

Scandinavian approaches to gender equality in academia: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

This study investigates how Denmark, Norway and Sweden approach issues of gender equality in research differently. On the basis of a comparative document analysis of gender equality activities in six Scandinavian universities together with an examination of the legislative and political frameworks surrounding these activities, the article provides new insights into the respective strategies for governing and promoting the advancement of women researchers. In doing so, it exposes some interesting disparities among the cases and shows how the Norwegian and Swedish gender equality activities revolve around a broader span of different approaches than the Danish. The study draws upon the existing knowledge on the efficacy and implementation success of diversity policy programmes to gain a more profound understanding of how these differences may help explain the current variations in the gender compositions of the Scandinavian research systems.

Keywords: gender equality; Scandinavia; higher education; research staff; comparative policy analysis; action plans; diversity

Introduction

Denmark, Norway and Sweden are perceived by many as fairly similar examples of gender-equal societies. However, despite many common characteristics regarding welfare systems, family-friendly policies and universal breadwinner models, the countries differ in substantial ways when it comes to public, academic and political perceptions of gender equality (henceforth GE). As noted by several feminist scholars (see, e.g., Melby, Wetterberg & Ravn, 2008), the topic of GE is a lower priority in Denmark than in Norway and Sweden. One example is Denmark's relatively weak institutionalisation of GE policies compared to its Scandinavian neighbours (Borchorst & Siim, 2008).

Borchorst et al. (2002) discern three main discourses underpinning the national interpretations of the nature of the GE problem in Scandinavia. Hirdman's theory of the *gender system* can be viewed as the main contribution to the prevailing Swedish feminist *discourse of subordination* (Hirdman, 1990). This theory depicts a gender segregated Swedish society continuously founded on the primacy of the male norm. Although widely disputed among academics, Hirdman's contributions to the political and public understanding of the GE problem have been extensive (Borchorst et al., 2002).

Hege Skjeie (1991) identifies a *rhetoric of difference* distinguishing the Norwegian GE debate from the Swedish and Danish. In Norway, she notes, the relevance of emphasising the 'gendered' difference in how men and women contribute to society is more at the forefront of the GE debate. The *difference* notion here refers to the gender-related perspectives and experiences influencing and changing established societal values and priorities (Borchorst et al., 2002).

As illustrated in Borchorst et al.'s (2002) comparative analysis, the Danish debate differs from the Swedish and Norwegian with respect to salience, form and content. They

explain this difference by drawing attention to the Danish *discourse of empowerment* emanating from the bottom-up activities of a powerful Danish women's movement during the 1970s and 1980s. The empowerment discourse adopts a double perspective on issues of gender, power and politics combining the traditional structure-oriented gender perspective on reproduction and exclusion with an agency-oriented focus on the possibilities and potentials women have as individual and collective actors. According to the authors, the demobilisation of the Danish women's movement during the 1990s has led to a weakening of the structure-oriented perspective leaving extra space for the empowerment perspective in public and political debates (Borchorst et. al, 2002, p. 257-262).

In Norway and Sweden, on the other hand, GE has remained a relatively hot topic of discussion. Dahlerup (2002), for instance, notes that Norwegian and Swedish feminist scholars have been more directly engaged in the public and political debates on GE. According to Borchorst et al. (2002), the academic and theoretical disputes over aspects of GE have also been more comprehensive and polarised in these countries. This has led to a higher degree of impact on public policy development as well as awareness in the public arena (cf. Teigen and Wängnerud, 2009).

National differences also exist in the current gender distributions of the Scandinavian research systems. According to the latest numbers, approximately 30% of the Danish, 37% of the Norwegian and 39% of the Swedish researchers are women, while the percentage of female full professors is 16% in Denmark and 23% in Sweden and Norway (Database for statistikk om høgre utdanning, 2013; Statistiske centralbyrå, 2011; Bloch & Henriksen, 2013). There are, of course, considerable gender variations across scientific fields, which may partly be due to gender differences in educational choices (see, e.g., Støren & Arnesen, 2007). As illustrated in Figure 1, men are more

likely to become full professors in the STEM fields (i.e. science, technology, engineering and mathematics), while the highest representation of female professors is found in the humanities and social sciences. The field-specific differences, however, confirm an overall pattern; with the exception of the agricultural sciences, Denmark holds the lowest representation of women professors in each of the main scientific fields.

(Figure 1 should be placed here)

This raises an interesting question as to whether and how the Scandinavian countries approach and prioritise GE issues in academia differently. Whereas a considerable amount of research has already investigated the sources of gender inequality in each of the three countries (for a literature review see Roivas, 2010), very few studies offer in-depth, policy-oriented comparisons of the differences and similarities characterising the countries' approaches to the topic.

This paper employs a cross-case comparison of six Scandinavian universities' (two Danish, two Norwegian and two Swedish) strategies for governing and promoting GE issues. More specifically, I investigate the different approaches employed in the promotion of women's advancement in research, and elucidate the different understandings and interpretations of gender underpinning the selected organisations' GE work (this twofold research objective is further specified in Section three). By doing this, the aim is to provide a more sufficient understanding of the variations in policy engagement and governance of GE-concerns underpinning the national differences in women's representation at the highest academic levels in the three countries.

As a means of pursuing this research objective, I focus on the activities and initiatives stated in each of the universities' GE action plans and the underlying institutional

governance strategies structuring these activities. Furthermore, I compare the legislative frameworks and policy prioritisations surrounding the universities' GE work.

The paper is organised in five main sections. First, I introduce the existing literature on the efficacy of different GE policy measures. Second, I present Kolb et al.'s (2003) analytical framework for identifying different understandings of and approaches to GE in professional organisations. Section three specifies the research objective, explains the methodology and outlines the empirical scope. Section four presents and discusses the results of the cross-national and cross-institutional comparative document analysis, while Section five summarises the findings and reflects on the limitations of the study.

1. Existing knowledge on the implementation success and efficacy of organisational diversity programmes

While a growing body of literature examines the impact of diversity management on organisational performance (for a literature review see Pitts, 2006), there is relatively limited quantitative evidence on the implementation success and efficacy of equality policies and diversity programmes in countering inequalities (Kalev et al., 2006; Timmers et al., 2010). With a particular focus on the issue of gender equality policies in science, a European meta-study covering the period 1980-2008, identifies an abundance of: a) positional statements on the importance of promoting GE in academia, b) conceptual clarifications providing specifications on the different approaches to GE work (e.g. the distinction between equal opportunity, positive action and gender mainstreaming), and c) recommendations for concrete actions (e.g. best practices derived from EU Framework Programmes). Comparatively fewer studies, however, systematically scrutinise the impact and efficiency of different types of gender equality policies and measures in obtaining more balanced gender compositions in the academy; and when they do, they

often “lack sound theoretical frameworks and shared evaluation standards” (Castano et al. 2010, p. II). The following pages highlight central insights from the existing literature on the implementation success and efficacy of gender equality policies and diversity programmes, which may aid in the empirical analysis.

As illustrated in Hogue & Noon’s 2004 study on the equal opportunities policies of UK companies, organisational diversity documents often take the form of “empty shells” without any clear anchoring in actions and initiatives. Timmers et al.’s 2010 study on the efficacy of GE policies in 14 Dutch universities also identifies some discrepancy between what policy documents say and what is actually done to promote women’s advancement. Accordingly, university GE initiatives often lack consistent coordination and support at the faculty and department levels (Ibid, p. 731). These findings point to the crucial importance of developing clearly specified strategies for governing GE work.

A central observation regarding this matter relates to the question of organisational commitment. As shown by Kellough and Naff (2004), an organisation’s adoption and implementation of diversity programmes strongly depend on the commitment and support from upper management levels. Based on a comprehensive survey administered to American federal agencies and sub-agencies, the authors provide clear evidence linking management commitment to the impact and extent of the organisations’ diversity actions. This finding is also supported by Pitts (2007), who uses insights from the public policy implementation literature to model guidelines for successful diversity programmes. Pitts also points to the crucial connection between the extent of resources devoted to diversity work and the commitment of the lower level entities to these programmes. Additionally, he highlights the positive link between the specificity and coherence of a policy and its implementation success. As he notes, it is important that diversity committees “work to offer specific suggestions and recommendations, rather than empower managers to adopt

whatever strategy for diversity that they choose” (Ibid, p. 1582). Put differently, responsibility assignment constitutes an important prerequisite of successful diversity programmes. This claim is also confirmed in Kalev et al.’s (2006) longitudinal study on the efficacy of diversity programmes in American private companies. They find that organisations developing clear responsibility structures concerning diversity obtain the most effective results of their programmes. As observed by the researchers, diversity policies decoupled from the everyday organisational practices will rarely be efficient in countering inequalities.

A few studies also pay specific attention to the differential impact of different types of diversity components on women’s career advancement. Naff & Kellough (2003) investigate the efficacy of diversity training programmes, internal communications, accountability, and resource commitments in American federal agencies and find no noteworthy effects of any of these components. Kalev et al.’s (2006) aforementioned study shows only modest effects of mentoring and networking schemes for women, while practices targeting managerial bias are without any effects. The efficacy of the latter, however, increases slightly if implemented in organisations with clear responsibility structures. In addition, their results suggest that white women benefit the most when firms set up affirmative action plans (i.e. specific and result-oriented procedures directed at promoting the recruitment and hiring of “underutilised” employee groups), which often involve policy measures addressing the structural levels of the organisation (e.g. formalising and making recruitment procedures more transparent and targeting and screening underrepresented groups in recruitment). Holzer & Neumark (2000) also examine the diversity effects of affirmative action programmes in recruitment (e.g. changing recruitment procedures and criteria) and hiring practices (i.e. preferential

treatment) of 3200 American firms and similarly find women to be benefitting the most from these measures.

Timmers et al.'s (2010) aforementioned study distinguishes between three different measures for addressing the underrepresentation of women in research: the individual perspective (i.e. training, coaching and mentoring of women), the cultural perspective (i.e. addressing managerial and organisational bias) and the structural perspective (i.e. changing recruitment and hiring criteria). At the aggregate level, the authors find a modest but statistically significant correlation between the number of GE measures employed by universities and the universities' ability to counter inequalities. Moreover, they identify a considerable and statistically significant correlation between the employment of the cultural perspective and the representation of female associate professors, while the individual and structural perspectives show only modest and insignificant effects.

2. Four frames of gender

According to Prügl (2011), the continuous efforts made by public and private enterprises to promote GE can be viewed as a form of *governance feminism*, which installs feminist knowledge in the managerial and legal expertise of the organisation (Prügl, 2011). *Governance feminism* has played a decisive role in the on-going processes of *framing* GE as an issue of organisational and governmental concern (Kantola and Ikävalko, 2013, p. 2). Framing refers here to “the process of saying what a political problem is, whose needs are to be addressed and what kinds of solutions are imaginable” (Ferree, 2008, p. 240). I use frames as an analytical starting point for drawing attention to how organisations and countries - on the basis of a variety of policy measures - approach and represent GE issues differently.

Ely & Meyerson (2000) and Kolb et al. (2003) offer a fruitful analytical framework for identifying the different (feminist) understandings and visions underpinning organisational approaches to GE. Based on a broad range of existing empirical and theoretical work, the authors develop four different frames of gender in organisations. Each frame applies a certain theoretical perspective to issues of gender and adopts a certain strategy for promoting female career advancement (Kolb et al. 2003, p. 4). Despite intrinsic differences, the four frames can be viewed as potentially complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Universities (and countries) may, in other words, combine policy measures anchored in several of the frames or even implement broad-ranging initiatives addressing more than one frame at a time. While the gender frame-model constitutes a useful tool for linking specific GE-policy measures to competing theoretical and political visions of the gender equal organisation, it does not provide any clear empirical evidence on the efficiency of the four frames in overcoming inequalities. To obtain such an understanding, it thus seems fruitful to combine the Gender frame-model with insights from the existing literature presented in Section one. In the following, I will briefly outline the four frames, relate them to the contextual features of academic organisations and reflect on their GE outcomes.

Fixing the women

Traditionally, women's underrepresentation in academia has been explained as a problem related to the women rather than the organisation. This interpretation is built on a liberal vision reducing career advancement to individualistic matters such as ambition, motivation and merit. Inequalities are attributed here to women's deficiencies in work experience and insufficient requisite training. The approach aims to minimise these assumed deficiencies by offering development, mentoring and networking programmes

that will equip women with the necessary skills to succeed within the existing organisation structures. Despite the positive effects that these programmes may entail, their GE outcomes, as discussed in Section one, appear to be modest. As Kolb and her colleagues point out, “They may help certain women to play the game, but they leave in place the structures and policies of the game itself” (2003, p. 11).

Value the feminine

In the second frame, *gender* is conceptualised “as socialized differences between men and women, embodied in different masculine and feminine styles or ‘ways of being’” (Kolb et al., 2003, p. 11). Women’s disadvantages in research are interpreted here as effects of masculinised organisational values and working styles. Thus, the approach stresses the need for consciousness-raising initiatives demonstrating how *feminine* employee characteristics (e.g. listening, collaborating, nurturing) will benefit the organisation. However, the frame’s celebration of the *feminine difference* may not necessarily counter organisational inequalities. For instance, it is likely that a strong organisational emphasis on gendered characteristics and values will end up reasserting some of the stereotypes it aspires to overcome (Ely & Meyerson, 2000). The existing literature does not provide any clear evidence on the efficacy of this type of measure, and, as will become evident in the analysis, none of the actions and initiatives investigated in this study directly relate to this frame.

Creating equal opportunities

The third frame focuses on structural barriers to GE. Here, the main vision is to break the glass ceiling by challenging the unequal and biased opportunity structures (i.e., hiring and promotion processes) preventing women from reaching the highest positions. More

specifically, the *creating equal opportunities* approach points to legalistic and policy-based interventions such as implementing affirmative action and preferential treatment initiatives, revising organisational criteria for evaluating scientific productivity and developing more transparent recruitment and promotion policies. As Kolb et al. (2003, p. 12) point out, structural change initiatives have made it possible for managers to recruit and retain an increasing number of women for positions at the highest organisational levels, which is also confirmed in the studies of Kalev et al., (2006) and Holzer & Neumark (2000). However, such initiatives may be insufficient in changing the many informal rules and practices permeating academic selection and promotion processes.

Revising existing organisational cultures

In addition to the three *classical* frames, Kolb et al. introduce a fourth frame focusing on the underlying cultural and systemic factors causing inequalities. This frame adopts a constructivist approach and sees gender as an organisational principle structuring all workplace practices and activities. In this view, organisations are interpreted as inherently masculinised social arrangements created by men and favouring men. To revise such arrangements, the fourth frame engages in long-term cultural change processes aimed at challenging the existing norms and values of the organisation and revealing how more sensitive working cultures may enhance equality and organisational growth. As documented by Timmers et al. (2010), GE actions adhering to this frame have proven particularly effective in countering inequalities at the associate professor level in the Netherlands. Kalev et al. (2006) also show modest effects of initiatives anchored in this frame (i.e. addressing managerial bias), when organisational responsibility structures are in place.

3. Research objective, methodological approach and empirical scope

Against the background of the first two sections, this paper's twofold research objective can now be further specified. As noted in Section one, the adoption and implementation of diversity programmes strongly depend on: a) the commitment and support from senior management; b) the extent of resources devoted to GE work; c) the specificity and coherence of the diversity policies; and d) the existence of responsibility structures. These features will direct the focus of Question one, which focuses on variations in the governance of GE-concerns, while the gender frames make up the analytical starting point of Question two, which focuses on differences in the (feminist) understandings and visions underpinning the GE work.

1. How do the prioritisations of and strategies for governing GE work at the Scandinavian universities (and in the Scandinavian countries¹) differ, and what are the potential implications of these differences with respect to women's academic advancement?
2. How do the respective GE policy measures taken by the Scandinavian universities (and countries) relate to the four gender frames, and are there any considerable variations in the frames employed?

The comparative case-study approach

The research adopts a comparative case-study approach known as *structured, focused comparison*, which is a useful method for making systematic juxtapositions dealing with only certain aspects of the selected cases under investigation (George & Bennett 2005, p. 67). The data collection process of this method is structured around a set of standardised questions relevant to each case, making the data comparable across cases. As noted by

George & Bennett (Ibid, p. 71), these standardised questions should be “grounded in – and adequately reflect – the theoretical perspective and research objectives of the study”.

The case selection was made according to the following criteria: the universities all constitute large or mid-sized public institutions of higher education and research. Moreover, they all provide undergraduate and postgraduate academic programmes and include a broad range of different disciplinary domains and research fields. An overview of the main characteristics of each university is provided in Table 1 below².

(Table 1 about here)

As illustrated in the last row of the table, the universities in Sweden and Norway have longer traditions of GE work than the Danish universities. Bergen established its first (and still active) GE committee in 1973 and has had GE activities in place since 1974³. As noted by the committee’s first chairman, Helga Hernes (2004), preferential treatment was introduced as a potential GE measure already from the beginning. Oslo followed suit with a GE committee in 1976 and introduced preferential treatment in 1981 (Rogg, 2003). In Uppsala, a GE committee has been in place since 1975, and the university formulated its first GE action plan in 1984 (Bondestram, 2000). Lund appointed its first GE committee and consultant in 1977 and has been publishing reports and documentations on GE activities since 1993 (Lund University, 1999). The first Copenhagen GE committee was established in 1984. However, the committee dissolved during the 1990s leading to a period of only sporadic GE activities (Rosenbeck, 2014). Aarhus University founded its first GE committee in 1986⁴ and introduced its first GE action plan in the wake of a local report on the university’s GE situation published in 1988 (Aarhus University 1988; 1993).

Table 2 presents the share of women currently employed in research in the six institutions.

(Table 2 about here)

As shown, the Norwegian and Swedish universities perform better than the Danish with respect to associate and full professorships. It is difficult to offer any unequivocal interpretations of the institutional differences outlined in the table. The countries' legislative and policy-based activities, as illustrated in the following, may account for some of the variation. Meanwhile, the existing literature on the implementation success and efficacy of organisational diversity programmes (see Section one), also provides reasonable grounds for assuming that institutional differences GE activities play a part in this regard. However, since more women in senior research positions may potentially also lead to more GE work, as a result of bottom-up activities, it is difficult to draw any clear conclusions on the direction and strength of the mechanisms producing these institutional variations.

Data collection and methodological approach

As a means of answering the research questions stated above, the study employs a comparative document analysis. The analysis involves two key strategies for identifying texts containing information on GE-related issues. As a first step, I conducted an electronic search using GE-related keywords (e.g. "GE action plan", "women in research", "diversity policy", "gender and research" etc.) to gain access to the relevant publicly available materials of each university and country. More specifically, I searched library databases and google for materials published in English, Danish, Norwegian and

Swedish. Furthermore, I systematically went through each university's website, including faculty and department sub-sites. As a second strategy, I used "snowballing" to identify additional relevant texts by looking through the references of the documents already obtained. Based on an introductory reading of an extensive sample of potentially relevant documents, altogether 55 documents were selected for further analysis. For an outline of these documents see Appendix 2 (Nielsen, 2013).

The overview of national policy-based efforts presented in Section four limits its focus to the period 2006-2012. It is based upon a data set of GE and university legislations, cross-university policy measures, research council-initiatives and existing research and evaluation reports. The analysis presented in Section six involves university strategies, GE action plans, annual reports and documentations on GE, GE guidelines directed at faculties and departments, website snippets and university news features. For an in-depth description of each university's governance model and GE activities see Sections three and four, Appendix 2 (Nielsen, 2013).

In order to reach clarification regarding unresolved matters cropping up in the analysis, I have also conducted email interviews with the universities' GE consultants. The interviews mainly focus on aspects connected to the particular policy initiatives taken by each organisation. Furthermore, several of the GE consultants have provided relevant non-publicly available institutional documents identified in the snowballing process.

It is, of course, not possible to draw any conclusions on the *de facto* use and material effects of GE-related measures based on a cross-case comparison of policy documents and action plans. This would require more comprehensive qualitative investigations of the activities undertaken as well as longitudinal quantitative monitoring of the GE outcomes of different types of policy measures. Notwithstanding, this document analysis constitutes a necessary first step towards a more in-depth

understanding of the variety of GE policy measures employed by Scandinavian countries and universities. In addition, it provides insights into the legislative and organisational factors underpinning the institutional variations in the gender distributions of the six universities.

Before proceeding, it is worth noting that this analysis focuses on top-down GE-related activities and interventions. Universities, of course, are not monolithic entities, and certain types of GE initiatives may as well be enacted from below (e.g. through bottom-up activities). However, to limit the scope of this analysis, only the main institutional efforts will be explored in this paper.

4. Results

The presentation of the results will be structured as follows: First, I provide an overview of the national GE legislations and policy frameworks surrounding the action plan of each university. Second, I outline the universities' prioritisations of and strategies for governing GE work, and third I present and discuss how their respective GE policy measures relate to the four gender frames introduced in Section two.

National legislations and policies

This section provides an introduction to the Scandinavian countries' current legislative and policy-based efforts to promote GE in academia and outlines the different *frames of gender* underpinning these activities. For an overview of the documents used in this part of the analysis see Appendix 1. None of the countries employ measures connected directly to the *value the feminine* frame, wherefore this frame has been left out of the presentation.

Aside from the directives of the European Commission applicable in Denmark, Sweden and partly Norway through the European Economic Area, there is no joint GE

legislation in the Scandinavian countries. Irrespective of certain similarities in the legal basis as well as a common obligation to prohibit direct discrimination and promote GE, the legislative frameworks and policies surrounding the Scandinavian universities' GE activities differ in substantial ways (Svensson, 2006). Legislative measures obligating universities to develop GE action plans and report their status and GE activities on a regular basis have been implemented in all three countries. However, whereas Norway and Sweden possess a legal option to sanction universities that do not comply with these stipulations, such a provision is absent from the Danish legal basis (NOU, 2011, p. 47; Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2012). In other words, clearer responsibility structures are at place in the Norwegian and Swedish legislative framework, and in contrast to Denmark these countries also include specific formulations on GE in the national Higher Education Acts.

The Danish, Swedish and Norwegian universities all possess legal options to employ affirmative action initiatives favouring female researchers (DGEA, 2000, §3a; NAGE, 2005, Section 3). For instance, the Swedish Discrimination Act opens an opportunity for positive action “if the treatment of the person concerned is part of an effort to promote equality in working life (...)” (SDA, 2008, Section 17). Incentive models providing financial support for universities, faculties and departments appointing female applicants serve as a typical example of how these stipulations are implemented in practice (I return to this in Section six).

This type of legalistic intervention points to the frame of *creating equal opportunities*, since its main objective is to challenge and correct the discriminative features of existing hiring and promoting processes in academia. The *creating equal opportunities* frame is also reflected in the Norwegian and Swedish efforts to create more balanced evaluation committees when allocating grants (Sweden) (SRC, 2013) and hiring

academic staff (Norway) (NAUUC, 2005, Section 6-3). It also underpins the countries' emphasis on establishing structural procedures committing university evaluation committees (Norway) (NAUUC, 2005) and council panels (Sweden) (SRC, 2013) to take GE into consideration when appointing research candidates. These legislative stipulations and policy efforts all address the structural barriers to women's advancement, which clearly indicates that the existing inequalities are interpreted as problems related to the organisation rather than the women.

The Norwegian government's implementation of a national incentive programme providing economic compensation for universities hiring women senior researchers in the fields of S&T (this programme involves an annual budget framework of approximately 1.33 million euros for the period 2010–2012) is another example of an initiative anchored in the *creating equal opportunities* frame. In line with the aforementioned affirmative action initiatives, this programme also specifically aims to challenge and counteract the gender stratifying effects of existing recruitment structures. Half of the funding of this programme has, however, remained unused during the programme's first two years, resulting in altogether 35 new appointments of women scientists⁵.

The Research Council of Norway has also initiated *Creating Equal opportunities*-based structural change initiatives. These initiatives include the establishment of more gender balanced evaluation committees and the introduction of preferential treatment⁶ in the allocation of research grants, which have led to considerable increases in the share of female applicants and grant receivers (RCN, 2009).

Since 2008, the Danish Council for Strategic Research has committed steering groups of the so-called *Strategic research centres* and *Strategic research alliances* applying for research funding to include representatives of both sexes (Bergmann, 2013), which can be viewed as another intervention aimed at overcoming the differential

structures of opportunity blocking women from reaching the upper levels of academia (i.e. the *creating equal opportunities* frame).

In the period 2008–2009, the Danish Council for Independent Research allocated approximately 13.9 million euros for a programme specifically directed at female research managers, which resulted in altogether 80 grants (DMS, 2009). Similarly, the Swedish Innovation Agency earmarked a seven-year budget of 35 million euros in 2007 (including co-financing, the programme constitutes an impressive budget of approximately 60 million euros), to an implementation programme promoting the mobility and qualification routes of female researchers (Vinnova, 2007). Both of these programmes aim at supporting a given number of talented female researchers by equipping them with the necessary skills to reach the highest attainable positions within the existing structures of the research systems. It is thus reasonable to suggest that these programmes are situated in the individualist *fixing the women frame*. The vast amount of money channelled into these programmes will undoubtedly have an enormous positive impact on the future career opportunities of the candidates receiving support. However, such initiatives “help certain women play the game, but (...) leave in place the structures and policies of the game itself” (Kolb et al., 2003, p. 11).

The Research Council of Norway recently launched the so-called *BALANSE programme*, an initiative involving a budget framework of approximately 7.8 million euros for the period 2013–2017 and including a variety of activities related to GE issues in academia⁷. As stated in the programme’s background material, one of the overriding objectives is to promote institutional work on GE by supporting research environments in the development of systematic and strategic interventions addressing structural and cultural challenges to GE. In other words, the *BALANSE programme* appears to be structured around a vision of GE anchored in the *creating equal opportunities* frame and

the frame of *revising existing organisational cultures*. The project, however, also adopts a more individualistic approach to the problem, by supporting programmes enhancing the career planning of female senior researchers, which is indicative of the *fixing the women* frame. In this sense, the BALANSE programme constitutes an illustrative example of how different visions of gender and equality intermingle in national GE-policy programmes.

In 2007, the Swedish government appointed a temporary committee (2007–2010) supporting institutional projects promoting GE-related initiatives and activities. The committee had a budget of approximately 7.2 million euros at its disposal for supporting organisational GE initiatives and raising public and political awareness of the topic (SMIGE, 2009). The committee supported 37 projects, which primarily draw on the *creating equal opportunities* and the *revising existing organisational cultures* frames. The projects among others cast light on the power structures limiting female researchers' career opportunities, and raise awareness concerning the systemic and cultural factors creating unequal conditions for male and female researchers in academia. Meanwhile, the more individualistic GE-approaches, anchored in the *fixing the women* frame tend, to be more or less absent in the project formulations. An outline of the 37 projects can be found on the website of the Swedish Council of Higher Education⁸.

In Norway, a national committee for GE in science with an annual budget of approximately 400,000 euros has been active since 2004. Very similar to the Swedish committee, this organisation supports research institutions in the implementation and promotion of GE and actively works to place GE issues on the public and political agenda⁹.

(Table 3 about here)

In conclusion, The Norwegian and Swedish GE legislations provide clearer structures of responsibility, and their policy efforts tend to revolve around a broader span of different approaches than what is the case in Denmark. Table 3 displays how the legislative framework and policy prioritisations of the three countries relate to the *gender frames* introduced in Section two, and reveals some interesting disparities in how the countries approach GE issues. While Norway takes the lead with regard to legislative and policy-based structural interventions related to the *creating equal opportunities* frame, the Swedish GE committee has made a particular effort to raise awareness of how cultural and systemic norms and values come to operate as hidden GE barriers, which is indicative of the *revising existing organisational cultures* frame.

As noted in the introduction, the three countries are characterised by different understandings of the nature of the GE problem, and this difference may play an important part in explaining the national variations outlined above. It is, for instance, reasonable to interpret the Swedish emphasis on the *revising existing organisational cultures* frame against the background of the country's more vocal feminist tradition and its anchoring in radical feminist ideas (Teigen & Wängnerud, 2009). Similarly, Norway's strong emphasis on legislative and policy-based structural interventions could be understood in light of the country's comprehensive tradition of interventionist approaches to GE, as exemplified by the extensive use of affirmative action and preferential treatment in the furtherance of GE in various areas of Norwegian society since the 1980s (a time period, where the rhetoric of difference was at its highest in the country) (Teigen, 2011). In comparison, the dissolution of the Danish women's movement during the 1990s, and the lack of long-lasting alliances between Danish feminists and political parties (Borchorst & Siim, 2008), may have impeded the opportunities for GE to make a real

inroad into the legislative framework and policy efforts of the Danish research system, thus also reflecting in the country's most recent activities.

Governing and promoting GE issues at university level

The Scandinavian universities' work with GE can be viewed as a twofold organisational process. On the one hand, the university management depends on the active participation and involvement of managers and employees at the faculty and department levels to attain overall GE targets. On the other hand, action will not necessarily be taken at the lower levels of management unless imposed from above. In this sense, successful GE work depends on well-developed governance strategies, which appeal to the lower organisation levels and render GE targets attractive. This first part of the cross-institutional document analysis sets out to investigate differences in the six universities' prioritisations of and strategies for governing GE work. Moreover, it reflects on the potential implications of these differences with respect to women's academic advancement (i.e. Question one introduced in Section three)?¹⁰

Commitment and support from senior management

As noted by Pitts, "diversity initiatives should come from the top of the organisation in order to be perceived as credible and worthwhile" (2007, p. 1583). Organisations promoting GE are, in other words, dependent on direct commitment and support from the senior management level. This also appears to be the case at the Scandinavian universities, which either state the senior management level as the direct sender or the executive power adopting the directives outlined in the institutional GE action plans (LU, 2011; UB, 2011; UC, 2008; UO, 2010; UU, 2011). Aarhus University's action plan, however, constitutes a special case. The sender of this document is a *task force* appointed

by the university, and the role and responsibility of the senior management level is downplayed in the text (AU, 2009). According to the existing literature (see Section one), this may have the consequence that faculties and departments will be less likely to commit to the formulations of this document.

Strategies for promoting decentralised GE activities

The efficacy of GE-policy measures, as mentioned, also depends on the extent of resources devoted, the specificity and coherence of the policies, and the existence of clear responsibility structures. Kalev et al.'s (2006) definition of *responsibility structures* refers specifically to the presence of diversity committees and organisational diversity consultants, and a look at the six universities' GE action plans shows that such committees are in place at all six universities. As noted by Timmers et al. (2010) university GE initiatives, however, often lack consistent coordination and support at the faculty and department levels. In the following, I will focus specific attention on the strategies pursued by the six Scandinavian universities for promoting local engagement in GE issues. First, I illuminate the relative amount of resources spent on attaining commitment from faculties and departments¹¹. Second, I investigate the extent to which each university engages in actions related to documenting, evaluating and communicating faculty-level GE activities, in order to account for the specificity and coherence of the institutional policy efforts.

Resources

As outlined in the second row of Table A (Appendix 1), Oslo and Bergen are the universities allocating the most resources to local GE activities. Both institutions have adopted GE governance models combining centralised interventions with a strategy that

I have coined *incentive-based compliance*, encouraging the faculties to engage in local activities of this concern. This means that the centralised funding of local university initiatives requires a 50% faculty co-financing. In this sense, the local entities are incentivised to allocate their own funds for this purpose.

In 2011, Oslo allocated approximately 336,000 euros for local GE initiatives (UO, 2011), while Bergen allocated around 450,000 euros in 2012¹² (UB, 2012). This means that the overall share of resources spent on local initiatives at these universities amounts to the double.

The funding for decentralised activities has been more modest in the Danish and Swedish universities. In 2011, Uppsala allocated approximately 21,600 euros for local initiatives (UU, 2012), while Copenhagen earmarked approximately 268,000 euros for faculty-based talent development programmes in the period 2008-2012 (UC, 2008). In recent years, Lund and Aarhus have not allocated any strategic resources for decentralised GE activities.

Making decentralised commitment visible

Another strategy for gaining local commitment to GE issues is to prepare on-going monitoring and evaluation reports communicating the actions and initiatives taken at the faculty and department levels. As outlined in the fourth row of Table A (Appendix 1), only two universities, Oslo and Uppsala, prepare such documents on a regular basis. Uppsala's GE action plan represents one of the most extensive and systematised approaches found in the study. The assigned responsibilities connected to the institutional targets and measures outlined in this document stand out quite distinctly, while a comprehensive annual report follows up on the activities initiated by the faculties and departments (UU, 2011; UU, 2012). Similarly, Oslo provides an extensive and

systematised policy framework on GE and, much like Uppsala, prepares comprehensive annual reports evaluating and documenting recent activities and developments at the faculty level (UO, 2010; UO, 2011; UO, 2013). Against the background of the existing literature (Pitts, 2007), it is reasonable to assume that the specificity, coherence and systematised structure of the GE efforts in Uppsala and Oslo entails a relatively high degree of local commitment to GE issues. This assertion is also consistent with the various types of faculty-related activities outlined in the comprehensive annual evaluation reports. Oslo and Uppsala are also the two universities with the highest representations of female associate- and full professors (see Table 2).

The inclusion of GE as a theme in the overall annual university reports can be seen as yet another strategy for documenting organisational commitment while appealing to the faculties and departments. Moreover, these reports reemphasise the senior management's commitment to the topic. This type of documentation further indicates that GE-related evaluations, monitoring and assessments have been completed to some extent in the respective organisations. As seen in the fifth row of Table A (Appendix 1), Lund, Uppsala and Bergen all include detailed GE reflections in their respective annual university reports (LU, 2012b; UB, 2012; UU, 2013), and Oslo also briefly addresses this topic (UO, 2010b). Interestingly, GE issues are completely absent in the annual university statements from Aarhus and Copenhagen (UC, 2013; AU, 2013), which clearly illustrates the aforementioned point that the topic is receiving less rhetorical emphasis in Denmark compared to Norway and Sweden.

Decentralised action plans

The existence of faculty and department level action plans is another indicator of institutional commitment and clear local structures of responsibility. This does not mean

that faculties without a local GE strategy should necessarily be conceived as inactive entities with respect to GE issues. This is clearly not the case. For instance, a number of faculties at Copenhagen and Bergen have implemented GE activities without developing specific local action plans that are available to the public (UC, 2011; UB, 2012). However, the availability of a specified, up-to-date faculty action plan attests to the specificity, systematisation, institutionalisation and sustainability of the GE activities at the lower organisational levels.

All of the universities currently commit their faculties to develop local GE strategies (see University GE action plans). However, a search through the websites reveals that merely half of the universities (Lund, Uppsala and Oslo) provide specified, up-to-date action plans for all or most of their faculties, while this is only the case for 50% of Bergen's faculties, 33% of Copenhagen's faculties and none of the faculties at Aarhus University. One might suggest that these differences reflect institutional variation in how the universities use organisational restrictions. None of the universities, however, make use of any kind of binding sanctions if faculties fail to fulfil their responsibilities regarding the development of local action plans¹³. In other words, these case variations should most probably be interpreted in light of the other issues raised above.

In this regard, it is also relevant to note that Lund University commits all faculties to prepare annual declarations summing up the past years' efforts to promote gender equality. In line with the annual evaluation reports conducted at the universities of Oslo and Uppsala, this approach can be viewed as an institutional strategy developed to ensure consistency and progress in the local efforts to promote GE.¹⁴

Bottom-up networks and participatory policy-making

Lund's GE work "adheres to the university's decentralised model for decision making" (LU, 2011, p. 1), which means that the senior management level does not allocate any strategic resources for local GE activities. Instead, the university's policy framework suggests that these investments should be integrated into the annual budgeting of the faculties and departments. Despite a 2011 organisational policy stipulation committing the university to prepare specified annual statements concerning GE developments at the faculty and department levels, such documents remain absent for the 2011 GE action plan. Nevertheless, the university's GE faculty action plans and the annual declarations indicate a relatively high degree of local commitment. In this sense, Lund represents a special case, which indicates that not only top-down governance strategies based on incentive-based compliance and annual evaluation reports, but also other kinds of institutional and contextual features play a pivotal role with respect to why some institutional entities commit to GE issues, while others do not. A possible explanation for this may be found in Lund's aforementioned long tradition of preparing reports and documentations on GE activities (Lund University 1999). This may have contributed to install GE work as an intrinsic value at the lower organisational levels. Another apparent explanation might be that Lund holds a number of active bottom-up networks for female researchers¹⁵, which contribute to sustaining the relevance and visibility of the topic. Similarly, Uppsala has had an active women's network keeping GE issues salient on the university agenda since 1978 (UU, 2008). According to Barry, Berg and Chandler (2012), GE-related activities in Swedish higher education are currently influenced by vital women's movements (including institutionalised centres for gender studies) engaging "in direct and indirect struggle and forms of symbolic contestation in the furtherance of gender equity in the milieu of management reform" (2012, p. 63). In comparison, this type of participatory policy-making may not necessarily be as prevalent in the Danish or Norwegian settings.

As noted earlier, Sweden also has a more vocal feminist movement, and this distinctive national feature may also reflect in the GE-related, bottom-up activities of the country's academic system.

Institutional GE frames

The following pages set out to explore how the GE policy measures taken by the six universities relate to the four gender frames. Moreover, they account for institutional differences in the frames employed (i.e. Question two first introduced in Section three). Table B (Appendix 1) provides a specified overview of the various actions included in the presentation as well as references for the relevant university documents. None of the universities' activities connect directly to the *value the feminine* frame, wherefore this frame has been left out of the presentation.

Fixing the women (Column 2, Table B, Appendix 1)

Over the last six years, Aarhus, Bergen, Copenhagen and Oslo have all initiated mentoring schemes primarily aimed at supporting younger female researchers with career planning and networking activities. Several of the universities (Copenhagen, Lund, Uppsala and Bergen) have also provided leadership and career development programmes specifically targeting female researchers. Copenhagen has further allocated comprehensive funding for internationalisation scholarships for women, while Bergen, Oslo and Uppsala have invested abundant resources in initiatives supporting the qualification of female researchers for senior positions by allocating travel grants and funds for release-time from teaching and administrative responsibilities (see Table A, row two, Appendix 1 for specifications on funding). It is reasonable to interpret each of these activities as interventions anchored in the *fixing the women* frame. They are all

underpinned by an individualistic approach to GE, in which unequal gender balances in academia are attributed to women's lack of work experience and insufficient requisite training (Kolb et. al, 2003). Thus, these initiatives all seek to equip female researchers with the necessary skills to succeed within the existing organisational structures.

Creating equal opportunities (Column 3, Table B, Appendix 1)

With the exception of Lund, all universities have implemented incentive-based programmes offering financial rewards for academic environments promoting female researchers (for specifications on the extent, funding and time limit of these programmes see Appendix 1, row two). Such organisational interventions are implemented to revise or correct existing hiring or promotion processes. In this sense, the incentive-based programmes can be viewed as instruments anchored in the *creating equal opportunities* frame. This is a frame which aspires to overcome inequalities by fixing the organisation rather than the women. Aarhus and Bergen have also developed stipulations committing the faculties to obtain more gender equal representations in councils and committees (Aarhus) and in the distribution of research funds (Bergen), which as mentioned earlier also points to this particular frame. Uppsala has developed a database providing statistical key indicators on gender topics. This database is available to all employees and functions as a self-assessment tool highlighting overall and local gender distributions. This type of awareness-raising instrument also points to the *creating equal opportunities* frame, since it serves to document and cast light on the inequalities of organisational recruitment and promotion processes.

Bergen and Oslo, however, are the universities enacting the most direct interventions to revise and counteract discriminative features of existing hiring and promotion processes (i.e. the *creating equal opportunities frame*), which is in line with

Teigen's (2011) aforementioned argument of Norway's long-standing tradition of interventionist approaches to GE. At the universities, faculties with a skewed gender distribution are recommended to advertise available full professor positions as associate professorships to ensure the widest possible range of female applicants, and a recent report evaluating the faculty practices at Oslo University shows that the decentral entities are in fact using this possibility (62% always, 29% often and 9% sometimes) (UO, 2013). At Bergen and Oslo, the faculties are also allowed to make use of preferential treatment when choosing applicants for research positions announced in academic fields with a skewed gender distribution. According to the GE consultant at Bergen, preferential treatment is used 2–3 times a year; while the annual Oslo University GE report (UO, 2011) estimates that this measure is employed by several of the faculties.

In addition, the Norwegian universities' action plans commit faculties to use 'search committees' to recruit relevant female applicants when permanent research positions are announced. According to Oslo's recent evaluation report, 53% of the decentral entities make use of this possibility. The Oslo action plan also states that "Position plans must be drawn until 2020 for announcements and recruitment to permanent academic positions, based on expected departures and the gender composition of academic environments, and the recruitment base" (UO, 2010) and approximately 62% of the faculties are currently including a gender perspective when developing recruitment plans for the future (UO, 2013).

Revising existing organisational cultures (Column 4, Table B, Appendix 1).

An interesting feature of Lund's GE work concerns the focus on promoting gender-awareness raising initiatives. On the third page of the GE action plan (LU, 2011), it is stated that "(...) gender perspectives and gender awareness in teaching and learning will

have a prominent place in the qualifying training (...) at Lund University". A related document specifying the details of Lund's gender-awareness initiatives states that "[a] gender perspective shall illuminate how social factors contribute to unequal conditions for women and men" (LU, 2007) (my translation). In other words, Lund expands the usual approaches to GE by combining specified organisational interventions on matters such as recruitment and leadership with a long-term aim of creating more gender-sensitive and inclusive environments, which is indicative of the *revising equal opportunities* frame.

Another pivotal pan-university initiative related to this frame is Lund's *AKKA* (Academic Women's Responsibility) leadership programme. The programme includes an integrated perspective on research management focusing on the different conditions and opportunities characterising the working lives and career paths of male and female researchers (LU, 2011b). Uppsala has also initiated gender awareness-raising initiatives aimed at revising existing organisational cultures. One recent example concerns the development of teaching material on gender awareness directed at PhD supervisors (UU, 2011b). This material reveals a theoretical starting point closely related to the *revising equal opportunities* frame's ambition of challenging and revising the gendered norms and values of the organisation.

In sum, the universities' main GE activities share a number of common features related to the provision of mentoring, career and leadership development as well as incentive-based hiring programmes. As Table B (Appendix 1) outlines, however, the cross-institutional comparison also reveals some interesting differences between the universities. While the direct, policy-based interventions connected to the *creating equal opportunities* frame are receiving the greatest emphasis in the Norwegian institutional settings, the Swedish universities are the only institutions engaging actively in activities related to the *revising existing organisational cultures* frame. In comparison, the actions

taken by the Danish universities are characterised by a relatively stronger emphasis on the *fixing the women* frame than what is the case at the other Scandinavian universities.

5. Conclusion

This study has provided new insights into the variety of strategies for promoting and governing GE issues in Scandinavian academia. More specifically, it has focused attention on the national and institutional variations in a) the prioritisations of and strategies for governing GE-concerns and b) the (feminist) understandings and visions of GE underpinning the varying approaches to the topic. The following pages provide a brief discussion of the main findings related to each focus area.

The introductory country-level comparison has shown that the Norwegian and Swedish legislative frameworks provide clearer structures of responsibility for the universities' work with GE than what is the case in Denmark. These countries, contrary to Denmark, include specific formulations on GE in the national Higher Education Acts and have (or recently had) nationwide committees for GE in academia in place. These findings lend support to the conclusion that GE – as is the case in other areas of society – is less institutionalised in the Danish higher education policy, which also reflects in the current activities at the university-level.

The cross-institutional document analysis also illustrates that the universities' strategies for rendering GE targets attractive at lower organisation levels (e.g. via clear assignments of responsibility in action plans, incentive based compliance models, and ongoing evaluation of local GE work) appear to be less systematic and well-developed in Denmark than in Norway and Sweden.

As opposed to the Norwegian and Swedish Universities, GE issues are completely absent in the annual university statements of the Danish universities, and

Aarhus and Copenhagen also hold the lowest share of faculty action plans. These findings all serve to illustrate the introductory argument that the topic of GE is a lower priority in Denmark, which apparently also resonates in the universities' concern for the topic.

Out of the six universities, Oslo and Uppsala have the highest shares of female professors. Interestingly, these universities also make the greatest efforts to obtain local commitment to GE by continuously documenting and rendering visible faculty and department-based activities. The two universities also provide the most extensive and systematised GE policy frameworks with clear responsibility structures in place. According to the existing literature on the efficacy of diversity programmes, these features are all characteristics of successful diversity programmes.

On the other hand, the Danish universities, which have the weakest governance strategies and responsibility structures, hold the lowest shares of female senior researchers. This finding lends support to a central argument in the diversity literature suggesting a positive relationship between the extent and systematicity of organisational strategies for governing GE work, and women's representation at the upper levels of the organisation (Pitts, 2007).

Moreover, the article illustrates that the efforts to promote GE in the Scandinavian countries and universities are underpinned by different visions of *the gender equal organisation*. At both the national and university-level, Norway takes the lead with regard to legislative and policy-based interventions anchored in the *creating equal opportunities* frame, which conceives gender inequality as an effect of discriminative features emanating from "differential structures of opportunity and power that block women's access and advancement" (Ely & Meyerson, 2000, p. 8). The Norwegians' strong adherence to this frame should be interpreted in view of the country's long tradition of

structural interventionist approaches to GE. Both Oslo and Bergen University, for instance, already in 1981 made use of preferential treatment as a measure to promote GE.

Swedish universities and national organs (i.e. the nation-wide GE-committee) have made particular efforts to raise the awareness of cultural and systemic barriers to GE, which is indicative of the *revising equal opportunities* frame. This frame aims at challenging and revising the existing gendered organisational norms and standards by deconstructing structural and cultural conditions (Ibid, 2000). It seems reasonable to interpret Sweden's particular emphasis on this frame against the background of the country's strong adherence to the *subordination discourse* and the idea of a gender segregated Swedish society persistently founded on the primacy of the male norm. Moreover, GE-related activities in Swedish higher education, as pointed out by Barry Berg and Chandler (2012), are currently influenced by vital women's movements engaging both directly and indirectly in the furtherance of gender equity, and this type of direct participatory policy-making may not necessarily be as prevalent in the Danish or Norwegian settings.

Compared to the activities of its Scandinavian neighbors, the Danish actions to promote GE at the national level tend to revolve around a narrower span of different approaches. A relatively larger share of the GE actions at the Danish universities also adhere to the *fixing the women* frame.

A review of the existing diversity literature shows that policy measures anchored in both *the creating equal opportunities* and *revising existing organisational cultures* frames to some extent have proven efficient in countering organisational inequalities and this, in combination with longer traditions of institutional GE work, may help to explain why Norway and Sweden still outperform Denmark when it comes to gender compositions at the highest academic levels. However, the universities' commitment to

GE issues may also be influenced by institutional and contextual features that do not emanate directly from the legislative and governance strategies and interventions discussed in this article (e.g. women's movements and bottom up networks). More women researchers may potentially also lead to more active GE work, which makes it difficult to draw any clear conclusions on the direction and strength of the different mechanisms producing the national and institutional variations in gender compositions. Furthermore, the time lag between GE policy actions and outcomes may in some cases exceed the time frame of this study. This makes it difficult to fully account for the efficacy of both the national and institutional GE programmes. While the introduction of financial incentive programmes for the promotion of women, for instance, may lead to relatively quick GE outcomes, it may take longer for mentor schemes and initiatives raising gender awareness to impact the gender compositions at the highest academic ranks. However, the national and university-level variations identified in this study, may still sketch the contours of more longstanding differences in how Scandinavian countries and universities have engaged in activities to promote GE in academia, thus also serving to account for at least part of the variations in the current gender compositions at the upper ranks of the research profession.

The findings of this study leave ample room for further investigations. As mentioned earlier, one unresolved question relates to the varying roles played by bottom-up networks in promoting GE. Addressing this question calls for comparative case studies exploring the different forms of (participatory) GE policy-making taking place in Scandinavian universities. Another pertinent question concerns the long-term efficacy of various types of GE policy measures and governance models in countering inequalities, which calls for comprehensive quantitative longitudinal studies accounting for variations across institutional and national settings.

Notes

¹ By *countries* is here meant GE related activities at the national level.

² These data were gathered from the university websites.

³ As of December 20, 2014, The University of Bergen listed this on their website <http://www.uib.no/aktuelt/50070/uib-vil-ha-mer-mangfold>

⁴ As of December 20, 2014, The Danish website *Kvindernes blå bog* listed this on their website <http://www.kvindernesblaabog.dk/Default.aspx?pageid=4090>

⁵ As of May 01, 2013, The Norwegian Committee for Gender Balance in Research listed this on their website <http://eng.kifinfo.no/nyhet/vis.html?tid=80513>

⁶ Preferential treatment here refers to: “If two or more applicants to a vacant post have approximately equivalent qualifications for the post, applicants from the gender that is underrepresented in the category of post concerned shall be given preference” (Norway, 2006, §21).

⁷ As of May 01, 2013, the Research Council of Norway listed this on their website <http://www.forskningsradet.no/no/Utlysning/BALANSE/1253968801344> and http://www.forskningsradet.no/prognett-balanse/Om_programmet/1253964606557

⁸ As of May 01, 2014, The Swedish Council of Higher Education listed this on their website <http://www.uhr.se/sv/Framjande-och-analys/Delegationen-for-jamstalldhet/DJ---projekt/>

⁹ As of May 01, 2013, the Norwegian Committee for Gender Equality in Research listed this on their website <http://kifinfo.no/c42786/seksjon.html?tid=43024>

¹⁰ For an overview of the organisational texts underpinning this part of the analysis, see Appendix 1

¹¹ Organisational intervention and actions initiated at the central level of the organisation, including financial incentive programmes and rewarding principles, are not included in discussion.

¹² The 2012 numbers are based on an email correspondence with the GE consultant of Bergen University.

¹³ This information was gathered via the email interviews with GE consultants, in which I specifically asked the consultants whether (and how) their universities’ made use of sanctions when faculties failed to fulfill their responsibilities.

¹⁴ This information was provided by the GE consultant at Lund University in the email interview, as an example of how LU commits decentralised entities to GE work. For a concrete example of an annual GE declaration see (LU, 2012).

¹⁵ As of May 12, 2013, Lund University listed this on their website <http://www4.lu.se/wings> and <http://www4.lu.se/wings/step-up>

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Appendix 1:**(Table A should be placed here)**

(Table B should be placed here)

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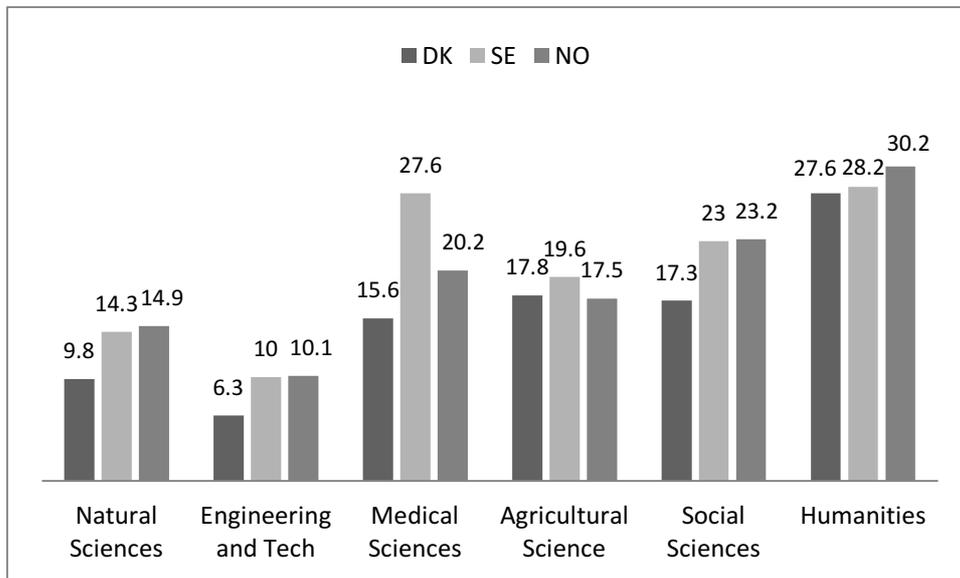
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TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: Share of female full professors by main field of science, 2010.

(European Commission, 201

Table 1: Overview of case characteristics

	Aarhus	Copenhagen (Capital)	Lund	Uppsala	Bergen	Oslo (Capital)
Staff size (approx.)	Size of Staff: 8.000	Size of Staff: 7.000	Size of Staff: 7.200	Size of Staff: 6.200	Size of Staff: 3000	Size of Staff: 7.000
Student enrolment (approx.)	Enrolment: 40.000	Enrolment: 35.000	Enrolment: 47.000	Enrolment: 23.000	Enrolment: 16.000	Enrolment: 27.000
Founded	1928	1479	1666	1477	1946	1811
Faculties and departments	28 departments and 4 main scientific fields: Covering nat./tech. science, social science, humanities and health science	41 Departments and centres, 6 faculties: Covering nat./tech.-science, social science, humanities and health science	20 institutes and centres, 8 faculties: Covering nat./tech.-science, social science, humanities and health science	4 disciplinary domains, 9 faculties: Covering nat./tech.-science, social science, humanities and health science	37 departments and centres, 6 faculties covering nat./tech.-science, social science, humanities and health science	56 departments and centers, 8 faculties covering nat./tech.-science, social science, humanities and health science
GE work since	First GE committee established in 1985	First GE committee established in 1984	First GE committee established in 1977	First GE committee established in 1975 First GE plan: 1984	First GE committee established in 1976	First GE committee established in 1973

Table 2: Share of female research staff at the six Scandinavian Universities, 2012.

	Aarhus	Copenhagen	Bergen	Oslo	Uppsala	Lund
PhD-level	51%	56%	57%	55%	48%	46%
Postdoc level	43%	45%	55%	47%	44%	49%
Associate prof.	31%	34%	39%	43%	40%	40%
Full prof.	15%	21%	24%	27%	24%	23%

Note: The data for Table 1 have been provided by the GE consultants from each University. The Lund University data represent an exception, as they were obtained from the University's annual report (Lund University, 2012). Further specifications concerning these data can be found in Appendix 2 (Nielsen 2013).

Table 3: Gender frames underpinning the legislative and policy-based efforts to promote GE in academia.

Countries/Frames	Fixing the women	Creating equal opportunities	Revising existing organisational cultures
Denmark	Research funds specifically directed at female researchers (policy)	Affirmative action (legislation) Danish Council for Strategic Research commits steering groups to include representatives of both sexes when applying for funding (policy).	
Sweden	Implementation programme promoting female researchers' mobility and qualification routes (policy)	Affirmative action (legislation) Establishing more gender-balanced evaluation committees in allocation of public research funds (policy). GE committee-related activities Recruiting research applicants of the underrepresented sex when allocating research funds (policy)	GE committee-related activities
Norway	BALANSE-related initiatives	Affirmative action (legislation) Incentive systems aiming to promote female researchers in S&T fields (policy) Gender-balanced evaluation committees in research councils (policy) Use of preferential treatment in research in allocation of research grants (policy) Search committees at universities inviting applicants of the underrepresented sex (legislation) Female representation in university evaluation committees (legislation) Committing universities to take GE into consideration when hiring research staff (legislation). BALANSE-related initiatives	BALANSE-related initiatives

Table A: Strategies for governing and promoting GE issues at the six universities

	Aarhus	Copenhagen	Lund	Uppsala	Bergen	Oslo
GE governance model	<p>A few concrete actions initiated at the central level</p> <p>An ‘inspirational catalogue’ presents ideas for actions at the faculty and department levels. The document obligates faculties to develop action plans (AU, 2009).</p>	<p>A few comprehensive actions initiated at the central level (UC, 2008).</p> <p>An ‘inspirational catalogue’ presents ideas for actions at the faculty and department levels (UC, 2007).</p>	<p>A number of main area actions create the basis for systematized strategic work at the faculty level</p> <p>GE adheres to the university’s decentralised model for decision making (LU, 2011).</p>	<p>A few actions initiated at the central level</p> <p>The main GE action plan assigns responsibilities to the decentralised level by specifying institutional targets and measures (UU, 2011).</p>	<p>Several actions initiated at the central level</p> <p>Incentive-based compliance (50/50) (UB, 2011).</p>	<p>Several actions initiated at the central level</p> <p>Incentive-based compliance (50/50) (UO, 2010).</p>
Allocation of funds	<p>No funding for decentralised activities.</p> <p>Incentive-programme offering financial support (1.1 million €) for faculties hiring female professors and associate professors: 20 research positions altogether (2010-2014). (AU, 2010).</p>	<p>268,000 € for faculty-based talent development initiatives (2008-2013)</p> <p>Reward principle releasing extra professorships for faculties appointing female professors (2008-2012)</p> <p>Reward principle distributing resources (905,000 €) for faculties increasing the share of female professors</p> <p>1.6 million € for internationalisation scholarships directed at female researchers (2008-12) (UC, 2008).</p>	<p>No strategic resources allocated for faculty or department activities (LU, 2011)</p> <p>0.54 million € for co-financing visiting professors of the underrepresented gender (LU, 2013).</p>	<p>21,600 € distributed for local initiatives (2011)</p> <p>An annual amount of 0.54 million € allocated as direct financial support to female researchers in academic environments with a skewed gender distribution, including the initiation of an incentive programme for entities hiring female researchers. (2008-2011) (UU, 2012)</p>	<p>A 50/50 co-financing incentive-structure (UB, 2012).</p> <p>0.55 million € spent on central initiatives and 0.45 million € spent by faculties (2012)</p> <p>Incentive programme offering 50% of first year expenses for entities hiring female professors. Offering 13.430 € for entities hiring female senior researchers (2007-2009). (UB, 2007).</p>	<p>50/50 co-financing incentive-structure</p> <p>335,000 € for local initiatives in 2011</p> <p>200,000 € for a financial incentive programme promoting female senior researchers (2011-2012) (UO, 2012).</p>
Faculty Action plans	<p>No online faculty action plans available</p>	<p>Online action plans available at 1/3 of the faculties</p>	<p>Online action plans available at all faculties</p>	<p>Online action plans available at most of the faculties</p>	<p>Online action plans available at half of the faculties</p> <p>GE visions integrated into the faculty strategy plans</p>	<p>Online action plans available at most faculties</p> <p>All faculties hold specified action plans</p>
Documenting activities on faculty level	<p>No specified annual report on faculty level activities</p>	<p>A 2011 report follows up on faculty activities for the period 2009-2011 (UC, 2011)</p>	<p>No specified annual report on faculty level activities</p>	<p>Detailed annual report outlining faculty and department activities (UU, 2012).</p>	<p>No specified annual report on faculty activities</p>	<p>Detailed annual report outlining faculty activities (UO, 2012).</p>
GE in annual University reports	<p>No reflections (UC, 2013).</p>	<p>No reflections (AU, 2013).</p>	<p>Detailed reflections (LU, 2013b)</p>	<p>Detailed reflections (UU, 2013).</p>	<p>Detailed reflections (UB, 2012).</p>	<p>A few reflections (UO, 2013).</p>

Table B: Frames of gender underpinning the pivotal GE-related activities undertaken by the six universities.

University/ Frames	Fixing the women	Creating equal opportunities	Revising existing organisational cultures
Aarhus	Inter-disciplinary mentoring scheme for both sexes (AU, 2009)	Creating more equal representation on councils, boards and committees (AU, 2009).	
	University meal scheme enabling university staff to order and purchase food to take home after work (Ibid).	Incentive systems aiming to promote female researchers (AU, 2010).	
Copen- hagen	16 Internationalisation scholarships directed at female post docs and senior researchers. (UC, 2008)	Incentive systems aiming to promote female researchers (UC, 2008).	
	Talent and leadership development programmes directed at potential female candidates for positions as dean, head of faculty or head of department (Ibid)		
Lund	Inter-disciplinary mentoring scheme for young female researchers (Ibid).		
	Leadership development programme (AKKA) aimed at increasing female postdoctoral researchers' knowledge on academic leadership (LU, 2011b).	Co-financing visiting professors visiting professors of the underrepresented gender (LU, 2013)	Gender awareness in teaching and leadership (LU, 2011) Gender awareness-raising leadership programme (AKKA) (LU, 2011b).
Uppsala	Leadership development programmes specifically targeting women in environments with a skewed gender balance (UU, 2011)	Incentive systems aiming to promote female researchers (UU, 2012)	Gender awareness-raising initiatives
	Financial support for further qualification of women in environments with a skewed gender balance (e.g. release-time for research) (Ibid).	Self-assessment tool (statistical) highlighting organisational gender distributions (Ibid)	
Bergen	Financial support for further qualification of women (i.e. release-time from teaching and administrative responsibilities and travel grants) (UB, 2012)	Incentive systems aiming to promote female researchers (UB, 2007)	
	Establishing mentoring schemes for women in environments with a skewed gender balance (Ibid).	Urging departments with low shares of female researchers to advertise positions as associate professor rather than full professor (UB, 2011) Preferential treatment and search committees (Ibid). Establishing activities ensuring a more equal distribution of research funds (e.g. accountability, management courses, taking GE into account in strategic planning) (Ibid).	
Oslo	Financial support for further qualification of women (i.e. release-time from teaching and administrative responsibilities) (UO, 2012)	Temporary professorships directed at women (UO, 2010)	
	Mentoring and network programmes (strategically funded decentral initiatives) (Ibid).	Incentive systems aiming to promote female researchers (Ibid) Urging academic environments with low shares of female researchers to advertise positions as associate professor rather than full professor (Ibid) Drawing position plans until 2020 for announcements and recruitment to permanent academic positions (Ibid) Preferential treatment and search committees (Ibid).	