. If successful, this may become a permanent structural feature at PRIO.

9. ***Leadership opportunities at PRIO:*** PRIO is a project-driven institute, and the most important training lies in hands-on project management. Project leadership requires being in charge of staff, budgeting, and deliverables, and such experience provides an excellent groundwork for other kinds of leadership. With guidance from the PRIO leadership and administration, we will identify specific opportunities for project management, research group leadership, or both. We will strive to have at least 50% of our projects led by women. Identification of such leadership opportunities is expected to become a permanent structural change.
10. ***External leadership training:*** We will commit to supporting formal leadership training for each candidate by identifying a relevant program, such as NHO's Female Future program or AFF's Solstrandprogram, and covering the costs of participation.
11. ***Annual follow-up interviews.*** These interviews will help us see any changes in attitudes, monitor progress, and revise publishing strategies. The interviews will also help us evaluate the project as a whole.

The interventions we plan should be attractive regardless of promotion plans, and we hope that they will make aiming for professorship more desirable. We must point out that the degree of participation in this program will be tailored to the individual: While all are expected to participate in the initial and follow-up interviews, the mock assessments, and the initial retreat, participation in the rest of the program will depend on the particular needs of the participant. The degree of participation will be agreed upon in consultation with special advisor Nygaard.

If full financing is not available from the Research Council, we will prioritize the initial retreat, the mock evaluations, the mentors, and the role models. Initial and follow-up interviews will also be important.

2. Innovation

Although PRIO developed a gender strategy in 2010, concrete interventions targeted specifically at women have never been attempted. The BALANSE program allows us to target women more strategically and at an unprecedented level of ambition. It will also result in some specific structural changes at PRIO: development of a mentor program, a writing stipend, institutionalization of

periodic external evaluation, and a greater focus on the leadership potential of women.

This project sets itself apart from some of the other types of interventions described on the BALANSE website in three main ways: (1) It draws heavily on ongoing research. (2) It targets the entire female senior researcher population at PRIO, not just those who have articulated a desire for promotion or those who have reached a certain stage of readiness. (3) It has a holistic, yet individually tailored approach. Many programs have a “one size fits all” approach that results in many who drop-out because they feel like the program did not suit their needs. Working with a relatively small group (about 12-15 in total) means that we can tailor the program specifically to each individual.

3. Learning, knowledge development, and dissemination of knowledge

We aim to carry this out as a type of action research that can draw synergies from Nygaard’s doctoral research. Conducting initial interviews and follow-up interviews for each of the three years will allow us to learn both about how attitudes and strategies develop, and about which interventions appear to have been most helpful to each of the individuals. We intend to publish results from the study in an international journal, but also to distribute the lessons learned and best practices through policyoriented publications and seminars at PRIO for a wider audience (university sector, other research institutes, individual researchers, Research Council). Thus we aim for not only institutional learning that can lead to permanent structural changes at PRIO, but also learning in a broader context that can provide input into programs that can be carried out at other research institutes and in the university and college sector.

4. Compliance with strategic documents and significance

This project is firmly anchored in PRIO’s strategy in three ways: (1) It represents an implementation of the goals described in PRIO’s 2010 gender strategy which states that “PRIO aims to obtain a gender balance at all staff levels, with a particular focus on increasing the share of women at the senior level;” (2) Three project participants have already participated in external leadership training programs, financed by PRIO. These women will be responsible for leading the sessions on leadership development in this project, thus allowing us to bring this knowledge forward to more women at PRIO. (3) This project has significant synergies with Nygaard’s doctoral work, which has been financed by PRIO. The POWER project will allow Nygaard to design an intervention based on preliminary findings in her research, both benefitting PRIO and enriching the research.

5. Cooperation

We do not plan to have any formal partners, although we plan to share findings with *Forskningssinstituttene's fellesarena* (<http://abelia.no/ffa>); Agnete Vabø and her team at NIFU behind *Kvinner og menns karriereløp i norsk forskning: En tilstandsrappport*, a key report that shaped the foundation for the BALANSE program; and Kilden (www.kifinfo.no/in).

6. Project plan, project management, and organization

The project will be headed by special advisor Lynn P. Nygaard. Her area of expertise is in the development of academic writing skills, and she has led writing workshops for scholars throughout Norway for over 10 years. She has also led several writing retreats, and is responsible for the practical skills development part of the Research School in Peace and Conflict. Nygaard is currently working on a Doctorate in Education (EdD) through the University of London, Institute of Education, focusing on the topic of research productivity. Nygaard will be responsible for carrying out the initial and followup interviews; following up the mock assessments with the participants and helping them build a publication strategy; facilitating the retreats and writing groups; coordinating the visits from role models; and analyzing the results of the project. She will work with PRIO Director Kristian Harpviken and PRIO Deputy Director Inger Skjelsbæk to establish contact with potential mentors, organize the mock assessments, arrange writing stipends, identify leadership development opportunities, and evaluate the project throughout the project period. This project troika will meet regularly, at least every quarter, to monitor progress.

Final report:

Positioning Women for Research Professorship: Early intervention at PRIO

The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) received funding from the BALANSE program for a project that started in January 2014 (RCN project no. 230705/H20). The project, called “Positioning Women for Research Professorship (POWER)” aimed at not simply increasing the number of female research professors at PRIO, but at creating a work environment that would stimulate career development for women from early stages in their career. As a result, we now have 4 new research professors. In addition, participants in the project have also joined the ranks of PRIO’s leadership: In 2016, two of the project members became Research Directors (it should be noted that these same project members also received “Young Researcher Talent” funding) and the POWER project leader was appointed to the Leader Team in a new position that focuses on professional development; in 2017, one of the project participants was appointed Deputy Director, and one was appointed editor-in-chief of PRIO’s prestigious *Journal of Peace Research*. We believe that what made the project successful was the way it synchronized initiatives at the individual and the institutional levels.

At the *individual* level, project members (all women at PRIO who have finished a PhD but not reached professorship) were offered a menu of initiatives they could take advantage of: writing stipends (hours to complete academic manuscripts for publication); coaching with an external mentor; regular follow-ups with the project leader; mock evaluations of their professorship applications and CVs; and participation in a variety of writing-related activities (workshops, retreats, and groups).

At the *institutional* level, we introduced a more purposeful focus on professional and career development. First, we carried out a systematic mapping of courses we already offer (either in-house or externally) and made this information more readily available. We then decided to supplement these formal courses with more informal discussions through a series of seminars called “Professional Development brownbags,” which take place every two weeks during lunch hour. Topics of these seminars are based on both requests from staff and needs we have identified. Examples include: “how to write a peer review”, “how to apply for promotion,” “how to use excel in project management”, and “how to identify predatory publishers or conferences.” The

format generally involves a more experienced staff member giving a short presentation followed by informal discussion. The courses and brownbags are both designed to address tacit skills that researchers need related to both research and leadership. The courses and brownbags are open to all staff members at PRIO, but are designed to address the needs we have identified through the POWER project. Many of the topics are explicitly gender-related: for example, upcoming topics include “how to avoid male-only panels” and “how to address issues of gender in project design”.

Also at the institutional level, we worked with a consultant to train the Leader Team as a whole, and this has been the main focus in the extension of the original project period. We were concerned that if only one or two members of the Leader Team understood the dynamics of implicit gender bias or were interested in improving gender balance, then the efforts of the POWER project would be thwarted in the long run. Instead, by making sure the Leader Team views these challenges in the same way, and has a common vision, then we would be more likely to succeed. In the last year, we have taken very concrete steps in this direction. We have had held two two-day retreats for the Leader Team (one in January 2017 and one in October 2017) where we have focused on issues of gender balance, diversity, and leadership – with an emphasis on seeing the relationship between these elements (rather than seeing gender balance and diversity as a box that one can tick off).

As project leader, I am particularly pleased with the most recent retreat, which began with a session on “how to talk about difficult subjects” (including gender). The Leader Team had recently undergone a shift in personnel, including a new director, new deputy director, and new research director. We wanted to ensure that the good developments we had experienced could continue, which meant not just focusing on the developments per se, but on how we as a leader team address sensitive issues. To give an example: about half-way through this session, the new research director (male) said that he was uncomfortable talking about issues of gender because he didn’t know everything and was afraid of being wrong. The “gender experts” in the group (including me), assured him that he would not be attacked, and we fully admitted to not having all the answers. He then felt free to admit that he was guilty of arranging some male-only panels because he didn’t know how to find relevant women. We discussed the challenge openly, careful to acknowledge the challenges involved (especially in fields with few women). One of the other research directors said that they had experience with addressing the issue and gave some good examples. The topic has now been brought up further in the institute as a “Professional Development” seminar (see above). In other words, we have worked very hard

to create a culture in the Leader Team to deal constructively with issues related to gender, and trust-building has been a central aspect. Each member of the team has to trust that their viewpoint will be taken seriously and that nobody has a monopoly on being right. I am also happy to say that this perspective was brought further into our planning for the next strategy period, and that gender and diversity are well integrated into our overall strategy (rather than just being a sub-goal that can quickly be checked off).

I would also like to point out that during the period of the POWER project there has been a shift in attitude to leadership: at the outset of the POWER project, many researchers considered being a part of the Leader Team to be secondary to their research goals -- that being a leader detracted from publishing activity, and that the work was unsatisfying. Now, members of the Leader Team are much more positive to being there, and see how they can actively contribute to shaping PRIO's research agenda. The focus on teambuilding has meant that the work in general is more satisfying.

In terms of concrete indicators, the POWER project has surpassed its goal of 3 new professors. However, as mentioned in an earlier report, two of these women left to take on a position at the University of Oslo almost immediately, and one is only a part-time staff member and did not participate in the POWER project. The fourth professor, however, will (at least as far as we know) remain at PRIO full time. (All three who were members of the POWER project have explicitly said that they probably would not have applied had they not gotten the support from the POWER project.) Losing staff to the university sector will continue to be an obstacle for PRIO. As long as the institute sector is viewed as being less academically prestigious than the university sector, then ambitious academic women will continue to view a university-based position as important for their career development. The more successful we are as an institute in "growing" successful academic women, the more likely we are to lose them to the university. This is a reality we will have to accept.

If I am to sum up the initiatives that have been most successful since the beginning of the project, I would like to draw attention to the following:

1. **Individual follow-up of researchers:** While nobody liked to feel pushed, participants in the project said that they appreciated the "nudge" that the project gave them: making the criteria seem possible to reach, providing support in writing and preparing the application, and providing editorial support for key publications. The mock evaluations offered to those ready to prepare an application were reported as being especially valuable. Notably, these sessions were

also valuable to the other participants, who reported learning a lot about the process by watching their colleagues present their publications portfolios and cover letters.

2. **Professional development seminars:** We initially envisioned these to be “training” seminars that could be planned well in advance. However, we have since discovered that they work best when we leave at least half the spots open for relatively short-notice topics. This way, we can respond quickly and constructively to concerns raised by staff members or to issues that we observe as a Leader Team. We have reserved the main meeting room for lunch meetings on Wednesdays every two weeks, and specify the topics as the dates approach. We are pleased to observe that we regularly receive suggestions for topics from staff members.
3. **Writing retreats:** Institutionalization of writing retreats, both in the form of one-day “Shut Up and Write” sessions and multiple-day retreats, has been very positively received by the entire organization. Women, in particular, seem to take advantage of these initiatives (although I am not sure why women are overrepresented among the participants). Even those who are unable to participate have said that they appreciate the institutional acknowledgment that writing takes concerted time and effort. The spillover effect is that the researchers seem to have a greater understanding of the writing process and are more confident in themselves as writers.
4. **Writing stipends:** Although expensive, strategic initiatives that allow women on the path to professorship the opportunity to set aside time to write are powerful tools. A lesson we have learned in this respect, however, is that those benefitting from such a stipend need to be explicit about how they intend to use the time and think about how the product will be strategically important for their career development. At early stages of the project, we were a bit uncritical about how people were using their stipends. After the first year or so, we got better at helping participants think through the strategic value of their publication activity.
5. **Leadership training:** While training provided to individual women was undoubtedly useful, the group-oriented training of the Leader Team has far exceeded our expectations and will, I believe, continue to be important. Because we have experienced such success with the two retreats we have had in 2017, we have decided to plan on two 2-day retreats and two half-day focused sessions each year that will allow us to work constructively on issues important to the whole

organization. For example, our next half-day session will focus on recruitment and retention; the work we have put into trust-building means that we will be able to explicitly and constructively address issues of gender balance.

A few words about the research component of the POWER project: As project leader, I was careful to design the project in such a way that I could also gather data for my doctoral project on how women negotiate the path to professorship, particularly with respect to writing practices (ethnographic approach). I had originally planned to submit the project in autumn 2017, but a family crisis (my husband received a critical head injury in April 2017) has meant that my doctoral work was delayed (and the POWER project was also extended to take into account my sick leave). The deliverable for the doctoral project will be a monograph, and the expected submission will be in autumn 2018. However, in addition to the monograph, I have also written an article which has been accepted for a special issue on women and academic writing: “What’s in a number: How (and why) measuring research productivity in different ways changes the gender gap”.

In conclusion, the POWER project has taken a long-term view of gender balance. Rather than simply trying to hire female professors, we have aimed to build an environment where professional development is seen as a matter of course, followed up regularly, and firmly anchored in the top management. The recent emphasis on training the Leader Team means that our approach to professional development has been institutionalized in such a way that it will withstand changes in the team’s composition.

Criteria for promotion to Researcher I

1. Application

Applications are addressed to the PRIO Board (who may delegate authority for the process to the Director). The applications with all appendices shall be submitted on paper in five identical copies. If the application is successful, promotion will take effect from the date of submission.

The applicant shall submit up to 15 academic publications. The application shall contain a description, either of all the publications or those that the applicant considers most important (minimum 5). When more than 5 academic publications are submitted, the application shall establish which five are considered particularly important for the evaluation.

For co-authored works, there is a need to establish precisely the kind and extent of the applicant's contribution, approved through signature of the other authors.

The application shall be accompanied by a full list of publications as well as other activities (see section below) that the applicant consider relevant to the evaluation. This list may be annotated.

2. Requirements

The requirements shall correspond to those used by universities and comparable research institutes. A research position at PRIO differs somewhat from an academic post held at a university, and this shall be reflected in the evaluation.

The main requirement is that the candidate possesses and is able to demonstrate academic competence that corresponds to the level of professor in universities, approved by publication in peer-reviewed academic channels. The candidate shall possess depth within a particular topic of specialization, as well as breadth within his or her area of expertise. The definition of a research area may emphasize analytical approach; methodology, or substantial thematic focus. A demonstrated capacity to inspire and direct research at PRIO within one's area(s) of specialization is required.

In addition, it is expected that competence is demonstrated in the following areas:

- Leadership of large research projects
- Project development
- Contribution to academic communities (i.e. refereeing; board memberships; organizing of conferences and networks)

- Research collaboration
- Engagement with policymaking and practice
- Popular dissemination of research
- Curricular development, teaching and supervision of students and junior researchers

In the absence of proven competence in or of more of these areas, this can be compensated by a stronger record in other areas.

3. Committee

The evaluation of the applications will be carried out by a committee. The committee will be appointed by the Director. Potential conflicts of interest shall be considered in the selection of committee members.

The committee shall consist of minimum three individuals, all of whom shall possess relevant competence at the professor level. One person shall be designated as the administrator for the committee. In the event that the administrator is not a member of the committee, he or she will not have voting rights. Unless there are substantial impediments, the committee shall have at least one member whose main post is not in Norway, and it shall have both male and female members. No more than one member can be a PRIO employee. It is up to the committee to solicit input from other experts.

4. Evaluation

The evaluation committee shall assess the applicants competence in line with the criteria outlined in this document, and give a written statement which addresses specifically each of the submitted works, as well as the additional areas. The committee shall conclude on whether or not it finds the candidate qualified at the Researcher I level. In case the decision is reached under doubt, or if there is dissent in the committee, this shall be clearly reflected in the evaluation report.

The committee shall specify within which discipline or which interdisciplinary field of studies – and it may define within which area of specialization - that the candidate is found competent at the Researcher I level.

The evaluation shall be sent to the applicant without delay. There is no room to appeal the committee's decision, but the applicant can comment on the procedure that has been followed or to specifics in the committee's evaluation report within two weeks after the report has been sent. Comments will be presented to the committee, who may issue a complementary report as they take their final decision.

The committee may draw from earlier evaluations of the candidate's competence in their work.

The evaluation shall normally be presented to the applicant within 6 months from the date of submission.

In the event that the committee's evaluation is negative, the applicant has the right to present a new application after 2 years from the date of submission.

5. External evaluation

When a member of staff at PRIO has been evaluated as competent at the professor level by another institution, he or she may apply to the PRIO Board to be awarded Researcher I status at PRIO. The Board shall base their decision on the ordinary PRIO criteria, as defined in this document.

6. Promotion

When a candidate has been deemed undisputedly competent by the evaluation committee, Researcher I competence will be decided by the PRIO Board. In the event that the committee is divided, the Board shall make its own assessment, based on the committee's evaluation report.



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Appendix 4: Ethical approval from NSD in Norway

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS

NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Lynn Nygaard
Institutt for fredsforskning
Postboks 9229 Grønland
0134 OSLO

Vår dato: 24.06.2014

Vår ref: 38831 / 3 / IB

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 19.05.2014.

Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

38831 *Positioning Women for Research Professorship: Early Intervention at PRIO
(POWER)*

Behandlingsansvarlig Institutt for fredsforskning, ved institusjonens øverste leder

Daglig ansvarlig Lynn Nygaard

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html>. Det skal også gis

melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Katrine Utaaker Segadal

Inga Brautaset

Kontaktperson: Inga Brautaset tlf: [REDACTED]

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

OSLO: NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no

TRONDHEIM: NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no

TROMSØ: NSD, SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 38831

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

As we understand it, the project is carried out in collaboration with the University of London. PRIO is the responsible data controller. The Data Protection Official for Research presupposes that the responsibility for processing personal data has been formally clarified between the institutions. We recommend that the division of responsibilities is formalized in a contract that includes structure of liabilities, who initiated the project, use of data and ownership.

INFORMATION AND CONSENT

The sample will receive written information about the project, and give their consent to participate. The letter of information and consent form are somewhat incomplete, and we ask that the following is changed/added:

- That PRIO is the responsible data controller.
- Estimated end date of the project (31.12.2017), and that audio recordings will be deleted and all other data will be made anonymous by this date.
- The last formulation should be changed to: "(...) and regulations of the Norwegian Personal Data act. The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services."

We ask that the revised letter of information is sent to personvernombudet@nsd.uib.no.

CONTENT OF DATA

In the intervention part of the project, participants can choose to participate in all or some of the following measures: intensive writing groups, mock evaluations, writing retreats, mentor arrangements, leadership development courses, writing stipends, and leadership opportunities at PRIO.

Data will be collected by:

- survey each year during the project periode
- focus group discussions
- in-depth interviews with some of the participants
- observations notes
- PRIO's publications data

As we understand it, surveys and interviews will be linked to names, while data from observations and PRIOS publications will be anonymous.

DATA SECURITY

The Data Protection Official presupposes that the researcher follows internal routines of PRIO regarding data security.

Data processors will be used for transcribing interviews and plotting data on publications. PRIO should make a data processing agreement with each of the data processors regarding the processing of personal data, cf.

Personal Data Act § 15. For advice on what the data processor agreement should contain, please see:

<http://www.datatilsynet.no/English/Publications/Data-processor-agreements/>.

The Data Protection Official asks that a copy of the agreements is sent to personvernombudet@nsd.uib.no for filing.

PROJECTS END

Estimated end date of the project is 31.12.2017. According to the notification form all collected data will be made anonymous by this date.

Making the data anonymous entails processing it in such a way that no individuals can be recognised. This is done by:

- deleting all direct personal data (such as names/lists of reference numbers)
- deleting/rewriting indirectly identifiable data (i.e. an identifying combination of background variables, such as residence/work place, age and gender) - deleting audio recordings.

Please note the data processor must delete all personal information connected to the project.

In all publications and presentations the data will be anonymous.



Ethics Application Form: Research Degree Students

All student research that use research methods to collect data from human participants is required to gain ethical approval before starting. Please answer all relevant questions. Your form may be returned if incomplete. Please write your responses in terms that can be understood by a lay person.

For further support and guidance please see Ethics Review Procedures for Student Research <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/policiesProcedures/42253.html>, contact your supervisor or researchethics@ioe.ac.uk.

Section 1 Project details

a.	Project title	Ready or not: Exploring identity, gender, and the path to professorship
b.	Student name	Lynn P. Nygaard
c.	Supervisor	Lesley Jane Gourlay
d.	Advisory committee members	Amos Paran, Gunther Kress, Carolyn Daly, John O'Regan, Shirley Lawes
e.	Department	CCM
f.	Faculty	FCL
g.	Intended research start date	January 2014

h.	Intended research end date	December 2016
i.	Funder (if applicable)	Research Council of Norway
j.	Funding confirmed?	yes
k.	<p>Country fieldwork will be conducted in</p> <p><i>If research to be conducted abroad please check www.fco.gov.uk If the FCO advice against travel a full travel risk assessment form should also be completed and submitted:</i></p> <p>http://intranet.ioead/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=14460&14460_0=22640</p>	Norway
l.	<p>All research projects at the Institute of Education are required to specify a professional code of ethics according to which the research will be conducted. Which organisation's research code will be used?</p>	<p>Ethical approval for collection of survey, interview, and focus group data has been granted by the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research, which uses NESH (the Norwegian National Committee for Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities) guidelines (www.etikkom.no).</p>
m.	<p><i>If your research is based in another institution then you may be required to submit your research to that institution's ethics review process. If your research involves patients recruited through the NHS then you will need to apply for ethics approval through an NHS Local Research Ethics Committee. In either of these cases, you don't need ethics approval from the Institute of Education.</i></p>	

Has this project been considered by another (external) Research Ethics Committee?	Yes s X <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/> ⇒ go to Section 2
<i>If so, please insert the name of the committee, the date on which the project was considered, and attach the approval letter in either hard or electronic format with this form.</i>		
External Committee Name:	Date of Approval: 28/02/2015	

⇒ If your project has been externally approved please go to **Section 8 Attachments**.

Section 2 Research Summary

Please provide an overview of your research. This can include some or all of the following: purpose of the research, aims, main research questions, research design, participants, sampling, data collection, reporting and dissemination. *It is expected that this will take approximately 200-300 words, and you may write more if you feel it is necessary.*

Although ethical approval has been granted for the collection of data for the POWER project (see attached project description), my doctoral project is a separate project that will analyse the data for a different purpose. While the data collected for the POWER project will be for practical purposes to modify the project so it best meets the needs of the participants, the same data will be used for academic purposes in the doctoral project to achieve a better understanding of the participants and the issues they grapple with. The POWER project aims to increase the number of female professors at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). It comprises a series of practical interventions (such as writing groups, retreats, mentors, funded writing time, portfolio evaluation, leadership training, etc.) to increase “objective readiness” (competence) and “subjective readiness” of the individual women to qualify and apply for promotion to research professor. The POWER project thus acts as a catalyst for discussions about gender, identity, and institutional environment.

The main research questions for the doctoral project are as follows:

- 1) How do the participants negotiate aspects of identity and environmental expectation?
- 2) In what ways might these negotiations be gendered?

The doctoral project will use an ethnographic approach, and gather data through both formal interviews and observation. The participants will be all women in the POWER project (senior women at PRIO who have finished their

PhDs but not yet reached professorship). The project will take place over three years, and at any given time there will be about 12-15 participants. Although all women falling into the target group are automatically part of the POWER project, they are not required to participate. Those who do participate take part in only the elements that they are interested in. The interviews and surveys are designed to better understand the needs of these women, and focus both on concrete practices (what gets produced, what activities they take part in) and attitudes (what they find frustrating, meaningful, valuable, etc.).

Section 3 Research participants Tick all that apply

<input type="checkbox"/> Early years/pre-school	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> Primary School age 5-11	<input type="checkbox"/> Advisory/consultation groups
<input type="checkbox"/> Secondary School age 12-16	<input type="checkbox"/> No participants
<input type="checkbox"/> Young people aged 17-18	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Adults <i>please specify below</i>
	Researchers at the Peace Research Institute Oslo

Section 4 Research methods Tick all that apply

x Interviews	x Controlled trial/other intervention study
x Focus groups	x Use of personal records
x Questionnaire	<input type="checkbox"/> Systematic review
x Action research	<input type="checkbox"/> Secondary data analysis
x Observation	<input type="checkbox"/> Other, give details:
x Literature review	

Section 5 Systematic reviews Only complete if systematic reviews will be used

a.	Will you be collecting any new data from participants?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Will you be analysing any secondary data?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

Section 6 Secondary data analysis Only complete if secondary data analysis will be used

a.	Name of dataset/s		
b.	Owner of dataset/s		
c.	Are the data in the public domain?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
			<i>If no, do you have the owner's permission/license?</i> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Are the data anonymised?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
			<i>Do you plan to anonymise the data?</i> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/>
			<i>Do you plan to use individual level data?</i> Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
			<i>Will you be linking data to individuals?</i> Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Are the data sensitive (DPA definition)?	Yes* <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
f.	Will you be conducting analysis within the remit it was originally collected for?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No* <input type="checkbox"/>
			<i>Was consent gained from participants for subsequent/future analysis?</i> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/>
			<i>Was data collected prior to ethics approval process?</i> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/>

Section 7 Ethical issues

What are the ethical issues which may arise in the course of this research, and how will they be addressed? Please consider / address ALL issues that may apply. *It is expected that this will take approximately 200-300 words, and you may write more if you feel it is necessary.*

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potentially vulnerable participants • Safeguarding/child protection • Risks to participants and/or researchers • International research • Sensitive topics • Sampling • Gatekeepers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informed consent • Assent • Methods • Confidentiality • Anonymity • Data storage/security • Data transfer/transmission 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data sharing/encryption • Data documentation • Data management plan • Data protection • Reporting • Dissemination and use of findings
---	--	--

The biggest ethical challenges with this research are those challenges related to conducting insider research. The participants themselves are not particularly vulnerable, but we will be talking about issues that may be sensitive – for example, gender, identity, and career ambitions. The relatively small size of the group will make it difficult to maintain anonymity. Although pseudonyms will be used, it may be possible to identify individual researchers through the nature of their comments. For this reason, participants will be allowed to review the analysis and presentation of the data before it is released.

Conducting research on a project I am leading, in an institute in which I am employed, and on participants I know fairly well – some of whom are close friends – is a challenge to objectivity. Instead, the focus will have to be on reflexivity and sensitivity to the variety of perspectives of the individuals involved. Rather than viewing the POWER project members as “informants,” they are viewed more as stakeholders, active participants, and collaborators.

The Norwegian Data Official for Research requires that all audio recordings be deleted and all data made anonymous one year after the POWER project ends. This will be complied with. Further, we were requested to make some changes in the information to the participants, and those changes have been made (see attachments of comments from the Norwegian Data Official for Research and the updated information sheets).

Section 8 Attachments Please attach the following items to this form, or explain if not attached

a.	Further information about the work	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Approval letter from external Research Ethics Committee, if applicable	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Information sheets and other materials to be used to inform potential participants about the research.	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

Section 9 Declaration

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge this is a full description of the ethics issues that may arise in the course of this project

Name Lynn Alison Parker Nygaard

Date 01/15/2015

Please submit your completed ethics forms to your supervisor/course administrator.

Departmental use

If a project raises particularly challenging ethics issues, or a more detailed review would be appropriate, you may refer the application to the Research Ethics Coordinator (via researchethics@ioe.ac.uk) so that it can be submitted to the Faculty Research Ethics Committee (FREC) for consideration. FREC Chairs, FREC representatives in your department and the research ethics coordinator can advise you, either to support your review process, or help decide whether an application should be referred to the FREC.

Also see 'when to pass a student ethics review up to Faculty level committee':

<http://intranet.ioead/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=13449>

Reviewer 1

Supervisor name	Lesley Gourlay	
Supervisor comments		
Supervisor signature		
Reviewer 2		
Advisory committee member name	Dr John O'Regan	
Advisory committee member comments	I foresee no problems with the ethical dimensions of this research.	
Advisory committee member signature		
Decision		
Date decision was made	28 February, 2015	
Decision	Approved and reported to FREC	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Referred back to applicant and supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Referred to FREC for review	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recording	Recorded in the student information system	<input type="checkbox"/>

Once completed and approved, please send this form and associated documents to the faculty research administrator to record on the student information system and to securely store.

Further guidance on ethical issues can be found on the IOE website at <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/policiesProcedures/41899.html> and www.ethicsguidebook.ac.uk

Further guidance on recording ethics applications in the student information system can be found on the intranet <http://intranet.ioead/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=13449>

Appendix 6: Information about the project given to the participants

Information about the project:

POsitioning Women for Research professorship (POWER): Early intervention at PRIO
(*Other support - BALANSE*) and associated doctoral research.

As is common in the institute sector in Norway, PRIO has an extreme gender imbalance at the research professor level with women making up only 14% of those with professor competence. The POWER project is a menu of interventions targeted at female researchers at PRIO who have completed a PhD but not yet reached professor status. The overarching aim is to make promotion to professorship a more attractive and attainable goal by building competence in scholarly publications and leadership; creating opportunities to publish and lead projects; and increasing motivation. It will meet this aim by exploring some of the reasons why women might be reluctant to pursue a career in academia and apply for professorship, and also by designing interventions at the structural level to help motivation, build competence, and build a better work environment. The project will start with a set of interventions that will be modified over the course of the project on the basis of participant input.

Participants will first take part in an initial retreat where we will discuss some of the key challenges for women in academia, and how these challenges can be addressed at both the individual level (e.g., changing writing habits) or at the institutional level at PRIO (e.g., mentorship). After the retreat, participants can choose to participate in all or some of the following measures: intensive writing groups, mock evaluations, writing retreats, mentor arrangements (single session or long term), leadership development courses, writing stipends, and leadership opportunities at PRIO. Interventions may be added, deleted, or modified over the course of the project on the basis of participant feedback.

The project is conceptualized as action research that will synergize with my doctoral studies at the University of London; PRIO will be the responsible data collector. The research aspect of the project aims at (i) building knowledge about the challenges faced by women academics, and (ii) exploring how to address these challenges at the institutional level. For this reason, all participants will be asked to fill out a survey each year focusing on their own attitudes to career development and how well the interventions have worked for them. In addition, the focus group discussions that take place during the initial retreat will provide further input. Concurrent to this, I will analyse PRIO's publications data to explore possible gender gaps. The aim is to both add to the general discourse on the "leaking pipeline" and to pilot permanent structural changes at PRIO.

I will also ask that 3-4 participants volunteer for in-depth interviews about their reflections on academic writing and a career in academia. Finally, I will record

my own observations of how the POWER project unfolds, what changes are made, and why.

As an informant, you would be expected to contribute data in the following ways:

1. Focus groups: I will put together focus groups during the initial retreat to discuss various aspects of academic writing, leadership, and gender and academia. I may put together additional focus groups throughout the course of the POWER project to follow up.
2. Interviews. I will ask for 3-4 volunteers for in-depth interviews focusing on your reflections on academia, professorship, and academic writing.
3. Survey. Each year, you will be asked to fill out a survey asking about your attitudes towards professorship and the specific interventions provided by the POWER project.

All of this information will be held confidential and anonymized in the presentation of the findings. I will always use a pseudonym to refer to you, and use as few identifiers as possible. Although most of the findings are likely to be presented in the context of themes to further aid anonymization, I may also wish to present a select few informants in case study format. You will have an opportunity to approve your quotes as well as to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

Data, quotes and findings of the research may be used in conference/seminar papers or published articles in addition to being presented in oral or written form to the University of London and the management at PRIO. Data, quotes and findings may also be used for teaching purposes – both for PRIO's institutional development, and for courses I run on academic writing. I wish to stress that although you as an individual are guaranteed anonymity through the use of a pseudonym, I will have to disclose my positionality as a researcher (senior advisor at a social science research institute in Norway), which may make your institute affiliation discernible.

All data and transcripts will be held securely, and only I will be able to access them in full. My supervisor at the University of London (Lesley Gourlay) will have access to anonymized transcripts and questionnaires. The estimated end date of the project is 31.12.2017; after that point, all audio recordings will be deleted and all other data will be made anonymous. Please contact me if you have questions. You may contact Lesley Gourlay if you wish to make a complaint about the project.

Dr Lesley Gourlay
Director, Writing Centre
Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way
London WC1H0AL

All procedures used in this research project will conform to the UK Data Protection Act (1998) and the British Educational Research Association Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2011). They will also be subject to the guidelines of the Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and Humanities (NESH) and regulations of the Norwegian Personal Data Act. The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

Appendix 7: Sample consent form given to participants

Full title of Project: Positioning Women for Research Professorship (POWER):
Early intervention at PRIO

Name, position and contact address of Researcher: Lynn P. Nygaard, special
advisor, PRIO

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above
study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to
withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

☐

I understand that the findings might be also used for institutional
development and thus presented to management at PRIO.

☐

I understand that the data will be presented as part of a thematic analysis and
possibly also as a case study.

☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) securely and may be used for future research.

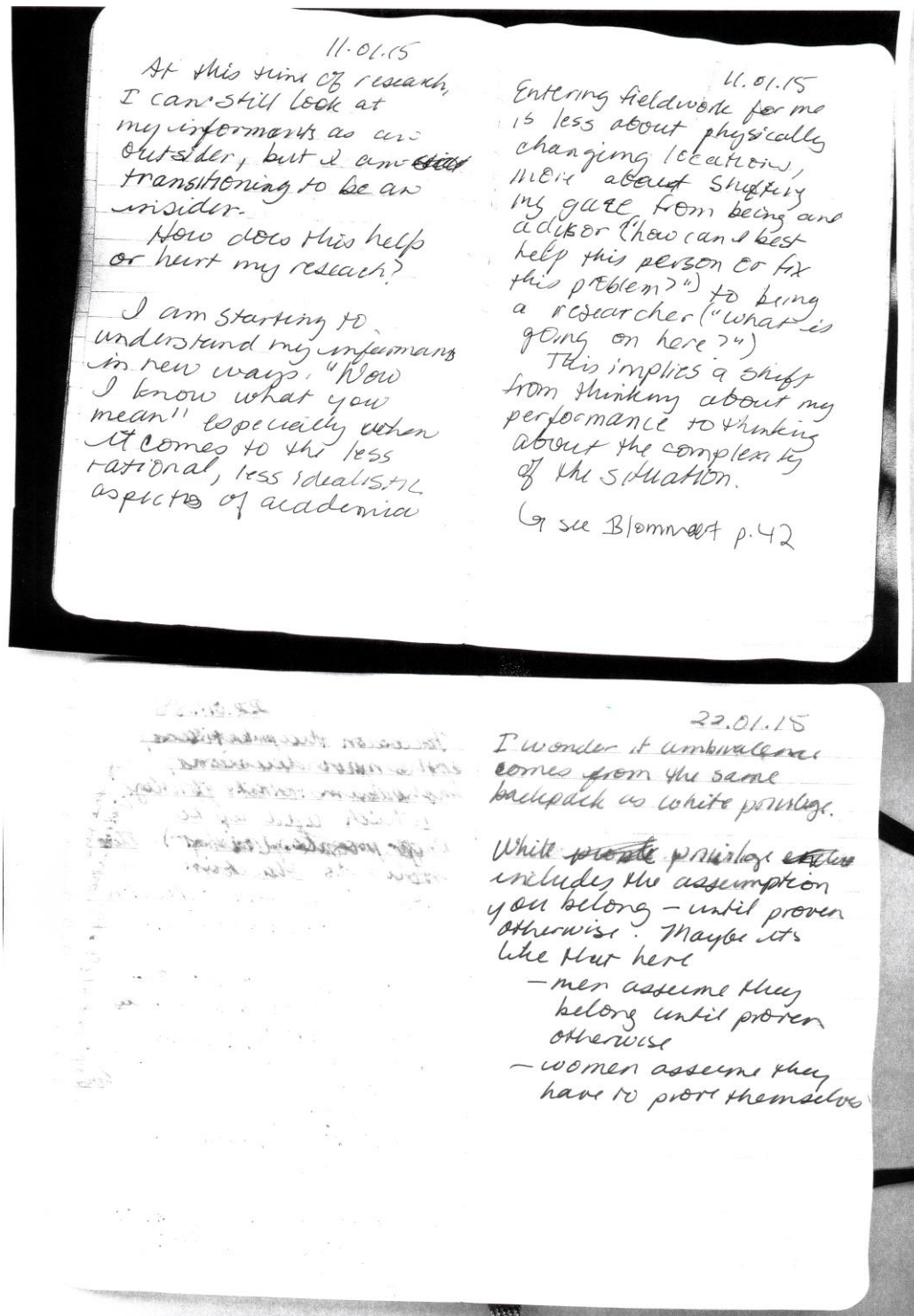
☐

Please tick box

	Yes	No
I agree to the interview / focus group / consultation being audio recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to fill out an annual survey about the project	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the use of my publications data	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	
Signature		

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Date	
Signature		



22.2.15

Observation:

Today ~~Elly~~ asked for a list of funders. She is underfunded and needs funding to carry out a survey. She doesn't really know where to look. While discussing, ~~Diana~~ & I also mention MFA & MDA. ~~She~~ MFA in particular needs a network. ~~Elly~~ seems lost as to how to network. I suggested ELI, she said it seemed intimidating. In contrast ~~Howard~~ ~~Elly~~ is involved in 2 ELI projects. He is very integrated into ~~the~~ network. ~~He~~ seems

23.2.15

a ~~dead~~ thing here.

- more willingness

to apply for ~~support~~

- more ~~material~~ support to make this possible

Focusing on practices of writing:

- 1) prioritizing writing over other activities
- 2) prioritizing one type of writing over another
- 3) evaluating own writing (individual works)
- 4) evaluating body of work (portfolio)

Between the lines:
thoughts about
gender identity;
environment

POWER seminar 12.11.14

Since people seemed to respond so well to [REDACTED] talk during the Greece retreat, I had the idea of inviting some different perspectives on paths to professorship. The idea took shape as the names of potential speakers were proposed and some people said yes and others said no. We landed on [REDACTED].

On the day of the seminar, [REDACTED] had to withdraw because she was not feeling well. I was starting to panic because I didn't think enough people would show up. The seminar was from 11 to 13, and at 10:50 nobody, not even the speakers were there. I started running around and grabbing random people to come to the seminar. As it turned out, the room was packed. 19 people showed up, 10 of whom are not in the POWER project. The younger women at PRIO were surprisingly interested. We were supposed to be in the Peace Room, but the computer was funky and it was too crowded so we moved to Philosopher's Hall.

I was worried about [REDACTED] not being there, but [REDACTED] had a lot to say. I personally was fascinated by her observations of how much has changed over the years. She pointed out, for example, that in the 70s only 2% of young children were in barnehage, and now it is 90%.

One thing she said that really resonated for me was that we still have the same view of academic life that we had in the 50s: that it is a calling, and that it is a great life as long as you have someone cooking and cleaning for you, and taking care of your children. She said that in the 50s there was a kind of equilibrium, but wonders now if we have yet reached a new equilibrium. I was struck by the disconnect between the social message that says motherhood is valuable but the demands of academia that suggest that any "time off" shows that you are not committed to your work. [REDACTED] said "How can anyone focus on just one thing for 40 years?" Yes, we can have it, but is it what we want?

So, the structural obstacles we are facing might not be the lack of day care, parental leave, etc., but rather the assumption that a life in academia is one uninterrupted concentration of focus lasting for 40 years. Society has changed faster than academia. Social benefits have changed, but not conceptions of career development. The "proper career" is male-defined. Men don't take time off because they are afraid their career would be hurt – but they want to. Women do it anyway, but feel bad about sacrificing their career. [REDACTED] suggested that "we need to liberate the men."

One observation [REDACTED] made was that in Norway, career women have more children than in other countries. My interpretation: in other countries there is a growing distinction between childless-women who have careers and "breeders" who stay home.

Another provocative line of discussion was whether or not women offer something qualitatively different to academia. In other words, she asked the question of why we need diversity. Is it diversity in itself that is important? Or what we, as women, bring to the table? Fortunately, she cleverly skirted the issue of essentialism. She did not suggest that it was by virtue of having ovaries that we bring something different, but that as people that live a different life than men, we have different views, and therefore bring a different focus. When she was working with the military, she noticed that the men just wanted to look at the guns, whereas she wanted to look at the people.

One reaction to this [REDACTED] was that women have to be careful about being labelled as “female researchers” rather than “researchers”. That if we do something gender-based, then we are not proper researchers. Another issue was noticing that when women start to dominate a field, it becomes less prestigious.

[REDACTED] noted that in the 50s, women were home during the day. That it was an easier time then because you had community. Now the homes are nicer but they are empty during the day. The whole notion of family has changed.

[REDACTED] noted that STV was very slow about getting female professors – the first was in 1997.

A discussion ensued about pension points: that while we might like the idea of a “winding road,” women are penalized for working part time by earning fewer pension points. [REDACTED] pointed out that (1) if the part time work is in a shorter, concentrated period, then it does little harm, and (2) women should be fighting to “share” pension points with their spouses – along the same lines as we share debt – so that there will be no gender-based penalty for divorce. This brought us around again to the importance of understanding national context in order to understand the decisions that women make.

[REDACTED] offered concrete advice about making strategic alliances with powerful men, not just other women. She also suggested that women choose their partners wisely.

We discussed saying no vs saying yes: Learn to say no, but say yes to things that are interesting.

Afterwards:

1. A visiting researcher from Germany [REDACTED] said that if this had been in Germany and you asked how many were married and had children, almost no hands would be raised. In Germany, having a family is considered incompatible with a life in academia. Since I plan to look into the national context in my doctoral work, this was a very interesting comment.
2. One PRIOite came into my office some hours later with thoughts about how we could take this conversation further [REDACTED]. Still need to talk about the costs of interrupting a career – for whatever reason. She wanted to talk more

about obstacles that women face that are unrelated to motherhood. And we discussed how we could make a seminar around that in the future.

3. Another talked about how it would be good to both hear from some men about their journey, as well as to include more men in this discussion.

4. And another “jokingly” said that “I want to take leave for a year now!”

████████ This was echoed by another one who said that one of the really interesting take-home messages was that being a professor maybe doesn’t have to be all-or-nothing, that an academic life can have more to it. ██████████

Post script:

The day after the POWER seminar I had a Research School symposium. On the first day, only women showed up. Tomorrow, ██████████ will be there, but he will be the only man. In general, more women than men come to my courses. Is this related to women being more willing to take a winding road, to do things that do not directly help them finish a paper? Men seem to think that they don’t have time for the symposiums... Women are more into the group-support thing.

Appendix 10: Schedule of interviews

Interviews undertaken in 2013 were for the Institute Focused Study (IFS) and focused on general challenges to productivity but were analysed separately for this study.

Anne	04.02.13	23.01.15	16.09.15	
Nina	08.02.13	05.02.15	11.11.15	04.12.15
Frida	12.02.13	28.01.15	17.09.15	
Nora	21.02.13	08.09.15		
Marit	25.02.13	27.02.15	21.09.15	
Sarah	21.03.13	13.02.15		
Pernille	02.05.13	17.04.15	22.09.15	
Karoline	23.05.13	11.02.15	27.10.15	
Heidi	(trial interview 2013)	09.02.15	09.09.15	
Augusta	15.12.14	03.02.15	11.09.15	
Nadia	26.01.15			
Ingrid	06.02.15	10.11.15		
Hilde	17.03.15	07.09.15		
Lise	04.09.15			

Anne 160915

LYNN This is an interview with Anne, the follow-up interview in September 2015. Right now, we're looking at the overview of publications that you gave me in January and trying to look at what it was that you thought you were going to prioritise and now we're going to talk about what actually happened. Right now, the way you described it, was that the ones that were, that had that grey shading are the ones that are finished.

ANNE Are we talking about...

LYNN We're talking about this list here.

ANNE This list? Yes.

LYNN Yes. And the ones that were in bold were the ones that you were planning on prioritising.

ANNE Yes.

LYNN And I think we have as number one here, well, what you have is a goal to submit by the summer the [REDACTED]. Also by the summer, [REDACTED] and, in March, you were going to do [REDACTED].

ANNE Yes, that didn't happen.

LYNN Okay, so let's talk about... Yes, let's talk about each of those. What happened and why? What about number four here, the [REDACTED]. Where are you now?

ANNE So, I actually... Well, I did make progress on that one since January because I presented it at ISA. It turned out to be it's a very difficult paper. I think it's, for now, it's a theory paper and then we're going to add empirics later. It's a tricky one. It's been on the backburner because I don't really know exactly what to do and it, kind of, requires more time to think properly. And, I haven't really carved out, I haven't been able to carve out time to do that, I don't think. I don't know. I think finishing a working paper on that was, kind of,

brought up a lot of the issues and difficulties with it. So, although it's not hopeless, it really is kind of far from being... I don't see exactly where it will end up so, it's not just like fill in the blanks and it's good to go. It's like...

LYNN More complicated than you expected.

ANNE It's more, yes, it's more complicated. Well, I thought it would be complicated but it is even more complicated than I thought.

LYNN So now, it's sort of parking because you need to rethink a little bit how to attack it?

ANNE Yes, and I'm kind of thinking that there are other things that is lower hanging fruit that maybe I should just like... So that... Just like, yes. It's better to just get a bunch of those lower hanging fruits out instead of that really challenging one that's going to like prevent all these other things and block up the pipeline.

LYNN Okay.

ANNE And the person I'm writing that with hasn't really had a time to be involved either so, we are kind of a little bit... It's on the backburner for both of us. So there's no... Yes. I think there are many other things that are much more like likely to be, to get out with less effort than that one so, I'm not sure whether that one should be the first priority. I think that was maybe a bad idea.

LYNN Okay. And then the next one that you wanted to do by summer was

[REDACTED]

ANNE Yes. For that one, I've actually been able to get the data together. So, it's not finished at all, but the data has been collected and I've started on that process. I was thinking I would get more done over the summer but various other things in life happened. So, it didn't really happen that way. But that one is like... For that one, I know more or less what needs to be done. So, it's not as hopeless. That one is like, you know, the whole book thing is this like book or articles or combination has been kind of like this thing too. Been thinking about it for a long time and, with that one, I was thinking more about the book. I'm kind of going back to the book idea.

LYNN About putting it in the book instead of having it as an article or...

ANNE Or when I'm writing it now, I'm writing it as if it's part of the book.

LYNN Okay.

ANNE And, if I see in that process of writing the book that I can still make that an article by itself, I will do that. But, I'm writing that paper as if it is part of the book.

LYNN Okay.

ANNE Or I'm analysing that data more, it's more correct to say that I'm analysing that data to be part of the book. And then, I don't making an article like subsequently or like in that process of writing the book, writing the article can be done because it's already something that is, was previously developed before I decided I need more data, I needed to update the time series and get more data to... Yes. It also depends what I find, right. So, I haven't finished analysing it. It's kind of... Yes.

LYNN How about this on one [REDACTED]?

ANNE Yes. That one...

LYNN That was supposed to be done by March.

ANNE Yes. You know I'm working with... I don't know how much we talked on the tape about who we're working with. But, my co-author and I are of the same persuasion that we're not ever able to finish stuff unless someone's holding a knife to our heads and my co-author is worse than me. And so, we keep telling ourselves like oh we'll really do this one and this one is great, let's just do this and whatever.

And we're going back and forth about how to do it exactly and it just needs a little bit of work and it's either we add an empirical part or make it let's say theoretical. And I've been saying now let's just stay theoretical, let's just try with what we have. Just let's polish it and get it out there because this is ridiculous. We were working on this paper for years and it's not going anywhere and we both agree, we're like so in agreement and then nothing happens. And so, this is like a recurring event that like happens every three months. We have this discussion and it's like we should just do this thing. Let's just carve out a week where we'll just like get it done, it's like... And then, it doesn't happen. I can't...

LYNN [REDACTED]

ANNE [REDACTED]

LYNN [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ANNE Nope. And this one I can't complete without him. It's basically up to him to do the... I'm really locked into that collaboration. I can't really finish this one on my own. So, I haven't been chasing him more than usual. I think I chase him every now and then and I've just been busy doing other things basically. So, I was advised kind of back and forth about this book versus article thing because that one is also something that could be part of a book.

LYNN Yes, okay.

ANNE Because they're all on [REDACTED]. Those two are on [REDACTED]. So, I kind of have been advised about articles but I kind of want for my own sake to be doing the book and so I'm kind of back to there.

LYNN Who advised you on the articles to say to do the book?

ANNE [REDACTED].

LYNN [REDACTED].

ANNE I think he thinks that the articles is a better route. I think so. That's how I remember our conversation.

LYNN Well, in terms of individual points and credit, they are. Like you get more, like a book you'll get five points and articles you get, just for level one, you'll get five points for a book and you'll get one point for each article. And assuming that you'll have more than five articles...

ANNE Points for what?

LYNN The book. Tellekant [NPI] points.

ANNE Yes, but I don't care about that.

LYNN Yes, I know. So, that's... But, I think he might be thinking that way. That's why normally the...

ANNE I think he's also thinking feasibility, like getting stuff out. Instead of trying something huge, try something small.

LYNN Yes.

ANNE So, my thinking about book versus article at this stage is beyond tellekanter and beyond... It's more building a career and building a name for yourself, you need to do the book. That's the one thing. That's like the external environment that dictates what you should be doing, what strategically will be better.

LYNN And by external environment, you mean like [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ANNE No, outside of PRIO. I mean, I don't think it matters at PRIO at all. But, it matters elsewhere. It matters for your standing in the profession and it matters for potential other jobs. And if you want to change jobs, having a book with a reasonable press is the ticket to getting a decent job. Certain places won't even consider hiring anyone in a permanent job without one. There's still a very strong, like, you need to have a book in many places to be like considered that you're someone. But, for my own sake, I also just kind of think that I like the bigger canvas idea. The article is a bit constraining format to get certain things the way I would want them.

You have more flexibility. You can elaborate examples more. You can write in a different tone. You don't have to worry about so much exactly the word count, although of course, you have to stay within limits. And I think the review process is easier which is a good thing because I think you have more control over the process. It becomes more your own work than for articles where reviewers have a lot to say, for example, how it turns out. And there are gatekeepers in the research area that are going to maybe make certain articles hard to publish and I think I could avoid some of that and make, sort of, the contribution that I want to make in a book. I don't know if I can actually pull off doing a book. I think I can, like, I think I have it in me but it's like, yes.

LYNN We've been talking about this for a while, the book thing.

ANNE Yes.

LYNN Yes. And we started with the post-doc and, you know, sort of coming along. And how much has happened on, towards the book idea in the last six months or so?

ANNE I do have some quite... Made some reasonably good progress in March. And then, I got the data together and started on that just before the summer. And then, I haven't done much on it. But then, I had a very good meeting actually. I went to this conference just now, like a couple of weeks ago and I had a very good meeting with someone who's relevant, who could be a potential reviewer for the book as well and who's really keen on seeing the book come out, who is very encouraging of my work and that made me sort of feel better about myself and the book project overall. So, now I feel like I have regained like, yes, I'm doing this thing, whatever comes of it. Instead of thinking about it, oh will it be successful and can I actually, will anyone publish it and thinking about, sort of, the outcome, I'm more thinking like I want to do this for my own sake and for the profession, or whatever. So, that's been good. So, now I have the motivation, I just haven't had the time to get down to it because there's so many things going on.

LYNN We talked about putting some of your hours for the writing stipend on this.

ANNE I'm going to do that.

LYNN Yes. So we allocated, I think, a hundred hours for this year.

ANNE Yes.

LYNN Not that that's going to be a huge amount but it's something. It's a month?

ANNE It's a month.

LYNN It's a month.

ANNE Yes. I think that it could potentially be the last thing I, like the last month of the year. Because I have two weeks of fieldwork, I have one week of teaching at a course, which is related to the book so, it's not... That course was kind of part of my master plan because the course is on the same topic and involves reading up on some stuff, thinking through some things, having students to sort of

bounce ideas off of. Getting back into the material through teaching it basically. I was intending to have a draft of the book ready for the course. That won't happen. Because I was thinking that I could like have people come in to lecture at the course that would also be able to do a book seminar. That won't happen. But at least I think that that course can be part of like...

When I prepare for the course, the course is at the end of October, I'll have to prepare for the course, write the lectures, read up on some of the stuff that I haven't... Some of the things I haven't read. Most things I have read but it's been a while, sort of get back into it. That will be, that's kind of part of the process of the book as well because it's on the same topic. And, I have to structure my thoughts in order to teach it. So, it's not a waste for the book. But then, after that, I go to [REDACTED] for two weeks and then I come back and then I can, hopefully, sit down and write something on the book.

LYNN Have you written a book proposal yet?

ANNE I have written a book proposal of sorts that I'm supposed to be sharing with some people. So, I should probably do that.

LYNN Is it for a particular press you had in mind? Which one?

ANNE Cambridge. That's the best one. Might as well try.

LYNN Yes.

ANNE My back-up plans are Oxford and Cornell I really want Cambridge.

LYNN Do you... I'm just thinking that you have a couple of chapters that are finished, right? At least a couple that are finished?

ANNE Yes, are finished-ish. I mean, I think you need to have the whole thing more completed to finish some of the chapters because they are all connected.

LYNN Yes.

ANNE But yes, I have well, I have drafts of three chapters.

LYNN Right. Because the book, usually they don't want you to have everything finished.

ANNE No, they do. Cambridge, when you haven't published a book before, they want that.

LYNN They want the whole thing done?

ANNE They want the whole thing done. Yes. I asked this person I had the meeting with at [REDACTED] conference. She said that you'll likely, they will ask you for the full draft before they will consider it since you haven't published a book before and not with them. So, being a uber-scared blah, I have to have the full thing ready.

LYNN Okay.

ANNE So, yes, I thought about that too, that I could just submit some chapters and you can do that once you have already published your first book. Then you can have a proposal, what this book's going to look like and a couple of sample chapters. For Cambridge, for being someone who hasn't published a book with them before, that's not going to be enough. So, unfortunately, I have to write the whole thing.

LYNN Yes. Because I was kind of...

ANNE I mean, I could have like a conclusion chapter that I haven't really written out or, and some of the chapters might be like kind of not like completely polished but I have to have a full draft.

LYNN Yes, exactly. No, because I was thinking that it might help you with a deadline, you know, if you had a contract and a deadline.

ANNE If I had a contract within that, yes. That would've helped me, but I don't think I can actually... That was, she was pretty clear on that and she's published with them, this specific press before. She also had some ideas about who at the press could be useful for me so, that's a good contact to have. But she said that they will want a full draft.

LYNN Let's just look at kind of some of the other things that have... [REDACTED] as well. Are you thinking that going into the book?

ANNE That's also part of the book. Yes. So, all of these things that are like, if the book works out then all of that stuff is kind of like...

LYNN In there.

ANNE In there and then that could be papers also [inaudible]. For now, I just kind of want to do the whole thing as just one big tome.

LYNN But what about the...

ANNE But I think that write, sit down and write thing really worked for me though.

LYNN The shut up and write?

ANNE Yes. Shut up and write, that was good. So, I think once I've done the statistical analysis, because I need to have those in place. Once I have run a bunch of analysis and kind of more or less decided what I want to use, then I can do a couple of those days and that would, you know, really get me far, I think. I can write really fast when I get down to it. It's not the writing that's the problem. It's I need to get the analysis done.

LYNN What about the [REDACTED]?

ANNE Yes, that one is hinged on another co-author and I'm not, I don't have any issues with that paper. I feel like that paper is almost ready to go. It's just we're waiting for another difficult... We're three people on that one and one of us is not been able to complete their part. I think it should be a relatively easy one and I've been actually thinking of saying we're going to be submitting this thing and, if you want in, you have to like, or we're going to run with what we have. So, that one I'm not like... For these other things we talk about, the things in the book and the [REDACTED]...

All those other papers we talked about up to this point are like problematic where I'm like an emotional like, I don't like thinking about them and waking up like sweating, you know. Those types of like... I have an emotional hard time with those things. This one I don't. This is just a matter of get your shit together so, let's get this thing out. It's, you know, it's fine and it could be a very good and cool paper and I think it would work. It's just a matter of waiting for this person and how much carrot and stick can you apply to get this to work. [REDACTED]

LYNN [REDACTED]

ANNE [REDACTED].

LYNN [REDACTED]

ANNE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] And it's relatively small things that are required. And it's getting to the point of becoming ridiculous.

LYNN I've also got one here called [REDACTED]
[REDACTED].

ANNE I have worked on that over the summer actually.

LYNN Yes.

ANNE I have gotten someone to make and go through what relevant literature is there. I presented this idea at the workshop and got good feedback on what needs to be done and I started writing first draft. So, I have the structure and I have started writing. I don't know how many thousand words I have but I have a little bit. So, that one is kind of important for me as well because it kind of establishes me in that research area, where I have been this sort of co-author or on the technical side of data collection haven't really had any contribution. Now, this is not going to be like a theoretical contributions like my theory with [REDACTED] or whatever. But, it's going to be like more of like substantive, a solo piece that maybe can have some, be useful for that research area. So, I kind of feel like that is one that should be high on my priority list.

LYNN When I was looking through this one, number five here, I couldn't find that on the other list. Is that the same thing?

ANNE It's the same as that. This one. This ten here.

LYNN Number ten. Okay. I just want to know that.

ANNE But, it's just that we... This first version of this paper, we did only on [REDACTED]. We ditched that and did it global and it's been published already.

LYNN Okay, good.

ANNE It has come out.

LYNN So, okay, we've talked so far on things that haven't happened that you wanted to do, this thing. But what has happened? I mean, what are the things that you have done since January?

ANNE Oh God, since January.

LYNN Have you submitted anything?

ANNE Yes. That's one of the things that took up a lot of time this spring. Writing a proposal for [REDACTED].

LYNN Alright.

ANNE And, of course, that's related to [REDACTED] stuff so, it's not like completely wasted thought process. And the book, if I can do the book, it is the first step of doing that next project which, if I get funding, I will be doing. So, that's all well and good but it took a lot of time developing that proposal, writing that proposal. That was a bunch of work. What else have I done? I had two papers that I presented at this conference in last month. There's been some work that's been going into that over the summer, finishing those two papers. They are both for the [REDACTED] project so, they're deliverables for that and that project is ending this next summer so, it's good that that's getting traction. I've initiated a new paper in the sexual violence project together with [REDACTED] on [REDACTED].

LYNN These conference papers, are you planning on turning them into articles or what's going to happen with them?

ANNE Yes. One of those is going, we're submitting in about a month is our plan. That's more like a technical paper on a method for [REDACTED]. So, it's not... Yes, and it's been a co-author. I've finished most of the stuff that I need to do on that. She's doing some more stuff on tweaking the program and some more data coding that needs to go in. So, that I also don't have a stressful like...

LYNN Straightforward, yes.

ANNE I'm relatively unstressed about that. And the other one, we also have a pretty straightforward plan.

LYNN [REDACTED]?

ANNE That one too but now it's on [REDACTED]. It's with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. We presented it at the conference. We have a bunch of ideas of what could be done. We had a meeting just after we had the presentation. Made a pretty straightforward plan for what we're doing and it's pretty basic revisions, some tweaking. I think that will happen also. So, I'm not too stressed about that. And then this third one with [REDACTED], I wrote most of the front part of the paper. We need to fill in the analysis and wrap it up. I feel confident that that can be done also without too much hassle.

LYNN Were any of these things planned at the beginning of the year? Because, I don't see any of these things on the list. These are all new stuff. Or were they just moved up from the very bottom? Or where did they come from?

ANNE No, so I think that that... This is the research professor competence list so, it's kind of more of what I thought would be important to make that happen, I think. Because I have this other list, did you see that one? All the different papers I'm working on, which is kind of like a different logic.

LYNN Okay, so these are things that you, are just for the professorship, okay.

ANNE That I thought, yes. But here, these two papers here actually are the two ones I've been working on. So, they are in both of them.

LYNN Okay. Right.

ANNE So, 17 here is that [REDACTED] paper. Actually, this one [REDACTED] paper is now three [REDACTED] papers but one of them has gotten to the point where we will submit soon. Very soon and we know where we're sending it. And this [REDACTED] paper is the one that I talked about, that's... We've made significant progress because I did it now and I think we can send it off before the end of the year.

LYNN Okay.

ANNE So, they are on the list.

LYNN Right, they were just far down.

ANNE They were just far down.

LYNN So, you made more progress...

ANNE And this [REDACTED] paper, we have submitted that and gotten an R and R back so, we'll be revising it.

LYNN Which number was that?

ANNE Number 12.

LYNN Okay number 12.

ANNE Number 12 is R and R and we're working on revising it. Like, I just got new data stuff from [REDACTED] like yesterday so we've been working on that.

LYNN What about [REDACTED]?

ANNE That one is more on the backburner.

LYNN Why?

ANNE Because I have so many other things and it's kind of like vague at this point. And it's number 13 so it's bad luck so I can't put that up.

LYNN What is this number 15? I don't know.

ANNE Oh yes, it's a comparative, it's a [REDACTED] paper that we think is a relatively simple, low hanging fruit type of paper, comparing different sources and what they say differently about [REDACTED]. And it was [REDACTED] and I who thought we would work with one of her, someone who's at Harvard now [inaudible] who has some stats competence, who could, over this next year while she's there, write this paper with us. It might happen. When [REDACTED] involved, then things tend to happen. But I don't know exactly. Yes, it could happen. So, I think that, you now, out of all of these things that, like, let them be honest, kind of like, not happening at the moment. It could happen some time in the future. But all of these other things are like things that have happened or things that haven't moved forward. They just haven't landed.

LYNN So, all in all, do you feel pretty happy about what you did this spring?

ANNE I will feel very happy when what I did this spring is end up being successful in getting that grant. If I don't then, of course then I could

submit again. But, if I sort of wasted a whole month writing a proposal that's never going to become a project, that would kind of suck. It's part of the process though so I can't really, you know, it's just how it is. If I do get that funding, then it is all well and good. Then I don't have any regrets. But you never know this things [inaudible] for it.

LYNN Is there anything else unexpected that came up in the spring? I mean, also, administration wise? Things that you had to deal with.

ANNE Don't remember. Don't think so. Not sure.

LYNN We were going to talk also more generally about your feelings about the work environment now and general expectations, both for, you know, you and everyone around you. Do you want to talk about that now or do you want to wait?

ANNE Yes, I don't feel like I have much to say. Well, it has not gotten better. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] But, it doesn't have anything to do with these things that we've been talking about now. That's kind of separate from that. I like my work. I think that's, you know, going reasonably well.

LYNN But do you feel like its...

ANNE So, the whole sort of content of the research is fine and I haven't had any direct problems on like, related to my person that's been... Like, no-one's going after me, no-one's bullying me or telling me to do stuff I don't want to do or anything like that. I have been asked to take on more responsibility in general like okay with that. But, I'm not feeling like... I think that there have been other things that have been happening at PRIO that have given me a different view of the place. Thinking that it's a place where you might not be thanked for any additional effort you put in. So, it's...

LYNN Do you feel like it's been easier to decide to prioritise your own career over...

ANNE I think it will be. Yes. Which, maybe, overall it's fine for me.

LYNN Does this mean that, earlier, you were sometimes making decisions based on a sense of loyalty to the environment, to PRIO?

ANNE Yes, I think I've had a very strong sense of we're building something, we're going somewhere. We have like this mission and we need to make this, you know, kind of like a vision for the place. And now it's more like what do I want to do for me? What type of research do I want to engage in? What do I want to do and work on? Less about let's build something great at this place. So, that's changed a bit.

LYNN Does that colour your, I mean, you're saying that sort of doesn't really have anything to do with this kind of these writing projects but does it?

ANNE I think now I'm being more... This might actually be a good thing too. It's not like this will be all bad for PRIO and/or myself. I don't know. I think I'm like going to be more focused in the things I prioritise so I will only initiate projects that are the ones that I really want to work on and not just try to find projects to generate funds and to have more activities and like... I'm just going to apply for those things that I really want and put less effort into the things that I think is probably a good idea because it can generate some funds so we need project money and we need to fill up our 1200 hours and whatever else. And more about what do I really want to work on. And what's going to help.

LYNN What do you really want to work on? What makes you super happy?

ANNE I want this new project on [REDACTED]. So, basically, I'm proposing that and things that are related to that or different ways that I can get that to happen in different venues and I would be less interested in investing a lot of time in various other sort of side projects, I think. Which, you know, given that I'm all over the place, is not a bad thing per se. But financially, I mean, maybe I would've been able to generate more ideas and generate more funds but I might not be as happy. I don't know. It's not like there's not plenty of opportunities and I'm not grabbing them. I am grabbing things but... I think I'm part of like three proposals for this new grant. Things that's coming out is, might not seem like what I'm saying now and what I'm doing it's actually corresponding but they are sort of.

LYNN Well, I suppose the energy you're putting into it perhaps [inaudible].

ANNE Yes. Like one of them is like directly [inaudible] for the other project and one is like might as well say yes and be part of this thing, who knows, and how we put energy in it. And then the third thing is like yes, I wouldn't mind doing this thing.

LYNN So, what are your goals for the coming period now? What do you really want to focus on the most?

ANNE Until when?

LYNN Till January.

ANNE Okay. I want to focus on... I will probably be working on other things than the things I'm focusing on as well because I have co-authors and things are in progress, but they want... The two main priorities is the book and this [REDACTED], sort of, literature paper.

LYNN Okay. Which one is that? The one [inaudible].

ANNE The...

LYNN Number...

ANNE The one that [inaudible].

LYNN Okay.

ANNE But, of the things that you know that are already in the pipeline, it's almost like we have an R and R, we need to deal with that. We need to have a letter, I need to work on that. That paper on [REDACTED], we have set a deadline in a month. I'll have to put in a couple days on that to get that submission ready. And the [REDACTED] paper, you know, there's a plan we've put in. We need to get that out the door. Stuff like that. So there's...

And also because these things have to do with deliverables for a project that's ending this summer so, I kind of want to make sure that things is underway and push them out the door before the project ends. So, it's like, I have too much relative to the amount of time I have. That's kind of for sure. It's not reality that I can complete all of this stuff but I would be happy if I can just make noticeable steps in the right direction on those two, my main priority things.

LYNN If you had, just imagine, what's likely to happen if you were suddenly to have an hour or two available one day. What would you be likely to work on?

ANNE An hour or two is kind of difficult. Then, I would probably be working on some of those things that are almost ready. Those papers with co-authors that are... so, the [REDACTED] paper, the [REDACTED] paper, the [REDACTED], [REDACTED] paper and maybe even this paper that I talked about with [inaudible]. These things that are like I can see that two hours will make a difference. And that's the problem with the book and it's the problem with the [REDACTED] paper. They both require that I have full days now and then or close to full days, because I really need to like get into it before I can actually do something. I need sustained...

LYNN You need to immerse yourself a bit?

ANNE Yes, I need to like, by the end of the two hours, I might have gotten all my [inaudible] so, where are my files again? Like, what was it doing it here? What the F is going on? Like, where was I? And so, two hours doesn't really do anything. It makes me more frustrated. And that's why I'm hoping that that one month at the end of the year where, the only thing that I have at the end of the year that I need to do is like I need to follow up my student who is going to submit her Masters thesis in December. But, other than that, maybe I can find time then to... Well, I have one trip as well. One travel thing in December and then, apart from those two things, maybe I can carve out like at least like a week...

LYNN Solid.

ANNE Solid. Not having to deal with...

LYNN Stuff.

ANNE Stuff. Small things that clutter up the day.

LYNN You were going to try writing for an hour a day in the spring. How did that work out for you?

ANNE It worked some days. I think in principle it works for me. In practice, it didn't really always work because I had meetings that couldn't be scheduled at other times for some of the days. And I was supposed

to be working on the book but then that proposal thing started to happen. So, there were things that were hard to schedule away but, for those days when I was able to do it, I actually made some progress and saw the progress I did on the book was through that. So, it's not a bad idea.

LYNN Okay. What time of day did you use for it?

ANNE Nine to eleven.

LYNN Okay so, you had two hours set aside a day.

ANNE Yes, something like that. Well, sometimes I came late. Sometimes I started at like 9:30 but it was like in that window.

LYNN In that window that you would... Would you set a clock or did you just try to work for about an hour?

ANNE No. What I tried is like whenever I arrive at work... So, I come in later when I go to the gym in the mornings. Then if I don't, I come into work, I don't open my email and I just start writing and then I try to write for an hour. And sometimes, I went over because I got into things and want to finish my train of thought and sometimes I would stop after an hour. And sometimes I started late, sometimes I started earlier. So, that's kind of the variation but it's generally within that time.

LYNN Okay.

ANNE There's like no point in stopping after an hour. If you feel like you have ten more minutes then you...

LYNN No. Definitely not.

ANNE So...

LYNN But, I'm just thinking for a large...

ANNE I don't think it's a problem for me to sit and write for an hour basically.

LYNN No.

ANNE I don't have a problem doing that. But there's just like little things that...

LYNN The problem is immersing yourself in the project.

ANNE Yes.

LYNN So, I mean, certainly for like the book, if you want to get back into this hour a day on it, you're going to have to spend a few days just doing nothing but that book. And then you could probably do the hour a day for a while later on again. What are you going to work on on the writing retreat this weekend?

ANNE That's still a debate I'm having with myself. I really actually want to, since it's [REDACTED] and myself going, only us, we're still discussing this, I actually just want to finish that paper with her. I know she has this other paper that she needs to work on.

LYNN Her [REDACTED] still?

ANNE Her [REDACTED] still. But I feel like I have energy and we're propelling forward with this paper we have together and then since we're going to be together that we should take advantage and actually just get it finished. I think we can do that in a day basically. I wouldn't mind doing that but that's also, of course, avoiding the book. But, I think the book needs that data work first. I don't think the data work is the right thing to do sitting up at the cabin because that's better to do in my office with the two screens and data and blah, blah, blah. So, it's that thing that I have with [REDACTED] since she's there and then it's that [REDACTED]

LYNN The number two thing, yes?

ANNE Yes. Those are kind of my [inaudible]. They're sort of the strongest candidates at this point.

LYNN Do you feel like you need to make a decision before you get up there?

ANNE No, I don't need to. But, it's good to have a fairly clear idea of what you're doing, I suppose.

LYNN For me, it's essential. I can't not decide because I know I'll do everything and then I'll end up doing nothing.

ANNE Yes. So, the other thing that I could've been doing but which I think is probably not strategic is to prepare lectures for the course, which

I could claim is also part of working on the book because it would involve some reading on some of the literature that I have either forgotten or need to brush up on or haven't tried yet. And it could be a good thing to read up at the cabin. It is hard to find time to read in the office. But, I think, preparing lectures could take up all the time that you set... If you start earlier, you're going to spend all the time. I know this. So, maybe it's actually better to like postpone and not over-prepare but, I don't know. Not sure. And I also feel like when I'm reading, I don't feel like I'm productive.

LYNN Really?

ANNE Yes.

LYNN Why is that?

ANNE Because, you can't see any concrete output from it.

LYNN So, you feel like you have to read stuff but when you do it, you don't feel a sense of accomplishment?

ANNE Yes. And I think that I'm maybe I'll be then disappointed when I finish the writing retreat and I can't really see that I did anything. Even if I put in a bunch of hours reading. And maybe I get more stressed from reading.

LYNN More stressed. Why?

ANNE Because I see everything else that everyone else has accomplished and published. I'm thinking oh shit how am I going to [inaudible] this, as good as this or how am I going to remember all this stuff that I'm reading. What's my thing going to look like and then start like panicking about my own stuff and [non-English].

LYNN So, how do you ever get reading done?

ANNE I don't really. I look for stuff.

LYNN So, you look for stuff, look stuff up but don't sit down and just absorb?

ANNE Yes. Mostly the reading is, I know that there's stuff in this one so I need to look for it and then read around that. I don't sit... Well, it happens on occasion but that's generally when it's a new topic. If there's a new topic then I can print out a bunch of things and have

a pile of things and then read them. So, for the [REDACTED] paper that is like one of my number one candidates to work on for the writing retreat, there's an element. And then a bunch of that literature is stuff that is add-on [inaudible] I don't feel threatened by it. Do you see what I mean? Because it's like [REDACTED] stuff that I don't really get, understand or have any...

LYNN Relation to.

ANNE I'm not competing in that market. It's a different but I need to understand or I want to understand that perspective to fully like give justice to the like, to that part of the literature that I'm writing about. So, if I do that, then I won't feel, I think, accomplishment because then I could've write at the same time. I don't have to just read, read, read, read and I could actually do a little of the looking for stuff reading but still like have a pile of things to go through. So, I think that.

LYNN [Inaudible].

ANNE Might be strategic.

LYNN Okay. Is there anything else that you wanted to talk about? Any thoughts around gender and professorship and workplace?

ANNE I don't know. My gender is the same. That hasn't changed. I don't feel like I've ever had very many substantive gender thoughts recently. I'm good with that. Well, sort of, the sessions that I have to be making in this next period of time, is kind of important because I will be asked, I think, or it has been signaled that I will be asked to be head of department. Which is estimated as a 20% position. It could potentially become more if I'm not stretched with how I plan time. It's going to take time away from my own research but it's going to be like relatively nice thing I suppose on the CV but it's mostly something I'm doing because like someone needs to do that. And I've kind of being saying that I shouldn't be doing, or I will stop doing, things and someone needs to do it and focus on what do I really want to do. And a bunch of other, less of personal things and things to do with PRIO, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], whether that's a good time or a bad time to be more involved in the leadership of a place

I don't know and what will it have to say for like my career and my ability to work if I'm going to have more like these regular meetings and all kinds of admin things and things to think about and talk to the advising people and the department, organising meetings for the department. Going to leadership meetings and dealing with fissures and HR problems, I don't know what, like, a whole bunch of shit. Sorry. Is that a smart move or is it just completely stupid. Don't know. I could take a male approach and say I'll do that and then just like do half-hearted job. That could be an approach. It's not necessarily lonely but, I'll say that but you know.

LYNN Would you feel comfortable doing that?

ANNE Don't know, maybe. I could aspire to...

LYNN Aspire to being half-assed?

SP3 To saying that this is good enough. Think I'm getting a little better, like, good enough, like giving quicker feedback on things, going with like a feeling and not reading and revising emails two times before I think that they're in, going more with like a whatever, sent. You know, maybe that's alright. But it could be like a complete time suck and like a very stupid move. Don't know, what do you think?

LYNN I have no idea how it be. I mean, on one hand you know, from a gender perspective, we also need women in leadership positions and that's also where they've been missing so, it's not like... But at the same time a lot of women are afraid that they're parked there. And, once they get there, then they don't get a chance to actually develop their professorship.

ANNE Yes. There is a... Those things are sort of competing, yes, when they do the considerations. So, that's why I'm kind of thinking about this whole like what am I doing for me and what am I doing for the institute type of discussions in my head are... This is one of those types of decisions, where it's like I'm kind of thinking I should only do this if I think this will be good for me, for my CV, for my professional development.

LYNN And whether or not you'd like it.

ANNE And whether or not I'd like it.

LYNN Does it sound like something you like doing?

ANNE It kind of depends who would do it in my place and how much I would hate it if someone else did it. Maybe, I don't know. It's a pretty influential position, given the structure of the place here. So, I mean, there's a lot of power in being in leadership...

LYNN So what sounds appealing?

ANNE In terms of deciding which projects can go forward, in terms of hiring people, in terms of more like bigger strategic decisions.

LYNN So, on the pro side, you're helping build a culture and helping make key decisions [inaudible].

ANNE I'm not sure I'm helping with culture but I'm helping prevent stupid decisions, maybe making sure that the decisions or the interests of my part of the [inaudible] is being heard, which would be important for having a good work life.

LYNN And then, on the down side?

ANNE It would be maybe good thing to have on the CV that you've been directing a department. I'm not sure it can compensate for other things. Probably can't. But, it's not a minus. If I could just choose one thing without any effort like you want to be head of a department or do you want a book published in Cambridge, I would take the book, like, any day, of course, obviously. And that's why I'm wondering if that's the decision I'm making, it's between doing that or doing this other thing or if that's not really what I'm choosing between. Because, the head of department can't compensate for the book.

LYNN No. So, you're worried that if you say yes to head of department then the little time that you had that could've been devoted to the book will be eaten away?

ANNE Yes, but maybe I would just have it eaten away anyways because of my way of procrastination or having a million projects going on or other things or, you know, would also get in my way. I mean, if I'm getting in my own way, I might as well fill it with head of department as with whatever else crap I could be doing in that time.

LYNN How would you...

ANNE So, I might be fooling myself thinking that I would be able to do the book any more, any less, with this factor in it at all.

LYNN How do you think you can learn to get out of your own way?

ANNE [REDACTED]. That's the only thing that works.

LYNN Okay, yes funny answer but at the same time does that mean that you feel like lowering your expectations and your degree of perfectionism would help? Is that getting in your way?

ANNE It is getting in my way, yes. Being too concerned like, not living in the now and thinking more about like how... Having like, it needs to be really good and I feel like it's not and even if everyone else is telling me it's good, I don't really feel that it's good. But, I sometimes have like little glimpses when other people think that it's good where I think it's good too. And it's just a matter of controlling that negative voices when they appear.

LYNN So, other than [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]. How are you going to quiet those negative voices?

ANNE Wait, unofficially after we [inaudible]. How I'm going to silence the voices?

LYNN Silence the negative voices. Or maybe make the positive voices louder, I don't know.

ANNE I am not entirely sure about that. I think I sometimes work better when I'm not... Like, sometimes I work better in my office and that I think is primarily because of [REDACTED]. A stupid little thing like that. But generally I often work better when I'm not, have to be in the office. So, that like shut up and write type of thing. So, and then, I feel like once it becomes a good spiral or a negative spiral. Once I get started and get into it, I feel like I'm getting somewhere and then I feel increasingly better about the process. And then, things happen and I get out of it and then I start like [non-English] then it's really hard to start again.

It's like starting to work out. It's kind of like the same thing. It's really shitty the first times because you're out of shape. And then, you get into it and it's actually quite cool and you start to enjoy it. So, it's

that, you have that start and stop kind of thing and having being in the office, being disturbed by things that are going on or other things prevents me from getting into a good cycle of productivity. That's the start and stop is not really making me feel like I'm getting anywhere.

LYNN So, it's to get yourself into the positive spiral...

ANNE Yes.

LYNN Do you feel like you...

ANNE And maybe have like a quiet like... It does not maybe have to be quiet actually, but it's some sort of space where I can feel like I can be productive without the other distractions. Like I don't have a very good home office. I think I could've had a good home office like I have another home where I have a desk and a setup where I feel I can get work done. But, here in my apartment in Oslo, I don't really have a good home office setup that works for me. But, like working in a café, working in other places and stuff like that sometimes really works well for me. Sometimes I work really well when I'm travelling and I'm sitting in a café where there's a bunch of people walking around. So, it's kind of hard to sort of [inaudible]. I'm not sure if it's the environment or if it's me, or whatever it is, but it's a little bit of a combination.

LYNN Yes, so we just have to think of ways to encourage the positive spiral. Is there anything that the POWER project can do to help you do that? I mean we're doing the shut up and write thing once a month. What else can we do?

ANNE I think that maybe I want one of those things that are hanging on the door again.

LYNN What happened to yours?

ANNE [Inaudible]. I don't think I ever had one and I'm not sure if we have anymore.

LYNN You can have mine.

ANNE Okay. Because I think that it's not really... It's not that I'm hating people for coming and knocking on my door. It's a good thing. And often it's things that need to be sorted fast and all that stuff. But,

when people come knock on your door, you get distracted. And I need to like close the blinds and hang that thing on my door, I think, now and then so, that I won't be... So, I don't have anyone knocking on my door, asking about stuff and also to not check my email.

So, usually I work better in the evenings when everyone's gone home and that's like end of the email season. But, that does not always happen because there are a lot of people that work in the evenings so, you can get emails and calls and Skype conversations. I have a lot of meetings at odd hours anyways. So, that doing something in the morning before you check email usually can be one way of getting around that. It's either or. Either it's the evening when everyone else has gone home and if I have no meeting scheduled, or the morning.

LYNN Okay. But, if you can think of anything more concrete that we can actually do to help, you just let me know and we'll see what we can do. Otherwise...

ANNE Well, I would like someone to eventually read over my book manuscript for content and for actual like [inaudible]

LYNN Yes. You just have to give me plenty of warning. For content, I wouldn't be the ideal person.

ANNE No but for just argument, it makes sense together, what's unclear, all that type of stuff. It's doesn't have to be like, you don't have to have stats expertise but I really would like two or three critical readers to just like hack it by pieces. Find a way that I can... But it doesn't, I mean, like the criticism needs to be like useable. You know, it needs to be the particular type of reader that I trust is going to do a proper critical read but not so critical that I lose hope. It's a tall order. Like, asking someone to read something along is something huge to ask of someone and then if you want to add conditions to it, that's kind of like an even taller order.

LYNN If you have a draft that's ready by the end of the project period.

ANNE When is that?

LYNN We have one more year. A year and a half. I mean like the second half of this year and then 2016.

ANNE Yes.

LYNN It goes at the end of 2016. So, if you have like a full draft that's ready to be read, I can imagine that it would be possible to scrape together an honorarium for a critical reader. So, to make them more committed to doing it and...

ANNE I know that that person that I had the meeting with would be willing. It would be a good reader. So, if she could, you know, she might want to do that.

LYNN Okay so, let's just think about that. I haven't...

ANNE She even wants to like come here and whatever if, you know, it's like possible. Fly someone in and [inaudible].

LYNN I don't know if I have the budget for that but...

ANNE But, she might be in the neighbourhood so, she might be cheap.

LYNN Yes. We can certainly talk about it. I mean that's the kind of...

ANNE Instead of an honorarium, she might want to have like we pay her flight or whatever. [Inaudible] probably the same amount anyways.

LYNN Yes, but that would be certainly something I would be up for. Yes.

ANNE Yes. That would be good.

LYNN Okay, but on that note, let's call it an interview. It's been an hour. Then, we'll do this again in a half year.

Pseudonym:

Date of interview:

Interview guide IFS

Expected duration per interview: 90 minutes

The interviewee must bring to the interview

- (a) one example (title or printout) of a piece of writing (any genre) that he/she is satisfied with for any reason
- (b) one example (title or printout) of a piece of writing (any genre) that he/she is not satisfied with for any reason

Topics in bold represent mandatory areas of inquiry; the following questions are prompts.

The interviewee must be prepared to submit a list of all publications (academic and non-academic) after the interview

ACADEMIC WRITING

Previous writing:

- 1) Satisfactory example: What exactly about this do you find satisfying? How difficult or easy was it to write? What parts were difficult or easy? What have you done to ensure you do more things like this?
- 2) Unsatisfactory example: What exactly is not satisfying about this piece? What was easy/hard about writing it? How can you avoid things like this in the future?
- 3) Do you like writing?

Current work load: (list of titles or printouts of current writing projects):

- 1) How many writing projects are you working on right now? Is this normal for you? How do you prioritize? What work load is ideal for you? Why?
- 2) What is the status of this/these project(s)? What needs to happen for them/it to be finished? What are you planning to do to make sure things stay on track? What kinds of things could throw you off track?
- 3) How do you prioritize co-authored vs. single authored works?
- 4) In general, how do you know when you are finished with something?

Writing-research process: Looking at the visualization of research–writing process (attached):

- 1) **Emotions**
Excitement/joy
Guilt/anxiety
Confusion/frustration
Satisfaction/accomplishment
- 2) **R&R:** How do you feel about getting comments from reviewers? How long does it usually take before you make yourself respond? What do you do if you get a particularly bad review? Mixed reviews?
- 3) **Motivation:** What motivates you or demotivates you at each phase? What does your institute do that motivates or demotivates you? What do you do to keep yourself motivated? How do you cope with a lack of motivation? Do you reward yourself?
- 4) **Efficacy:** At each stage, do you feel that your efforts pay off? That you have some sort of control over the outcome? Or do you feel that it comes down to “luck” or “who you know”? What feels meaningful? What doesn’t?

- How do you make things meaningful?
- 5) **Likes/dislikes:** What parts do you like the best?
The least?
Are there things you do to make yourself like (or cope with) the unlikable parts better?
Are there aspects of academic writing you find constraining?
- 6) **Mastery:**
Where do you feel most competent?
Least competent?
What are your strategies around building competence?
How do you know when something is good enough?
Mechanisms for coping with lack of competence?
- 7) **Stress:** What parts do you find most stressful?
Are there differences between your perception of what the institute wants from you and what you want to do?
What is your main source of stress?
How do you cope?
- 8) **Creativity:** What does creativity mean to you in the context of research?
Academic writing?
When do you get your big ideas?
Your little epiphanies?
What are you doing and where are you when ideas come?
- 9) **Social dimension:** Where and how do you interact with others?
a. **Conferences:** When do you attend/present? Why?
b. **Feedback:** When do you ask for it?
c. **Coauthoring:** Do you like co-authoring? When do you do it?

Non-academic writing/dissemination

What kind of non-academic writing do you do?

What do you like/ not like about this kind of writing?

Why do you do it?

Writing instruction and help:

Do you remember getting any formal instruction on how to write academically?

How well do you think your educational background and writing instruction has prepared you for the real world of academic publishing?

What helped the most?

Does language pose any hindrance to you?

Working habits:

What do you do to achieve flow?

What do you usually do to start your day at work?

Under which conditions do you work best/worst?

Physical location (home, office, café, etc.)

Noise (music, voices)

What is your ideal work pattern?

Hours (morning, afternoon, length of sessions)

How about what you did yesterday?

Does this vary depending on where you are in the research-writing process?

How do you balance home and work demands?

What gets in the way of you being able to achieve your ideal pattern or environment (e.g., bad habits, distractions)?

Productivity:

What does researcher productivity mean to you?

What do you think other writers need help with?

How do you feel about the way productivity is assessed by your institute?

GOALS: Are you interested in becoming a professor?

What will it take? What are pros and cons? Do you think it is worth it?

Why do you think there is a gender gap at the professor level?

Wrap up

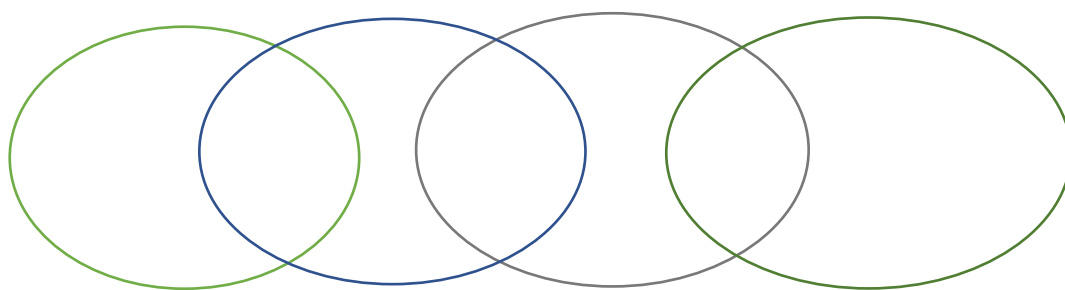
What was the most interesting thing we covered here?

Did you learn something about yourself?

Is there anything we haven't covered here that you think is important for your writing process?

What kind of help do you personally think you need?

Visualization of research–writing process:



GRANT WRITING / RESEARCH / WRITING / R&R / PUBLICATION

Appendix 13: Guide for POWER / thesis interviews (2014–2015)

- 1) Your publications goals for the coming year
 - a. What kinds of things do you have going?
 - b. What makes each one important or meaningful?
 - c. What do you think you should prioritize?
 - d. How are you going to make time for these things?
 - e. What might get in the way?
- 2) Other commitments?
 - a. What other things have you said yes to? (conferences, collaboration, speaking engagements)
 - b. What kinds of things did you turn down?
 - c. What are your plans for this year? Strategy?
- 3) What do you feel is expected from you?
 - a. From PRIO management
 - b. From colleagues
 - c. From home
 - d. Other?
- 4) Are there times you feel a conflict between what you want to do and what is expected of you?
 - a. In relation to career?
 - b. In relation to writing?
 - c. In relation to family?
- 5) How close do you think you are to being “objectively ready” to apply for professorship?
 - a. What might be missing?
 - b. How will you go about getting that?
- 6) How close are you to being “subjectively ready” to apply?
 - a. What might stop you?
 - b. What kinds of risks do you see?
 - c. How much is this something you want to do?
 - d. How important is it?
- 7) What we can do to support you in your goals (either through the POWER project or anything else)?
 - a. If have used writing stipend, how has that worked?
 - b. Writing group?
 - c. Retreats?
 - d. Date for mock evaluation

General thoughts about gender and academia

- How do you see gender as being relevant in the choices that you make?
- How do you see gender as being relevant in the way others judge you?

Appendix 14: NVivo codes

* = “A priori codes”: Codes based on theoretical framework and initial reading through of interviews, before the fine coding began

(1) and (2) = Codes with the highest number of references, respectively

Advice

Agency or initiative*

Career or professionalism

Challenge or obstacle*

Choices*

Co-authors*

Colleagues*

Deadlines*

Evaluations of others*

Evaluations of self*

Feedback or reviewers

Gender*

Gender bias, implicit or explicit*

Genre

Goals (met and unmet)*

Identity* (2)

Impostor syndrome

Insecurity*

Institutional expectation

Institutional setting (1)

Interventions*

Language

Learning
Life outside work*
Meaningfulness*
My role
Network
Objective readiness*
Overviews*
Planning
Priorities*
Procrastination*
Progress
Reading
Rejection*
Role models
Saying yes or no to opportunities*
Strategy
Stress
Subjective readiness*
Supporting others
Time
Values*
Work load*
Writing events*
Writing practices*

Appendix 15: First pages of publications produced during doctoral studies

Educate~ Vol. 14, No. 3, 2014, p. 22-31

Critical review

The professional without a profession: An entrepreneurial response to supercomplexity in research environments?

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Contextualization

Institutions of higher education and research are subject to a number of exogenous pressures, such as the demands for accountability, internationalization, massification, and supercomplexity. As teaching institutions, they are expected to prepare students to meet the needs of a changing world. And as research environments, they are expected to address socially relevant problems and maintain high levels of academic quality. This critical review is situated in the debates about professionalism and professional identity in higher education and research. The author is responding to Trede et al.'s (2012, p. 365) claim that more research is needed "to better understand the tensions between personal and professional values...discipline versus generic education, and the role of workplace learning on professional identities." By reflecting on her own professional development in light of the existing literature on professionalism, the author's discussion touches on such overarching research questions as, "What makes a professional a professional?"; "How important is having a 'profession' to the development of professional identity?"; "To what extent do individual human agency (including entrepreneurialism) and structural context play a role in shaping both professional identity and professional roles?"; and "How have exogenous demands – such as supercomplexity – shaped demands for individual professional roles within research-producing settings?"

Abstract: *This critical review interrogates both the traditional and the more modern literature on professionalism by taking the author's position as a special advisor in an international research institute in Norway as a point of departure to explore the challenge of professionalism without a profession. By exploring the various criteria that make up "professionalism," this review explores to what extent "professionalism" is directly linked to belonging to a specific "profession," and what non-professionals signify in the context of knowledge production. The author argues that her position as special advisor may not meet the criteria of traditional notions of professionalism, but does represent professionalism in a more modern sense, especially considered in the light of blended professionalism and unbounded professionalism. It is suggested that this type of "professional non-profession" can be seen as an entrepreneurial response to supercomplexity, particularly in research environments characterized as interdisciplinary and applied.*

Introduction

Research environments today are populated by a number of recognized professionals and semi-professionals: researchers, lecturers, project managers, accountants, administrators, etc. These positions have a certain degree of fungibility; for example, an accountant or researcher in one research institute performs much the same function as an accountant or researcher in another setting because there is a shared understanding of what an accountant

<http://www.educatejournal.org>

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Publishing and perishing: an academic literacies framework for investigating research productivity

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The current discourse on research productivity (how much peer-reviewed academic output is published by faculty) is dominated by quantitative research on individual and institutional traits; implicit assumptions are that academic writing is a predominately cognitive activity, and that lack of productivity represents some kind of deficiency. Introducing the academic literacies approach to this debate brings issues of identity, multiple communities, and different institutional expectations (at the local, national, and international levels) to the foreground. I argue that academics often juggle competing demands that create various sites of negotiation in the production of academic writing: the results of these negotiations can have a direct impact on what kind of research output is produced, and how much it ‘counts’. Drawing from research on the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), this article demonstrates how a theoretical framework based on academic literacies can be used to investigate research productivity outcomes in specific academic settings.

Keywords: academic literacies; academic publishing; academic staff; academic writing; research writing

Introduction

The expression ‘publish or perish’ has been around since the 1930s, reflecting the reality that academics face: to make it in academia, you have to publish regularly. And yet – according to research productivity indicators – there seems to be more perishing than publishing for the majority of researching academics. Throughout the world, in virtually every higher education or research setting, the numbers show that a small minority of researchers produce the vast majority of the publications, while most researchers publish little or nothing at all (Kyvik 1991; Teodorescu 2000). In connection with the increasing need to document, measure, and demonstrate success (Alexander 2000), these numbers have resulted in hand-wringing and finger-pointing as we look for solutions to ‘fix’ what has apparently gone so very wrong.

Academic literacies theory was developed in direct response to a parallel ‘deficit model’ of student writing (Lillis and Scott 2007). Stemming from New Literacy Studies (Lea and Street 1998), it challenges the notion that academic writing is simply a matter of achieving a particular set of cognitive skills that can be used from one context to the next (Lea 2004; Lea and Street 1998). Rather, it sees academic

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2 Lost in Quantification: Scholars and the Politics of Bibliometrics

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Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Journal of English for Academic Purposes

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/jeap



What's in a number? How (and why) measuring research productivity in different ways changes the gender gap

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Article

The Institutional Context of ‘Linguistic Injustice’: Norwegian Social Scientists and Situated Multilingualism

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Received: 23 November 2018; Accepted: 28 January 2019; Published: 1 February 2019



Abstract: The debate about ‘linguistic injustice’ centers on whether or not English as an additional language (EAL) writers face challenges in writing academically that are qualitatively different from those of novice academic writers irrespective of language background. This study aims to add nuance to this debate by looking at range of writers (from novice to expert) within an interdisciplinary social science research institute in Norway in order to investigate the mediating role of the institutional context. Using an ethnographic approach with an academic literacies perspective, it examines the challenges these writers face and discusses them in light of tensions between identity and institutional environment. It argues that the high degree of immersion in English causes ‘situated multilingualism’, where their ability to write about their topic in English *surpasses* their ability to write about it in Norwegian. Nonetheless, even the expert writers, particularly those in disciplines that value a unique authorial voice, demonstrated insecurity and lack of ownership to their writing in English. Moreover, the pressure to also sometimes write in Norwegian represented an additional site of negotiation not faced by their non-Norwegian counterparts. This suggests that the challenges EAL writers face are not determined by their language background alone, but also by their institutional environment—including the pressure to publish ‘internationally’, the amount of writing expected, and their immersion in English.

Keywords: English as an additional language (EAL); academic literacies; academic writing; research productivity; English for Research Publication Purposes (ERPP); multilingualism

1. Introduction

Although English is not the most common first language for most academics, it is perhaps the most common second language and is generally (although not uncontroversially) considered the lingua franca of academic publishing see, e.g., [1,2]. This means that most publishing academics are probably publishing in a language that is not their native tongue.

Amongst both academics and practitioners, there is considerable debate about whether having English as an additional language (EAL) puts scholars at a disadvantage compared to those who were raised using English as their main language. Some, on the one hand, argue that EAL scholars face significant challenges expressing themselves, developing a sufficiently flexible vocabulary, and writing a convincing argument [3–8]. This may result in not using language exactly as a native speaker would e.g., [8,9]. Having these differences in language use pointed out by reviewers may not only result in a feeling of having one’s academic identity challenged [10], but also hinder publication [11–13].

On the other hand, many others argue that distinguishing between EAL speakers and those who have English as a first language oversimplifies the problem [14–16]. These authors suggest that not all EAL writers experience academic writing in the same way. For example, academics in Scandinavia seem to struggle less than academics in, e.g., Asian countries [17]. More important, the

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