Gender, discourse and regimes of justification (Working paper)

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This working paper contains a written outline of the empirical analysis presented in the article ‘Justifications of Gender Equality in Academia: Comparing Gender Equality Policies of Six Scandinavian Universities’. As mentioned in the article, the analysis is based upon a data set of selected gender equality strategies, policies and other relevant documents of six Scandinavian universities. More specifically, I have investigated the documents of Aarhus University in a Scandinavian context including five other universities as a comparative analytical frame of reference. These Universities are: The University of Bergen, the University of Copenhagen, Lund University, the University of Oslo and the University of Uppsala. The selected sample of texts has been gathered from the University websites in the period July-August 2012. Before presenting the analysis, I briefly touch upon a number of the central analytical concepts employed in the analysis.

Intertextuality, voice and genre

Fairclough draws a distinction between the ‘external’ and the ‘internal’ relations of a text. Intertextuality refers to the external level and focuses on ‘the relation between a text and what has been written elsewhere’ (Fairclough 2003: 37). In the following analysis, I will draw attention to the intertextual relations combining the selected body of documents with other texts. Another important step will be to clarify the voice of the author. The question of genre also plays an important role when it comes to the question of how the text is contextualised and interpreted, and in this sense, the genre analysis serves as a useful supplement to the textual discourse analysis. According to Fairclough genres can be described as ‘different ways of (inter)acting discursively’ and most often, texts involve a mix of different genres (Fairclough 2003 26: 66). In this paper, I will connect the analysis of genres to the common and distinctive features characterising the texts.

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1 This study is part of a larger case study drawing attention to the structural challenges characterising female researchers’ career possibilities at Aarhus University.
2 References for the complete corpus of organisational documents can be found in the bottom of the document.
Semantic and grammatical relations

On the semantic level, the analysis will focus on diathesis (active and passive form), nominalization (grammatical metaphor) modality and aspects of speech function. I will shortly introduce the main characteristics and applications of these analytical concepts, when they are put in to use in the text.

1. Articulations and justifications of gender equality

The following analysis reveals some noticeable disparities between the Scandinavian universities. I will start out by outlining aspects of genre, voice of author and intertextuality and move on to analyse the semantic and grammatical relations in order to answer the research question of how activities and initiatives related to gender equality are articulated and justified in the selected organisational texts.

Genre and voice of author

According to Fairclough, genre plays an important role in the governance and structuring of institutions in contemporary society. Hybridity or genre mixing is a common characteristic of most texts, and organisational policy statements can be considered the quintessence of hybridized genres. These statements are embedded in intertextual chains of genres which contribute to structure and transform language in particular ways (Fairclough 2003: 31-36, 66). In this sense, policy statements constitute a unique genre, which draws on other, more or less, established genres (Tlili 2007). I will limit the following analysis of genre, voice of author and intertextuality to the empirical framework of the six university policy statements on gender equality, leaving out related texts such as personnel policies and strategy plans.

Organisational communication and CSR

The overriding communicative purpose of the selected policy statements can be divided into two separate objectives. A) To declare the organisations’ commitment to the stipulations of the underlying national gender equality legislations, and B) to outline the research institutions’ prioritizations of and motives for working with issues of gender equality. In this sense, the policy statements fall within the genre of organisational communication. This genre is characterised by the communicative goal of organisational enactment (Taylor & Cooren 1997; Tlili 2007: 287). However, the public availability of these statements through university websites exceeds the purpose of internal organisational communication and points to the exist-

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1 When using the term policy statement, I specifically refer to the six gender equality action plans.

4 According to genre analyst John M. Swales, a genre can be defined as ‘a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s)’ (Swales 1990).
ence of another genre – the genre of corporate social responsibility. All of the policy statements more or less contribute to promote a certain image of the organisation to the outside world. They keep gender issues prominent and communicate good will and company engagement to the challenges of society (Bhatia 2012).

Voice of Author

An important step in the critical discourse analysis is to clarify the voice of the author. As outlined below, this question has some implications with respect to the implementation and translation of the documents into action. In the following section, I will outline different aspects concerning this matter.

Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ten ideas to promote gender equality at Aarhus University</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aarhus University has appointed a task force to generate ideas for gender equality initiatives at the university and create a basis for equality action plans in the main academic areas. The aim is to create better and more attractive research environments – for both men and women (Aarhus University 2009: 1).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sender of the Aarhus statement is a task force appointed by the university. By making the task force responsible for the development of the policy statement, it is reasonable to contend that the role and responsibility of the university management is downplayed in the text. In this sense, the Aarhus statement constitutes a special case. The voice of the management is more clearly explicated in the rest of the statements, which either state the university management as the direct sender of the text or the organisational instance adopting the directives outlined in the text.

In the example outlined above, ‘Aarhus University’ functions as a metonym for the university management, which serves to hide its role as an active voice of the text. This way of speaking through the voice of the university is a common characteristic more or less evident in all of the policy statements. By using this rhetorical gesture, the enunciating subject of the text becomes impersonalised only to be reinstated as a macro voice representing the university stakeholders as a unified whole. In other terms, the different organisational wills and interests present in the texts are hereby translated into one authorized voice. According to Tlili (2007), this rhetorical gesture is borrowed from the legislative genre. It contributes to install an

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5 Following Fairclough (2003: 12), the author is here understood as ‘whoever can be seen as having put the words together, and as taking on commitments to truth, necessity and values by virtue of choices in wording’.

6 An exception is the policy statement of the University of Oslo. This text also speaks in the voice of the University without making any comments on the responsibility of the University management. However, on the University website it is stated that this document refers directly to the University’s strategy plan adopted by the University Board.
authorized university voice with an all-encompassing rationality and consciousness - a voice that transgresses the competing views and interests present in the organisation (Tlili 2007: 287-288).

Let us now return to the special case of Aarhus University. On the Website of Aarhus University, the policy statement on gender equality is presented as an inspirational catalogue developed and written by the appointed taskforce. In this sense, the statement differs from the rest of the selected texts, which all serve the purpose of communicating a set of strategic actions adopted by the university management. However, this also seems to be the underlying purpose of the Aarhus statement. On page four of the document, a reference is made to an agreement made between the rectorate and the deans of the university. This agreement obligates the faculties to define targets for gender balance and develop local action plans including specified declarations of intent, descriptions of parties involved, costs incurred and persons responsible.

This illustrates a certain kind of dilemma. It seems that actions on gender equality at the decentralised levels of the organisation will not be taken, unless they are imposed from above. However the University management is dependent on active participation and involvement of employees at faculty level in order to attain the target of enhancing female researchers’ career possibilities. Following Michel Foucault’s ideas on the concept of governmentality, this way of managing organisational processes of gender equality can be described as ‘conduct of conduct’ (Foucault 1982). According to Foucault, the practices of government in modern society are characterised by ‘a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future’ (Foucault 1982: 789). In regard to the policy statement of Aarhus University this means that the main areas (faculties) are set free to define and develop their own initiatives and targets on gender equality, as long as these initiatives are in accordance with the institutional obligations outlined above. Yet, the ten ideas outlined in the policy statement of the taskforce will contribute to inspire and shape the actual initiatives implemented at the decentralised levels of the organisation, by structuring the discursive positions available to the responsible actors.

As I shall return to in the forthcoming paper ‘Scandinavian approaches to gender equality in academia: A comparative study’, this complementary interplay between decisions and actions taken at the central levels of the organisation and initiatives developed and implemented at faculty and department level is a recurrent characteristic of all of the universities.
The Gender equality action plan of the University of Uppsala exemplifies a stronger and more direct policy statement including standing assignments, targets and measures.

Table 2:

**Gender equality work at Uppsala University**
The point of departure for this plan is the Discrimination Act (SFS 2008:567) and the University’s Equal Opportunities Programme, and it addresses equality between women and men. The plan was adopted by the Vice Chancellor of the University and pertains to 2011-2012. The plan states standing assignments, targets, and measures, and it assigns responsibilities. The plan also designates how work is to be followed up (University of Uppsala 2011).

In this text, the voice and role of the university management is explicated in clear terms and the assigned responsibilities of the different organisational actors stand out quite distinctly like in the genre of a legal document. As mentioned in the excerpt above, the University of Uppsala have also developed an *Equal Opportunities Programme*. This document outlines the organisational motives and visions concerning aspects of diversity and equality in a broader perspective. In this sense, Uppsala differs from the rest of the Universities by separating the substantiating visions and objectives from the actual action plan on gender equality.

**The journalistic interview and the memorandum**
Besides the genres outlined above, I have identified two main genres influencing the structure and meaning of the selected texts. One of these constitutes a specific characteristic of the Aarhus statement, while the other inhabits the Copenhagen statement.

As already mentioned, the Aarhus statement varies from the rest of the texts with respect to matters of *voice of author* and *genre*. By representing the text in the guise of an *inspirational catalogue*, the sender is capable of drawing on genres not usually found in policy statements. On page six and seven in the statement a journalistic interview with a prominent Danish professor and director of a Centre of Excellence is featured (excerpt outlined below).

Table 3:

**Active Research Management Promotes Gender Equality**
One of the ways to get more women established in senior research positions is via the managers, according to the professor (xxxx). It is primarily the responsibility of research managers and heads of department to actively identify and support talented people of both sexes. This would especially benefit female research talents, who often need more management support than their male colleagues to become motivated to pursue a career in the research world (Aarhus University 2009: 6-7).
This *interview* supports and strengthens the communicative purpose of the ‘inspirational catalogue’ by offering concrete recommendations on the arduous question of how to approach and handle the problem of gender equality at the university. Thus, the interview is instrumental in inspiring and shaping the actual initiatives implemented in the organisation. In line with the thoughts of Fairclough, one could say that the linking of different genres (the *policy statement* and the *journalistic interview*) in this case facilitates an enhanced capacity for ‘action at a distance’ (Fairclough 2003: 31). In this part of the text, the voice of the university management as well as the taskforce is downplayed in favour of another voice - the voice of an internationally acknowledged researcher. As I will return to later, the voice of the professor not only helps to validate the academic relevance of promoting gender equality at Aarhus University. It also articulates and justifies a certain way of approaching issues of this concern.

Unlike the rest of the policy statements, the Copenhagen text (see below) explicitly takes on the genre of an *organisational memorandum*. In short, a memorandum is a written record providing concise and comprehensive information as well as convincing arguments with regards to a certain organisational project activity or initiative (Duke University 2008). The memorandum is developed in an ongoing conversation between organisational actors involved in a certain project proposal or activity. In other terms, the communicative purpose of the memorandum is to document *intra-organisational communication* (Yates 1989). The literature draws a distinction between internal and external memorandums. As stated earlier, the Copenhagen statement is available to the public via the university website and therefore falls within the sub-genre of the *external memorandum*. As illustrated below, the text includes genre characteristics typically found in memorandums, such as a ‘Memo’ letterhead, a *standard prefix* setting the topic of the text, and an introduction describing the different steps of the intra-organisational communication process.
In order to convince internal as well as external stakeholders of the necessity and relevance of enhancing female researchers’ career possibilities, the Copenhagen statement includes a number of national and international policy- and research examples serving to contextualise and explicate the topicality and importance of the problem (University of Copenhagen 2008: 1-3). This way of contextualising and justifying organisational activities on issues of gender equality is characterised by a certain sense of prudence also present in the Aarhus statement. As I shall return to, these texts approach the problem of gender equality in more careful and precautious ways, than what is the case of the Swedish and Norwegian action plans.

**Intertextuality**

According to Fairclough, the analysis of intertextuality focuses on ‘how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualise and dialogue with other texts’ (Fairclough 2003: 17). In this understanding, intertextuality does not merely take the form of direct quotations. Elements of external texts may as well be incorporated without attribution. For instance, the headline of the Danish edition of the Aarhus statement\(^7\) is identical with the headline of the government’s policy statement on gender equality in academia\(^8\) valid for the period 2005-2012. No direct reference is made between the statements, albeit the same type of assumptions regarding gender equality permeate the texts. This example helps to illustrate the difficulties in identifying non-attributed intertextual voices in policy statements. In this part of the analysis, I will mainly focus on attributed intertextuality.

**Legislative documents and the voice of the government**

\(^7\) ‘Alle talenter i spil’ (Aarhus University 2009b)

\(^8\) ‘Alle talenter i spil’ (The Danish Ministry of Science & The Danish Ministry of Gender Equality 2005)
As stated earlier, one of the overriding communicative purposes of the selected policy statements is to declare organisational commitment to the stipulations of the national gender equality legislations. Hence, it can be reasonably contended that the voices of these legislative documents, in more or less obvious ways, permeate all of the statements. However, only three of the texts refer directly to the national legislations. This is the case of Bergen, Lund and Uppsala, which all state national acts on gender equality/discrimination as starting points for developing gender equality action plans and implementing systematic initiatives and measures. In these texts, the direct attributions to the national legislations contribute to justify and legitimate the established organisational activities on gender equality.

The Aarhus statement incorporates the authoritative voice of the government in a less explicit way by reusing the headline of the national policy statement. The text also draws on the same type of motives for working with gender issues as well as initiatives for solving the problem, and it is reasonable to conclude that the national statement is in fact developed for the communicative purpose of being recontextualised into the gender equality action plans of the public academic institutions. Similarly to the Aarhus statement this text is presented as a catalogue of recommendations developed by a national taskforce appointed by the Ministry of Gender Equality.

The Copenhagen statement exemplifies another way of incorporating the voice of the government into the text. As already mentioned, this text includes a number of references to national and international policy and research examples, which serve to explicate the topicality and importance of enhancing female researchers’ career opportunities in academia. Much like the Aarhus statement, the Copenhagen statement reuses the headline of the governmental policy paper. In this case the subtitle of the document - ‘More women in science.’ However, it also connects to the text in a more explicit way.

Table 5:

| In an age when competition for research talent is intensified by factors such as internationalisation, the ambition of attracting and retaining more women researchers has become a key focus area – for governments, universities and university alliances. For example, in 2005, the Danish government established a think tank to consider the issue², while the US Ivy League universities joined forces in 2001 to bring this problem into focus. Footnote: Alle talenter i spil (All talents in Play), Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation and Ministry of Gender Equality, 2005. |

As illustrated above, the Copenhagen text refers to the national policy statement, as well as activities taken by US Ivy League universities, in order to contextualise the problem of gender equality and support the

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² I shall return to this.

¹⁰ The Copenhagen statement is entitled ‘Diversity at the University – More Women in Research and Management’. However, the Danish editions of the documents both use the phrase ‘Flere kvinder i forskning’.
relevance and necessity of retaining more female researchers. This way of substantiating the organisational
activities on gender equality is a special feature of the Copenhagen statement, which also includes refer-
ences to initiatives taken by the International Alliance of Research Universities (IARU) as well as a report on
diversity published by the Danish agency of Science, Technology and Innovation. As I shall return to, these
references not only serve to explicate the topicality of gender issues in academia. They also reflect a certain
way of articulating and justifying organisational actions concerning this matter.

*University strategy plans*

While only some of the policy statements refer directly to the main university strategy plans, the main as-
sumptions and objectives of these documents are easily recognized in all of the texts. Attributions to the
main strategies mainly take on two distinct forms. One form serves to connect the policy statements to the
overriding organisational stipulations regarding gender equality. This is illustrated in the example below.

Table 6:

| The main gender policy is formulated in the University’s strategy plan ‘Strategy 2020’ as follows: ‘An internationally leading university must conduct an active policy of equality between women and men and a recruiting policy that results in diversity and that ensures equal rights.’ As part of the work of realizing the intentions in the University’s new strategy plan, a dedicated action plan has been written for gender equality in 2010–2012 (University of Oslo 2010: 1). |

This way of anchoring the policy statements on gender equality in the main strategy plans is used by Oslo, Lund, Uppsala11, and Bergen. It defines a clear hierarchical relation between the documents, and serves to substantiate and specify the organisational will with respect to issues of gender and diversity.

B) Another way of drawing on the main university strategies is to incorporate the general visions and tar-
ggets of these documents. This form of attribution is exemplified in the excerpt below.

Table 7:

| The University’s vision is to be an internationally recognized research institution. An important prerequisite for achieving this objective is international and diverse research environments with a good gender balance and age distribution (University of Bergen 2011: 3). |

As I shall outline in the following pages, the target of becoming a highly esteemed internationally leading university is present in all of the statements, with Aarhus University as the only exception. Yet, it can be

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11 The Equal Opportunities Programme (University of Uppsala 2010).
reasonable contended that this overall objective is also reflected in the institutional arguments for engaging in work on gender issues at Aarhus University, although in a less explicit way. I will return to this below.

Assumptions and presuppositions
Besides the different aspects of voice and attribution outlined above, Fairclough links the analysis of intertextuality to the use of ‘assumptions’. Inspired by linguistic pragmatics, he points to the relevance of investigating what is necessarily presupposed in texts.

‘Texts inevitably make assumptions. What is ‘said’ in a text is ‘said’ against the background of what is unsaid, but taken as given. As with intertextuality, assumptions connect one text to other texts, to the ‘world texts’ as one might put it (...). The difference between assumptions and intertextuality is that the former are not generally attributed or attributable to specific texts. It is a matter rather of a relation between this text and what has been written or thought elsewhere, with the ‘elsewhere’ left vague’ (Fairclough 2003: 40).

According to discourse analyst Ruth Wodak (2007), assumptions or presuppositions may often be incorporated into texts for the purpose of triggering audience consent to a particular statement or view of the world. In other terms, presuppositions contribute to excite particular interpretations of a text by representing ideologically loaded assumptions as if they were widely accepted truths (Saarinen 2008: 37). In the gender equality action plans analysed in this study, a lot is taken for granted. While notions of globalization and international competition are existentially presupposed in all of the texts, the more justice-oriented assumptions on matters of equal rights and anti-discrimination mainly recur in the Norwegian and Swedish policy statements. I will extend and clarify this perspective in the following part of the analysis by outlining the most significant disparities between the Scandinavian universities with regards to institutional argumentations for working with issues of gender equality.

Gender Equality – articulations and motives
According to Fairclough & Wodak (2010), introductory paragraphs in policy statements often express the main ideas of a discourse. This is the part of the text, where authors either state their position or approach to a given problem. The following analysis, which combines Boltanski & Thévenot’s analytical model of the orders of worth with analytical approaches from CDA, will therefore mainly focus on the opening sections of the selected gender equality policies and action plans. However, relevant formulations in related texts such as organisational vision statements, strategy plans, staff policies, and research policies will also be included, as these formulations contribute to reveal the different rationalities and discourses permeating the universities’ work on gender equality.
Aarhus University

As mentioned earlier, the policy statement of Aarhus University constitutes a special case in regard to genre. It is presented as an ‘inspirational catalogue’ developed and written by an appointed taskforce and the text assigns no direct responsibility to the university management. In the main title of the document - ‘Drawing on all talents’ – the verb (draw) is represented as a process without a subject, and in this sense, the acting agent of the text is elided. In other terms, it is not clear who is drawing.

In light of B&T’s model of the orders of worth, the formulation ‘Drawing on all talents’ can be claimed to appeal to the industrial cité, as it points to the objective of enhancing quality and optimizing productivity. However, the proclaimed ambition of ‘drawing on all talents’ also connects to the universities’ general visions of belonging to the elite of universities and contributing to the development of national and global welfare (Aarhus 2008: 4), which points to the civic cité and the cité of renown.

The last sentence of the first paragraph outlined in table 1 conveys the only direct motive for working with issues of gender equality present in the text: ‘The aim is to create better and more attractive research environments - for both women and men’. In this formulation a grammatical metaphor nominalizes the process ‘to aim’, with the effect that the management/taskforce as an acting agent of the text is elided. The organisational work on gender equality is here settled within three of Boltanski & Thévenot’s orders of worth. While the first part of the sentence points to the purpose of enhancing the University’s competitiveness (market cité) with respect to the international war on talent (Michaels et al. 2001), as well as improving the quality of the research carried out in the organisation (Industrial cité), the second part appeals to the common good (Civic cité) of the organisation by emphasising that the presented initiatives will be beneficial to both male and female researchers.

The following paragraph contextualises the organisational activities on gender equality by drawing attention to the multi-faceted characteristics affecting institutional variation with regards to aspects of gender distribution.

Table 8:

It should be noted that Aarhus University (AU) is a multifaceted organisation with considerable variation between individual faculties and departments/centres as regards the style of human resource management practised in the individual areas; the conditions defined by the national and international world of science for practices within individual research fields; and the degree to which gender equality issues exist – and in what form. Some of the ideas suggested in this report are therefore already being applied at some faculties/departments/centres, while they are unknown or poorly implemented in other places (Aarhus University 2009).
An interesting feature of this paragraph concerns the use of passive voice, which contributes to obfuscate and elide agency and modal responsibility in the text. The abstract notion of a ‘world of science’ constitutes the only acting agent of these formulations, while ‘practices’ taken by human resource management and ‘ideas suggested’ by the taskforce are represented as processes without agents.

In the first sentence of the paragraph, the grammatical mood is declarative and the being verb (‘is’) contributes to represent the varying institutional, national and international conditions affecting the university’s work on gender equality as indispensable organisational requisites. In this way, the paragraph serves to specify and explain the varying degree to which issues of gender equality exists, by referring to structural conditions defined by the external world. It is reasonable to suggest that this way of contextualising activities on gender equality illustrates a certain sense of caution. More specifically, it helps to downplay the ‘accusing finger’ that these formulations might otherwise signal to the faculties, departments and centres doing less well on parameters of gender equality. In other terms, the paragraph substantiates that ‘poorly implemented’ activities on gender equality do not necessarily reflect discriminative and biased institutional behaviour. Rather, these organisational ‘variations’ are caused by diverse and multifarious organisational features. However, the contextualisation outlined above also has a more practical function, as it consolidates the aforementioned strategic objective of obligating faculties’ to develop local action plans, rather than complying with a top-down approach to the problem.

In addition to the introductory paragraphs analysed above, a few pivotal sentences on aspects of gender and diversity are incorporated into the main university strategy.

Table 9:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Competence development</th>
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<tr>
<td>It is the university’s policy that the staff should be as diverse as possible, as this is the best way to ensure flexibility and to create an inspiring and creative workplace. The University wants management at all levels to place special emphasis on the composition of its staff in terms of skills, age, gender and nationality, and it is important that the university’s human resources (HR) development strategy makes allowance for complementary competences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The aims and objectives are:
- to compete for the best staff
- to have strategic competence development schemes in place for all staff groups
- to ensure greater diversity among the university staff

(Aarhus University 2008: 36)

According to Boltanski & Chiapello (2006), the capitalist spirit of contemporary society is configured by a plurality of cités in which aspects of flexibility, multifarious network relations and creativity gain in signifi-
cance. It is an era distinguished by increasing demands for product variation and differentiation as central means for capital accumulation (Wuggenig 2008). In the excerpt outlined above, the main motives for working with diversity (including gender) is casted in the grammars of the projective cité (‘ensuring flexibility’) as well as the inspirational cité (‘to create an inspiring and creative work place’). However, principles of competitiveness (market cité) and quality (industrial cité) also permeate the organisational motives on this matter, as illustrated in the first of the objectives.

As already touched upon, the Aarhus statement includes a journalistic interview with a prominent Danish professor. This interview not only serves to substantiate the relevance of enhancing the gender balance at Aarhus University. It also represents a certain way of approaching issues of this concern.

Table 10:

<table>
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<th>Table 10:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Twenty five per cent isn’t a quota we’ve defined for the sake of having a quota; it expresses an ambition with a specific goal. As a society we can’t afford to neglect the talent pool that female researchers represent. Experience shows that greater diversity in the composition of research teams results in more diversity in the research carried out, and often in much better teaching. These are some of the reasons why it’s extremely important to employ more women in research positions’, says the professor. In his opinion, active research management is the way to achieve the goal. It is not an initiative to promote gender equality as such (Aarhus University 2009: 6-7).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quote outlined above gives priority to a strategic argument for promoting gender equality. In the second clause, the enunciating subject – the professor – shifts from speaking as a representative for the renowned centre of excellence to speaking as a representative for society as a whole. The promotion of gender equality is here stated as a means to strengthening the diversity in research and teaching for the benefit of the university as well as national welfare. In this sense, one might conclude, that the incentive for involving in issues of gender is casted in the civic cité (contributing to the common good) as well as the industrial cité (enhancing research diversity and teaching) and the project cité (emphasising the benefits of engaging in a diversity of social relations). The excerpt is characterised by an interesting shift between direct reporting (quoting), indirect reporting, and third-person realis statements in the voice of the author. This intertextual feature serves to obfuscate agency and responsibility in the last clause, making it unclear who is actually stating that this ‘is not an initiative to promote gender equality as such’. However, exactly that perspective also appears to play a pivotal part in the direct quotations of the professor as illustrated in the passage below. Here, it is explicated that the managerial emphasis on promoting female research talents does not implicate any kind of positive discrimination.
Another interesting feature of the interview concerns the issue of equivalence. According to discourse theorists Laclau and Mouffe (1985) political hegemony and social classification can be understood in terms of a ‘logic of equivalence’. Equivalence is a useful theoretical concept in the textual investigation of how entities (i.e. people, organisations, objects) are categorized and how similarities and differences between them are textured and collapsed via chains of equivalence (Fairclough 2003: 88). As illustrated in the table below, the interview is structured around a number of recurring contradictions opposing male and female researchers in separate chains of equivalence.

Table 12: Chain of equivalence: Journalistic interview, Aarhus University’s Gender equality Action Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>often need more management support to be motivated to pursue a career in the research world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are often not as good at drawing attention to themselves and are therefore not considered for permanent positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don’t dare believe in a university career and go for it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is also possible that women consciously chooses not to go for a research career because it often takes very long time before you get a position (...) They typically need to feel in control of their future and their career.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(do not need the same management support)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(are better at drawing attention to themselves and are therefore considered for permanent positions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dare believe in a university career and go for it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(take risks and do not need to feel in control of their future and career)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The professor’s managerial reflections on the challenges characterising women’s career opportunities are perfectly legitimate. However, in the context of the Aarhus policy statement, they come to represent a certain discourse. This is a discourse in which, issues of gender equality are primarily connected to women, while aspects of structural discrimination and injustice are left unnoticed. Although it might not be the intention, the intrinsic contradictions between women and men, outlined above, serve to represent female researchers as ‘soft actors’ in a hard world of science – a world mainly inhabited by risk-taking and self-confident men. In other terms, female researchers are pictured as deficient agents in this part of the text.
Agents that need extra management support in order to stay motivated and keep up with the demanding standards of the academic system. The segregating structures of the academic system are here epitomized as pre-given and indispensable organisational requisites that cannot be challenged, and in this sense gender (in)equality comes to be represented as a problem related to the women rather than to the organisation.

As pointed out by Lombardo & Verloo (2009) the notion ‘gender equality’ is not to be understood as a fixed category containing one particular meaning. Rather, it is discursively constructed in a multiplicity of ways for context-dependent purposes and goals (Lombardo & Verloo 2009: 7). In the case of Aarhus University, the rights-based and justice-oriented connotations of ‘gender equality’ are downplayed in favour of a more instrumental approach to the topic. As stated by Fairclough (2003) ‘what is said in a text is always said on the background of what is unsaid’, and one of the striking perspectives left vague in the gender equality related documents of Aarhus University is the justice-oriented argument for working with issues of gender. While an ambition ‘to ensure diversity among staff and promote equality’ is in fact integrated into one of the documents (the staff policy), no attention is paid to questions of justice, equal rights or the existence of biased and latent discriminative organisational structures.

As mentioned earlier, the Aarhus statement and the Danish national strategy on gender equality in academia (developed in 2005) draw on the same type of motives for engaging in issues of gender in academia. They both give priority to resource-oriented arguments regarding international competitiveness and enhanced research quality, while leaving out the more rights-based perspectives concerning justice and equality. As I shall illustrate in the following section this one-sided approach to gender equality also permeates the statements of the University of Copenhagen.

University of Copenhagen

One of the first things to catch one’s eye when reading through the Copenhagen policy statement is the complete absence of the notion ‘gender equality’. Here, the notion is substituted with words such as ‘more women in science’ and ‘gender diversity’. As I shall illustrate in the following pages, this choice of wording might reflect an approach to issues of gender equality, which gives priority to arguments of competitiveness and utility, while downplaying normative questions of justice and equality.

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12 Danish Ministry of Science/Gender Equality (2005)
13 The term ‘gender equality’ is only mentioned in references to other documents.
In the introduction of the Copenhagen text, it is stated that ‘...the rectorate is of the opinion that diversity should be strengthened in all areas of the university’ (University of Copenhagen 2009: 1). In opposition to the formulations of the Aarhus statement, the university management is here given direct modal responsibility. However, the underlying question of what a satisfactory organisational target on gender balance might look like is left unanswered in the text.

As mentioned earlier, the Copenhagen statement takes on the genre of an organisational memorandum and includes a number of references to external research policies and reports. These documents all contribute to contextualise the situation at the university and offer convincing arguments for engaging in organisational work on gender diversity. In the second paragraph of the text, presented under the title ‘The situation at the University in a Wider Context’, the focus on gender diversity at the University of Copenhagen is broadened out to include more general statements concerning universities’ in a national as well international context.

This shift in focus is exemplified in the first sentence outlined in table five. In this example, an existential presupposition regarding the increased competitiveness on research talent serves to substantiate the universities’ organisational work on gender diversity. Subsequently, two direct references are made to external documents, which, as stated earlier, contribute to support the relevance of this perspective. It is reasonable to contend that these formulations anchor the organisational work on gender diversity in the marché by giving priority to the question of competitiveness.

However, as illustrated in the first excerpt below, the university’s motives for enhancing diversity are also casted in the inspirational and project cité, as priority is given to the expected impact on innovation that an increased level of diversity will entail.

Table 13:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Besides the need for developing the entire talent pool, The IARU project is based on a shared belief that increased diversity creates a more inclusive and innovative working environment. In a Danish context, this is supported by for example a report published by the Danish Agency of Science, Technology and Innovation, which shows that enterprises with an even gender balance are twice as innovative as other enterprises (University of Copenhagen 2009: 2).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finally, universities, being one of the pillars on which society is built, have a special obligation to reflect gender distribution in their surroundings. Thus, an uneven gender (or age) distribution may impact the areas researched and, especially, the long-term recruitment base within a scientific area (University of Copenhagen 2009: 3).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the second of the excerpts presented above, constituent elements of a more democratic approach permeate the text. The university’s responsibilities regarding gender distribution are here presupposed as universally given societal obligations. However, these formulations are subsequently connected to strategic matters of securing the impact of future research and consolidating a long-term recruitment base. In other terms, arguments anchored in the civic cité are here combined with perspectives situating the organisational work on gender diversity in the industrial cité with its founding principles of functionality, investments and progress.

The aforementioned ambition of enhancing international competitiveness (market cité) is also reflected in the first of the sentences outlined below. Another striking feature of this formulation, concerns the use of the verbs attracting and retaining. One might argue that this choice of wording serves to represent the problem of gender inequality as an effect of female researchers’ deliberate decisions of opting out, rather than as a result of structural bias or discrimination. Additionally, the formulation contributes to contextualise gender inequality as a national challenge, rather than as a problem rooted in the organisation.

Table 14:

Analyses show that Danish universities (Including University of Copenhagen) by no means excel at attracting and retaining women research talent (University of Copenhagen 2009: 3).

Overall, the uneven distribution, however, constitutes a general problem for the University – a problem that will not solve itself (University of Copenhagen 2009: 4).

In the second sentence, the focus is once again narrowed down to concern the situation at the local level – the University of Copenhagen. An interesting characteristic of this formulation relates to the question of problem representation. In this case, the uneven gender distribution is represented as a problem for the university, while the question of how this problem affects the lives of female researchers is left unnoticed in the text.

In the first section of the sixth page, the university’s central motives and justifications for implementing actions on gender equality are stated (see excerpt below). This passage constitutes a strong example of the universities’ aforementioned rhetorical emphasis on international reputation.
On the one hand, it can be reasonably contended that the first sentence of this paragraphs falls within the \textit{cité of renown}, as the university’s greatness here connects to aspects of fame, recognition and success. However, the strong rhetorical emphasis on \textit{improvement of abilities} as well as \textit{realisation of potential}, via the use of the deontic modal verb \textit{must}, also calls up the industrial \textit{cité} as a significant order of worth. In the fourth line of the excerpt, the organisational values underpinning the university’s approach to gender diversity become crystal clear. Actions on gender diversity \textit{must} be taken ‘\textit{without compromising fundamental principles of free competition and quality of research}’. In this sense, the organisational action plan is anchored in the domestic \textit{cité}, as work on gender diversity is made subject to superior institutional principles. However, the underlying question of what is meant by \textit{free competition} and \textit{research quality} is left unanswered in the text. As in the aforementioned example regarding the notion ‘\textit{gender equality}’, these so called \textit{principles} are to be seen as discursively constructed concepts, which carry particular context-dependent meanings. For instance, one might suggest that organisational work on diversity is closely connected to the principles of free competition and research quality as it contributes to reduce gender bias in academic recruitment, promotion and funding and bring about new perspectives and solutions to the contemporary challenges of society. However, in the excerpt outlined above the sentiment is stated the other way around. The logic here seems to be, that the organisational focus on improving female researchers’ career possibilities might in fact challenge or weaken these fundamental principles.

As I shall return to in the forthcoming paper ‘\textit{Scandinavian approaches to gender equality in academia: A comparative study}’, one of the pivotal initiatives outlined in the Copenhagen policy statement concerns the implementation of financial incentives for faculties and departments to hire female associate- and full professors. This initiative, already prior to its implementation, gave rise to extensive public disputes, wherefore it is reasonable to interpret the above mentioned rhetorical emphasis on the inviolability of the principles of free competition and quality of research as a pre-emptive move. In other terms the last sentence outlined in table 15 functions as a rhetorical strategy, which serves to ward off some of the expected elements of critique that this initiative will bring about.
No direct formulations on gender diversity are incorporated into the main strategy of the university. However, a related document, entitled ‘Action Plan – The Path to 2012’, includes a pivotal formulation regarding this matter.

Table 16

A strong university brings the entire talent pool into play. It is therefore a priority to identify the barriers to increasing the number of women as heads of research and professors. The only way to make the whole existing potential flourish – which favourably impact core service – is to remove these barriers (...). The objective is to achieve gender balance when filling the highest academic positions in free competition (University of Copenhagen 2008).

In the excerpt outlined above, a realis statement with a declarative grammatical mood represents the organisational work on gender diversity as a self-evident necessity of the ‘strong university’. As in the example outlined in table 15, the main argument for implementing structural change initiatives here relates to the strategic objective of realising the full potential of the university’s talent pool. In this sense, one might argue that the text draw on the industrial cité and its founding principles of efficiency and process optimization. It is also worth noting, that the introductory formulation on bringing ‘the entire talent pool into play’ is very similar to the title of the aforementioned national policy statement – ‘Bringing All talent into play’ (Danish Ministry of Science & Danish Ministry of Equality: 2005). I will now turn to the Norwegian policy statements.

University of Bergen

As mentioned earlier, the Bergen policy statement is not available in English. This evidently has some implications for the presentation of the analytical results outlined in this section. The preceding analysis has been conducted on the basis of the Norwegian document, but the excerpts and phrases included in this paper will be translated into English.

The Bergen statement is presented as an Equality Action Plan valid for the period 2011-2015. The action plan is adopted by the university board and applies an extended approach to the concept of equality including aspects of age, nationality, impaired functional abilities and gender. One chapter of the statement is dedicated specifically to issues of gender equality. In this section, I will focus on the opening vision statement of the text as well as the introductory paragraphs of the subsequent chapter concerning gender equality. In addition to these paragraphs, the Bergen policy statement includes five pages of clarifying...

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14 A realis statement concerns what is, what was or what has been the case. Realis statements are often denoted as statements of fact (Fairclough 2003: 109).
statements regarding; legal basis, current gender distribution, structural challenges to gender equality, as well as future targets and initiatives.

An interesting feature of the Bergen statement concerns the use of the term ‘discrimination’ (see excerpt outlined below). In opposition to the policy statements of Aarhus and Copenhagen, ‘discrimination’ is here existentially presupposed and stated as something the university management will actively work to prevent.

Table 17:

| The work on equality is anchored in UiBs Strategy (2011-2015), which underlines that the university will work actively to prevent discrimination, and create inclusive work and study environments built on diversity and equality. High skills, strong interplay between academic, administrative and technical staff and efficient cooperation processes are necessary to achieve the common objectives of the University. The starting point is an extended concept of equality, including initiatives against all forms of discrimination (University of Bergen 2011: 3) |

By relating organisational work on equality to principles of inclusion and active prevention of discrimination as well as matters of efficiency and working skills, the formulation above juxtaposes arguments casted in the civic cité and the industrial cité. As mentioned already, this juxtaposition of justice-based and more resource-oriented motives for implementing gender equality is a recurring feature of the Norwegian and Swedish policy statements.

As illustrated in table 17, 18 and 19, the recurring grammatical mood of the Bergen text is declarative and most of the formulations are constructed as third person realis statements. This way of speaking contributes to represent the arguments regarding equality as universally given and indispensable organisational requisites. In the first of the excerpts outlined below, this is exemplified by the use of the being verb (‘is’), which serves to lay out the university’s vision as a state of being rather than a process of doing. International reputation is here stated as one of the central organisational motives for working with gender issues, and in this sense the argument falls within the cité of renown. It is also interesting, that ‘a recruitment practice that ensures equal rights’ is here stated as one of the requisites for achieving international acknowledgement. This reflects a more rights-based approach to the question of diversity, than what is the case at the Universities of Aarhus and Copenhagen outlined earlier.
Table 18:

It is the University’s vision to be an internationally acknowledged research university. An important requisite for achieving this objective is the establishment of international and diverse research environments with a good gender balance and age structure. It is also important that the university has a recruitment practice that ensures equal rights and provides all of the academic employees with time and funds for research.

An organizational culture characterized by basic values such as diversity and equal treatment, will enhance the job satisfaction and motivation among employees. If the employees feel well taken care of, their abilities as teachers will enhance and they will conduct research of high international quality. Thus, a culture of diversity is a key to a good university (University of Bergen 2011: 3).

In the second paragraph, the argument linking equality and international reputation is further outlined. Here, the basic values of diversity and equal treatment are combined with aspects of job satisfaction, motivation and research quality. One might argue that these motives are rooted in the civic \textit{cité} (job satisfaction) as well as the industrial \textit{cité} (research quality).

However, the aforementioned rhetorical emphasis on establishing dynamic and creative research environments also constitutes a pivotal argument for working with issues of gender equality at the University of Bergen. This is illustrated in the first sentence outlined below, which is situated in the in the project/inspirational \textit{cité}.

Table 19:

\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Gender} \\
Improved gender balance and equality in all parts of the organisation is an important requisite for creating robust, dynamic and creative research-, education-, and work environments. The University’s objective in regard to equality between the sexes is based on both a justice perspective - that men and women shall be given equal opportunities in terms of education, employment and professional development - and that we should benefit from the experiences of both sexes in the development of knowledge, research and work environment (University of Bergen 2011: 4) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Another immediately striking feature of this paragraph concerns the juxtaposition of justice and difference as complementary motives for engaging in organisational work on gender equality. The use of a deontic modal verb (‘shall’), and the rhetorical shift from a declarative to an imperative grammatical mood after the hyphen in line three reveals, that equal opportunities have not yet been achieved. In other terms, gender inequality is existentially presupposed in the text, and one might argue that the rhetorical emphasis on justice is anchored in the civic \textit{cité}, in which an actor’s worth originates from his/her capacity to represent collective interests. The last sentence of the paragraph, on the contrary, is distinguished by the Norwegian ‘rhetoric/or discourse of difference’ (Skjeie 2005). A discourse, which stresses the relevance and importance of drawing attention to the gendered differences characterising male and female actors’ experiences and
contributions to society. It is reasonable to suggest that this formulation introduces a more instrumental and resource-based approach to the question of gender equality and settles the argument for engaging in this matter in the industrial cité, where an actors’ greatness connects to the principles of quality, utility and performance.

The formulations on gender equality integrated into the strategic documents of Bergen University do not add anything of substance to the perspectives outlined above, wherefore I will now turn to the policy statement of the University of Oslo.

The University of Oslo

The Oslo statement constitutes a three page document – valid for the period 2010-2012 – presented under the title ‘Gender Equality Action Plan’. In addition to the introductory statements analysed here, the document includes three main chapters outlining the main goals, central actions, local actions and target figures of the university.

The Oslo statement begins by defining what is meant by ‘gender equality’.

Table 20:

| Work with gender equality is a strategic matter for the University of Oslo. Gender equality is an issue of diversity and equal opportunities. Gender equality is also about the quality of our activities as the country’s foremost institution for research, education and dissemination, and the opportunities to achieve broad-ranging and good recruitment of competent personnel (University of Oslo 2010: 1). |

The grammatical mood is declarative and comprises three propositional assumptions about gender equality. First, gender equality is represented as a strategic matter. In other terms, it relates to the identification of long term aims and interests. Secondly, gender equality is stated as an issue of diversity and equal opportunities. As in the case of the Bergen statement diversity and equal opportunities are here distinguished as separate concepts. While the rhetorical emphasis on equal opportunities obviously falls within the civic cité, one might argue that the concept of diversity is more ambiguous. On the one hand, diversity can be seen as reflecting managerial interests and ideas about how to enhance workplace productivity and creativity, while downplaying questions regarding democratic representation, anti-discrimination and justice (Edelman et al. 2001). However, diversity may also be understood as an institutional approach which acknowledges differential treatment as a necessary means to achieve equal opportunities (Leiva 2011). Thus, it is

15 A propositional assumption is an assumption about what is or will be the case (Fairclough 2003: 55).
reasonable to conclude, that the emphasis on diversity here combines aspects of four cités: the civic, the industrial as well as the inspirational and the project cité.

In the third propositional assumption outlined above, gender equality is connected to matters of quality and recruitment. The formulation ‘gender equality is also about...’ indicates that these matters should be seen as contextually rooted supplements to the overriding principles of diversity and equal opportunities. It is reasonable to contend that quality and recruitment of competent personnel is indicative of the industrial cité (research quality). However, the notion of quality, in this context, might as well relate to the aforementioned objective of serving societal needs, wherefore it is also plausible to anchor it in the civic cité.

The paragraph outlined in table six settles the policy statement within the frame of the university’s overriding strategy plan. In this excerpt, a shift in noun, from ‘the University of Oslo’ to the broader category of ‘the internationally leading university’, places Oslo among the international forerunners of research and higher education. Yet, it also frames the organisation’s work on gender equality in a global setting by making an ‘active policy of equality’ a prerequisite for attaining or retaining the position as an internationally leading university. The shift in grammatical mood from declarative to imperative and the use of a deontic modal verb (must), contributes to underline the necessity of this perspective, and it is reasonable to conclude, that this part of the statement is anchored in the cité of renown. The use of the adjective ‘active’, in the last sentence, may refer to the regular development and revision of the gender equality action plans at the university. However, it might as well serve to communicate, that this action plan is more than just a value statement.

In opposition to the Bergen statement, this text does not include any direct reflections on gender discrimination. However, as I shall outline below, aspects of structural discrimination are existentially presupposed in the text.

Table 21:

| The action plan will contribute to a better gender balance in categories of positions and study programmes, and promote an organizational culture and a working and learning environment that will give women and men equal opportunities (University of Oslo 2010: 1). |

In stating that the action plan will ‘promote an organizational culture and a working and learning environment that will give women and men equal opportunities’, it is indirectly presupposed, that aspects of dis-

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16 This document is valid for the period 2010-2012.
discrimination – in terms of unequal opportunities – still do exist in the organisation. The rhetorical emphasis on creating ‘a better gender balance’ might indicate that the organisational work on gender equality is considered a long term process that will not be solved in two years’ time.

The above-mentioned division of gender equality into matters of equal opportunities and diversity is also evident in the personnel policy of the university.

Table 22:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fundamental values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UiO shall integrate gender equality as a conscious component in all its activities, treat all employees as equals, and counteract all forms of discrimination and unreasonable differential treatment (University of Oslo 2006, 2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recruitment (guidelines)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UiO will: make a special effort to improve the recruitment of groups that represent significant, unused potential for the university: women, various minority groups and international researchers at an early stage in their careers. (University of Oslo 2006: 3).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first excerpt outlined above, the question of gender equality is represented as a fundamental value of the university, which is indicative of justifications casted in the domestic cité. The grammatical mood is imperative and the rhetorical emphasis on gender equality as a conscious component in all of the universities activities indicates that Oslo’s work on gender equality is influenced by ideas of gender mainstreaming. Here, the existence of discrimination is presupposed in a more explicit way and represented as something the university obliges itself to counteract, and the text hereby also anchors itself in the grammars of the civic cité.

Another interesting feature of this clause concerns the use of the adjective ‘unreasonable’. This rhetorical gesture serves to legitimate a certain approach to diversity which acknowledges differential treatment as a legitimate means to achieve gender equality; and positive action measures are in fact integrated into the university policy statement. The second excerpt constitutes a more instrumental approach to the topics of gender and diversity. Here women are represented as unused potentials for the university, which is indicative of the industrial cité.

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17 According to the EU ‘gender mainstreaming involves (...) mobilising all general policies and measures specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account at the planning stage their possible effects on the respective situation of men and women (gender perspective). This means systematically examining measures and policies and taking into account such possible effects when defining and implementing them’ (European Commission 2008).

18 I shall return to this in the paper ‘Scandinavian approaches to gender equality in academia: A comparative study’. 
The university strategy plan – ‘Strategy 2020’- also includes a few pivotal formulations on gender equality.

Table 23:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The university will have an active recruiting policy with an international focus ensuring equal opportunities for all, and with a clear profile for equality between women and men (University of Oslo 2010b: 14).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The university must have a broad base for recruiting staff, something that will require an active gender-balance and recruitment policies with equal opportunities for all. Through the recruitment process and follow-up of employees, UiO will strive for a better gender balance in the various levels of positions. Incentive schemes will be developed to promote recruitment of women to top academic positions (University of Oslo 2010b: 15).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both of the formulations outlined above represent gender equality as matters of recruitment. While the first excerpt directly connects the university’s recruiting policy to rights-based matters of equal opportunities and gender equality, the second excerpt adopts a more resource-oriented approach to the topic by representing gender equality as a prerequisite for creating a broad base for recruitment. In this sense, the main strategy juxtaposes arguments casted in the civic cité and the industrial cité. I will now turn to the Swedish policy statements.

**The University of Uppsala**

As already mentioned, Uppsala’s Gender equality action plan exemplifies one of the stronger and more direct policy statements analysed in this study. The voice and role of the university management is explicated in clear terms, and the assigned responsibilities stand out quite distinctly. Uppsala’s policy statement also differs from the rest of the universities’ action plans by separating the substantiating visions and objectives regarding equal opportunities from the concrete actions and initiatives outlined in the gender equality plan (see table 2). I will begin this part of the analysis by drawing attention to the ‘Gender Equality Plan 2011-2012’ and hereafter turn to the more general visions and objectives outlined in the Equal Opportunities Programme.

*Gender equality plan 2011-2012*

The recurring mood of Uppsala’s gender equality plan is declarative and most statements are represented as realis statements. However, as exemplified in the first sentence in table 24, a few formulations also take on an imperative grammatical mood.
In the first sentence outlined above, a deontic verb (‘must’) helps to represent *equal opportunities* between women and men as an important organisational obligation. The subsequent formulation involves a shift from an imperative to a declarative mood, which serves to epitomise gender equality at Uppsala as an issue of *quality*. As mentioned already, the rhetorical emphasis on *quality* is indicative of the *industrial cité*. However, it might as well relate to the question of serving collective needs of society, wherefore it is also plausible to anchor it in the *civic cité*. As in the case of the Norwegian policy statements, discrimination against women is here existentially presupposed as a problem. The use of the strong adjective ‘*detrimental*’ in the third clause of the paragraph reveals that organisational work on gender equality is not merely a question of *quality issues* at the University of Uppsala. It also concerns rights-based matters of *justice* and *equality* appealing to the grammars of the *civic cité*.

**Equal Opportunities programme**

As mentioned already, Uppsala’s Equal Opportunities programme (EOP) includes a number of substantiating visions and objectives regarding *equal opportunities* and provides direction for the universities systematic approach to issues of *equal treatment* (University of Uppsala 2010: 4). By *equal treatment* is here meant; ‘that all individuals, without regard to sex, gender identity and/or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age, enjoy the same prospects for performing optimally’ (University of Uppsala 2010: 4). In other terms, this document applies an extensive approach to the topic of *equal opportunities* including other focus areas than gender equality. However, the EOP still constitutes the starting point of Uppsala's work on gender equality (as outlined in table 2), wherefore I have chosen to this document in the analysis.

As illustrated below, the EOP document shifts between declarative third person *realis statements* and imperative statements with moral modality. However the document is mainly held in a declarative tone, and this grammatical feature, serves to epitomise the university’s activities with regards to *equal opportunities* as indispensable organisational requisites which cannot be challenged.
The aforementioned juxtaposition between rights-based and more strategic and resource-oriented motives for working with equality also stands out as a central formulation of this document. Here, the notion ‘equal opportunities’ is defined as a matter of justice and quality, which is indicative of justifications casted in the industrial as well as the civic cité. The document also draws on the inspirational and the projective cité as well as the cité of renown by committing the university to the overriding principles of creativity and diversity and by making international reputation and success a common matter.

Table 25:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At Uppsala University, all employees and students must be able to work and pursue studies on equal terms. Everyone must be treated with equal respect and understanding. For the University, equal opportunity is a matter of both justice and quality (Uppsala 2010: 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and learning counteract prejudice and structural discrimination. The University’s modus operandi must be characterized by creativity and diversity. Together we can all help to strengthen our university in its position as a world-leading centre of learning. Knowledge, openness, empathy, respect, and collaboration are key words in our mutual work, in everyday life, in contacts with co-workers, guests, and students (Uppsala 2010: 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second paragraph outlined above includes an interesting change in modality. Here, the text shifts from speaking with impersonal authority about what is the case, to speaking on the behalf of an inclusive ‘we’. This shift contributes to represent equal opportunities as a common responsibility involving all university stakeholders.

On the fourth page of the document it is stated that the university ‘undertakes to draw on the talents, competencies and resources of all concerned’ (Uppsala University 2010: 4). In other terms, equal opportunities at Uppsala are not merely understood as matters of retaining and recruiting ‘the best heads’. This way of articulating organisational activities on equality and diversity conveys a more inclusive (and less elitist) approach to the topic of equality, than what is the case in the Danish policy statements.¹⁹

The aforementioned rhetorical emphasis on the organisational structures detrimental to women also permeates the EOP. Here, the strategies ensuring equal treatment (including the gender equality action plan) are stated as ‘Action plans specific to different forms of discrimination’. This way of articulating organisational work on equality differs strongly from the approach of the Danish Universities, where matters of discrimination and inequality are either downplayed or silenced in the text. I will now turn to the statements of Lund University.

¹⁹ I shall take this up again later in the analysis.
Lund University

Lund’s policy statement ‘Policy for gender equality, equal treatment and diversity’ opens with the following formulation:

Table 27:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lund University’s target is to be one of the very best universities in Europe. To reach that target, the knowledge and ambitions of employees and students must be utilised, and their different perspectives must be allowed to help establish a creative study, learning and research environment. Gender equality, equal treatment and diversity lead to improved quality in the organisation (Lund University 2011: 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the case of the Uppsala statement, this text shifts between declarative third person realis statements and imperative statements with moral modality. In the first clause, the being verb (‘is’) contributes to represent Lund’s overriding target of becoming one of the best universities in Europe as a statement of fact, while the deontic verb (‘must’) in the subsequent formulation obligates the university to utilise the knowledge and ambitions of all employees. This reveals that gender equality at Lund is a strategic matter anchored in the industrial cité as well as the cité of renown. However, the rhetorical emphasis on establishing creative research environments also appeals to the grammars of the inspirational cité.

The use of a passive voice in the second clause obfuscates the modal responsibility of the university management and contributes to represent the utilization of knowledge and ambitions as a common matter involving all university stakeholders. Another interesting feature of this clause concerns the rhetorical emphasis on utilizing the knowledge and ambitions of employees rather than realising the potential of talents, as it is for instance formulated in the Copenhagen statement (see table 15). This might indicate that Lund University adopts a more inclusive approach to the topic combining perspectives of international competitiveness with ambitions of realizing the potential of all employees. The third sentence outlined above constitutes a declarative realis statement representing gender equality as a matter of quality, which is indicative of the industrial as well as the civic cité. It is important to note that the relation between gender equality and improved quality is here represented as a causal relationship – via the use of the transitive verb (lead). An alternative formulation might have read: ‘Work on issues of gender equality (…) is instrumental to the improvement of quality (…)’. However, this is not the case, which might indicate that equality between the sexes is considered a self-evident and non-debatable target at Lund University.

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20 This document also includes other focus areas than gender equality.
The use of third person realis statements and passive voice also permeates the subsequent paragraphs. In the first excerpt outlined below, gender equality, equal treatment and diversity are represented as founding principles of the university, and one might argue that the organisational work with issues of gender equality is here casted in the domestic cité giving priority to organisational dependencies, hierarchy and tradition (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006: 90). This indicates that gender equality at Lund is considered an indispensable organisational pre-requisite that cannot be challenged. It is also reasonable to assume that this way of articulating gender equality, equal treatment and diversity as fundamental organisational principles, arises from a broader idea about serving the ‘common good’ and the collective needs of society, which is indicative of the civic cité. The second sentence substantiates the prevention of discrimination as a central area of focus in the universities approach to gender equality, which also points to the grammars of the civic cité.

Table 28:

Activities at Lund University are founded on gender equality, equal treatment and diversity – together with the strategic plan and the Discrimination Act. This means that employees and students, as well as job applicants and potential students at Lund University are to be treated and assessed without inappropriate consideration of sex (…) (Lund University 2011: 1).

Within the university there is zero tolerance of discrimination (Lund University 2011: 1).

The policy statement also includes an interesting formulation regarding gender awareness in academia. On page three it is stated, that ‘(…) gender awareness in teaching and learning will have a prominent place in the qualifying training (…) at Lund University’. In a related document it is stated that: ‘A gender perspective shall illuminate how social factors contribute to create unequal conditions for women and men’ (Lund University 2007). As I shall return to in the paper ‘Scandinavian Approaches to Gender Equality in Academia: A Comparative Study’ this indicates of a strong institutional emphasis on creating more gender-sensitive and inclusive environments by challenging existing academic cultures and norms.

The university’s main strategy plan also incorporates a few pivotal formulations regarding gender equality.

Table 29:

Lund University represents fundamental human rights and democratic and academic values. We shall operate in a context of gender equality and ethnic and social diversity (Lund University 2012: 4).

We shall therefore offer professional working conditions that enable us to recruit the very best staff. Gender equality is a prioritised area (Lund University 2012: 6).
In the first excerpt outlined above, gender equality is represented as a fundamental human right and democratic value permeating the operations of the organisation, which is indicative of the civic cité. However, the text also applies a more strategic approach to the topic, as outlined in the second excerpt. One might argue that this perspective is casted in the grammars of the industrial cité.

The juxtaposition between rights-based and more resource-oriented approaches to the problem of gender equality is also reflected in the university’s overall research strategy. In this document an argument regarding national and international competitiveness anchored in the market cité, is supplemented with a normative perspective pointing towards the grammars of the civic cité (democratic values and gender equality).

Table 30:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Aarhus</th>
<th>Copenhagen</th>
<th>Bergen</th>
<th>Oslo</th>
<th>Uppsala</th>
<th>Lund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cité</td>
<td>Inspiration</td>
<td>Inspiring environments</td>
<td>Innovation through Diversity</td>
<td>Creative Environments</td>
<td>Diversity (creativity)</td>
<td>Creative environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td></td>
<td>Competition and quality as inviolable principles</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender equality as a founding principle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender equality as a founding principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renown</td>
<td></td>
<td>International reputation</td>
<td>International reputation</td>
<td>International reputation</td>
<td>International reputation</td>
<td>International reputation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31 below summarises the main analytical findings by displaying how each university legitimate and justify organisational initiatives on gender equality.

Table 31: Justifications for engaging in organisational work on gender equality

A coherent human-resources strategy will help enhance the national and international competitiveness of LU. (...) LU has been organising leadership programmes for younger teachers and researchers, both men and women, for a number of years (...). The leadership programme places particular emphasis on the strategic need to recruit more women to leading positions at LU (Lund University 2009: 13-14).

Our strategic plan lays down, among other things, that we should represent democratic values, tolerance, diversity and gender equality (Lund University 2009: 16).
The rhetoric of elitism and exclusion

As mentioned earlier, the statements of Lund and Uppsala appear to convey a more inclusive approach to the topic of equality than what is the case in the statements of Aarhus and Copenhagen. On the fourth page of Uppsala’s gender equality plan, it is stated that the university ‘undertakes to draw on the talents, competencies and resources of all concerned’ (Uppsala University 2010: 4), while the Lund statement underlines the importance of utilising the knowledge and ambitions of employees in general (Lund University 2011: 1). As illustrated below, the Universities of Bergen and Oslo include similar formulations.
Table 32:

A university’s most important resource is the people who work and study there. Therefore, this strategy aims to provide possibilities that bring out the best in each individual. An internationally leading university must conduct an active policy of equality between women and men, and a recruiting policy that ensures diversity and equal opportunities for all (University of Oslo 2010b: 5).

It is the University’s vision to be an internationally acknowledged research university. An important requisite for achieving this objective is the establishment of international and diverse research environments with a good gender balance and age structure. It is also important that the university has a recruitment practice that ensures equal rights and provides all of the academic employees with time and funds for research (University of Bergen 2011: 3).

In the first of the excerpts above, drafted from Oslo’s main strategy, a direct relation is made between the organisation’s work on gender equality and a strategy that ‘aims to provide possibilities that bring out the best in each individual’. The second excerpt, taken from Bergen’s equality plan, likewise emphasises an inclusive perspective. In this text, a direct relation is made between the universities’ overriding vision of becoming an internationally acknowledged research institution and the obligation of providing all of the academic employees with time and funds for research.

It is reasonable to suggest that the statements of Aarhus and Copenhagen, in opposition to this, represent a more elitist approach to the topic. Here, priority is mainly given to the question of retaining and attracting the (most) talented female researchers.

A quick glimpse at the choice of wording in this study’s corpus of selected texts also reveals an overrepresentation of notions and words related to, what I have chosen to term as, the rhetoric of elitism in the Danish statements. The table outlined below displays the number of times a term, similar to the examples outlined below, have been used in each of the documents. The bracketed numbers outline the approximate number of pages of the given documents.

Examples:

- ‘This means that the University must substantially improve its ability to (also) realise the potential of women research talents (University of Copenhagen 2009)

- ‘To ensure that young women with talent and potential for a research career receive the necessary backing’ (Aarhus 2009).

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21 I have read through the documents looking for words such as ‘best’, ‘talent’, ‘highest quality’, ‘top quality’, ‘leading’.
- ‘There is a need for better conditions to realise the development potential of talented employees (Lund University 2009)’.

Table 33:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Aarhus</th>
<th>Copenhagen</th>
<th>Bergen</th>
<th>Oslo</th>
<th>Lund</th>
<th>Uppsala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Equality</td>
<td>9 (9)</td>
<td>8 (9)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main strategy, educational strategy, etc.(^{22})</td>
<td>29(44)</td>
<td>9 (40)</td>
<td>5(9)</td>
<td>2(16)</td>
<td>3(24)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in the table above, there is an overrepresentation of words connected to the ‘rhetoric of elitism’ in the statements of Aarhus and Copenhagen. Formulations similar to the examples outlined above are mentioned 9 times in each of the Danish gender equality plans, while none of the Swedish and Norwegian policy statements place emphasis on this perspective.

\(^{22}\) While some of the main strategies also include reflections on educational objectives, others do not. Thus, I have chosen to include the educational strategy statement of the Universities, where this is not the case.
References


Cambridge University Press.


**Corpus of Organisational Documents**


University of Oslo (2010). *Gender Equality Plan 2010-2012*. Adopted by the University Board.  

University of Oslo (2010b). *Strategy 2020*. Adopted by the University Board.  
<http://www.uio.no/english/about/strategy/Strategy2020-English.pdf>

University of Uppsala (2010). *The Equal Opportunities Programme*. Approved by the University Board.  
<http://regler.uu.se/digitalAssets/60/60849_UU_EqualOpportunitiesProgramme.pdf>