An empirical use of organizational habitus and ethnography to explore how sport cultures are negotiated.

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An empirical use of organizational habitus as an alternative lens to explore how sport cultures are negotiated.

Abstract

In this paper we analyse cultural processes through an alternative and combined theoretical and methodological framework. We use the distinctive theoretical lens of organizational habitus to explore the negotiation of culture within a sports charity. Our contribution here is to provide analysis borne both out of theoretical novelty and by adopting a practical application of this in context. Ethnographic data collection drew upon several tools which upon a retrospective analysis took place. Findings suggest that the cultural and expressive elements prioritized by the collective of individuals enhance practices which are deemed important, while resisting practices that are deemed to be incompatible with a perceived worldview concerning the operations of the charity. This novel lens, considered from our emic perspective has the potential to enhance our understanding of organizational culture, leading to practical, context-appropriate findings that reveal how sometimes innocuous aspects of organizational life can influence collective action.

Keywords: Sport development, culture, ethnography, organizational habitus, Bourdieu

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Introduction

Research into organizational culture in sport has been dominated by an integration perspective which views culture as a relatively static phenomenon that is common, shared and agreed (Maitland, Hills and Rhind 2015). This relatively static phenomenon is tested as sports organizations experience the reality of shifting policy environments. This paper examines a charitable sports organization (CSO) which has developed culture within its organizational form, where consensus while shared, is constantly negotiated. CSOs are similar to organisations examined by Svensson, Hancock and Hums (2017) who described them as "non-profit and voluntary organizations without membership structures [which] face considerable challenges in fund development, volunteer recruitment, and staffing" (2056). Maitland et al. (2015) outlined a series of opportunities for extending organizational culture research that included providing clearer definitions of the core concept, examining cultural processes, extending the methods used to examine culture, deepening how findings are theorised, and using culture to improve coaching, diversity and possibilities for emancipation.

In this paper we seek to contribute to this debate by analysing cultural processes through an alternative and combined theoretical and methodological framework, as such addressing three of Maitland et al.'s (2015) opportunities. We use the distinctive theoretical lens of organizational habitus (McDonough, 1997; Reay et al. 2009) to explore the negotiation of culture within a sports charity. In doing so we combine this concept with an ethnographic approach to examine how culture and challenges to that culture are collectively interpreted, operationalized and/or enacted. By adopting an inter-disciplinary approach that combines

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theory (practice theory) and action (ethnography) we offer our contribution to this debate. Our purpose is therefore to explore the potential of the concept of organizational habitus to explore how culture is theorised to develop practical yet critical, "context-specific knowledge that can develop action-oriented understanding" (Maitland et al. 2015, 510). Specifically we seek to address the following two research questions; First we ask, how are everyday practices within an organization internally negotiated to create distinction within a field? Second we seek to understand how can the concept of organisational habitus offer value as a tool for generating theoretical and practical advances for sport organizations?

In order to address these questions, the paper is structured in the following manner. First, the introduction will outline definitions of the core concepts explored in this paper; organizational culture, organizational capital and organizational habitus. How the latter two terms are operationalized is outlined in part two. To assist in how these core concepts are implemented, part three introduces the CSO as a relational agent inhabiting a field of sport development. Our methodology outlines our ethnographic approach to research design, data collection and analysis. Part five presents our findings and discussion which focuses on three everyday activities that explain the utility of organisational habitus. We conclude and provide recommendations in part six, by specifically addressing how "context-specific knowledge… can develop action-oriented understanding" (Maitland et al., 2015, 510).

In order to situate the analysis below the introduction will firstly define some of the key terms utilised in this study. First, we explore the concept of organizational culture however as Parent and MacIntosh (2013, 224) state "organizational culture is a complex and debated area of research within the organizational sciences". Despite these complexities, Schein's (1985, 19) early definition of organizational culture dominates the literature:

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptations and internal integration, that was worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.

Maitland et al. (2015, 503) claims the study of organizational culture is a 'battleground' in which findings are dependent on researcher's epistemology, methodology and interests. From their systematic review they argue that certain theories and methodologies dominate. Theoretically several frameworks have been proposed to conceptualize organizational culture, including Schein's (1990) three levels of awareness; artefacts, values, beliefs and core assumptions. Girogi, Lockwood and Glynn (2015) provided five different conceptualisations of culture; values, stories, frames, toolkits and categories. Martin (1992) suggests three kinds of cultural elements can be studied; forms (such as jargon, rituals, and stories), practices (such as tasks, or ways of communicating) and content themes (such as deeply held group assumptions, or more public espoused values of those in the organisation). While these approaches have facilitated further research to be undertaken in this field, we aim instead to chart another emergent path. The first steps along this path will involve us paving new theoretical ground in terms to contribute to these discussions.

Our second and third core concepts (organisational habitus and field) are derived from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Before defining these terms, a brief overview of Bourdieu's work is required. These concepts are part of his larger project to dissolve the binary distinctions that have troubled the social sciences. Bourdieu's focus on combining theory and action to understand the negotiation of structure and agency over time is an approach that

has attracted education scholars (Rawolle and Lingard, 2013; Reay 2004) as well as those in the management of sport (Kitchin and Howe 2013, 2014).

Bourdieu developed his practice theory in an attempt to explore the relationship between the things we do (practice), the rewards for which we do them (capital), and the social spaces (institutions) in which this takes place. These social spaces are occupied by agents of differing status and trajectory, and characterised by time, inequality and domination. Practice theory is ideal to examine the relationship between the objective structures (like an organization within a field) and the subjective agents that comprise their social field (directors, managers, staff, volunteers) (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and how this relationship develops in a practical sense. The relations between the various 'master concepts' (Swartz 2008, 45) in Bourdieu's practice theory has been represented in the following equation:

$$\textbf{(Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice}$$

"Practice flows from the intersection of habitus with capital and field positions" (Swartz 2008, 48). A practical sense is as an acquired system of preferences, principles of vision and division (taste) and a system of durable cognitive structures and schemes of action which orient perceptions in the selection of appropriate response to any situation (Bourdieu 1998). With time and exposure, an individual uses this practical sense to accumulate power either as economic, cultural and/or social capitals. Capital is defined an "accumulated labour" which can be used by an agent to wield their practice within a social space (Bourdieu, 1986, 241). This social space is conceived as a field. Fields are networks of social relations and social positions that structure and influence perceptions and actions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Gaining (or losing) capital leads to new positions within the field. From these new positions, agents can wield more (or less) power over other agents.

By extending capital to an organizational level, we can witness how organizational capital is accumulated through economic gain or by the recognition of an organization's social, cultural or symbolic competence. We define organizational capital as the accumulated labour of an organization, materialized or incorporated that can be drawn upon to exert power within a field. This power can either assert dominance over the field or minimise coercion from other organizations New entrants into a field of sports organisations need to gain organizational capital quickly if they are to wield power. Organizational capitals established through economic, social, or cultural means can combine to form a symbolic capital which can be used to convey status, another form of power within a field. However, the legitimacy of an organization's power in the field is socially constructed.

Research using Bourdieu's ways of thinking in sport management is limited, however Gowthorp, Greenhow and O'Brien (2016) examined how organisations use their capital to negotiate power and legitimacy within a social field. Specifically they identified how the legal authority possessed by a new entrant to an established field did not automatically provide it with legitimate authority. They explored the evolution of the legal authority and legitimacy of the Australian Sports Anti-Doping Authority (ASADA) within Australian Rules football. Incumbent field agents questioned both ASADA's ability to decide upon an investigation into doping within the sport and the validity of their findings. This means that when an agent with high status in this case – the Essendon Football Club - challenged a new entrant into the field, they assumed the stocks of capital they possessed would allow them to dominate ASADA. This power was misrecognized and following a Federal court case the

club was exposed to economic and reputational damage. Irrespective of ASADA's legal authority it was not until they partnered with the Australian Football League that conferred upon them the appropriate legitimacy (symbolic capital) within the field.

Once capital is accumulated to allow an agent to adopt a new position, one must develop an appreciation of the role and expectations of this new position. Habitus is a 'generative and unifying principle' (Bourdieu 1998, 8) which imbibes and embodies this appreciation of a field position into an individual's (and ultimately an organisation's) worldview and mannerisms. It not only shapes their practice, i.e. the way they perform their roles, but also the classificatory schemes that determine their perceptions, i.e. the way in which they make sense of the world. Over time an individual's dispositions, appreciation and perceptions (their habitus) shifts to suit the capital they have accumulated which is commensurate to the field position they occupy. To consider habitus into a collective sense we follow Reay's (2004) position that by examining the organizational habitus we can view the social reality of a collective entity. Therefore the third concept we employ is organizational habitus. This as the set of specific dispositions which operate at an organizational level and establish collective meaning. This organizational habitus is continually refined by those individuals that exist within the organization, acting at the individual level. McDonough (1997) first introduced the term organizational habitus when examining how an individual's social class facilitated or restricted their progress through a school's operating practices. The school was conceived as an organizational field that was reinforced by organizational habitus, one which a student either adopted, or resisted. Reay (1998) further developed the concept to ensure the links to other nested fields were maintained. Like McDonough (1997), Reay (1998) linked organizational cultures to their wider socio-economic cultures and suggested that in tandem they produced organisational opportunities for individuals. The organizational habitus

concept can be perceived as an intra-organizational field that is nested within other fields external to the agent. Despite being a derivative concept – which implies one which Bourdieu did not originally refer to in his work, this concept maintains its relational links with the other elements of his oeuvre. While Kitchin and Howe (2013; 2014) mention the topic in applications to sport management, their work lacked specifics on how to operationalise the term within a sport setting. We seek to address this shortcoming in the following section.

Theoretical Framework: Operationalizing the Organizational Habitus

Drawing on the previous scholarship discussed above, we maintain that this concept has a generative function within the organization; "it structures and is structured by its interaction with social agents within its field, and is a product of history, whilst being simultaneously produced by the present' (Ingram, 2009, 432). As a living, historical construct, 'it is durable and long lasting but not static' (Ingram 2009, 432). As such, making it a suitable tool for examining organizational culture:

> The concept of [organizational] habitus is useful in understanding the ways
> that dispositions are deeply embedded and become taken-for-granted ways
> of being within institutions (Ingram 2009, 432).

Research through the lens of the organizational habitus has mostly been undertaken in educational settings where it has linked the habitus of an individual to an institution's explicit and implicit practices (Cornbleth, 2010; Crozier, Reay, Clayton, Colliander, and Grinstead, 2010; McDonough 1997; Reay, David and Ball, 2001; Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009;

Smyth and Banks, 2012). Reay et al. (2009) used organizational habitus to explain why some students adapted to their environment differently to others within the same organization. Reay et al. argued that conforming within and navigating through institutions is a structuring process that an individual is exposed to while they attend. Over time those who conform adopt the values and assumptions of that institution and this is evident in their individual habitus. Crozier et al. (2010) extended this work to consider the impact of an organizational habitus on different subcultures of students. They found that the personal experiences of students with differing levels of privilege enabled those with privilege to navigate higher level study than others.

An organizational habitus consists of a number of elements that provide complexity as a conceptual device (Reay, et al. 2009; Thomas 2002). Educational researchers have operationalised the term to include aspects of organizational life, such as; the status of an organization, the programs it offers (and the way in which these programs are organized and delivered), and their everyday operating practices such as i.e. through the use of fun and humour (Burke, Emmerich and Ingram 2013; Edwards and Jones 2018; Reay et al. 2009; Ronglan and Aggerholm 2014; Thomas 2002). These factors include what Reay et al. (2009, 110) call the 'cultural and expressive characteristics' of an organization, or the manner in which cultural capital is embodied. Embodied cultural capital is found in organizational elements including dress code, verbal and nonverbal communication methods, and the attitudes of organizational staff towards its programs and customers.

Using organizational habitus to examine culture can describe the historically and socially constructed organisational logic that governs internal power relationships. Although organizational culture can do this also, the organizational habitus if aligned to an appropriate

epistemology and methodology focuses on the informal and unconscious, collective practices that interact to inform the collective dispositions of the organisation. Additionally, the organizational habitus is linked to the wider social practices of the field (which can be embedded in larger fields). This therefore makes organizational habitus a useful, multi-dimensional tool for understanding cultural aspects within an organization (McDonough 1997; Reay et al. 2009). Indeed, we offer an organizational formulation of Bourdieu's equation where organizational practices flow from the intersection of the organizational habitus with an organization's capital and field position;

(Organizational Habitus x Organizational Capital) + Field = Organizational Practice

Burke, et al. (2013, 15) supports these conceptual extensions, using habitus as their example, Bourdieu's intent was 'not an actualization, but rather a generalization and regularization: a social and sociological realization' and as such, the sort of reconfiguration remains faithful to Bourdieu's philosophy. This means that there is no one interpretation of habitus as it is not a concrete thing, it is a concept that is used to generalize behaviour. We posit that the use of these concepts represents a novel approach to sport management and cultural studies, one that has been developed through extensive work in educational settings. We argue that the organizational habitus can be operationalized effectively to bring a CSO's social reality into view. Now that these theoretical paving stones have been put in place we can continue down the path of exploring distinctive ways of thinking in this paper.

Context: A field of sport (cricket) development and the sports charity

The primary sport development organizations for the game of cricket in England are the County Cricket Clubs (despite being clubs they operate on a county regional level).

Historically, these organizations were the main providers of informal cricket matches dating back to the late 18th century. However, since the late 1990s they have become members of the national governing body, the English Cricket Board in accordance with an institutional logic of cricket-as-business (Wright and Zammuto, 2013).

As part of their support for the business of the national governing body, these County clubs develop cricketing opportunities for young people to play from grassroots through to performance and elite levels. As developmental organizations their primary role is to grow the sport in their region enabling players to reach the peak of their abilities (Kitchin, 2008). Although the sport is popular across the country it has traditionally struggled to have an organized presence in major urban areas. In the urban area of focus in this project, four Country Cricket Clubs share the jurisdiction.

In order to develop the sport in these areas, between 1988 and 2009 these four clubs drew on a combination of educational providers (for mainstream cricket) and sporting charities (for disability and urban youth/non-traditional backgrounds) to develop their sport. The latter is not part of the cricketing hierarchy (Country, county, club), yet it is the focus of this paper. Charity sport providers are third-sector organisations that are socially entrepreneurial in nature and use sport as a mechanism for developing social goals (sport-for-development). They are distinct and separate from other not-for-profit sport businesses such as governing bodies and voluntary sport clubs. Charity sports perform contract work for various funders and assist by filling gaps in delivery and by targeting niche populations left by the other types of organisation (Svensson et al. 2017). The focus of this study is of a non-for-profit sports charity called Break Through Sports (BTS) [1].

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[1] Pseudonym

BTS was established in 1981, but from early community oriented beginnings, its role in this field between 1988 and 2007 was more as a community cricket club. Unlike other cricket clubs in their region, BTS had a distinctive focus, aspiring to engage young people through the provision of a performance training centre in an inner urban suburb and support the Country Cricket Boards achieve their goals to develop disability cricket (personal communication, CEO, September 2009). They were needed as they had competence the larger County Clubs did not, and as such they were contracted to deliver on their behalf However, throughout 2007-2009 BTS faced a series of changes within their institutional environment that are explore in table 1.

Insert table 1 about here

These changes were used by the CEO to reposition the charity, not as a community sport club but as a development agency where the focus was on developing young people, rather than sport. This shift was unique to BTS and made them outliers in their institutional setting.

Method

Research design

Maitland et al. (2015, 503) claims the study of organizational culture to be a 'battleground' in which findings are dependent on researcher's epistemology, methodology and interests. Our contribution here is to provide analysis borne both out of theoretical novelty, but also by adopting a practical application of this in a real world sports setting. According to Bourdieu

and Wacquant (1992) theory requires practical action for development while assessing the robustness of its assumptions. In this paper we took an interpretive approach that prioritises the socially constructed nature of knowledge and acknowledges the existence of multiple truths. We endeavoured to use practice theory as a critical lens in which to interpret data collected – in no way prioritising certain viewpoints but allowing the social context from which the speaker offered them to be acknowledged. Our endeavour to ensure that all staff members and participants were engaged through the process also reflected our values to ensure the stories of culture did not arise from those in positions of power alone (Clegg, Rhodes and Kornberger 2007).

Our second contribution in this paper further justifies our ethnographic approach. Maitland et al. (2015) called on scholars to broaden the methodological approaches used to examine culture. Research into organizational culture has often been carried out via survey methods, using mainly questionnaires and/or interviews (Maitland et al. 2015). A risk with these approaches is that they reveal what is deemed important by managers within organizations, often ignoring what actually occurs (Clegg et al. 2007). To avoid this, we used ethnography which explored the relationship between the individuals within the organization, the organization itself and tensions in this field of sport development. Indeed, our approach permitted the capture of Reay et al.'s (2009, 110) 'cultural and expressive characteristics' particularly those aspects of the informal and mundane aspects of the organizational habitus that are expressed through the performance of everyday activities.

Data Collection

Between 2008 and 2013, BTS granted access to the lead author which enabled a prolonged period of participant observation within the charity. This longitudinal engagement in the field

varied over time, from one-two days per week during English school terms and three days per week during the summer school holiday periods. This was consistent each year over the research period. During this involvement, the lead researcher offered voluntary assistance with coaching and administration. Crabbe (2006) suggested that by getting involved, important relationships can form and access can be more effectively negotiated. By performing duties like meeting minute-taking, staff training, coaching, and many other tasks the barriers between the lead researcher and the subjects were lowered, allowing these relationships to develop:

> As I was washing up, Chris came up and thanked me for clearing up after the meal. It was the first time that we'd actually had any sort of chat. I guess that by doing these things it showed I was part of the team, not some weird fella always asking questions. (Field notes)

Participant observation placed the lead author in a central, internal role which, over time made understanding the informal and practical aspects of the organizational habitus. In addition, a series of formal and informal semi-structured interviews with management and staff were carried out (an overview of the different types of data are contained in Table 2). Due to the small size of the organisation and the closeness of the relationships formed, all of the staff members took part in formal interviews. A common limitation of ethnography is managing the sampling process (Aull-Davies 2008). To avoid misrepresentation, we sought input from all the staff within the organisation, not just the managers. Clegg et al., (2007) suggest this enables a more diverse perspective of cultural life. This resulted in fourteen (14) formal, semi-structured interviews ranging between 47 and 136 minutes. Data were supported

by the maintenance of a reflective journal that provided the link between the field notes and the development of analytic memos (Saldaña 2015).

Insert table 2 about here

Data Analysis

This paper is drawn from a larger project examining how power is exerted within and between disability sport organisations (Author Blinded for Review). During the access period data were collected, reviewed and analysed in a cyclical process. During discussions around the initial findings, the second author suggested a further, retrospective analysis on the data (interviews, fieldwork notes, and reflective diaries). It is from this retrospective analysis that this paper has been developed. Retrospective analysis generates some limitations, particularly on recall and hindsight bias which are addressed below.

Before retrospective analysis began, all researchers independently re-read the extensive interview transcripts, field notes, reflective diaries and existing codes, themes and memos. This retrospective data analysis proceeded according to Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) three-step process. The first step was to draw upon the theoretical aspects of organizations, culture and Bourdieu's practice theory to create a series of initial codes logged into a codebook (Ando, Cousins and Young 2014). The second step was to develop a series of first order codes drawn from the data using In Vivo coding (Saldaña 2015). This coding method creates codes drawn from the language of the interviewees, as 'personal voices yield the most powerful meanings and entries into organizational cultures (Norman, Rankin-Wright and Allison 2018, 411). As such, this we deemed this an important part of recording the 'expressive characteristics' of the research setting. Selective coding (Saldaña 2015) was then

used to create categories within data that included additional data from the reflective diaries, field notes and initial analysis.

Finally, axial coding was then used to make sense out of the categories and link the multitude of data to a series of central themes. Relationships between these themes were identified before abstractions were constructed from these axial codes. Themes included: organizational control systems; power structures; routines and rituals; values/ethos; status/identity. Of these topics our focus below is everyday practices of sports provision, storytelling, and monitoring and evaluation. Thematic saturation occurred in the retrospective analysis when the initial codes were adequately represented in data and the construction of new codes ceased (data saturation). The comprehensive coverage of the population of staff and managers strengthen our claims that saturation was achieved (Ando et al. 2014).

Findings and Discussion

In the following section, we address the research questions, first in terms of asking how are everyday practices within an organization internally negotiated to create distinction within the field? Above we stated that the organizational habitus is comprised of the cultural and expressive characteristics that create and sustain an organization's reality (Reay et al. 2009). To address the research questions in the following section we will explore three everyday practices that the charity, its staff and participants are involved in that can reveal the social reality of their collective identity. We outline each practice, discuss how it evolved within the charity and provide reflections on these practices from those who experience them. By focusing on these three aspects we reveal how each of these practices is negotiated, how some are adopted with little resistance and how other conflict ensuring resistance occurs. While we accept Ingram's view that [organizational] habitus is useful in understanding the

ways that dispositions are deeply embedded and become taken-for-granted ways of being, we also posit that this concept can frame perceptions of practices not acceptable to the organization's world view.

Everyday practice 1: Sports provision

Sporting provision at the charity was designed to be distinctive to what occurred elsewhere within the field. This distinctiveness was supported by the coaches' non-traditional experiences in cricket coaching. Symbolic signifiers of the coaches' ability draw upon the distinctiveness of their experiences. This included coaching 'badges' earned in international locales like Africa or Asia or developing a reputation for delivering on infamously troublesome housing estates. This contrasted with their other field organizations' focus on certificate collecting by progressing up the ECB levels of coaching awards. This uniqueness was important for positioning the charity within its social field of sport development producers, the difference allowing it to exist and persist (Bourdieu, 1990).

In addition to positioning the charity as distinctive, this approach was partly due to the coaches believing that the hard-to-reach groups in their area needed something different than the traditional approach to cricket coaching offered elsewhere.

> It's a very naturally-led thing. I mean I can't remember the last time I did
> batting or bowling or catching training. We get them engaged, we do some
> fun stuff and we play some games, obviously to some people that seems
> like coaching but to me it's not, it's just engaging these kids and it's more
> about us building a relationship, so they feel comfortable. I don't think any
> of them are really interested about the skills. (Colin, Senior SDO)

In order to work within these communities, staff believed that when delivering their sports provision, one must exude confidence:

> We're very confident but not arrogant, there's a different level to it and I
> think everyone of us has that confidence. We all excel in certain areas,
> we've got that confidence, we've got passion and drive, and we've then got
> the ability to sell what we do. We get the message across to the kids. We
> are a unique package, we're all very different people who work here, but at
> the same time we're all very similar. So, anyone we employ has to fit into
> that. (Jane, SDO)

Using humour in sport coaching has been found to be a distraction from the grind of training or to reinforce disciplinary power (Anver, Denison and Markula 2019) in this case humour and fun were used more as a regulatory agent (Edwards and Jones 2018) to evoke engagement from participants who may have been in unfamiliar surroundings.

> I take my job very seriously and take the impact that I've got incredibly
> seriously, but I don't take my own personality particularly seriously, I've
> always been the first one to take the piss out of myself. The kids take the
> piss out of me, which in my opinion is a very good way of knowing that the
> kids are on your side. If a kid's happy to have a little banter with you, you
> know you're in a good relationship with him, whereas if a kid's intimidated
> to say something to you [they won't], I think that's a good way of looking
> at it. (Conor, Senior SDO)

This use of fun was also opined to contrast with other cricket clubs within the field that staff had previous and personal experience with, "most clubs are very win focused, it is all about results at the end of the day, whereas we're not about results" (Colin, Senior SDO).

Everyday practice 2: Story telling

Organizational stories emerged as a routine/agenda item during weekly team meetings and like other routines, stories are a regular feature of organizational culture (Girogi et al. 2015; Schein 1985). However, in this case rather than discuss the importance of a story as a standalone item, these artefacts were deliberately crafted into a practice that reinforced the organization's identity and sought to reaffirm its status within its field. To unpack what we mean by deliberately crafted, one must understand the embodiment of difference that was encouraged within the charity. Stories in the charity emerged as a refined symbol of distinction, one that replaced, or in some cases layered upon older notions of embodiment.

While staff were always more than just human resources, some staff members were the actual embodiment of difference –providing distinction for the charity. In a field of organizations – within an entire sport - has struggled to deal with diversity (McDonald and Ugra 1998, Burdsey, 2011), George recalled how he and his colleague's Black-British background offered the charity an initial symbol of difference within the field:

> Me and John were the first people to do [coaching for disabled young
> people]. It's quite funny because back then you would walk into these
> schools, two [guys, one] like 6ft 1 black guy, the other one's a 7ft black
> guy in their cricket whites coming in to deliver cricket and they're normally
> expecting some little, old bloke in a cravat and flannels (George, SDO).

Over time, this embodied cultural capital was developed further. Stories were created to add another layer of cultural capital further adding to distinction. These stories evolved to serve a role in mediating the charity's organizational identity that mere involvement would lead to personal change. By emphasizing these positive stories as a way of motivating the staff, story-telling became a regular feature of staff meetings and a reinforcement of the sort of practical sense that suited the organizational habitus:

> Oisin asked the staff to start off by telling everyone their favourite story
> about the charity and the work it did. So, one by one the staff reeled off
> their stories, Conor mentioned Martin, Jane mentioned Samir in Jamaica…
> Oisin stressed the importance of these stories when meeting people at
> networking events. (Field notes)

In staff meetings, staff recounted their personal stories of success and those of their participants, reinforcing that positive outcomes occur through sustained involvement with the charity. Each story was based on real experience, however it was often the case where minor details were embellished to fit this narrative of 'personal change', which supported the charity's identity, particularly in light of increasing attention placed on sport for social good (Jeanes et al. 2019; Spaaij and Schulenkorf 2014). Each staff member's story is generated through their practical sense of their position within the organization and reinforced by their embodied cultural capital. They would also be tradable as soundbites at events where staff would mingle with potential funders, in an attempt to convert this embodied cultural capital into organizational economic capital. These stories were used to communicate specific narratives about involvement with the charity. David was a former blind athlete:

> Having grown up playing mainstream sport, and loving it, and realizing
> how much it offered to me, to then become a visually impaired person and

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seeing what disability sport could offer me in terms of providing an

opportunity and how important that had become, is why I do it, I want them

to have the same great experiences. (David, Assistant Director of

Programs)

Colin was from a neighbourhood that was predominately social housing in the north-east of the city:

I dropped out of school when I was 15. From the ages of about 15 to 17 I

was just doing absolutely nothing but on a daily basis committing crime—

anything from robbery to, literally, you name it and I was almost there

doing it. I was picked up by [Break Through Sports] on my local estate,

they were doing a sport program. I did not have to go to them, they came to

my area, and I was engaged. I was hooked. I loved it. (Colin, Senior

SDO).

While the stories fostered embodied capital upon their tellers, it was more nuanced and

intersectional than the former symbols of difference, such as race, gender or ability.

Individual stories of change emerged both as an important communications tool that was used

as evidence to demonstrate the effectiveness of their work moreover an intangible output of

the practical sense that reinforced their distinctive organizational habitus. Staff felt that they

had seen the "power of sport" work to change the lives of their participants which to them

demonstrated the social impact of their work. The participant observations would critique this

belief as staff at the charity misrecognising the success of individuals, ignoring more basic

explanations of development such as a young person simply growing up. Still, staff spread

this good news of their work to instil this belief in other partners and potential funders:

Conor spoke about Ciaran and Stan, two participants, one from the

disability program and the other from the urban program. Both had had a

very tough time growing up, in particular Stan's journey from Afghanistan

to Britain was harrowing. Conor spoke about how they have made the

difference, about engaging. He said they now appreciate the benefits of

being here and want to give back. These stories he claims are important

not just to him, but he feels they provide a rational for why funders should

continue to support the charity. (Field notes)

Narratives of personal change were offered by the participants also, as individuals within the

organizational habitus the structuring process instilled them also with this practical sense.

Certain topics arose more than others, such as the nation of the 'change' narrative:

You just don't meet people that understand, or often, especially at home,

you don't meet people like these kids. Even though like, because I used to

keep myself to myself and just stay in. I rarely went out with my mates.

But these kids inspire me to go out and meet people…. And that's why I

want to do more, I just want to make a change, because they've made a

change for me. (Ciaran, Disability program participant)

Even during the process of (re)creating stories, a tendency to embellish certain aspects

exposed the vagaries of how involvement with the charity fostered personal growth.

However, this type of exaggeration is not uncommon in organizational stories (Smith 2009).

Everyday practice 3: Monitoring and evaluation

Not all practices were adopted as fervently as storytelling or cherished like their approach to sporting delivery. The utility of organizational habitus as a tool also works when an everyday practice is done, or more appropriately performed, in order to accrue organizational capital. As a requirement of the increased funding acquired in 2008, staff were required to monitor their work and assist with program evaluation for their funders. Under the funder's agreement, each training session required a monitoring form to be completed, one that collected the total participant numbers and some basic demographic details. While monitoring evolved into an everyday practice in the same way story telling did, it was a necessary chore

Staff reported a lack of direction concerning the monitoring process; "we're left to our own devices, I keep the sheets but it's pretty basic, every now and then David asks for it and I give it to him but it's not a priority for me" (Eoin 2010). One example of the tension created through this practice was the threat monitoring first posed to their unique provision:

> I think it's very hard. I completely understand the reason we do it and I
> completely agree with why we do it. I know it's one piece of paper and I
> know it sounds very stupid but it's very hard to do when you're coaching.
> To get a piece of paper out and say, 'hang on a second, I just need to....'.
> So that side of monitoring to me is a nightmare as a coach, it's not part of
> my routine. (Jane, SDO)

The second threat potentially impacted on the types of people that would be expected to do such a practice:

It is a chore and it's only because the kind of individuals we are, we're not

methodical, business minded, educated people, we're not [names a staff

member employed at a partner] who would embrace a monitoring form, we

don't do it, I mean people like me, Eoin and Tristan; you wouldn't wanna

leave us alone with a monitoring form, it's not good (laughs). (George,

SDO)

Staff felt that monitoring quantified their work, downplaying the qualitative realities that existed. This practice directly constricted their story telling. Monitoring was seen as a transactional and superficial practice that conflicted with the charity's organizational habitus:

The high figures are important to [the funder] and the way [the funder]

monitors those figures is poor. For example, if a kid walked across my

field and picked up a ball and threw it back to me, they'd write it down as a

kid taking part in my session and I'd say 'well no it's not, he just walked

across and threw the ball back to me and went back to his mum, that

doesn't count' but they're all 'yeah, we'll have that'. (George, SDO)

This comment by George reflects the transactional and superficial approach of others, which evidently reinforced the practice of monitoring as relatively meaningless. Adding to this, the perception of monitoring as a top-down process imposed on their grassroots activity was honed by the practical sense developed within the charity, the distinctiveness viewing us and them in relations between funder and delivery agents (Bourdieu, 1990). We suggest that the organizational habitus within this charity misaligns with the worldview that values quantitative measures of participation over individual impact. However, instead of rejecting the practice outright the economic benefits maintain its practice.

Our second research question sought to determine how the concept of organisational habitus could offer value as a tool for generating theoretical and practical advances for sport organizations? As a result of using ethnographic methods an understanding of organizational habitus can be extremely detailed. How practice is reinforced relationally through an organization's cultural and expressive conditions is central to this concept. An example of this is to consider how impact was determined, one source of evidence was deemed acceptable to the staff while another was not. In this case at the micro level, staff idealised a culture where the centrality of their story to the charity was important for their own social identity within the charity but also for the charity's distinctive place in the field (the meso-level). As George articulated above, a commitment to monitoring did not suit them as they felt it did not represent who they were as individuals (micro-level) but nor did it provide sufficient distinction from others in the field (meso-level).

As such, we offer that organizational habitus is the glue that links an organization's identity to their practice as it influences whether practice is accepted or enacted. These cultural and expressive characteristics of difference, legitimate and approve embodied symbolic capital within the charity (Reay, et al. 2009). One element of Bourdieu's (1990) definition of is its unconscious nature, yet its expression through embodiment and deportment. We feel it is the unconscious sensibility that then informs the view on whether a practice is appropriate or not, but even in the case of monitoring when it is deemed imposed it can be accepted for its performative role in extracting capital from the field. This has implications for the practical utility of this concept.

When seeking to implement policy into practice, one issue with implementation is that interpretations of policy intent by those who implement it can produce "creative ways" (Ball et al. 2012, 2) of acting. In this case, this led to policy enactment where the charity's staff would complete the monitoring forms but in a batch, close to the due dates, not per session as intended (Field notes). 'Policy enactment' critiques the rational approach to policy implementation as a logical or straight-forward process and reconceptualises implementation as a subjective and contested process. Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012, 2) define policy enactment as "a process, as diversely and repeatedly contested and/or subject to different 'interpretations' as it is enacted (rather than implemented) in original and creative ways within institutions". As stated by Jeans, Spaaij, Magee, Farquharson, Gormon and Lusher (2019, 988) policy enactment allows "us to move beyond the top–down/bottom–up dichotomy" and consider how approaches to policy implementation influence collective cultures. Indeed, their research examined why some community sports clubs were not able not translate policy in action.

Policy enactment through resistance to monitoring did not arise because of one or two individual's personal thoughts on the acceptability of the idea, but that the practice itself undermined the taken-for-granted myths that ran through the charity (that involvement leads to change). It conflicted with all three major aspects of Reay et al.'s (2009) operationalization of the organizational habitus; status, programs and everyday activities. So monitoring was performed but only for the purposes of retaining the funding support, not as a tool for organizational learning.

Conclusion

In this paper, we introduced the concept of organizational habitus to the social science of sport literature. In conjunction with ethnography, organizational habitus reveals how certain routines within a sporting culture can be negotiated and then either supported or resisted. Based on these findings our contribution addresses the call from Maitland et al. (2015) for new theoretical perspectives and an extension of methods used to examine organizational cultures in sport. Our specific contribution is threefold.

First, we argue that organizational habitus represents a novel and original lens by which to examine organizational culture and this deepens our analysis of this phenomenon. Furthermore, we posit that Reay et al.'s (2009) operationalization of the organizational habitus provides a focus on the everyday, mundane practices that are important in a collective view of sport's organisational self. Second, while ethnography is not new to studies of cultural processes within organizations, there is still a dominance of etic (insider) approaches. In this paper, we have demonstrated the value of an emic (outsider) perspective where participant observations can see the contradictions between what is said and what is done that etic perspectives cannot. Third, this research has the potential to lead to a practical, yet critical "context-specific knowledge that can develop action-oriented understanding" (Maitland et al. 2015, 510). We suggest that it does so in the following ways. Practitioners need to understand that the conduct of everyday practices can reveals as much about a culture as any other element of status; facilities, identities and strategies. Everyday practices, like those described herein are both formed by and part of the organizational habitus. These impact on the practical sense of those who work within an organisation, which then focuses their perceptions on organizational challenges. An example of this was highlighted above in that their shared, organizational dispositions saw the additional requirements of monitoring threatening other practices held dear. While this is a relatively unremarkable notion in studies

of culture and change it is the seemingly inconsequential aspect of filling in a form that allowed us to view this consternation in context.

Our use of a retrospective analysis does highlight a series of limitations which must be considered in relation to these findings. The first issue relates to the degradation of memory over time (Sibforth, Paisley, Gookin and Ward 2007). We posit that the 5 years of detailed field notes, reflective diaries and considerable field notes, codes, and memos reduced this risk considerably. The findings of this study are situated within the timeframe that the data were collected. To reduce issues around the weakness of temporal relationships from retrospective analysis (Weinger, Slagle, Jain, Ordonez, 2003) we situate these findings as relevant to that period of time acknowledging that our conclusions may still offer value for theoretical developments in the area of sport and organizational cultures. We suggest that future studies could extend participant observations to examine cultural and expressive characteristics in sport development organizations not seeking to be so unique. We suggest this because the organization in this study is an outlier within its organizational field. The concept needs to be examined through organizations who accept new practices and change initiatives as non-threatening, like many of the partners of BTS throughout this period.

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Table 1

Environmental changes impacting the charity

Factor and data	Details
Factor 1: October 2007	Through links with UNICEF and the British Council BTS was commissioned to deliver sport in Asia, Central America, the Middle East and various countries in Africa. Much of the emphasis in this work was to engage young people in post-conflict societies in structured sporting activity. The growth of the field of sport-for-development and its apparent belief in the 'power of sport' to change lives (Beutler, 2008) appealed to the charities' beliefs that it did more than provide sporting opportunities (personal communication, CEO, September 2009).
Factor 2: February 2007	The charity received significant funding from a national sport charity to support its work, which BTS used to develop a disability and a community outreach program. These funds significantly out-stripped the charity's previous funding sources.
Factor 3: March, 2008	The English Department for Education altered the way in which sports organisations could receive program funding. A shift from payments for in-school delivery to out-of-hours school delivery posed a significant restructure of BTS's working arrangements.
Factor 4: April 2009	The charity's support roles shifted with the introduction of the Whole Sport Plan for cricket. This plan added strategic KPIs on top of their long-standing disability and urban youth cricket development programmes.

Source: Field notes

Table 2

Data sources

Data Source	Instances	Examples
Observations/ Field notes/ Research diaries	300+	(Field Notes, 25th September 2008) Earlier I was involved in the training workshop - taking part in the modified games that they were playing, so the others could instruct on appropriate methods to enhance playing ability and also the comfort for the participants. There was a bit of confusion involving the right approach to manipulating a participant's hands. Smith offered one method of massaging the hands which raised a few eyebrows. When he manipulates the wrist and hand he stated that he always asks permission first and although it is done with the best intentions I got the sense that others wonder whether it was current practice, or this was a case where the most experienced staff member may not have updated his knowledge.
Informal interviews	50+	I had a good chat with Jane today as the North-county pan event was cancelled. She reflected on the issues of managing the peer leader's progress. I got from Jane that she works 15 h per week on this project and I doubt that is enough, just for the HR requirements of it that could take close to 3-4 a week, she said her other duties were meant to be reduced but that has not occurred. (Recorded in field notes 16th June, 2011)
Formal interviews	14	See table 2
Relevant internal documents	30+	Type of document: Fundraising Flyer. Breakthrough Sports* (2008) Hunt for the Big 5. Breakthrough Sports*: London. Type of document: Fundraising/Impact Report Breakthrough Sports* (2011) *Without these guys I don't know where I'd be.* Breakthrough Sports*: London.

* Pseudonym applied

Source: Authors