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Academic identity at the intersection of global scientific communities and national science policies: societal impact in the UK and Netherlands

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates attitudes to societal impact of research as an entry point into understanding academic identities. Conceptually, we position academic identity at the intersection of global scientific fields and national science policies. We argue that the degree of alignment or misalignment between the two can create coherent academic identities, or on the contrary, tensions in academics' identity. Empirically, we use the disciplines of philosophy and anthropology as proxies for scientific fields in the social sciences and humanities (SSH). The study is based on sixteen semi-structured interviews with mid-career philosophers and anthropologists in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and an analysis of how societal impact is positioned in the two national evaluation systems. We conclude that 'coercive' national impact policies (like the one in the UK) are less likely to be aligned with global disciplinary norms in the SSH and therefore create tensions in academic identity; these can undermine academics' agency and be counterproductive in terms of reaching policy objectives. By contrast, 'enabling' national impact policies (like the one in the Netherlands) are conducive to more coherent academic identities that are better aligned with disciplinary notions of societal impact. By discussing academic identities in a comparative context, the study highlights the struggles of reconciling disciplinary and national notions of societal impact. To realise the potential societal impact of academic research, we recommend that impact is integrated into a wider ecosystem of interactions where policy-driven notions are aligned with disciplinary norms and values.

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Academic identity; societal impact; scientific communities; science policy; social sciences and humanities

Introduction

Academic identity evolves and adapts to meet different conditions and expectations (Henkel 2000). In many parts of the world today, academics have to navigate an increasingly complex environment, where they are faced with competing expectations about what they should value and prioritise in their work. Some of these expectations come from disciplinary norms and values, transmitted through knowledge communities (Laudel and Gläser 2008); others come from incentives issued

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by their universities (Billot 2010; Churchman and King 2009) or governments (Nedeva 2013). In this paper, we focus on the alignment between disciplinary norms and national science policies. National science policies may align with or oppose disciplinary norms, which exist at a global level, to different degrees.

Given today's rapidly changing academic environment, it is crucial to understand how academics negotiate multiple – often contradictory – expectations and how this affects their attitudes and behaviour. This understanding could contribute to safeguarding conditions for disciplinary knowledge development on the one hand, while appropriately responding to national needs on the other hand.

This article argues that the degree of alignment between global disciplinary norms and national science policies has important implications for academic identity and, as a result, for the ways in which academics position themselves in relation to particular aspects of academic practice, such as societal impact. We aim to contribute to two scholarly debates.

First, we engage with the debate about academic identity. While academic identity literature has so far mostly focused on single national contexts (e.g. Ylijoki and Ursin 2013; Degn 2015; Huang, Pang, and Yu 2018), our study investigates academic identity in a comparative context, to understand how academics across the United Kingdom and the Netherlands integrate global and national notions of societal impact. As a result, we are able to bring new insights into how different national science policies can contribute to the creation of different academic identities, despite shared global disciplinary norms about societal impact.

Second, we aim to contribute to the debate about societal impact. Most qualitative studies exploring attitudes towards societal impact have so far focused on one country (e.g. De Jong, Smit, and van Drooge 2016; Olmos-Peñuela, Benneworth, and Castro-Martínez 2016; Watermeyer and Chubb 2019); alternatively, multiple country studies have focused on broad trends rather than provide rich individual accounts (e.g. De Jong and Muhonen 2020). Our study offers new comparative insights into how two different national settings shape academics' attitudes towards impact, by drawing on rich personal narratives. Our particular contribution to this debate is twofold: (1) We show that attitudes towards impact are more strongly shaped by national policies than disciplinary norms and (2) We argue that national policies that pressure academics to generate impact may be counterproductive: if it does not result in outright opposition, it leads to a much more limited range of impact behaviours.

The article is structured as follows. First, we briefly review the literature on academic identity to explain the multiple roles that academics play. We then position academic identity at the intersection of global disciplinary norms and national science policies. Finally, we introduce societal impact as an aspect of academic practice and formulate expectations based on the integration of the discussed literature. The methodology section provides a rationale for the selection of countries (United Kingdom and the Netherlands) and academic disciplines (philosophy and anthropology) sampled for this study. This is followed by the results section which begins by outlining disciplinary norms around impact. The section then moves to impact as conceptualised in national science policy instruments and concludes with a discussion of their alignment with disciplinary norms and the resulting effects on identities. In the discussion, we embed our results in the broader literature. The article concludes by reviewing possible implications for policy and future research.

Theory

Academic identities

In this study we draw on several definitions of identity and try to reconcile – on the one hand – the need for social belonging in academia (e.g. by drawing on the more traditional work of Tajfel and Turner 1979) and – on the other hand – the fluid nature of contemporary identities highlighted in

more recent works (e.g. Billot 2010). As a result, we understand academic identity to mean the sense of social belonging that academics feel in relation to different communities, while acknowledging the tensions that often arise from the dynamic and fluid nature of these group memberships.

Focusing on the social aspects of identity, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that a person's sense of how they are is based on their group memberships, which gives them a sense of belonging to the social world. Applying this to academic identities, we argue that academics develop a sense of belonging to two main groups: (1) their scientific community with its influencing forces (this is in line with the works of Becher and Trowler 2001; Brown 2015; Henkel 2005; Knorr-Cetina 1999); and (2) the national and organisational research environments in which they operate (Latour and Woolgar 1979; Välimaa 1998).

While acknowledging that the membership to these groups is a defining feature of academics' sense of social belonging, we also believe that they are not fixed. In line with the works of Barnett (2000) and Henkel (2005), we argue that contemporary lives are fragmented, as academics increasingly need to fulfil multiple roles. This is where the notion of fluid identity (Billot 2010) comes in to explain the constant renegotiation of roles and expectations that academics undertake whenever they re-assess their group memberships and sense of belonging.

Because national and organisational demands have not always developed in alignment with academics' notion of professional self, conflicts, or misalignments, sometimes arise (Billot 2010). Thus, by accommodating certain demands and resisting others, academics juggle their own conceptions of who they are as professionals (Billot 2010).

Harris (2005) developed this idea of fragmentation in the context of neoliberalism in higher education, followed by scholars like Rhoades (2007), Clegg (2008), Archer (2008), Winter (2009), Fanghanel (2012) and Watermeyer (2016), who unpacked the implications of a performativity culture on academic identities. They show how an emphasis on quantification and targets can be detrimental not just to research quality but also to one's well-being and sense of professional self. As Smith (2012) explains, trying to simultaneously perform different roles can be challenging and requires different coping strategies. Some academics opt for a collaborative stance towards policy makers ('facilitators'), whereas others actively challenge them ('fools') or present their ideas in such a way that they are palatable to different audiences ('flexians').

However, regardless of how they reconcile various roles, it is evident that 'academics retain a fluid identity as duties and expectations fluctuate' (Billot 2010, 713) in a continuous process shaped by influencing forces (Fitzmaurice 2013; Pick, Symons, and Teo 2017; Dugas et al. 2020), including disciplinary norms and national governance regimes.

Disciplinary norms

Disciplinary norms originate in what Nedeva (2010, 221) refers to as 'knowledge communities': 'groups of researchers who share similar or commensurate epistemic assumptions, methodologies and have developed consistent systems of reputational control'. This definition implies that different communities behave differently. Indeed, Becher and Trowler (2001) show that different knowledge communities – or in their words 'academic tribes' – have distinctive disciplinary norms that prescribe the behaviour of their members. Academic education and training are a major route towards instilling disciplinary norms (Parry 1998), that can refer to language use, research topics and publication outlets, for instance. Showing respect for these norms is key to gaining and maintaining recognition as a respected member of the community (Becher and Trowler 2001).

Gaining the respect of peers, or being perceived as 'credible' in the words of Latour and Woolgar (1979), in turn, is a major driver in acquiring resources for research. Resources can be gained by means of positive evaluations of grant and job applications. Hence, in order to unlock these resources, academics are incentivised to make decisions that they believe will contribute to the

approval of their peers (Ziman 1981). In other words, disciplinary norms are a significant influence on the behaviour of academics.

National science policies

We draw on the work of Adler and Borys (1996, 61) to characterise national science policies as a second significant influence on the behaviour of academics. They conceptualise workflow formalisation as either 'coercive', which functions 'as a means by which management attempts to coerce employees' effort and compliance', or as 'enabling', a function which 'enables employees better to master their tasks'. We understand national science policies as serving a similar function in the relationship between governments (equivalent to 'management') and academics (equivalent to 'employees.'). Ideal-type coercive policies prescribe how academics should meet certain clearly defined goals and suggest penalties for when these goals are not met. In contrast, ideal-type enabling policies formulate loosely defined goals and provide more freedom for academics to decide how to reach those goals. Previous research suggests that such different national policies have different influences on scientific production and academic behaviour, by creating or limiting opportunities (Gläser and Laudel 2016; Benninghoff et al. 2014). This can be done, for instance, through targeted funding or performance-based expectations.

A powerful policy instrument that governments use to steer the behaviour of academics is evaluation. Prior to funding, it supports the selection of those scientists expected to display the desired behaviour, and then it ensures the funds are used as intended (Braun 2005).

Whitley's (2007) work on research evaluation systems (RES) helps us understand what coercive and enabling national policies may look like in more concrete terms, and thereby understand how they can shape academics' behaviour. Strong RES are characterised by highly formalised peer-review procedures, which result in rankings that are publicly announced and often have a direct impact on the allocation of resources – which academics depend on to continue their research and maintain recognition from their peers as we discussed above. Strong RES are often summative in nature and serve accountability purposes. On the contrary, weak RES are characterised by lower levels of standardisation, seldom publication of outcomes, and no direct link between outcomes and funding decisions. Weak RES tend to be formative in nature and aim to stimulate improvement. Hence, as long as academics have an interest in acquiring funding, strong RES are more likely to incentivise them to display behaviour that they believe will contribute to positive evaluation outcomes than weak RES.

National policies interact with norms originating in disciplinary communities. For instance, ideas about research quality vary across disciplinary, evaluative, and national contexts (Langfeldt et al. 2020). Such ideas may align or misalign between contexts. Misalignment leads to competition between disciplinary norms and norms in national policies. For example, Luukkonen and Thomas (2016) found that researchers who aim to acquire funding from a national funder have more limited options for research designs than they would normally have available within their discipline.

Societal impact

Following Wróblewska (2021), we explore attitudes towards societal impact to study academic identities. In her study of linguists in the UK, Wróblewska (2021) found that individual academics could oppose impact while simultaneously supporting it. This may lead to complex relationships with 'impact'. For example, on the one hand, some of Wróblewska's (2021) respondents expressed negative feelings about the Research Excellence Framework (REF), while on the other hand they explained that participation in the exercise changed their self-perception in terms of realising the societal impact of their research. In some cases, this even affected their academic identity as the exercise started a process of incorporating impact-related work, which previously would

go unnoticed in their department, into their 'academic self'. The discursive positioning that academics engage in when discussing impact makes it a suitable case to get access to tensions in academic identities.

The issue of societal impact is not a new one, given that universities have always been in close connection with surrounding society (Scott 2006). Spaapen and van Drooge (2011) introduced the concept of 'productive interactions' to describe these connections as precursors to impact. Productive interactions are defined as 'exchanges between researchers and stakeholders in which knowledge is produced and valued that is both scientifically robust and socially relevant' (Spaapen and van Drooge 2011, 212). They distinguish between direct interactions (such as presentations, workshops and round table meetings), indirect interactions (mediated, for example, by books, software, prototypes and the media) and financial interactions (including monetary transactions and contracts, usually supporting the former two types of interactions). Interactions are considered to be productive when they lead to efforts by researchers and/or stakeholders to adopt the produced knowledge.

However, more recently, there have been increased pressures on universities to demonstrate their benefit to the economy and wider society as a bureaucratic way to justify public expenditure (Martin 2017; Shore and Wright 2000). These pressures to make academic research more accountable have created frictions between university autonomy and public accountability, and have renewed discussions about the so-called 'social contract' between universities and their public (Hazelkorn and Gibson 2019). On the one hand, there are critics who argue that these pressures stem from a lack of trust in universities (Boden, Ciancanelli, and Wright 2012); others argue that wider society is entitled to have an interest in how public money is spent (Massaro 2010).

Regardless of which view one takes, these developments have led to an increased awareness of 'societal impact' among policy-makers, university leaders and academics (Watermeyer and Lewis 2017). Different stakeholders understand 'impactful' work differently, and in many cases 'impact', as a concept, is not defined at all. More importantly, different countries have embraced this trend differently, with some designing a rather explicit agenda around impact, involving complex evaluation processes (Derrick 2018), and others who have not taken tangible measures to encourage, evaluate or reward 'impactful' activities. These national differences in perspectives on impact allow for exploring how the alignment between global disciplinary norms and national policy contexts relate to academic identities.

A widely shared view is that the Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) in particular do not easily lend themselves to the kind of measurable and instrumental impact that some national science policies encourage (Benneworth 2015).

Integrating the literature on academic identities, disciplinary norms, national science policies and societal impact allows us to formulate two expectations. First, by giving clear incentives such as allocating funding based on particular behaviour and its associated outcomes, strong RES contribute to standardised and institutionalised notions of quality. Based on this, we expect that academics in a country with coercive national impact policies, indicated by a strong RES, will share a more similar understanding of what societal impact is and how it should be approached compared to academics in a country with enabling policies, indicated by a weaker RES. As a result, we anticipate that the stronger a country's RES is, the lower the diversity of productive interactions and involved stakeholders will be.

Second, phrasing this in terms of Smith's (2012) typology, we expect a strong RES to result into both 'facilitator' identities, as it is hard to escape the system and therefor it might be less costly just to comply, and 'fighter' identities, as the system will provide little room for individual interpretations, which will cause some to speak up in the hope to gain more freedom. In a weaker RES, on the other hand, there is ample room for individual interpretations, which we expect to translate into opportunities for academics to adapt their behaviour to different audiences. We anticipate that this 'flexian identity' leads to fewer tensions than the 'facilitator' or 'fighter' identities.

Methodology

Research design

We focus on the Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH), as we expect that misalignments between global disciplinary norms and national science policies may be more visible in the case of the SSH than in other research domains. The disciplines we chose as proxies for global scientific communities are anthropology and philosophy, because they are broad enough in their thematic focus and types of inquiry to give us scope for investigation, while also mixing theoretical and applied strands of research.

Figure 1 below illustrates how we conceptualise academic identity at the intersection of global disciplinary norms and national science policies.

To access national science polices, we selected the United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands (NL). Both are high-performing nations in terms of the quality of their research outputs; however, the science systems in the two countries are governed very differently. We consider the UK as having 'coercive science policies', where there are clear policies on impact and how to produce it, and the Netherlands as having 'enabling science policies', where the focus is on creating conditions for impact, rather than on particular desired outputs.

An illustration of this difference is the organisation of national research evaluations. Although both countries have a long-standing tradition in national research evaluations, their approaches differ significantly. In the UK, the REF results in rankings which affect the allocation of national level research funding (REF 2019). In the Netherlands, the Strategy Evaluation Protocol (SEP) also results in scores, but not in rankings, and it does not inform the allocation of research funding on the national level (Van Drooge et al. 2014).

Within each country, we have selected two universities to limit the introduction of biases caused by characteristics at the organisational level. Based on a typology of universities developed by Paradeise and Thoenig (2015), in each country we selected a top-level university and a university aspiring to become part of the top. Furthermore, we were interested to see whether academics affiliated to a university with a particular focus on the SSH would experience fewer tensions compared to academics affiliated to a comprehensive university. Our assumption was that SSH universities are in a better position to develop impact policies that cater to the SSH. As argued elsewhere (De Jong and Balaban 2022), we did not find any differences among our interviewees that we could attribute to the organisational level. Therefore, we did not include the organisational level as a factor in our analysis.

Figure 2 below gives a visual representation of our study design.

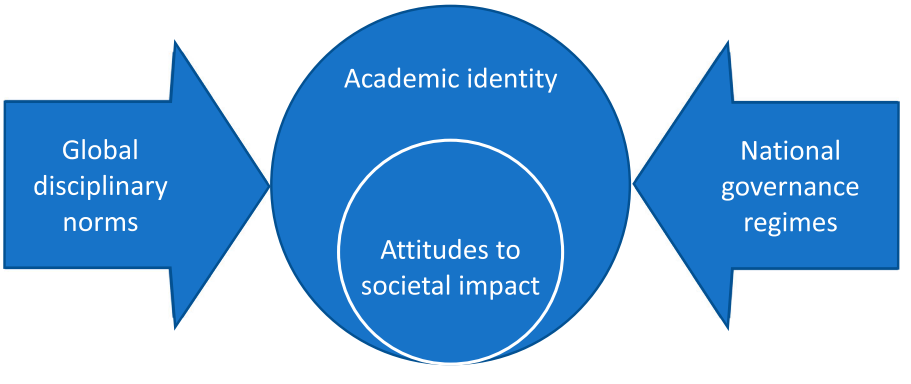

Figure 1. Conceptualisation.

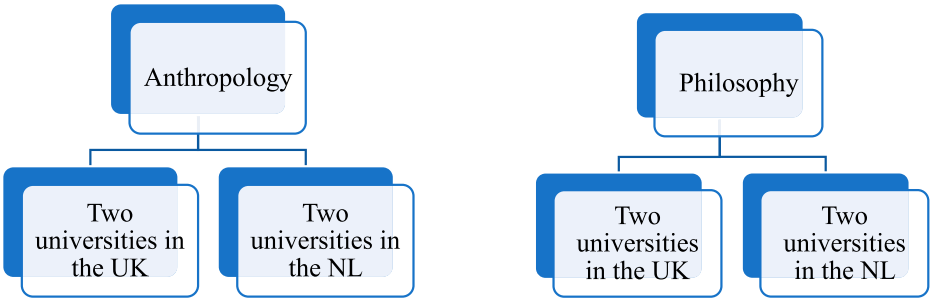

Figure 2. Study design.

Interviews

We planned to sample 16 mid-career academics as we believed those were the most susceptible to incentives coming from national science policies. In turn, we assumed full professors, given their tenure, and junior academics, given the usual practice of moving between organisations settling, were less likely to change their behaviour based on evolving incentives in national policies that challenged their intellectual values acquired via the disciplines. Due to limited availability of interviewees, our final sample consisted of 14 mid-career and 2 senior academics. From these, seven respondents were male and nine female. Unique identifiers were created for each respondent (see Table 1).

Additionally, in the case of both disciplines, our sample of interviewees covered a wide spectrum of research from more fundamental to more applied. Our respondents worked on very different types of research questions and had different views in relation to how they contributed to societal change through their work. The interviews lasted for 45–60 min and were guided by a semi-structured interview protocol consisting of three sections.[1] The first section focused on the interviewee's research as well as their conceptualisation of and experience with societal impact. Examples of questions are 'Can you give an example of a major impact achieved by an academic in your field?' and 'Who, besides your peers and students do you interact with as a researcher?' The second section included questions about the interviewee's discipline, such as 'Are there any ideas in your field about how to generate impact?' and 'Do impact activities and achievements add to your reputation in the field?'. The first and second sections aimed to understand the 'global' perspective on impact. The third section of the protocol focused on the university level and included questions such as 'How would you describe your university's approach to impact?' and 'Are there any rewards or incentives for impact?' The responses to the questions in the third section have been presented and analysed in De Jong and Balaban (2022).

The interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically in NVivo (Bryman 2012). In the first instance, both authors of this article coded a small selection of transcripts representative of the different categories of respondents (gender, country, type of university and discipline). The coding was then cross-checked between the two authors to ensure the consistency of the coding approach. A coding book was developed from this initial analysis which allowed one researcher

Table 1. Participant codes

Participant characteristic	Description	Code element
Country	United Kingdom	UK
	The Netherlands	NL
University (per country)	University 1	1
	University 2	2
Discipline	Anthropology	ANT
	Philosophy	PHIL

(CB) to code the remaining transcripts. The authors had regular meetings as part of an iterative process of interpreting the emerging codes.

The data was coded using a combination or deductive and inductive strategies: we followed the structure of the interview schedule to cluster the data around broad themes (e.g. using codes such as 'understandings of social impact', 'motivations to do impactful work'); within these broad themes, we then coded emerging sub-themes (e.g. using codes such as 'impact as external pressure', 'impact as add-on'), allowing for patterns to emerge inductively.

Across interviews, different participants articulated similar ideas by using different words. In such cases, we grouped their responses according to their central meaning. We were also sensitive to the underlying meaning of statements (which required inferences to be made) and discussed their interpretation in detail before reaching consensus on how we coded them.

Furthermore, for the purpose of this paper, we only selected the themes that covered the contributions of several participants, to avoid focusing on isolated views. In the cases where only one participant expressed a given idea, we did not treat this as a theme.

Whenever respondents referred directly to their discipline or to interactions with their peers, we interpreted this as content about disciplinary norms. Examples of such phrases are: 'It is something that you notice at conferences' (NL2 ANT2) and 'philosophy as a whole has largely hated the impact agenda' (UK1 PHIL1). Similarly, when respondents, sometimes implicitly, referred to their country, their national research evaluation or national research funder, we interpreted this as content about national science policies. Examples are: 'When funding decisions are being made' (NL2 PHIL1) and 'When REF comes up' (UK1 PHIL2).

The identities of the participants were determined based on the explicit or underlying meaning of their statements, revealing how they positioned themselves in relation to impact. For instance, they were classified as primarily 'facilitators' if, when asked about their own definition of impact, they reproduced a recognised policy definition of impact (e.g. provided by the REF) without critically interpreting it. For example, 'What does impact mean to me? I guess the most obvious thing to mention is the, you know, the specific REF definition of impact' (UK2 PHIL1).

In turn, participants were categorised as 'fighters' when they expressed negative feelings in relation to established policy definitions and expectations of societal impact. For example: 'I don't really believe in impact that much. I mean not in this technical sense that we're using it. […] The idea that research has impact, I personally … I'm quite sceptical' (UK1 PHIL2). Note that we opted for the label 'fighters' rather than following Smith (2012) in using the term 'fools' as we believe this does more justice to the perspectives and attitudes of our participants.

Lastly, we labelled participants as 'flexians' when they were aware of policy/ organisational demands, but managed to navigate these demands with relative ease, by emphasising different elements of what they did, depending on the context or the audience. For example:

> When someone [referring to a colleague] asks me: what are you up to? I say, I am off to my [stakeholders]. But that is not how I include it in my CV. Indeed, I have a heading "knowledge utilisation" [the term that the Dutch Research Council uses to refer to societal impact] on my CV. So, then I would use the official term. But just on my CV, not in real life. (NL2 ANT2)

Document analysis

To further characterise the impact landscapes in the two counties, we analysed policy documents related to the evaluation of impact. Hence, we included policies and webpages of funders relevant to evaluation of impact in the social sciences and humanities, and guidelines for national research assessments. We then selected the most relevant ones, considering their focus and date of release, ensuring that we had the latest documents. This narrowed down our selection to three Dutch and four British core policy documents about societal impact issued by some of the most influential national-level policy actors: government and research funders.

These documents contained information about funding criteria provided by research funders and protocols for national ex-post research evaluations. We conducted our analysis by paying particular attention to (1) how impact was defined/conceptualised; (2) any concrete examples of impact and (3) any mentions of stakeholders and how they interacted with each other. We then critically interrogated the information in our notes to understand the context in which each document was created: the original idea behind it, the actors involved in producing it, its intended audience, and the people it was targeting as 'beneficiaries' of the policy. Our final evaluation of the documents included a synthesis of the main arguments and a comparative analysis of different sources across the two national contexts to understand any commonalities and points of divergence.

Results

In this section, we first discuss the disciplinary norms around societal impact. We then analyse national science policies, focusing on impact, based on the collected documents. We continue with discussing the alignment between the two and the resulting academic identities, paying special attention to its implications for impact behaviour.

Disciplinary norms around societal impact

We found that philosophers and anthropologists in both countries held similar views regarding the nature of disciplinary inquiry and the extent to which it could lend itself to societal impact. Despite minor national differences, norms seemed to operate through disciplinary communities. Respondents from both disciplines talked about the shared ideas pertaining to the societal value of their discipline. In addition, anthropologists also discussed the unique characteristics of their impact processes.

In the case of philosophy, the first theme revolves around the societal contribution of the discipline in general, which, according to our respondents, can be found at the meta-level of fostering criticality and reflection:

> The consolation of philosophy can be to help people to be more autonomous in the world. […] It's about reflection, it's about critical thinking. […] It is something that I think is necessary to live consciously. […] I think the power of philosophy is that we can think about meaning […]: what is a meaningful life? (NL1 PHIL1)

Similarly, 'The contribution of philosophy is not content, it's how we think about content. It's something like critical thinking' (UK2 PHIL2). This was also closely connected to the idea that philosophy had intrinsic value – something with a clear long-term benefit for human society, hard to delineate or quantify: 'philosophy is intrinsically valuable; there is simply value in an attempt to understand basic concepts or to understand who we are' (UK1 PHIL1).

The ways in which our philosophers perceived their discipline contrasted with two external societal expectations. The first was the expectation that their discipline gave ready-made instructions about how to lead a good life. The second was the expectation of giving practical advice to policy-makers or other stakeholders. In fact, it contravened to philosophical norms and values to claim that one was in possession of the 'truth' and be prescriptive about actions that people needed to take: 'I don't like talking at all as if I have the truth and I know what has to happen, I don't like that at all. But I do think that my strength can be to make people interested' (NL1 PHIL1).

Closely related to this, the second theme focuses on the differences in societal value of different philosophical fields. According to our interviewees, applied philosophy was better aligned with the notion of 'impact' than theoretical philosophy … As one of the respondents explained:

> Political philosophy or ethics is, I think, quite logical that the people who work in it also have a kind of interest in the public debate and would like to be visible in that debate. If you work around inequality and you see inequality increasing around you, it makes sense that you feel that you want to do something about it. […] If you are a

> metaphysician or interested in philosophy of mind, it is probably the more hardcore abstract questions that interest you. (NL2 PHIL1)

Comparable to philosophy, the first theme that emerged from our interviews with anthropologists was centred around the value of their discipline. They described this value as gaining understanding, challenging assumptions and raising awareness, not solving problems. They related this to the epistemological assumptions of their discipline that viewed social processes as continuous. Instead of issuing verdicts, anthropologists wanted to understand these processes and critically reflect on their nature: 'Part of what we do is … we just problematise everything. You know, the government, for instance, wants quick wins and that's like the antithesis of what we do' (UK1 ANT2). The interviewee added:

> The idea that our research, in that respect, would have some kind of social impact runs counter to what we would want to do as anthropologists, which is understand what's already going on, rather than make direct changes as if we know the answer or the right thing to do. […] it's incredibly uncomfortable for anthropologists to assume that we could implement change that will have some kind of predictable outcome for these people. (UK1 ANT2)

In this regard, our participants from anthropology did not see themselves as change-makers; rather, they saw themselves as insightful observers who were able to expose processes and problematise situations: 'to me, that's impactful, because it makes you rethink, you know, […] strategies towards [a particular issue] in a different way, but without being prescriptive' (UK1 ANT1). In concrete terms, one respondent explained that the contribution of anthropology was that of giving voice to marginalised groups and of making a case for them. By simply providing a platform for their voices to be heard, the research was achieving its societal goal, that of making people aware of the issues that certain marginalised groups were facing.

> I do think there is a kind of consensus among the majority of anthropologists that we create room for voices that are not normally heard. […] And that makes it immediately clear where the impact is. (NL1 ANT1)

Hence, many of our interviewees worked on the assumption that changing the ways in which people thought about certain issues could be valuable in itself, without being prescriptive.

> It helps you think differently, but there's no policy recommendations at the end, or you know, it's a way to push us to think differently […]. But it's really hard to convince policy makers to care about something that's written in a poetic way for example. (UK1 ANT1)

Thus, for many, the impact was represented by the understanding that they were gaining – of communities, people and processes – which could ultimately contribute to resolving issues around inequality or discrimination: 'A lot of people study marginalised groups and issues of inequality, and so a lot of people want their research to help those people in some way' (UK1 ANT1).

Contrary to philosophers, anthropologists did not make a distinction between applied and theoretical areas, but instead talked about the unique characteristics of impact in their discipline. According to them, anthropology needs a long time frame to reach its potential for societal impact: 'it's a discipline that's very much founded on the idea of spending time with people and doing that over a long time' (UK2 ANT2). Furthermore, fieldwork, by producing knowledge in collaboration with the communities that they studied, was an important way to achieve impact: 'I think that our impact also includes the relationships [with informants] that we establish' (NL1 ANT2). This relational aspect of data collection implied that researchers were engaged with the 'real world' on an ongoing basis:

> I think our impact is also in the relationships we enter into. […] Our main research technique is … it's not just observation, but also participation. And that means for me, in my [medical] research, for example, also guiding people in the hospital … and help them here and there. And that is … whether that is help or not, there is already an impact factor in that relationship. (NL1 ANT2)

Impact, in this situation, was therefore achieved through the physical presence of the researcher in certain situations, by taking part in activities alongside the people being studied. However, this was a kind of involvement that was hard to distinguish from the impact of the research output itself, which does not aim to change any existing situations.

Finally, the majority of our Dutch respondents talked about norms around media within the context of societal impact, which is the only national level difference that we observed. Respondents mentioned negative implications of being too visible in the media; for instance: 'I think that those who frequently appear in the media might lose their credibility among their peers at a certain point' (NL2 ANT1) and 'On the one hand I admire people who make the effort to leave the ivory tower, on the other hand, my reaction, which I suppose is not unique to my discipline, is "well, that must be inferior philosophy"' (NL2 PHIL1). One explanation for these feelings is the perception that the media does not do justice to the complexity of academic insight:

> The mainstream media thinks there is no room for more nuanced stories. At [one of the most influential and widely watched Dutch talk shows at the time] you must present your conclusion within two minutes without any hassle and as a result the nuances are totally lost. (NL1 ANT1)

Another might be that 'debating stuff you're not competent debating can be very problematic and dangerous, I think' (NL2 PHIL2).

National science policies for societal impact

In both countries, impact in policy documents is broadly conceptualised to go beyond economic impact (ESRC 2020a; AHRC 2020b; REF 2019; NWO 2014; VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016; NWO 2017). There are no dominant perspectives on preferred stakeholders that academics should engage with (REF 2019; VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016), apart from examples of stakeholders mentioned in several policy documents, and the exclusion of academics as stakeholders in the UK's Research Excellence Framework and its Dutch counterpart the Strategy Evaluation Protocol. Although a broad range of possible ways of interactions with stakeholders is mentioned, in both countries research collaborations and partnerships with stakeholders receive special attention (ESRC 2020a; NWO 2017).

We did find important differences in the general context in which impact is discussed. First, in the UK, impact appears in a context of accountability and return on investment in research (AHRC 2020a; REF 2019). In the Netherlands, on the other hand, impact is discussed in a context of raising awareness of its importance and improving knowledge exchange, without an explicit emphasis on returns on investment (NWO 2017; VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016). The latter arguably signals to academics that their roles can be diverse, depending on how they perceive the societal potential of their work and how they choose to engage, in line with their scholarly identity.

Second, in the UK it is emphasised that impact should be demonstrable, whereas in the Netherlands it is emphasised that researchers are responsible for the processes that make impact possible, but hold a far more limited responsibility for the occurrence of the resulting impacts (REF 2019; NWO 2014). This is an especially important point with significant implications for how academics can position themselves in the wider impact ecosystem: in terms of deciding on their behaviour, having to demonstrate results may be more restrictive than having to demonstrate effort.

Third, although in both countries impact plays a role in allocating funding by means of ex-ante assessments by research councils, it is only in the UK that it affects the allocation of block-funding of universities via ex-post assessments (NWO 2014; REF 2019).

All in all, the reading of the documents confirms our selection of the UK as having a coercive national impact policies with a strong RES and the Netherlands as having enabling national impact policies with a weak(er) RES[2] and provides concrete characteristics of the systems that facilitate the discussion of alignment between disciplinary norms and national science policies, in the next section.

Alignment and identities

In general, respondents from the UK experienced more misalignment between disciplinary norms and national impact policies than respondents based in the Netherlands. Our UK respondents struggled to articulate any understandings of impact that were not immediately linked to the national RES conceptualisation. One participant voiced their feelings towards such an external motivator as '[a] 'bureaucratic beast impinging on [their] everyday life' (UK2 ANT1). By contrast, in the absence of such a uniform impact framework, the academics we talked to in the Netherlands articulated their own understandings of impact. This meant that there was also a lot less resistance to the concept of 'impact' compared to what our respondents in the UK expressed, as respondents found more personal ways to resonate with understanding the societal value of their work.

A major factor in explaining this misalignment seems to be the focus on demonstrable results that relate to accountability purposes within a coercive national impact policy context. The views expressed by the participants in the UK were positioned within a defeatist discourse about the strong regulation about impact and the ability – or lack thereof – to present a convincing argument, or 'impact case study', within the context of the national research evaluation system. This was hard because such an impact case study relied on a form of immediate, tangible impact, something that philosophy could not offer:

> Probably philosophy is about as far away from any immediate impactful academic discipline as it's possible to be; […] it's very difficult to go, okay, so here's this theory of truth, which can be quite technical, and here's the policy output, right, it just doesn't exist and so a lot of people will say, well, what I do has no impact, it's just about understanding basic concepts. (UK1 PHIL1)

Similarly, the anthropologists we interviewed in the UK struggled with presenting demonstrable results within relatively short periods of time, as this did not align with the disciplinary norm of having an impact through the development and maintenance of long-term personal relationships. Apart from issues around temporality, the epistemology of anthropology also resulted in issues around causality in demonstrating results: 'I guess it's also hard to just distinguish, okay, this is the impact that I've had on […] these people. […] We do it but it's more of an organic, I guess, kind of, experience that we're after' (UK1 ANT2). For this reason, many of our participants in the UK did not even mention their long-term relationships as respondents as a form of impact at the beginning of the interviews as it did not coincide with what they thought we were looking for: impact that one could demonstrate, measure and evaluate.

This misalignment, in turn, affected the integration of the concepts of impact and research. Most participants from the UK conceptualised impact as an 'add-on', an additional requirement that created anxiety rather than personal or professional satisfaction, and this was seen across both disciplines in the UK: 'I think because it feels like it's another expectation that I need to fulfil, another aspect of research that I need to think about' (UK1 ANT1). There was also the concern that by focusing on impact – understood in an instrumental way as suggested above – the intellectual side of research risked being lost: 'I feel like, instead of thinking of what's interesting intellectually, I end up thinking about how is this useful for something else?' (UK1 ANT1).

Our respondents in the Netherlands, however, experienced impact as something that happened organically, not as an 'add-on', strategically planned ahead. Rather, the interested parties, such as the media, contacted academics: 'If you do something for a large audience, it is usually by invitation' (NL1 PHIL2). In turn, when academics felt that they could contribute to a debate, they did so in line with their scholarly identities: '[It's where] intellectual curiosity leads to or where the argument leads to' (NL2 PHIL1). This quote also signals that impact and research go hand in hand according to this respondent. All in all, there was no noticeable fundamental resistance to the concept of impact among the respondents based in the Netherlands.[3]

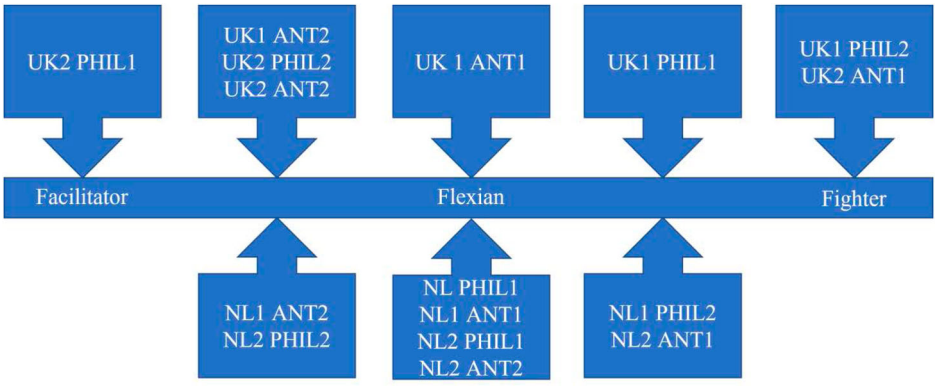

Figure 3. Impact identities of respondents.

Figure 3 visualises the identities of our individual respondents, based on how they discuss and manage the (mis)alignment between disciplinary norms and national impact policies. Of course, it is not always easy or even possible to place complex human identities into tightly defined categories. Many participants demonstrated discursive positioning, but most of them gravitated towards one of the identities (facilitator, flexian, fighter). This is why, in the figure below we have positioned participants on a spectrum that runs from facilitator to fighter, with flexian in the middle (Figure 3). The visualisation shows that (1) there is a clear difference in the distribution of identities between the countries: the respondents we interviewed in the UK gravitate towards the ends of the spectrum, whereas the respondents from the NL concentrate in the middle, (2) there is no obvious difference in the distribution of identities across disciplines and institutions, although participants from one of the universities (UK2) seem to gravitate towards the facilitator end of the spectrum – despite one of them being a clear fighter.

Identities and behaviour

One could argue that the identity that results from the alignment between disciplinary norms and national impact policies only matters to the well-being of the individual academic. However, our comparison of productive interactions between our respondents from the UK on the one hand and respondents from the Netherlands on the other hand, suggests that these identities have wider implications. In the UK, where the facilitator and fighter identities are dominant, (1) many respondents insisted that teaching was in fact the most 'impactful' part of their work and (2) we found much less variety in the types of stakeholders that researchers engaged with and the interactions that they participated in.

Regarding teaching, UK respondents emphasised that it was not only a way to disseminate their latest research findings, but also to shape the next generation of leaders, politicians, entrepreneurs and policymakers: 'I do believe that if you teach someone how to think, that is a sort of impact' (UK2 PHIL2). 'Teaching someone how to think' can of course go beyond the classroom into the disciplinary identity of philosophy – that of shaping and challenging thinking.

It stands out that respondents drew on an activity that is traditionally part of the academic identity to conceptualise impact. This can be understood as an attempt to reconcile the newly added expectation of impact with their existing academic identity.

Concerning the variety of stakeholders and interactions, the academics we spoke to in the Netherlands mentioned activities that academics engaged in long before impact became a policy objective, but which were traditionally less central to academic identity. The first activity was impact via media output: despite norms warning against (too much) media presence in the Netherlands, we found

almost four times as many examples of media output compared to the input from our UK respondents. The second was collaboration. Although the number of collaboration examples was only slightly higher than the number coming from the UK participants, the types of stakeholders that the interviewees mentioned were much more diverse: museums, cultural institutions, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), ministries, schools and others. By contrast, responses from the UK suggested that collaborations were predominantly limited to stakeholders in the political and policy sphere and NGOs – those stakeholders that were believed to be well-received in the context of the national RES.

Our respondents in the Netherlands had more scope to pursue whatever activities made sense for them intellectually, and as a result, impact had very diverse conceptualisations. An average of five examples was mentioned in each interview, compared to an average of three in the UK interviews. All in all, the comparative richness of the data from the Dutch interviews was overwhelming.

Discussion

Part of what brought the scientific communities and national science policies into alignment or misalignment was whether the latter were 'coercive' (in the UK) or 'enabling' (in the Netherlands) (Adler and Borys 1996). In line with our expectation, instead of enabling academics to fulfil the societal potential of their discipline, the coercive impact policies in the UK seemed to alienate them and make them resistant to exploring broader notions of impact within their disciplines, resulting in a lower average of mentioned impact activities per interview. Rather than willing to explore new ways of having impact, respondents from the UK emphasised teaching as the most important avenue to impact in an attempt to incorporate impact into their existing scholarly identities. This finding provides further support for Bilot's (2010) observation that misalignments between external demands and professional self-images may lead to tensions.

Contrastingly, the enabling impact policies in the Netherlands offered multiple opportunities for outreach and engagement. Dutch respondents were aware of possible channels for engagement and simply accessed these whenever they became relevant. In most situations, therefore, their scholarly identity took precedence over external demands, as their societal contribution was enabled by the national context. This allowed academics to feel a sense of coherence in their motivations for impact. We believe that this is part of the reason why academics based in the Netherlands were able to integrate impact into their academic identities in a much more coherent way.

Our findings are also in line with Leisyte and Westerheijden's (2014) comparative study of the UK and the Netherlands, which concludes that the UK has a much more pronounced performative culture, with implications for how research is conducted. In the UK, the strong RES took away the agency of academics in relation to societal impact; it also reduced the variety of activities that counted as impact, by limiting academics' experimentation with different forms of impact. On the contrary, the distributed policy landscape in the Netherlands seemed to enable academics to own their impact and engage in a wider variety of ways. This suggests that performative cultures may not only negatively affect research quality, as the studies inspired by Harris's (2005) work (see section 2) demonstrate, but impact quality as well.

Furthermore, we found that the national impact policies in the UK conceptualised impact as a result, while the policy context in the Netherlands framed impact as a process. The latter is in line with the concept of 'productive interactions' (Spaapen and van Drooge 2011). This conceptualisation also works better in the context of the SSH, evidenced in this study by the emphasis that anthropologists put on spending time with their informants. Such a conceptualisation may make it easier for academics to integrate impact in their academic identity. This also supports Molas-Gallart and Tang's (2011) finding that framing impact in terms of productive interactions helps to justify activities that academics engage in, leading to fruitful outcomes that do not always get acknowledged in more traditional understandings of academic identities.

Although ideas about the relevance of philosophy and anthropology seem to be consistent across the two countries, we found that national research environments were dominant in shaping concrete impact conceptualisations – adding to the importance of 'the local' (Nedeva 2013) in understanding academic practices. In general, philosophers made it clear that their role was to make people think and question the world around them. Anthropologists, in turn, believed that their role was to give a voice to people who are often silenced. That said, there were more similarities in how impact was realised across the two disciplines within one country than in one discipline across both countries. It follows that if national impact policies do not accommodate the disciplinary norms of the scientific community, academics are more likely to opt for uncritical collaboration (as, for instance, demonstrated through the adoption of vocabulary from policy spheres) or opposition (by rejecting the notion of impact as defined in policy spheres, for example). This results in tensions regarding the inclusion of impact in their academic identity.

Finally, it important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. Our relatively small sample of 16 respondents can only offer limited insights into the dynamics at play and further research is needed to establish to what extent the tensions that we have uncovered are present in a larger population of academics. We recommend that future research also focuses on variations *within* disciplines, which could only be captured in a larger-scale study. For instance, our participants already hinted at variations across theoretical and applied areas of disciplines and how these were differently positioned in relation to national impact policy demands; these could be further explored in a larger study that differentiates between theoretical and applied disciplinary areas.

Our understanding of these intersections is also limited by the number of countries we have included in this study. While looking at the UK and the Netherlands worked well to highlight what a big difference governing regimes can make to academic identities, it would be interesting to see what a wider range of national contexts could reveal, and the layers of complexity that they could add to this discussion.

Similarly, we have only looked at a small number of universities. We acknowledge that universities can be very distinctive organisations that do not neatly fall into the clearly defined categories. We recommend that future research explores academic identities across a wider range of institution types, and builds on the body of knowledge that we have developed in this article to show how different factors could potentially shape academic identities.

Lastly, our study has only focused on the disciplines of philosophy and anthropology. While our choices generated novel insights into disciplinary identities, a larger study could offer even more perspectives on the role of disciplines in shaping identities and feelings of belonging intellectual communities.

Conclusions

Theoretical contributions and future research directions

This article has connected several strands of sociological inquiry, incorporating societal impact into the concept of academic identity, placed at the intersection of global scientific fields and national science policies. By exploring academic identity in a comparative context, we have been able to show that academics across the United Kingdom and the Netherlands integrate societal impact into their professional selves in different ways. The study suggests that a misalignment between scholarly and policy-driven notions of societal impact can lead to problematic academic identities and less diverse impact activities, as Figure 3 and the section on identities and behaviour show.

Misalignments occur when disciplinary norms conflict with policy expectations and/or organisational incentives, leading to competing demands on academics. Of course, different individuals deal with these tensions in different ways: while some outright reject external expectations that

do no align with how they see the intrinsic value of their work, others adopt a more flexible approach as they try to adapt to a changing environment.

Despite its limitations, we believe that our exploratory study and model allow for the development of hypotheses to support further quantitative research into the alignment of disciplinary norms and national science policies, and the resulting effects of this alignment on academic identities and impact behaviour. The first hypothesis is 'If disciplinary norms and national science policies are aligned, academics are more likely to have a flexian identity'. The second hypothesis is 'the more academics within a country have a flexian identity, the more varied the impact behaviour in said country will be'. A survey that draws respondents from multiple countries and disciplines could provide the data for testing these hypotheses.

Policy implications

Our study suggests that too much emphasis on impact may be counterproductive. A coercive regime may feel like a straitjacket to academics, restricting their freedom to explore how they can meet policy expectations, while respecting their disciplinary norms. We recommend that academics and higher education stakeholders work together to create impact policies that are aligned with disciplinary norms, thereby creating 'enabling' conditions for societal impact (De Jong and Balaban 2022). Rather than conceptualising impact as a one-size-fits-all framework, we recommend that policy makers embrace disciplinary interpretations of impact to maximise the engagement of academics. A process-based approach facilitates discussions with academics (Spaapen and van Drooge 2011; Molas-Gallart and Tang 2011), allowing for sensitivity to such disciplinary interpretations. For a process-based approach to succeed, we recommend academics not to oppose or simply accept existing policy notions of societal impact. Rather we advise them to continue disciplinary debates about what impact means within their community, and communicate this to policymakers to get the support they need to have positive and meaningful impacts on society.

Notes

1. See Appendix 1 for interview protocol. Please note that the protocol does not explicitly ask questions related to national science policies. To understand the differences at this level, we systematically compared the responses to the questions posed in sections one and two between the group of respondents from the UK and the respondents from the Netherlands.
2. For a more detailed categorisation, see Appendix 2.
3. This observation nuances the Dutch popular debate about impact in the early 2010s (cf. De Jong 2015).

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview protocol

The interview protocol contained three sections:

1) the first part checked the interviewee's understanding of and experience with societal impact generally;
2) the second part investigated their perspective on impact from a disciplinary point of view;
3) the third part focused on perspectives on impact coming from their university, embedded in wider national expectations.

Examples of questions include: 'What is impact to you?', 'Would you say that within your field there is a joint understanding of what the contribution to society of the field is or could be?', 'What expectations of you – if any – does your university have concerning impact?'.

Appendix 2. Societal impact as it appears in national policy documents in the UK and the Netherlands

	United Kingdom	The Netherlands
General context in which impact is assessed	'[…] delivery of benefits and economic and societal impact from our investments in excellent research, training, knowledge exchange and translation'. (RCUK 2014) '[…] demonstrating the value of arts and humanities research; why it should be funded by the taxpayer […]' (AHRC 2020a) 'The assessment provides accountability for public investment in research and produces evidence of the benefits of this investment'. (REF 2019)	'The primary aim of SEP assessments is to reveal and confirm the quality and the relevance of the research to society and to improve these where necessary'. (VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016) 'The knowledge utilization policy is primarily aimed at increasing the awareness of researchers concerning knowledge utilization'. (NWO 2017a)
Impact	'Societal and Cultural benefit'. (RCUK 2014) 'Academic, social and economic'. (ESRC 2020a) 'Enhance economic performance, improve efficiency of public policy and services and improve quality of life, health and creative performance'. (AHRC 2020b) 'An effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life beyond academia'. (REF 2019) 'Effect on and changers or benefits to the activity, attitude, awareness, behavior, capacity, opportunity, performance, policy, practice, process or understanding'. (REF 2019) Instrumental, conceptual or capacity building (ESRC 2020a) Effects on teaching, but not on knowledge development (REF 2019) Broader than commercialization and economic impact (RCUK 2014; ESRC 2020a)	'A process that promotes the use of academic knowledge outside the academic domain and/or by other scientific fields'. (NWO 2014) 'Contributions in areas that the research unit has itself designated as target areas'. (VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016) Added value for 'societal, economic, cultural, policy and technological challenges'. (NWO 2014) Putting current developments into a historical perspective (NWO 2017). Provided examples of target areas: integration, aging of the population, health care, safety, mobility, sustainability, urbanisation, governance and policy, human capital and education and public debate (NWO n.d., 2014, 2017).
Stakeholders	'An audience, beneficiary, beneficiary, community, constituency, organization or individuals'. (REF 2019) Users (ESRC 2020a) Other academic disciplines (RCUK 2014) Does not include other academic disciplines (REF 2019) Provided examples: Public services and the third sector (RCUK, 2014) Media (ESRC 2020a) Policy makers (ESRCS 2020a; AHRC 2020a)	Individuals and organisations outside academia and/or in other academic disciplines (NWO 2014) 'Specific economic, social or cultural target groups' (VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016) Peers in the same discipline are excluded (NWO 2014; 2017) Provided examples: Companies and organisations, politics, education, public organisations (NWO 2014)
Interactions	Two-way exchange (RCUK 2014) Provided examples: 'Seminars, workshops, placements and collaborative research' (RCUK 2014) Collaborative research and co-funding (ESRC 2020a) Social media (ESRC 2020a) Open Access publications (REF 2019)	Occurs in all phases of research (NWO 2014) Exchange between research and practice (NWO 2014) Provided examples: Public–Private partnerships (NWO 2017) 'Advisory reports for policy, […] contributions to public debates' (VSNU, NWO, KNAW 2016) 'Articles in professional journals for non-academic readers, other outputs (instruments, infrastructure, datasets, software tools or designs […]), outreach activities, for example lectures for general audiences and exhibitions.'
Resources	Informs funding decisions (RCUK 2014) Makes up 25% of the final score that informs the allocation of government funding to research institutions (REF 2019) If the reason for no foreseeable impact can be substantiated, the application still is eligible for funding (AHRC 2020b)	Weight differs per funding scheme (NWO 2014), ranging from 10% to 50%. If the reason for not expecting knowledge utilisation is convincingly explained, a positive score will be given (NWO 2014)

(*Continued*)

Continued.

	United Kingdom	The Netherlands
Other	Demonstrable based on 'evidence of outputs, outcomes and impact' (RCUK 2014) Demonstrated by 'details of external sources of information that could corroborate claims made about the impact'. (REF 2019) Based on research that was produced in the twenty years prior to the submission deadline (REF 2019) May a take long time to occur (RCUK 2014; REF 2019) Every geographical scale (REF 2019) Scale and significance (REF 2019)	'[…] utilization does not necessarily have to be enforced or realized by researchers. […] (NWO 2014) 'Additionally, researchers do not have to take all steps towards knowledge utilization themselves, for successful knowledge utilization, however, it is important that researchers take the first step'. (NWO 2014) May a take long time to occur (VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016) Every geographical scale (NWO 2017; VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016) Scale and quality (NWO 2014; VSNU, NWO and KNAW 2016) Relation to current affairs (NWO 2017)

Appendix 3. Examples of impact in the United Kingdom

Interactions with the wider public			Interactions with practitioners		
Public events	Media output	Other types of interactions	Conversations	Collaborations	Unspecified interaction channel
'give a talk to their sixth formers' (UK1 PHIL2)	'making a film' (UK1 PHIL 2)	'an open access journal' (UK 2 ANT1)	'I did speak with members of parliament, I did speak with local councilors' (UK1 ANT 1)	'I had to do a lot of research into who would find this kind of new project interesting and relevant for [a particular NGO in the educational sector]' (UK1 ANT 1)	'… how policy was changed, how you influenced government discussions' (UK1 ANT2)
'having a broadly participated public event' (UK 2 ANT1)	'a documentary' (UK 2 ANT1)	'offering things that I've published to people I've worked with' (UK 2 ANT2)	'I'm the one that speaks at the counterfora' (UK2 PHIL1)	'A short collaboration with the British Red Cross' (UK1 ANT2)	
'hosting a fanzine workshop' (UK 2 ANT1)	'going on national press' (UK 2 ANT1)	'having these translated into local languages' (UK 2 ANT2)		'I also work with activist groups that are critical of dominant approaches to policy' (UK2 PHIL1)	
[organising an] exhibition' (UK 2 ANT2)	'interview for Radio 4' (UK 2 PHIL1)	'a video game' (UK 2 ANT1)		I did the report for the European Parliament (UK2 PHIL1)	
'public forum event' (UK 2 PHIL1)				'a cooperative project' (UK 2 ANT1)	
'public lecture [at a library]' (UK 2 PHIL1)				'working with local NGO organisations' (UK 2 ANT2)	
				[inspire] policy changes' (UK 2 PHIL1)	

Appendix 4. Examples of impact in the Netherlands

Interactions with the wider public			Interactions with practitioners	
Public events	Media output	Other types of interactions	Conversations	Collaborations
'web lectures' (NL 1 PHIL1)	'newspaper' (NL 1 ANT2)	'booklet' (NL 2 ANT2)	'discussion partners for cultural institutions' (NL 1 ANT1)	'organised an exhibition together with a neighbourhood museum' (NL 1 ANT1)
'public philosophy symposium' (NL 1 PHIL1)	'magazines' (NL 1 ANT2)	'write a book for a wider audience' (NL 2 PHIL1)	'give lectures [to stakeholders]' (NL 1 ANT2)	'I work with an NGO' (NL 1 ANT1)
'talk about science philosophy' (NL 1 PHIL2)	'writing opinion pieces' (NL 2 ANT2)		'start a conversation with others' (NL 2 ANT1)	'workshops and such are organised where scientists and philosophers come into contact with each other' (NL 1 PHIL2)
'they have a kind of stand, a kind of tent where they give lectures' (NL 1 PHIL2)	'magazine' (NL 2 ANT2)			'project with a [religious] temple' (NL 2 ANT1)
'private society in Amsterdam where people gather every month to listen to a lecture' (NL 1 PHIL2)	'some Twitter account or some social media which can be useful to disseminate your research also outside academia to whoever might be interested' (NL 2 PHIL2);			'[colleagues] who are asked to sit with their expertise […] at the request of government if it is struggling with a specific problem' (NL 2 PHIL1)
'lectures for a wider audience' (NL 2 PHIL1)	'media appearances' (NL 2 PHIL1)			'Wadden Academy where people meet' (NL 2 ANT1)
'once a year we have a Philosophy Day where there is a topic and I think a day full of talks and activity and the internet audience is the public' (NL 2 PHIL2)	'write op-eds or journal articles for the local media' (NL 2 PHIL2)			'organised a public conference with Foreign Affairs' (NL 1 ANT2)
'give lectures' (NL 2 PHIL1)	'somebody asks me for an interview' (NL 2 PHIL2)			'collaborate in some public – private collaboration' (NL 1 PHIL2)
	'media events' (NL 2 PHIL1)			'I have done things with the science museum here' (NL 1 PHIL2)
	'opinion pieces' (NL 2 PHIL1)			cross-pollination' (NL 2 ANT1)
	'documentary' (NL 1 PHIL1)			'engagement with high schools' (NL 2 PHIL2)
	'wrote an article […] for a popular magazine' (NL 1 PHIL2)			
	'a couple of papers I published were picked up by online magazines' (NL 2 PHIL2)			
	'texts written for more popular things' (NL 1 PHIL1)			
	'write a popular article' (NL 1 PHIL2)			