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.

**Gender, Leadership, and Organisational Change in English Sport
Governance**

By

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ABSTRACT

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Despite increased opportunities for girls and women to participate in sport, sport governance remains gender-imbalanced at all levels of sport across the world (Fasting, Pike, Matthews, & Sand, 2018). English sport governance provides no exception to this, with the majority of National Governing Bodies of sport (NGBs) having male-dominated boards and executive leadership teams (ELTs; Women in Sport, 2018). Through this research, I sought to gain an in-depth understanding of dominant gender power relations within the governance of two English NGBs, England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA), and how they impact upon the gender balance of their leadership teams. I adopted a multi-method approach that utilised semi-structured interviews with female and male leaders and colleagues, participant observation within the headquarters of each NGB, and supporting documents.

Bourdieu's theory of practice and its key concepts formed the theoretical framework for this thesis and provided the tools to conduct a multi-layered analysis of gender power relations at the macro- (structural), meso- (cultural), and micro- (individual) levels. These analyses revealed that there was evidence of both the conservation and resistance of gender power relations across all areas of England Golf and the LTA. Conservation strategies were found to mostly profit dominant men through gendered rules and structures, gendered recruitment processes, gendered organisational cultures, and greater opportunities for dominant men to accumulate, convert, and maintain power than women. Resistance or transformation strategies included changing governance rules, positive action towards women leaders, addressing overtly gendered cultural practices, and providing training opportunities to develop the confidence, skills, and experience of women leaders. At the end of the thesis, I recommend strategies for change to develop the governance structures, practices, and cultures of the two NGBs to be more gender-equitable.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Lucy V. Piggott

declare that the thesis entitled

Gender, Leadership, and Organisational Change in English Sport Governance

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date:.....

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DEFINITIONS

Allodoxia	When individuals employ strategies that were previously appropriate but in the current context appear out of place and are regarded as dysfunctional (Lizardo, 2014).
Brexit	The impending withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union in March 2019.
Capital	A resource that generates power, functions as a weapon within the social field, and determines the position of individuals within the hierarchy of the social field (Bourdieu, 1986).
Dominant men/masculinity	Men who embody dominant social definitions and conceptualisations of masculinity (Connell, 2009).
Doxa	Seemingly 'natural' practices and attitudes which rather than being 'natural' are in fact taken for granted assumptions and beliefs that are so entrenched in the mind-sets of individuals that they become 'givens' in society' (McCreadie, 2016, p. 81).
Feminist perspective	Placing women and gender power relations at the centre of the research with explicit aims to: make visible the experiences of women, add to public debate on the key issues that impact the lives of women, and contribute to the eradication of sex discrimination.
Gender-balanced	A group with 40% to 60% female representation (Kanter, 1977).
Gender-tilted	A group with 20% to 40% female or male representation (Kanter, 1977).
Gender-skewed	A group with up to 20% female or male representation (Kanter, 1977).
Habitus	Deep-rooted habits and repertoires that individuals and groups of individuals develop to enable them to function within the social world on an everyday basis (Bourdieu, 2000).
Hexis	When an agent engages their body in practices that conform to the demands of a given field (Bourdieu, 1984).
Hysteresis	A time lag that can occur in transforming individual habitus when there is a change in collective habitus due to a lack of adjustment to the cultural environmental changes (Bourdieu, 1992).
Regulated liberties	Small exercises of power that arise within the context of the existing social order (Bourdieu, 1991).

Role incongruity

When inconsistencies exist between the characteristics associated with the female gender stereotype and those associated with typical leadership.

Subordinate
men/masculinity

Men who depart from dominant social definitions and conceptualisations of masculinity (Connell, 2009).

ABREVIATIONS

AECC	All England Croquet Club
AELTC	All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club
AWF	Anita White Foundation
BIS	Department for Business Innovation and Skills
CDO	County Development Officer
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DCMS	Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
ECB	England and Wales Cricket Board
EGU	English Golf Union
ELGA	English Ladies' Golf Association
ELT	Executive Leadership Team
EU	European Union
EWGA	English Women's Golf Association
FA	Football Association
FAB	Females Achieving Brilliance
FTSE	Financial Times Stock Exchange
HCSC	Home Country Sports Council
IF	International Federation
IGB	International Governing Body
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organisation
IOC	International Olympic Committee

IWG	International Working Group for Women and Sport
LFAI	Ladies' Football Association of Ireland
LGU	Ladies' Golf Union
LPGA	Ladies Professional Golf Association
LTA	Lawn Tennis Association
NCAA	National Collegiate Athletics Association
NGB	National Governing Body
NGC	National Golf Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOC	National Olympic Committee
NTC	National Tennis Centre
PGA	Professional Golfers' Association
R&A	Royal and Ancient Golf Club
RST	Regional Sports Trusts
SARA	Sport and Recreation Alliance
SDA	Sex Discrimination Act
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
WCA	Women's Cricket Association
WFA	Women's Football Association
WFAI	Women's Football Association of Ireland
WIS	Women in Sport
WLDP	Women's Leadership Development Programme

WOB UK	Women on Boards UK
WOB	Women on Boards
WSFF	Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation
WSLA	Women's Sport Leadership Academy
WSN	Women's Sport Network

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Despite increased sport participation opportunities for girls and women, sport governance remains gender-imbalanced at all levels across the world (Burton, 2015; Fasting et al., 2018; Fasting, Sand, Pike, & Matthews, 2014; Pfister, 2006; Pfister & Radtke, 2006; Shaw & Frisby, 2006; Women in Sport, 2015c). Women's leadership in sport has been formally identified as a key issue by scholars and activists since the 1980s. For example, the International Working Group for Women and Sport (IWG) has, since its inception from the first World Conference for Women and Sport in 1994, called for increasing the numbers of women leaders in sport with a particular focus on their recruitment, development, and retention (Fasting et al., 2014). Every four years since the first world conference, the IWG has commissioned a global progress report to record actions for women and sport. The latest report argues that increasing women in decision-making positions is one of the most important areas of focus for women and sport activists in 2018 (Fasting et al., 2018).

Researchers across the world have examined the reasons for male-dominance within decision-making positions in sport organisations, including in Australia (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013; Adriaanse & Schofield, 2014; Sibson, 2010), Denmark (Pfister, 2006, 2010), Germany (Hartmann-Tews, 2019; Pfister & Radtke, 2006, 2009; Wicker, Breuer, & von Hanau, 2012), Hungary (Gal & Foldesi, 2019), The Netherlands (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007, 2008; Claringbould & Van Liere, 2019; Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008), New Zealand (Leberman & Shaw, 2015; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Shaw, 2006a), Norway (Fasting & Sisjord, 2019; Hovden, 2010), South Africa (Titus, 2011), Sweden (Hedenborg & Norberg, 2019), Poland (Jakubowska, 2019), Scotland (Dennehy & Reid, 2019), Spain (Valiente, 2019), Turkey (Karacam & Koca, 2015, 2019), and the United States (US; Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011; Knoppers, Bedker, Ewing, & Forrest, 1990; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007, 2010; Schull, Shaw, & Kihl, 2013). Additionally, scholars have examined women's leadership in sport at the international level through various comparative studies. These include an analysis of gender equity within different Scandinavian countries (Ottensen, Skirtsad, Pfister, & Habermann, 2010), an investigation of the gender equity legacies of the five World Conferences on Women and Sport (Adriaanse & Claringbould, 2016), and an evaluation of

gender equity policy within the Olympic movement (Henry et al., 2004). Furthermore, scholars have explored gender balance in sport governance through sport-specific case studies such as Cricket (Velija, 2019) and Snowboarding (Sisjord, 2019).

Within English sport governance, statistics demonstrate that the leadership teams of national governing bodies of sport (NGBs) have become more gender-balanced since 2012 (Women in Sport, 2015c, 2017). Table 1.1 displays the average representation of women on the boards and executive leadership teams (ELTs) of all NGBs funded by Sport England and UK Sport between 2012 and 2016.

Table 1.1: The percentage of female Board Members and Executive Directors across NGBs funded by Sport England and UK Sport from 2012-2016 (Women in Sport, 2015c, 2017)

Year	% of female Board Members (n=68)	% of female Executive Directors (n=68)
2012	22%	32%
2013	23%	34%
2014	27%	42%
2015	30%	40%
2016	30%	36%

Despite the progress that can be seen in Table 1.1, in 2016 there were, on average, still over double the amount of men than women on the board of NGBs as well as significantly more men in executive positions. Additionally, progress made by individual NGBs has been varied (Women in Sport, 2015c) and this data does not provide insights into the reasons for continued male-dominance in the leadership teams of NGBs.

A handful of scholars have conducted research on gender and leadership within English sport governance (Shaw, 2001, 2006b; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003; Shaw & Penney, 2003; Shaw & Slack, 2002; White & Brackenridge, 1985; White & Kay, 2006). White and Brackenridge (1985) published the first significant study that analysed gender balance within English sport governance, which found that little change had occurred in female representation in the male-dominated leadership teams of British NGBs between 1960 and 1985. A key finding was that, as NGBs started to move away from the voluntary sector to an increasingly professionalised state-controlled model, women seemed to lose their positions of power and male-dominance increased. Explanations given for such male-dominance

included a lack of access to political systems for women, issues surrounding the recruitment processes that exist in sport organisations, and the male model of sport being inappropriate for women because it was defined and constructed by men (White & Brackenridge, 1985). This work was followed by White and Kay (2006) who found that considerable change in female representation within decision-making positions had taken place in NGBs since White and Brackenridge's (1985) study twenty years earlier. There were mixed findings within this research, however, as sports considered typically 'male' were still found to have a very small female representation within decision-making positions, notably football (2%) and rugby (2%; White & Kay, 2006).

Both papers made important contributions in initiating academic discussions on the representation of women in English sport governance. Importantly, Shaw and colleagues took this scholarship to a deeper level of analysis in their exploration of the gender power relations that influence such poor female representation in English sport governance. These researchers studied several related topics: discourses of masculinity and femininity, including their influence on women's and men's access to power in sport organisations (Shaw & Hoerber, 2003; Shaw & Penney, 2003); social processes as an integral part of gender relations within NGBs (Shaw, 2006b); and the historical construction of gender relations within British sport organisations (Shaw & Slack, 2002). Additionally, Shaw and Frisby (2006) proposed an alternative theoretical framework for understanding gender equity in British sport management.

Despite the work of Shaw and colleagues providing a significant contribution to knowledge around gender and English sport governance, their latest publication in this area was in 2007. As I will discuss in the next chapter, much has happened both politically and socially since then. This change has been seen both inside and outside of the world of sport governance. Through this research, I add to this previous contribution by providing a critical understanding of gender, leadership, and organisational change in English sport governance within the current political and social climate (between 2015 and 2018). This involves gaining an in-depth understanding of the dominant gender power relations that exist within the governance of two English NGBs, England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA), and exploring how they influence the gender balance of their leadership teams. The term 'dominant gender power relations' refers to any occasion where 'advantage and

disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine' (Acker, 1990, p. 146).

I describe this work as 'in-depth' research because it is a multi-layered exploration of dominant gender power relations at the macro- (structural), meso- (cultural), and micro- (individual) levels of organisational analysis which uses multiple research methods to understand the perspectives of a range of stakeholders within England Golf and the LTA. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and its key concepts form the theoretical framework for this thesis which provides a toolkit to make sense of the formal and informal gendered organisational practices and processes that have been identified from multiple angles and perspectives. As I will discuss further in Chapter 5, although Bourdieu's theory of practice forms the theoretical framework for the thesis, a feminist perspective informs the motives, research questions, and aims of this thesis because women and gender relations are at its core.

In this thesis, I provide new additions to the current sport governance literature. This includes providing a more in-depth historical contextualisation of gender power relations in English sport governance than has been produced before, applying Bourdieu's theory of practice to conduct a multi-layered organisational analysis of English NGBs at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels, and offering practical recommendations for the two organisations to become more gender-equitable and gender-balanced. I focus on England rather than the United Kingdom because each home country (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) has its own Sports Council that enforces governance rules and policy. Although one of the NGBs being researched is at the home country level (England Golf) and one is at UK-level (the LTA), both NGBs follow the governance rules and policy of Sport England, the Home Country Sports Council for England. I provide a full historical contextualisation of sport governance within England and each of the two NGBs in the next chapter. Within the next section, I will define some of the key terms that will underpin this research.

1.1. Defining key terms

All terms used within this thesis that require definition can be found within the glossary of terms. In this section, I will provide definitions of key terms used that require more in-depth discussion.

1.1.1. Leadership and governance

The term leadership has many meanings and can mean different things for different people. The concept of leadership can, for example, refer to: a trait or behaviour (a leadership style); a transactional event to achieve a common goal, such as rewarding or punishing a follower based on their performance (a leadership process); or a formal organisational role of an individual (a leadership position; Northouse, 2010; Western, 2008). Western (2008) describes leadership as 'a certain type of social interaction between people', and a leader as 'a person who has influence over others' (p. 23). For Thorpe and Gold (2010), leadership is an 'activity that is visionary, creative, inspirational, energising and transformational' (p. 3). Thorpe and Gold (2010) also distinguish leadership from management, with the latter being defined as more relating to the overseeing of day-to-day organisational activities which require good operational skills.

Within this thesis, I focus on leaders of sport rather than managers of sport because leaders are those who make the highest decisions within sport organisation and have the most influence. Leaders of sport are defined as those individuals who are either on the ELT or board of a sport organisation. This definition aligns with four key publications that have contributed to contextualising this research: Sport England's (2012) *On Board for Better Governance*, Sport England and UK Sport's (2016) *A Code for Sports Governance*, the Sport and Recreational Alliance's (SARA) *The Voluntary Code of Good Governance for the Sport and Recreation Sector*, and Women in Sport's (2015c) *Trophy Women?* audit. I will discuss all four of these publications in more depth within Chapter 2.

Whereas leadership is concerned with the positions, behaviours, and interactions of individuals, governance is more concerned with 'the system by which the elements of an organisation are directed, controlled and regulated' (Hoye & Cuskelly, 2007, p. 3). Sport governance is, therefore, the responsible management of sport and all of its components

across clubs, educational institutions, NGBs, government agencies, sport service organisations, and professional teams (Ferkins, Shilbury, & McDonald, 2009). This includes the implementation of planning, policy, and strategy, and is more than simply the day-to-day management of the organisation (Hoye & Cuskelly, 2007). The governance of English NGBs is led by two key groups of leaders. First, the board of directors, or 'board' as referred to throughout this thesis, is the highest decision-making level within the governance of sport organisations. Boards of English NGBs are voluntary and typically concerned with the development of strategy to improve or maintain the organisation's performance. Second, the ELT is typically a team of paid employees who head the different departments of the NGB and are led by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The role of the ELT is to lead and make operational decisions on the delivery of the strategy of the organisation which has been agreed by the board. Generally, each executive leader will represent a department of the NGB, which are typically focused around performance, championships/competitions, participation, human resources/people, finance, and marketing and communications.

Sport management research rarely has a focus on both sport leadership and sport governance, with leadership often being treated as an 'invisible process' within the governance literature as it is seen as 'a matter of course until the organisation runs into difficulty' (Ferkins, McDonald, & Shilbury, 2010, p. 603). Furthermore, Takos, Murray and O'Boyle (2018) argue that the leadership of sport governance is only scrutinised if there is a problem or 'crisis situation' (p. 109). This thesis will transcend both sport leadership and sport governance because of the inseparable nature of the two when researching power relationships within the leadership of English sport governance.

1.1.2. Gender

From the 1970s, gender has emerged as a concept to emphasise the social differences between men and women, in contrast to the biological differences between the sexes (Connell, 2009). Gender and sex remain interdependent but are also clearly distinguished. Connell (2009) discusses how gender is generally referred to as a dichotomy, starting from the presumed biological differences of men and women and resulting in a cultural difference and divide. Butler (2004) describes this further, explaining how 'gender is the apparatus by which the production and normalisation of masculine and feminine take place along with the

interstitial forms of hormonal, chromosomal, psychic, and performatic that gender assumes' (p. 42). Theoretical work on gender in the 1990s and 2000s built on West and Zimmerman's (1987) conceptualisation of gender as a verb: we 'do gender' (Butler, 1990, 2004; Connell, 2009). Butler (2004) describes the 'doing' of gender as conforming to social gender norms, a practice which occurs, in part, without one knowing. The application of Bourdieu's theory of practice as the theoretical framework for this thesis will be key in uncovering such subconscious gendered behaviours of female and male leaders within England Golf and the LTA.

Gender being dichotomously defined is commonly known as the 'gender binary', and continues to contribute to the reproduction of sexual inequality (Butler, 2004; Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). This is because the naturalisation of the gender binary often subordinates, marginalises, and undermines women. Within organisational settings, Knights and Kerfoot (2004) propose that binaries always involve a hierarchy because 'men and masculine discourses occupy the dominant centre of rationality, displacing women and femininity to their seemingly emotional margins' (p. 431). However, in addition to women being displaced within organisational settings because of the privileging of masculinity, Connell (2009) stresses that not all men benefit equally from the inequalities of the gender order. This includes men who 'depart from dominant definitions of masculinity because they are gay, effeminate or simply wimpish [and] are often subject to verbal abuse and discrimination' (Connell, 2009, p. 7).

Whilst the experiences of subordinated men are not central to this research, I will endeavour to avoid essentialist conceptualisations of all men as being dominant within sport leadership. I will use the terms 'dominant male/men/masculinity' throughout the thesis to describe those who embody dominant social definitions and conceptualisations of masculinity, and 'subordinate male/men/masculinity' to describe those who depart from these dominant definitions and conceptualisations. Furthermore, discourses and behaviours that reinforce gender binaries within the two NGBs under study for this research will be revealed and analysed to understand the extent to which they reproduce male-dominated organisational cultures.

Conceptualisations of gender that sit outside of dominant gender discourse are gaining more social recognition (Yeadon-Lee, 2016). The most commonly known example of this is

transgender, when an individual's gender identity differs to the sex they were assigned at birth (Aultman, 2014). However, whilst the gender identity of transgender individuals sits outside of traditional notions of gender, they do not sit outside of gender binaries. This is because, for example, identifying transmen as men 'gives them their "rightful" place in the dichotomy – and allows schemas about men and women's natural differences to go unchanged' (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009, p. 448). The term cisgender is in distinction to transgender, and refers to individuals who possess, from birth, reproductive organs that match their gender identity. Cisgender emerged from trans activist discourses through dissatisfaction with the terms man and woman 'reinforcing the instated "naturalness" of being cisgender' (Aultman, 2014, p. 61).

Less commonly recognised gender concepts are those that sit outside of dominant dichotomous conceptualisations of gender (Yeadon-Lee, 2016). This includes non-binary gender, an umbrella term that refers to a range of gender identities and expressions that typically involve identifying as either a blend of both genders or as neither gender (Yeadon-Lee, 2016). Within academia, the term queer is also often used to describe those whose 'bodies and sexual desires ... do not fit dominant standards of gender and/or sexuality' (Beemyn & Eliason, 1996, p. 5). In relation to gender, this includes those who are transgender, intersex, gender-fluid, and non-binary. Queer theory provides a critique of dominant discourses of heteronormativity and gender which rely on binary opposites and advocacy of 'scientific' truth and knowledge (Caudwell, 2006). The sport sector has not typically been welcoming to alternative gender identities because its development has been structured by traditional binary conceptualisations of the body, physicality, and gender differences which have led to gender-segregated participation and competition (Pieper, 2016). Whilst not using queer theory as a theoretical framework, I will draw upon queer theorisation of non-binary gender conceptualisations to critique dominant gender discourses and behaviours within the two sport organisations and how these contribute to gender inequity.

1.1.3. Gender equity vs gender equality

One of the primary aims of this thesis is to contribute to the development of gender equity within sport leadership, and so it is therefore important that I differentiate between two terms which are often incorrectly used interchangeably: gender equality and gender

equity. Gender equality is concerned with 'sameness' and treating men and women equally (Coakley & Pike, 2014). Notions of gender equality have been criticised by feminists because 'treating women and men in the same way does not give them equal opportunity because they start from different points' (Skirstad, 2009, p. 12). Therefore, it has been argued that men and women have to be treated differently to achieve equality of outcomes (Skirstad, 2009). This is the basis for gender equity, which is concerned with fairness, impartiality, and equality of opportunity (Coakley & Pike, 2014). For example, within sport leadership, formal and informal strategies to encourage more women to apply for board positions could be different to strategies for men to apply to board positions, but if strategies are being implemented for both genders with a gender-balanced board as the desired result, this is gender-equitable.

The fight for gender equity in sport has faced and continues to face a key challenge: if men and women are not being given the same opportunities or are not treated in the same way, how is equity/fairness measured? Within this thesis, I will judge the extent to which the two organisations under study are gender-equitable by analysing dominant gender power relations that exist across their structures, rules, policies, practice, and cultures, and how these create differences in the ability for women and men to obtain and maintain leadership positions. Within the next section, I will outline the structure of how this will be delivered in the thesis.

1.2. Thesis Structure

In Chapter 2, I provide an overview of the structure of English sport governance and historically contextualise the development of gender power relations within its leadership. This informs and contextualises discussions in Chapter 3, where I present the theoretical framework for this research by outlining a Bourdieusian understanding of power in his theory of practice and how this has been central to analysing gender power relations within this research. Following this, and informed by Bourdieu's theory of practice, within Chapter 4 I offer a critical analysis of the literature that has been published on the interrelationship between gender, sport organisations, sport governance, and sport leadership both nationally and internationally. In Chapter 5, I then outline the methodology for the research, which includes: explaining and justifying the methods used to conduct and analyse the research,

highlighting the philosophical and theoretical influences on the methodological decisions made, and reflecting on ethical and quality assurance issues in the research process. Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 form the discussion chapters of the thesis, which are structured around the different layers of organisational analysis and the key concepts of Bourdieu's theory of practice. Within these chapters I analyse the extent to which the two NGBs are gendered through their organisational structures, their recruitment processes, their organisational cultures, and the opportunities available for individual leaders to compete for power. Finally, in Chapter 10 I draw conclusions from the analyses in the preceding chapters, offer further organisational recommendations for developing gender equity, address theoretical and methodological limitations within the research, and provide suggestions on alternative approaches to exploring and understanding gender power relations within sport organisations.

Within each of these chapters, I will address and answer the following research questions, which were developed from a feminist perspective and underpin this thesis:

1. Are the demographics of the leadership teams of England Golf and the LTA gender-balanced?
2. Do dominant gender power relations operate within the governance of England Golf and the LTA and, if so, how do they contribute to gender balance on their leadership teams?
3. What strategies are in place to conserve, resist, or transform dominant gender power relations within the governance of England Golf and the LTA?
4. What further strategies could be put in place to resist dominant gender power relations within England Golf and the LTA?

Whilst the broad aims of the research questions have remained the same since their initial conception, the wording has been revised multiple times. This is to ensure that the questions do not present assumptions and to make sure they align with the theoretical framework and language that have been applied throughout. Drawing upon the work of Kanter (1977), a leadership team is 'gender-balanced' if it has 40% - 60% female representation. Furthermore, a group is gender-tilted if it has 20% - 40% female or male representation and gender-skewed if it has up to 20% female or male representation (Kanter, 1977).

CHAPTER 2: A HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALISATION OF GENDER AND ENGLISH SPORT GOVERNANCE

It is important to give research into contemporary phenomena a historical dimension as it identifies and connects ‘the key institutional developments and critical moments of individual and collective action that underpin the area of social interaction under scrutiny’ (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002, p. 10). The purpose of this chapter is to provide context to the thesis by presenting an overview of English sport governance and the key historical developments and moments that contribute to the current state of gender power relations within its leadership. I have positioned this chapter as the second chapter of the thesis to ensure that the reader has a full understanding of the context and background to the research before I discuss the theoretical framework and its application to English sport governance. It does make the chapter more descriptive and atheoretical than the rest of the thesis, however. Giving an early contextualisation to the research is particularly important as the governance of sport in England is highly complex due to the different power/funding relationships that exist at various levels of sport governance, and the differing levels of autonomy and power of organisations. Figure 2.1 displays the different organisations that make up the governance of English sport, and how they are interrelated.

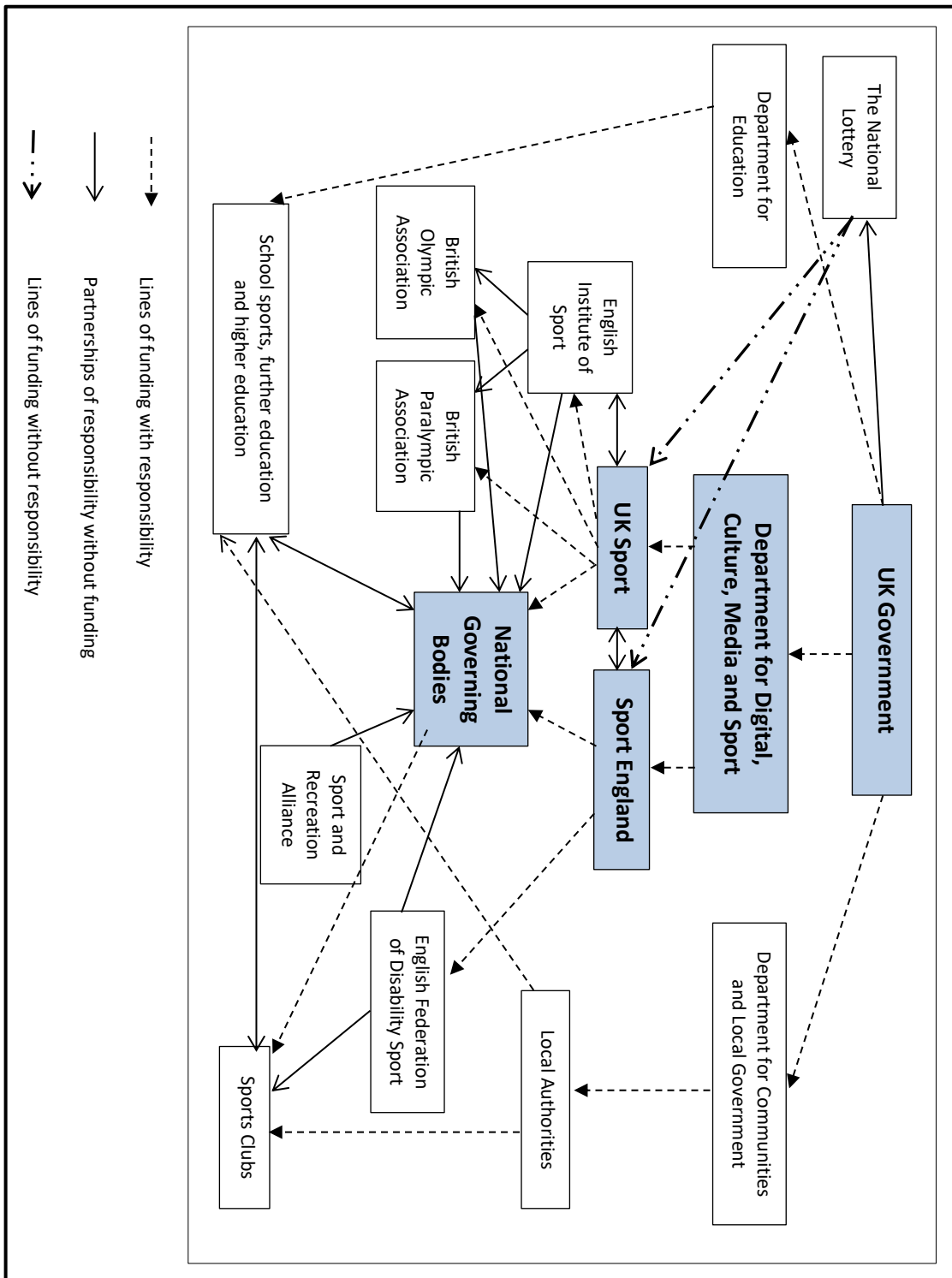


Figure 2.1: Stakeholders of English sport governance (Coakley & Pike, 2014)

In providing a historical contextualisation of gender and English sport governance, I will discuss within this chapter the roles, responsibilities, and influence of the five key stakeholders highlighted within Figure 2.1. Following this, I will discuss the influence of other

organisations such as activist organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), international governing bodies (IGBs), and inter-governmental organisations (IGOs).

2.1. The UK Government

Since the early 1990s, the UK Government has become increasingly involved in the promotion and development of sport, and has shown more willingness to use sport and physical activity as a vehicle for change to achieve a range of both sporting and non-sporting objectives (Bloyce & Smith, 2010). The governmental department responsible for overseeing sport policy and funding is the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which was formed in 1997 (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2013). In addition to public funds, the introduction of the National Lottery in 1994 became a key source of funding for the DCMS. The extra funding from the National Lottery provided the Government with more power in a domain that was previously dominated by powerful bodies beyond its direct control, such as private clubs and national governing bodies (NGBs; Houlihan & Lindsey, 2013). This is because, with more funding at stake, the Government can demand higher governance standards of organisations in receipt of increased funding. The UK Government has influenced gender power relations in sport governance in two key ways: through national sport policy and national gender equality policy. I will discuss these in turn.

2.1.1. National Sport Policy and Strategy

The first national sport strategy was published by the Government in 1975, which was titled *Sport and Recreation* (Department of the Environment, 1975). This focused on the importance of sport for community development and tackling issues such as hooliganism (Bloyce, Smith, Mead, & Morris, 2008). It was not until 35 years later that a government document first formally discussed and addressed the issues facing women in sport, including the underrepresentation of women in sport leadership positions. *A Living Legacy: 2010-15 Sport Policy and Investment* provides a summary of sporting policy achievements of the DCMS between 2010 and 2015 and presents further recommendations to improve sport policy (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2015b). This includes recommendations that a Women and Sport Advisory Board should be established and that there should be more focus on the underrepresentation of women leaders in sport (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2015b).

The Women and Sport Advisory Board was established in 2013 with the aim of bringing together experts from across a number of sectors, including politics, business, media, sponsorship, sport business, and sport coaching, to formulate practical solutions for making progress on women's involvement in sport (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2014, 2015a). The Board produced a report in 2015 which offered recommendations across five areas of work, one of which was improving women's representation in leadership and the workforce (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2015a). Within this section, it was recommended that sport organisations set a 30% target for minimum representation of women and men on their boards by the end of next Parliament (2020; Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2015a). This target was drawn from the women's leadership campaign group 'The 30% Club' who argue that a minimum of 30% representation of each gender on boards is needed to reach a 'critical mass' where the voices of both genders are heard rather than simply representing a minority (30% Club, 2015). This aligns with research that has found that organisations with at least 30% representation of both women and men on their boards outperform those with a skewed representation (Joecks, Pull, & Vetter, 2013), and that women have more confidence to speak up and raise issues when there are at least three women on the board (Kramer, Konrad, & Hooper, 2006).

Recommendations presented by the Women and Sport Advisory Board informed the 2015 national sport strategy *Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation* (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2015c). *Sporting Future* was the first national strategy to dedicate a whole section to the governance and leadership of sport (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2015c). A requirement was introduced within this section for all sport boards to have a minimum of 25% female representation by 2017. It is not stated within the strategy why this target had been adopted, however. In addition to the 25% target, a key requirement presented within the strategy was for Sport England and UK Sport to agree a new sports governance code by September 2016. The development of this code will be discussed in Section 2.3. Whereas this sub-section has highlighted the recent commitment from the government in addressing gender inequality in English sport governance, the next sub-section will outline the government's longer-standing commitment of addressing gender inequality in English society more widely.

2.1.2. National gender equality policy

The first major gender equality policy introduced in the UK was the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act (SDA). This was passed 'to render unlawful certain kinds of sex discrimination... and establish a Commission with the function of working towards the elimination of such discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity between men and women' (legislation.gov.uk, 2016, para. 1). The purpose of the act was to eliminate discrimination within public contexts, which meant that private and single-sex clubs were exempt from the SDA. As most sports clubs fall into these categories, the SDA did little to prevent the subordination of women within sports clubs. A notable example of this was golf clubs, with many clubs continuing to deny women voting rights or full membership (White, 2003). Because many voluntary sport leaders start their sport leadership career within club governance, the SDA did little to prevent a male-dominated pipeline for senior voluntary leadership positions. The SDA has influenced women working in paid sport, however, through its protection of women from being discriminated on the basis of their gender in recruitment, during employment, or by dismissal (legislation.gov.uk, 2016). Importantly, the SDA has also been a platform from which change has been able to develop and has given legitimacy to opposition of traditional patriarchal structures of power.

In October 2010, the SDA was replaced by the Equality Act, a single Act which brought together nine protected characteristics: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation (Government Equalities Office, 2010). The Equality Act highlights intersectionality within society and helps to legally protect all women (and men) from discrimination rather than homogenising the experiences of women. There are two key components of the Equality Act that have more influence over gender power relations in sport governance than the SDA. First, all sports clubs come under the Equality Act, either as a provider of service to the public or an association whose access is controlled by membership rules (Government Equalities Office, 2010). Second, the Act permits positive action through favourable treatment towards persons who suffer a disadvantage that is connected to a protected characteristic (Government Equalities Office, 2010). Positive action is different to positive discrimination, with the latter being illegal in the United Kingdom (Government Equalities Office, 2011). Positive action provisions under the Equality Act allow employers to lawfully take special measures to

attempt to alleviate disadvantage or underrepresentation experienced by those with protected characteristics, whereas positive discrimination involves unlawfully recruiting or promoting a person solely because they have a relevant protected characteristic (Government Equalities Office, 2011). Positive action as a strategy for achieving gender balance within England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) will be discussed within Chapter 7.

Another national policy that influences gender balance in sport governance is the introduction of a new law in 2014 allowing parents to share parental leave following the birth or adoption of their child (HM Government, 2018b). Aside from an initial two weeks of maternity leave for the mother, up to 50 weeks of leave and 37 weeks of pay can be shared between parents (HM Government, 2018b). As I will discuss in more depth in Chapter 4, social attitudes on gender norms and domestic duties continue to present barriers for working women. The introduction of the shared parental leave law gives women greater agency when making choices around maternity leave and their career, and puts legislation in place to support continued change in social attitudes towards gender roles.

The final national policy that I will discuss within this section is gender pay gap reporting. The gender pay gap is 'the difference in the average hourly wage of all men and women across a workforce' (HM Government, 2018a, para. 1). It is important to note that this is different from unequal pay because it is the result of more men in higher paid positions rather than women and men being paid differently for the same job. Unequal pay has been unlawful in the UK since 1970 (HM Government, 2018a). Since April 2017, employers in the UK with more than 250 staff are required, by law, to publish figures on their gender pay gap, gender bonus gap, the proportion of men and women receiving bonuses, and the proportion of men and women in each quartile of the organisation's pay structure (Government Equalities Office, 2017). The deadline for the first gender pay gap report was 4th April 2018, and the median gender pay gap across all of those organisations who met the deadline was 9.1% in favour of men (Office for National Statistics, 2018).

Only the five largest British NGBs had to report on their pay gap, as the majority of NGBs have fewer than 250 employees. These five organisations and their gender pay gaps were: the England and Wales Cricket Board (38%), the LTA (31%), the Football Association (23.2%), the Rugby Football Union (23%), and British Cycling (13%), all in favour of men. The

aforementioned NGBs had a gender pay gap significantly above the 9.1% national average, which demonstrates that sport is a sector that has a higher-than-average proportion of men within the highest paid positions. Of particular interest is the gender pay gap at the LTA, and this will be discussed in more depth in Section 6.1.1. Whilst there are no consequences for those organisations who have particularly wide gender pay gaps, the process of reporting increases awareness of the issue and puts pressure on organisations with a wide gender pay gap to act to reduce this and avoid public scrutiny.

Within this section, I have outlined the influence that the UK Government has on sport governance through both sporting and non-sporting policy. Whilst it mostly plays an advisory role through strategy documents delegating action to UK Sport and Sport England, it also holds executive power to enforce orders upon NGBs through its key resource of funding. The UK Government's control over much of the funding for sport organisations can be problematic, however, if government sporting priorities change with changes in the wider political and social climate. This was seen during the period of the Thatcher Government when neoliberal, free-market policies enacted by the government were reflected in the breakdown of sport policy and sport being neglected any form of status within the central government or public spending (Green & Houlihan, 2005). The UK Government is facing political and financial uncertainty in the wake of Great Britain and Northern Ireland leaving the European Union (EU) in March 2019. Therefore, Brexit places uncertainty on the human and financial resources dedicated to sport governance by the UK Government in the coming years.

2.2. UK Sport

The United Kingdom Sports Council (UK Sport) forms part of the former British Sports Council alongside the four Home Country Sports Councils (HCSCs). It is responsible for managing and distributing public and lottery funds, with its main focus being high performance sport (UK Sport, 2017b). The first attempt to nationally coordinate sport in the UK was seen with the formation of the Advisory British Sports Council in 1965 (Green & Houlihan, 2005). The Council was given Royal Charter status in 1972, when it became the Great Britain (GB) Sports Council. The GB Sports Council was split and restructured into UK

Sport and the four HCSCs in 1996, and UK Sport became fully operational in 1997 (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2013).

Women were identified as a target group by the GB Sports Council in the early 1980s, but the focus was largely on sports participation (Green & Houlihan, 2005). The GB Sports Council first addressed the issue of an underrepresentation of women in sport leadership positions in 1993, with the publication of *Women and Sport: Policy and Framework for Action* (Sports Council, 1993). One of the frameworks for action was to increase the number of women involved in the organisation of sport and to encourage them to reach senior positions (Sports Council, 1993). This was the first time that women's leadership in sport had been formally mentioned within an official policy document in the UK. The policy was influenced by many of the women leading the women and sport movement in the UK at the time, and was produced alongside equality and anti-discrimination documents (White, 2003). I will discuss the influence of the women and sport movement further in Section 2.5.1.

UK Sport also ran a Women and Leadership Development Programme (WLDP) which launched in 2006 and aimed to provide women in middle/senior management positions with 'the skills and experiences required to take on senior decision making roles' (UK Sport, 2006, para. 1). This included each participant attending various leadership workshops and presentations, having a personal development plan, and being paired with a mentor who was usually an established woman leader (UK Sport, 2006). In their 2009 evaluation, UK Sport found that of the thirty participants who took part in the WLDP, 70% had progressed in their roles or positions in less than three years, 87% said their confidence to lead had increased, and 100% said they had extended their networks nationally and internationally through the project (UK Sport, 2009). UK Sport did not provide details of the methodology of this evaluation, however, and so its rigour is uncertain. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine the impact that the programme itself had on the participants as the women were already established leaders and so were able and driven individuals.

A key way in which UK Sport exerts executive power over the governance of sport organisations is through its process of awarding funding to NGBs of Olympic and Paralympic sports. Good practice for governance and leadership is a key performance indicator (KPI) which is used by UK Sport to determine which NGBs are eligible for receipt of funding (UK Sport, 2014). In their *UK Sport Business Plan 2013 to 2017*, UK Sport states its aim for 'NGBs

to be recognised within sport nationally and internationally as beacons of good practice both for their leadership and governance’ (UK Sport, 2014, p. 8). Although gender equality is not specifically addressed, the plan does make reference to promoting and raising the standard of equality across NGBs and funded partners (UK Sport, 2014). Following the joint release of a new governance code by UK Sport and Sport England in 2016, I expect that more detailed KPIs linked to governance will be developed in UK Sport’s next business plan, including reference to diversity within governance.

2.3. Sport England

The HCSCs are made up of Sport England, Sport Scotland, Sport Wales, and Sport Northern Ireland. Although there are slight differences between the four Sports Councils that are specific to each home country, they all have the same basic principles and responsibilities. Sport England was established at the same time as UK Sport in 1996 and became fully operational with Royal Charter status in 1997. Like UK Sport, Sport England also receives its funding from the Government Exchequer and the National Lottery. The main responsibilities of Sport England are the management and distribution of public investment to increase sport participation in all areas of society, the development and nurturing of talent, and investment in sport facilities (Sport England, 2017). Since 2012, the governance of NGBs has also been a key concern, which is demonstrated by Sport England publishing the *On Board for Better Governance Strategy* which set an expectation for NGBs applying for 2013-17 funding to reflect good governance (Sport England, 2012). This was the first time that funding eligibility criteria and investment principles for NGBs had included specific governance principles. The strategy outlined six key requirements for an effectively governed NGB. This included expectations that their governance structures demonstrate transparency, that they engage in open recruitment practices, and that they aim to attract a diverse range of candidates to the board that are representative of the community that the NGB serves or seeks to engage (Sport England, 2012). This latter expectation included a target that the boards of NGBs should comprise of at least 25% women by 2017.

The 25% target was established in line with the *Davies Report*, a review of the underrepresentation of women on the corporate boards of Financial Times Stock Exchange (FTSE) 100 companies (Sport England, 2012; Women on Boards UK, 2011). The *Davies Report*

set a target of 25% because it was seen to be achievable, looked to double female representation on boards by 2015, and set a pace for achieving 30% representation by 2020 (Women on Boards UK, 2011). The target, alongside a number of other recommendations made within the *Davies Report*, developed out of the results of a large online questionnaire (2,654 responses) and consultations with a wide range of stakeholders, including senior business figures, women business leaders, investors, women's networks, and women working just below senior executive level (Women on Boards UK, 2011). Sport England did not provide information on why they used the 25% target set by the *Davies Report* to inform the *On Board for Better Governance Strategy*. The *Davies Report* has seemingly seen some success, with women's representation on corporate boards almost doubling from 2011 to 2015 following its publication (Vinnicombe, Doldor, Sealy, Pryce, & Turner, 2015). However, at the time of the publication of the *On Board for Better Governance Strategy*, the UK corporate world had poor female representation within its leadership, with women only accounting for 12.5% of Board Members of FTSE 100 companies in 2011 (Women on Boards UK, 2011). Therefore, using governance strategy from a sector that has a history of male-dominated leadership without providing any rationale is potentially problematic.

In response to a request from the UK Government within the *Sporting Future* national sport strategy to publish a new sports governance code, Sport England and UK Sport (2016) jointly released *A Code for Sports Governance*. Unlike the *On Board for Better Governance Strategy*, which was primarily informed by corporate governance strategy, *A Code for Sports Governance* was influenced by a range of models of governance from both inside and outside of sport. This included the Financial Reporting Council's (2016) *UK Corporate Governance Code*, the existing governance framework of all five domestic Sports Councils, and the Sport and Recreation Alliance's (SARA; 2014) *Voluntary Code of Good Governance*. Additionally, Sport England and UK Sport consulted with over 200 sporting and non-sporting organisations to understand some of the key issues in sport governance (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). The greater breadth of governance models informing the code is a marked improvement from the previous strategy.

Compliance with *A Code for Sports Governance* is mandatory for all organisations seeking public funding, but the level of compliance required is based on a tiered approach. This allows for flexibility and accounts for the range of diverse types and sizes of organisations

that Sport England and UK Sport fund. Each tier has bespoke timelines and requirements depending on the level of investment the organisation receives. All NGBs sit within tier three, which represents the top level of mandatory governance requirements within the code (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). Tier 3 is for organisations that request funding over a period of years for a continuing activity and/or that receive funding that amounts to more than £1 million (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). Five principles of good governance structure the Code, and each principle has a list of mandatory requirements that are tailored to each tier. There is also commentary provided for each principle which gives further advice, guidance, and support for organisations to help them to meet the requirements (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016).

Two of the principles outlined within the Code are particularly relevant for this research: structure and people. 'Structure' requires organisations to have a clear and appropriate governance structure to drive the success of the organisation and ensure it is well managed (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). Key areas of focus under this principle include the structure of the board, the structure of the council, the board size and composition, the term limits of board members, and board committees (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). The governance structure of an organisation can influence accessibility of leadership positions for individuals based on their gender and the power they are able to accumulate and exercise once in position. The impact of organisational structure on gender power relations within England Golf and the LTA will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 6.

'People' has obvious links with gender balance in sport governance because, for tier 3 organisations, there is a requirement that 'each organisation shall adopt a target of, and take all appropriate actions to encourage, a minimum of 30% of each gender on its board' (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016, p. 42). The Code explicitly states that 30% is a target and not a quota because it is more process-focused on organisations demonstrably committing to working towards this target rather being outcome-focused on achieving 30% representation (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). This encourages NGBs to develop a plan over time that best suits the organisation and its resources. This bespoke approach can help sustainable cultural change to be achieved as organisations are invested in the process. At the end of 2017, it was reported that 55 out of the 58 NGBs required to comply with the code had demonstrated how they were working towards achieving the requirements (UK Sport, 2017a).

Within this section, I have identified the positive steps that Sport England, alongside UK Sport, has taken towards achieving greater gender balance within sport governance. Short-term success can be seen with high compliance rates to the Code by NGBs, but the introduction of funding-related targets is not without challenges in the long-term. For example, if NGBs view the principle of gender equality as being a box to tick to obtain funding, it can make the process less meaningful and fewer long-term steps may be taken to address cultural change and gender-inclusivity. Additionally, women can lose respect and authority if they are seen as 'token women' from having gained their position solely so that NGBs reach funding targets (Velija, Ratna, & Flintoff, 2014). This can undermine the ability of these women and do little to challenge harmful stereotypes. Furthermore, if gender balance is enforced by being attached to funding criteria, it can become problematic if gender balance criteria are dropped from funding requirements in the future. Within the next section, I will discuss how and why the governance of NGBs has developed to become traditionally male-dominated.

2.4. National Governing Bodies

The roles and responsibilities of English NGBs have developed significantly over the past 100 years as sport has developed as a global phenomenon and is increasingly seen as a valuable political tool. NGBs are broadly responsible for the management of major facilities, the development of their sport from grassroots to international level, and the performance of national teams. The size and wealth of NGBs vary from sport to sport. For example, Walters, Tacon and Trenberth (2011) found that in 2010 25% of NGBs did not have any full-time employees, whilst 15% of NGBs had over 50 full-time employees.

English NGBs have varied histories and have developed at different times in different ways. With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Guttman, 1991; Hargreaves, 1994), the history books have tended to write about the formation of NGBs from a predominantly male-perspective. That is, NGBs and their organisational rules, assumptions, and structures are the product of all-male public schools and universities (Whannel, 1983). Such perspectives tend to ignore the separate development of many women's sporting governing bodies (Hargreaves, 1994). The establishment of the earliest NGBs for girls' and women's sports in the late nineteenth century followed a similar route to the establishment of NGBs for boys'

and men's sports. The majority of these governing bodies were set up in colleges and universities and so were controlled by middle-class women (Hargreaves, 1994). The sex-segregation of men's and women's governing bodies brought many challenges for the development of women's sport because men monopolised resources and held positions with the most control and decision-making power (Hargreaves, 1994). Women struggled for equality of opportunity and continued to be discriminated against. This included women being denied access to funding, resources, and facilities, and a continued cultural belief that certain sports were unsuitable for women's participation (Hargreaves, 1994).

Most separate NGBs merged later in their development to bring together the men's and women's governing bodies. The merging of governing bodies was first encouraged by the GB Sports Council in the 1990s. In their *Women and Sport: Policy and Framework for Action*, they suggested that separate governing bodies for men and women should produce common policy, coordinate planning and practice, and ultimately aim to establish a single governing body (Sports Council, 1993). Whilst mergers are generally seen as a step towards gender equality because of increased opportunities for women to access and participate in sport, there have been examples of women experiencing reduced autonomy and control over their sport as a result. I will discuss this in more depth in Chapter 4.

The two NGBs being researched within this thesis have different gendered histories and structures, with England Golf being a recently merged body and the LTA having been responsible for both women's and men's tennis since its establishment. Within the next two sub-sections, I will give a brief gendered history of the development and structure of the two sports and their governing bodies. This will provide contextualisation to the primary data and discussions presented throughout Chapters 6-9. All statistics and figures were accurate at the time of research.

2.4.1. The History and Structure of England Golf

Golf is one of the oldest modern sports in the world, with the first accounts of golf participation going back to the 16th century (Browning, 1990). In its more organised form, the earliest men's golf clubs were formed in the middle of the 18th Century, and the first women's golf clubs were established in the middle of the 19th Century (Browning, 1990; George, 2010). The Royal and Ancient Golf Club (R&A) was established as the first governing body of golf in

1887, and was regarded as the governing authority over men's golf in both the UK and abroad until 2003 (The Royal and Ancient Golf Club, 2018). The first governing body for women's golf was the Ladies' Golf Union (LGU), which was established in 1893. The formation of the LGU was an important step for women's golf, as the LGU organised the first Ladies' Championship in 1893, which was followed by the formation of a number of ladies' golf clubs independent of men's clubs and their often patriarchal views (Browning, 1990). The R&A and LGU merged in 2017, leading to the integration of the LGU's business operations and staff into the R&A group of companies (R&A, 2018). Despite being termed a merger, the joining of the two organisations is more characteristic of a takeover because the R&A incorporated the LGU into its current operations rather than forming a new organisational structure, and LGU Board Members were given representation on R&A committees but not its Board (R&A, 2018). Very little information on the details of the merger are publicly available, and there is no critical academic or journalistic literature that discusses the merger. This is, therefore, a topic that needs more scholarly attention in the future to understand the impacts of the merger on gender power relations within international and national golf governance.

Golf's long history of women's involvement in the sport has been accompanied by an equally long history of women being discriminated against. Although women had established the LGU at the end of the 19th century, harsh discrimination against women continued into the 20th century (Hargreaves, 1994). This was seen with women being denied full membership in most golf clubs, having no voting power, having limited access to club facilities, being given less playing time than men, and often being barred from weekend play and local tournaments (Hargreaves, 1994). It was not until March 2017 that one of the oldest and most prestigious clubs in the world, Muirfield Golf Club, voted to allow women to become members (BBC, 2017). Additionally, research has found that when women do have access to golf clubs, they are still frequently undermined and continue to be labelled as being inferior to male players in terms of playing ability and golfing knowledge (McGinnis, McQuillan, & Chapple, 2005). This is despite the handicap system in golf aiming to make it an equitable sport where players of varying abilities can compete together (McGinnis et al., 2005). I will discuss the impact of this gendered sporting culture on England Golf, as the English governing body of the sport, within Chapter 8.

The governance of English golf became increasingly complicated as more governing bodies began to emerge throughout the 20th century. In the men's game, the Professional Golf Association (PGA) was established in 1902 as a union for male professionals (The Professional Golfers' Association, 2018). The English Golf Union (EGU) was established in 1924 to serve as the governing body of male amateur golf in England (Woodhall Spa Golf Club, 2018). This did not replace the R&A, but works alongside it. The EGU acquired Woodhall Spa Golf Club in 1955, and this remains the home of the National Golf Centre. In the women's game, the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) was founded in 1950 with similar roles and responsibilities to those of the PGA. In 1952, the English Ladies' Golf Association (ELGA) was formed as a branch of the LGU, which later became the English Women's Golf Association (EWGA) in 2008. The ELGA, and later the EWGA, were responsible for the running of amateur women's golf within England (English Women's Golf Association, 2009).

The English NGB for golf today is England Golf, which was formed on 1st January 2012 with the merging of the EGU and the EWGA. England Golf's key roles include the development of a broad strategy for performance, development, and competition of amateur golf, and the coordination of actions required to implement this strategy (England Golf, 2012). The merger was proposed jointly by the two organisations in 2011, with a plan for the EWGA to join the EGU under a modified structure (English Golf Union & English Women's Golf Association, 2011). Within the merger proposal document, it was claimed that the merger would create benefits and improve the governance of golf in England. Such benefits included speaking with one voice, having a unified marketing campaign, being a greater attraction to commercial partners, enhancing efficiency, and improving media coverage (English Golf Union & English Women's Golf Association, 2011). Within Chapter 6, I will provide further discussion and analysis on the consequences of this merger.

At the end of 2016, England Golf had a membership of 678,372 and an income of £8,680,000, making it one of the largest NGBs in England (England Golf, 2016c). £2.4 million of this income came from Sport England grants and the majority of the rest came from affiliation fees (England Golf, 2016c). The voluntary governance structure of England Golf is typical of an NGB and is formed of a board, council (called Voting Members), member county organisations, and club committees. Figure 2.2 displays the governance structure of England Golf and how it intersects with the most senior level of the professional structure (the ELT).

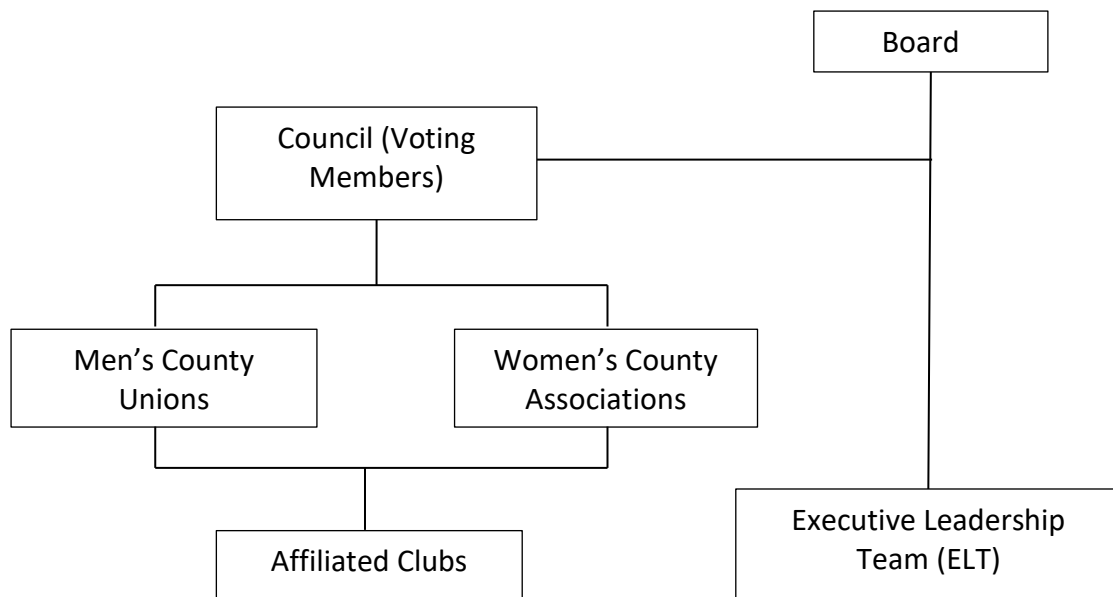


Figure 2.2: The Voluntary Governance Structure of England Golf (England Golf, 2012)

In terms of the decision-making relationship between the groups outlined in Figure 2.2, the Board is responsible for the strategic decisions of England Golf and consults with the Voting Members (Council) on some issues. The Voting Members are split by gender because most of the men's County Golf Unions and women's County Golf Associations have not yet merged to form one united body. The Voting Members act as a two-way communication stream between the Council and their County Unions/Associations (England Golf, 2012). It is the responsibility of the ELT to implement the strategy set out by the Board and oversee the day-to-day running of the organisation (England Golf, 2012).

At the time of research, the composition of the Board of England Golf was: the Chairman¹, the Chief Executive, the Finance Director, up to ten Elected Directors (composed of six men and four women) of which one shall be the Chairman, and up to two other persons (if any) as the Board may from time to time nominate (England Golf, 2012). England Golf has a permanent paid workforce of 86 employees. A full organogram for England Golf can be seen in Appendix 1, displaying the flat structure of the organisation with no leadership team sitting below the ELT. Both the voluntary and professional structures of England Golf will be analysed

¹ Chairman was the term used throughout both England Golf and the LTA's reports, documents, and other external communications. The use of this language will be discussed within Chapter 8.

in more depth in Chapter 6. Within the next sub-section, I will outline the history and structure of the second organisation being researched, the LTA.

2.4.2. The History and Structure of the Lawn Tennis Association

Like golf, the sport of tennis is one of the oldest modern sports in England, with Leamington Lawn Tennis Club becoming the world's first tennis club in 1872 (Lake, 2015). This was followed by the establishment of the first governing body of tennis, the All England Croquet Club (AECC), in 1868. The AECC changed its name to the All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club in 1877, and the All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club (AELTC) in 1899 (All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club, 2018). In 1888, the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) was established as the British NGB for tennis, and the AELTC abdicated its legislative responsibility whilst retaining complete administrative control over The Championships at Wimbledon (Walker, 1989). The AELTC's independence from the LTA is still maintained today, although the LTA do have representatives on the Council of the AELTC and the LTA receives a share of the profit from The Championships (All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club, 2018).

Unlike golf, women have participated in tennis alongside men from the earliest days (Lake, 2012). A key reason for tennis being a mixed-sex sport was because it was seen as an opportunity for members of the opposite sex to meet and find their future spouses (Hargreaves, 1994). Lake (2012) discusses how tennis has been an arena where women have been able to challenge male hegemony and traditional notions of femininity through their participation in the sport. However, Lake (2012) also discusses how women participating in tennis have reinforced traditional, binary notions of female-appropriate behaviour through conservative dress and playing a passive role both in clubs and on court, doing little to challenge assumptions of women's physical, emotional, and intellectual weaknesses. Women's achievements were often trivialised, and women's active participation was only able to survive when assumed that it was inferior to men's (Hargreaves, 1994).

The LTA has always governed both women's and men's tennis in the UK. Despite this, the early years of the LTA saw resistance to women competing in the most prestigious competition: The Championships at Wimbledon (Hargreaves, 1994). Men had been playing at Wimbledon since 1877, but it was not until 1884 that a Ladies' Singles Championship was permitted (Guttman, 1991). In this year, the rule was established that women play three sets

in grand slams whilst men play five sets (Hargreaves, 1994). This rule, which still stands today, has become a barrier against gender equality in tennis because it presents an image that women are the weaker sex, and has fuelled arguments against equal pay for female and male tennis players (The Independent, 2017).

Although the affairs of women and men in tennis have always been governed by the LTA, control of the sport has historically been male-dominated and has shown resistance to women accessing positions of power. White and Brackenridge (1985) found this, with only 10% of Councillors and 5% of Committee members being women in 1981. They concluded that 'control of this sport appears to be firmly in the hands of men of upper-middle and upper classes, with a high proportion of aristocracy on the Council' (White & Brackenridge, 1985, p. 102). As I will discuss in Section 6.1, the LTA has improved gender balance on its Board and Council since White and Brackenridge's paper in 1985, but there are still signs of male-dominance in its leadership, including the fact that it has never had a female Chief Executive Officer and that the first female President was not appointed until 2014. This displays how, for the most powerful positions within the organisation, both in terms of actual and symbolic power, historical trends of male-dominance remain.

At the end of 2016, the LTA had 727,664 registered tennis club members (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016a). In the same year, the LTA had an income of £64,478,000, which is nearly eight times the income of England Golf (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016b). There was less discrepancy in the income from Sport England grants, however, with the LTA receiving £3,492,000 from Sport England in 2016 (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016b). There are two main reasons for such a discrepancy in overall income for the two NGBs that have similar membership numbers. First, the LTA received £37,719,000 in revenue from the Wimbledon Championships in 2016, and second the LTA had a revenue of £12,128,000 from the major events it hosted in 2016 (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016b). England Golf only runs amateur events which do not contribute to the NGB's income (England Golf, 2016c). The differences in the financial resources available to each NGB will be considered throughout the research.

Whereas England Golf is the governing body for golf in England, the LTA governs tennis in Great Britain, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man. The LTA uses the name British Tennis as its external brand to appear more customer-friendly. The LTA states that its key responsibility is in 'developing and promoting British Tennis with a mission to get more people

playing tennis more often’ (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016a, p. 7). The voluntary governance structure of the LTA is like that of England Golf, with it being formed of a board, council, and member bodies (predominantly composed of counties). This, and how it intersects with the ELT and Leadership Team, is displayed in Figure 2.3.

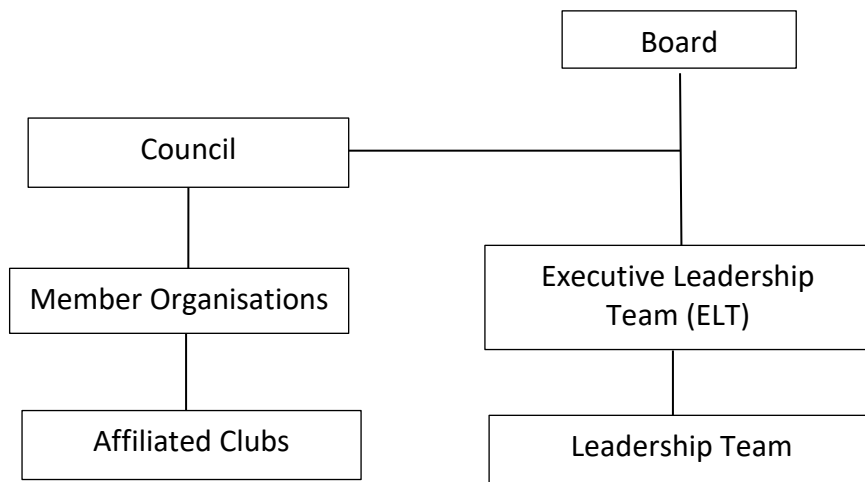


Figure 2.3: The Voluntary Governance Structure of the LTA (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a)

As with all NGBs, governance of the LTA is headed by the Board. The Board determines the strategy of the LTA on the basis of proposals submitted by the ELT, and it is the responsibility of the ELT to oversee the day-to-day operation of the business (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a). The Board consults with the Council on strategic matters, which is chaired by the President (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a). Councillors are nominated by the various member and player organisations, and the LTA Board can also nominate Councillors (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a). The Council are responsible for linking the work of the LTA centrally with those delivering the sport locally, including member organisations which ‘have an interest in the development and promotion of tennis in Great Britain’ (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a, p. 2). The member organisations are made up of the 36 English counties plus a further 17 member organisations including Tennis Scotland, Tennis Wales, the Tennis Foundation, and the National Wheelchair Tennis Association of Great Britain (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a).

At the time of research, the ‘usual membership composition’ of the LTA Board was: the (independent) Chairman, the President, the Deputy President, Chairmen of the two Principal Committees (Tennis Development and Tennis Performance), the Chairman’s and

President's nominee (if appointed), the Chief Executive, the Finance Director, up to two Executives appointed by the Chief Executive, and up to two unpaid outside independent Board Directors (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a). This new structure was implemented in May 2017 to comply with the requirements outlined within *A Code for Sports Governance* for no more than a third of the Board to be Council-elected (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). The professional structure of the LTA is made up of 300 paid employees and is headed by the ELT and Leadership Team. An organogram was not available for the LTA, but I have provided an overview of the organisation's ELT and departments within Appendix 2. I will engage in more in-depth discussions on the gendered demography of the LTA's voluntary and professional structures within Chapter 6.

Within this section, I have outlined the history and development of NGBs, which gives some insight into how organisational traditions and cultures have developed to exclude and discriminate against women. Within the next section, I will discuss how organisations outside of the formal governance structure of English sport influence gender power relations within English sport governance.

2.5. Other influential organisations

Other organisations that influence gender power relations in English sport governance include activist groups, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), international governing bodies (IGBs), and inter-governmental organisations (IGOs). Each of these will be discussed in turn.

2.5.1. The Women and Sport Movement

The women and sport movement is 'a collective of organisations and individuals who have worked with sustained activism to change sport for women for the better' (Anita White Foundation, 2017, para. 1). Women's leadership in sport was formally discussed for the first time at a senior level within the women and sport movement in 1980 at a Council of Europe seminar held in Dublin (Matthews, 2014). This group later became the European Women and Sport Group (Matthews, 2014). The most significant activist event in highlighting women in leadership as a key area of focus was the first International Conference on Women and Sport that took place in Brighton in 1994 (Matthews, 2014). The conference was organised by the

GB Sports Council, and supported by the International Olympic Committee (IOC; Matthews, 2014). One legacy of this conference was the formation of the International Working Group for Women and Sport (IWG), which was established to coordinate and monitor different strands of an international strategy to advance women and sport globally, and to organise future international women and sport conferences (Matthews, 2014). A second outcome was the *Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport*, a charter of ten principles addressed to all sport organisations and bodies that influence ‘the conduct, development or promotion of sport’ (Great Britain Sports Council, 1994, p. 2). One of these principles is leadership in sport. As of April 2018, the *Brighton Declaration* and/or updated *Brighton Plus Helsinki Declaration* have been signed and endorsed by 562 organisations worldwide (International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2018).

Since the introduction of the *Brighton Declaration*, the IWG has continued to support women’s leadership in sport. Following each IWG World Conference, a legacy is constructed in the form of a written progress report which identifies key areas of development to be addressed until the next conference. The progress reports of all but one World Conference since 1994 have addressed the need for increased representation of women in leadership and decision-making positions (Fasting et al., 2018; Fasting et al., 2014; International Working Group on Women and Sport, 1998, 2002, 2010). The IWG Progress Reports that were presented at the 2014 and 2018 World Conferences both dedicate a whole chapter to leadership in sport and include case studies and success stories where policies and programmes have been developed to recruit, retain, and enhance the skills of women in decision-making positions (Fasting et al., 2018; Fasting et al., 2014). The women and sport movement has, therefore, been important in initiating discussions and highlighting a need for action to improve gender balance in sport governance both in England and across the world.

2.5.2. NGOs, charities, and social enterprises

Several NGOs, charities, and social enterprises either advise on issues around gender and sport governance or run programmes that aim to develop women leaders of sport. A key advisory organisation is the Sport and Recreation Alliance (SARA), which is the trade association for sport organisations and NGBs in the UK. SARA represents 320 organisations and has published the *Voluntary Code of Good Governance* to attempt to improve the

governance of NGBs (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2014). Although improving gender balance within sport governance is not explicitly addressed within the Code, it does outline the need for boards to employ a balanced and inclusive approach to effectively represent the diversity of each NGB's sport, members, and community settings (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2014). The Voluntary Code has a number of key strengths, including its emphasis on the flexible and non-prescriptive nature of the Code which moves away from the 'one size fits all' approach to governance that Sport England has been previously criticised for (Shaw & Penney, 2003). The Code achieves this by outlining seven principles of good governance, each of which have a list of practical recommendations that may or may not be adopted by organisations depending on their size, type, and function. This allows NGBs to develop and take ownership of a governance framework that best meets their individual needs. Additionally, SARA offers future support and development in implementing the Code within NGBs.

A charity that acts in both an advisory and developmental capacity is Women in Sport (WIS), the main charity in the UK that campaigns for women's rights in sport. WIS was first established under the name of the Women's Sports Foundation (WSF) in 1985, and was formed by a group of women who wanted to address issues of male-domination, discrimination, and inequalities faced by women in sport (White, 2003). The first call from the WSF for improved gender balance in sport leadership was in 1999, when it published the *National Action Plan for Women's and Girls' Sport and Physical Activity* in partnership with Sport England's Women and Sport Advisory Group (Women's Sports Foundation/Sport England, 1999). The *National Action Plan* identified eight areas where change was needed, one of which was leadership. Associated aims included increasing the number of women leaders at all levels of sport, seeking at least equal representation of women on decision-making bodies and within decision-making positions, and supporting the development of women within sport administration and management positions (Women's Sports Foundation/Sport England, 1999). As outlined in Table 1.1, progress has been made in the former of these aims, with an increase in the number of women in leadership positions across NGBs, although there is still some way to go in achieving equality of representation on decision-making bodies and within decision-making positions.

WSF changed its name to the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (WSFF) in 2007, before becoming WIS in 2014. WIS primarily campaigns to increase the number of women and girls participating in sport, increase the representation of women in leadership positions within sport organisations, support women who are already in leadership positions, and increase the visibility of women's sport in the media and policy (Women In Sport, 2015b). WIS have taken two forms of action in campaigning for improved gender balance in sport leadership. The first of these is WIS's annual audit on the gender make-up of boards and executive teams of British NGBs. WIS have been collecting and publishing this data since 2004, and released the first *Trophy Women?* audit in 2010 (Women in Sport, 2018). In 2015, Women in Sport went beyond solely reporting on data and published *A Checklist for Change*, a document that offers a number of recommendations to organisations on how to increase senior-level female representation within their leadership and governance (Women in Sport, 2015a). Recommendations included greater transparency in governance, flexibility in working practices, monitoring progression of women leaders, improved structures, proactive recruitment, and an inclusive culture (Women in Sport, 2015a).

In 2017, Women in Sport changed the name of *Trophy Women?* to *Beyond 30%* because the average female representation on the boards of NGBs was 30% for a second year running (Women in Sport, 2017). In 2018, this name was expanded to *Beyond 30%: Workplace Culture in Sport* because of the focus of the audit on addressing workplace culture to 'nurture the pipeline of future women leaders' (Women in Sport, 2018, p. 4). Two key findings of the audit were that improvement in female representation in leadership roles has stalled and that women still report discrimination and a negative workplace culture (Women in Sport, 2018). These audits are very important in maintaining visibility of progress being made and have been used throughout this thesis as a contextualisation tool. Through this research, I add to these audits by providing a multi-layered organisational perspective on many of the key issues outlined within them, which includes applying a theoretical framework to generate a greater depth of understanding of the issues, challenges, and strategies to make change.

In addition to publishing audits, WIS also support women who are either seeking leadership positions or are already established leaders through their Women's Sport Network (WSN). The WSN was established in 2013 with the aim to provide members with opportunities to meet and connect with other women leaders, share experiences, and discuss the key issues

that affect women working in sport (Women in Sport, 2015d). The WSN is not the only leadership programme for women in sport in the UK. The Women's Sport Leadership Academy (WSLA) has been running since 2014, and its main component is a one-week residential held at the University of Chichester (University of Chichester, 2018). The WSLA brings together women leaders from all over the world and aims to 'support them to fulfil their leadership potential and enhance their understanding of the global women and sport movement' (University of Chichester, 2018, para. 2). The WSLA is jointly delivered by the Anita White Foundation (AWF) and Females Achieving Brilliance (FAB), who both work towards change for women in sport. The AWF was launched in 2011 and 'aims to be internationally recognised for combining ground-breaking academic study, the education and development of women leaders and scholars in sport, and the preservation of heritage for women and sport' (Anita White Foundation, 2017, para. 1). Females Achieving Brilliance (FAB) was founded in 2009 and aims to support women to progress on their leadership pathway by providing tailored professional and personal development opportunities (Females Achieving Brilliance, 2015). The impacts, strengths, and weaknesses of women-only development programmes as strategies for change in achieving greater gender balance in sport governance will be discussed within Chapter 4.

An example of a social enterprise that runs leadership development programmes for women in sport in the UK is Women Ahead (Women Ahead, 2016a, para. 1). One of their programmes is a mentoring scheme that aims to develop partnerships between and within the worlds of business and sport (Women Ahead, 2016b). An example of this is female administrators from the LTA being paired with senior leaders from Ricoh, a multi-national imaging and electronics company. As the LTA is one of the organisations being researched within this thesis, this programme will be discussed more in Chapter 7. Women Ahead's second programme is a speaker academy that was set up to improve the public speaking abilities of inspirational women within both the worlds of sport and business (Women Ahead, 2016c). This presents the opportunity for women leaders to attend workshops with experts in speech and delivery (Women Ahead, 2016c).

A final organisation that acts in an advisory capacity within sport leadership is Women on Boards (WOB). WOB and its UK subsidiary Women on Boards UK (WOB UK) aim to support women seeking to leverage their professional skills and experience into senior leadership

positions (Women on Boards UK, 2015a). WOB UK have been particularly influential in the field of sport governance with their publication of the *Davies Report* informing Sport England's (2012) governance guidelines, as discussed in Section 2.3 (Women on Boards UK, 2011). Additionally, in 2014 WOB published the *Gender Balance in Global Sport Report* which reported on the status of the gender balance in sport boards across the Commonwealth in the run up to the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow (Women on Boards, 2014). This report included a number of recommendations for sport organisations to achieve good governance, including tying governance processes to funding outcomes where appropriate, offering greater transparency in their governance, and having top-level bodies lead by example (Women on Boards, 2014).

Within this sub-section, I have discussed the various ways that NGOs, charities, and social enterprises can influence the field of sport governance. At an advisory level, they can be influential in creating awareness of gender imbalance in sport governance, offering recommendations for change, and informing national sport policy. At the developmental level, they can help to develop women leaders to become more confident and competent leaders through a variety of development programmes.

2.5.3. The International Olympic Committee (IOC)

The most influential international governing body (IGB) in the world is the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The IOC was founded in 1894, but it was not until 1972 that women's inclusion within the management hierarchy of the IOC was officially discussed (Hums, 2010). It took nine years after these discussions for the first women to be elected as IOC Members in 1981, and between 1981 and 2008 just 21 women served as IOC Members (Hums, 2010). Since 2008, the IOC has improved the gender balance of its own leadership teams. In April 2018, 30 of the 100 IOC Members (30%) and 4 out of the 15 Executive Board Members (27%) were women (International Olympic Committee, 2016a). To attempt to improve gender balance across the Olympic Movement, over the past 25 years the IOC has published reports, launched initiatives, and set gender diversity targets.

The first significant step for the IOC in addressing the underrepresentation of women in the leadership of the Olympic Movement was the establishment of the IOC's Women and Sport Working Group in 1995. The Working Group became a full commission in 2004 and has

led a number of initiatives, including hosting a World Conference on Women and Sport every four years (International Olympic Committee, 2016b; Matthews, 2014). One key focus of these conferences has been increasing the representation of women within management and leadership roles within the Olympic Movement (International Olympic Committee, 2016b). The second key step was the establishment of targets for women's membership of National Olympic Committee (NOC) Executive Committees in 1997, as part of its women and sport policy (Henry et al., 2004). These targets were for women to hold at least 10% of executive decision-making positions by December 2001, and 20% by December 2005 (Henry et al., 2004). This was an important step forward in the IOC demonstrating a seriousness in their approach to gender equality in IOC leadership. However, as Henry et al. (2004) importantly pointed out, NOCs only affect part of the system of Olympic and sport administration, and so these targets did not apply to clubs, regional, national and international federations, Continental Olympic Associations, or the IOC itself.

Since the establishment of the Women and Sport Commission, several reports have been commissioned or published by the IOC on gender equality across the Olympic Movement, and gender balance in leadership more specifically. These reports include Henry et al.'s (2004) *Women, Leadership and the Olympic Movement*, Henry and Robinson's (2010) *Gender Equality and Leadership in Olympic Bodies*, the IOC's (2016b) *Women in the Olympic Movement*, and the IOC's (2018) *IOC Gender Equality Review Project*. The *IOC Gender Equality Review Project* consists of a number of recommendations across five key themes, one of which is governance (International Olympic Committee, 2018). Under the governance theme, recommendations include increasing the pipeline of female candidates for senior leadership positions, ensuring electoral processes of the IOC, NOCs, and IFs reflect a commitment to diversity and gender balance, sharing responsibilities between both women and men for the marginalisation of women in the Olympic movement, and ensuring that a senior IOC executive coordinates all gender equality activity impacting IOC administration (International Olympic Committee, 2018). A key action amongst these recommendations is to 'transition the composition of the IOC Executive Board and the composition of the Vice-President positions into an equal representation of women and men' by 2024 (International Olympic Committee, 2018, p. 23)

A particular strength of the *IOC Gender Equality Review Project* is the inclusion of a timeline for the completion of actions. This shows a commitment from the IOC to meeting the recommendations set out in the report, and demonstrates that they are taking the issue of gender balance in governance seriously. A further strength of the report is the clear outlining of all research sources, which not only demonstrates a level of credibility of the report but also signposts readers to learn more about the scholarly, activist, and developmental work that is being undertaken across the five key themes. One weakness of the report is the lack of appreciation of diversity amongst women. No reference is made to the different social and cultural backgrounds of women leaders that would be present within an international organisation, and the challenges these could bring. Furthermore, there is no mention of cultural change with regards to leadership culture, and so it is an 'add the women and stir' approach rather than actively seeking to change a historically problematic and deep-rooted male-dominated culture (Matthews, Lopez de D'Amico, & Shehu, In Press). Within the next section I will discuss the recent work of the European Union (EU) in sport governance.

2.5.4. The European Union

The involvement of intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) within sport is typically associated with the sport, development, and peace sector (Giulianotti, 2011). However, the EU is an example of one IGO that has also begun to address gender inequality within the sport governance sector. The Council of the European Union developed a strategic plan for sport in 2017 titled the *European Union Work Plan for Sport 2017-2020* (Council of the European Union, 2017). Two areas of focus for the plan are good governance and gender equality, with two expert groups being formed on integrity and skills and workforce development in sport (Council of the European Union, 2017). Previously, a 'good governance' expert group was established which released a report titled *Recommendations on Gender Equality in Sport* (European Union Expert Group on Good Governance, 2016). Within this report, one of the four areas outlined as needing to be considered in national and international strategies for action is 'equal representation and gender sensitivity in decision making' (European Union Expert Group on Good Governance, 2016, p. 8). This includes a recommendation that there should be a minimum of 40% of men and women in decision-making positions within sport organisations to 'guarantee good gender diversity' (European Union Expert Group on Good Governance, 2016, p. 9).

A weakness of the report is that it provides no information or reasons for 40% being chosen as a specific target, or the benefits that gender balance can bring to sport organisations. Six measures and tools are presented within the report to attempt to improve gender balance across sport leadership within the member states of the EU. These include transparent and 'gender-friendly' recruitment, education on the importance of diversity, training and support for leaders of both sexes, and a reconciliation of family and professional responsibilities for those within decision-making positions (European Union Expert Group on Good Governance, 2016). Whilst it is positive that tools and measures are provided, they are generic, do not consider the diverse types, sizes, and roles of sport organisations, and lack detail. The report could be strengthened by either providing a greater depth of information or signposting to other resources where more information can be accessed.

The power of the EU in addressing gender equality issues within sport governance is questionable as it does not have direct power over national or international sport organisations, which is largely a result of a lack of direct funding from the EU to these organisations. Additionally, as I outlined in Section 2.1, Great Britain is leaving the EU in March 2019 and so the influence of EU policy on English sport governance will inevitably be further reduced, if not eradicated. Despite its lack of demonstrable impact, the work of the EU in attempting to improve gender balance within sport governance has been included within this chapter because it demonstrates the breadth of the work being undertaken within the field, with one of the largest intergovernmental bodies in the world identifying gender balance in sport governance as a topic that needs addressing.

2.6. Summary

Within this chapter I have identified the complexity of the structure of English sport governance, with various stakeholders forming different funding and power relationships. The five key stakeholders, or groups of stakeholders, discussed within the chapter influence the sport governance landscape in different ways, and the roles, responsibilities, and influence of these stakeholders have changed over time. For example, the UK Government, UK Sport, and Sport England have gained more executive power over NGBs in recent years due to their increased position of power as funding bodies, particularly from the introduction of the National Lottery in 1994. In contrast, due to their reliance on increased public funding

for sport, NGBs have become less autonomous and have increasingly had to comply with government funding policy and criteria, including governance requirements.

I also showed how different stakeholders addressed the issue of an underrepresentation of women in sport leadership and governance at different times. For example, the women and sport movement drove the earliest calls for improved gender balance in the early 1980s. Since then, although it has taken over two decades, there have been significant strides forward with more stakeholders acting to make change. The UK Government, UK Sport, and Sport England have all put in writing their support for increasing the representation of women in sport leadership and are backing up their words with action. The Women and Sport Advisory Board, the UK Sport WLDP, and Sport England and UK Sport's tying of governance guidelines to funding are all examples of this. Activist organisations, NGOs, charities, and social enterprises are also continuing to provide advisory and developmental expertise in the area through the publication of audits and governance codes and the delivery of leadership programmes. Additionally, international and intergovernmental bodies such as the IOC and the EU are calling for an increase in the representation of women leaders within sport organisations, which demonstrates the importance of the issue at the global level.

Concerns that exist for continued change in the gender balance of English sport governance include the impact of changes to political priorities and agendas, and the dropping of funding that is tied to governance guidelines. Additionally, there is a lack of discussion of changing organisational culture within policy documents and recommendations. Organisational cultural change is, therefore, a continuing challenge for English sport governance to ensure genuine and sustainable change. Within the next chapter, I will outline the theoretical framework for this thesis, and how this will aid an in-depth analysis of gender power relations within English sport governance, including organisational culture change.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Within the previous chapter I presented a historical contextualisation to this research by identifying the key developments and moments that have influenced dominant gender power relations within English sport governance. Whereas a feminist perspective informed the motives, research questions, and aims of this thesis, analyses of dominant gender power relations within the two national governing bodies (NGBs) under study are informed by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. A limited number of academics have used Bourdieu's theory of practice to frame research on gender theorising within the sociology of sport. This includes Atencio, Beal and Wilson's (2009) investigation of gender relations and identities amongst street skateboarders, Thorpe's (2009, 2010) analyses of gender relations in snowboarding cultures, and Brown's (2006) exploration of the gendered body in sport and physical culture. Additionally, Karacam and Koca (2015) have used Bourdieu's theory of practice to theoretically frame their research on the strategies of women managers in Turkish sport organisations. This work poses similarities to this research, but is a smaller-scale project informed by nine interviews, has a focus on management rather than leadership, only focuses on the experiences of female managers, and is situated across various unnamed organisations. This research is, therefore, novel in its application of Bourdieu's theory of practice to a larger-scale, organisation-focused, in-depth research project on gender and sport governance. Within this chapter, I will outline the theory of practice and its key concepts, present a rationale for its application to this research, and provide a critical overview of Bourdieu's position on gender.

3.1. Bourdieu, Power, and the Theory of Practice

Bourdieu (1990) described his theoretical stance as being 'constructivist structuralism' because of its focus on the social construction of both individuals and social groups, as well as social structures (p.14). His work is influenced by a diverse range of intellectual sources: Marx's focus on the primacy of class conflicts in social inequality, Weber's contention that power requires legitimation, and Durkheim's stance that science must be disconnected from common sense (Laberge & Kay, 2002). For Bourdieu, power is central to all social life and the

exercise of power places individuals and groups into competitive status hierarchies (Swartz, 2012).

The focus of Bourdieu's theory of practice is how cultural resources, processes, and institutions continually hold certain individuals within hierarchies of domination (Swartz, 2012). This makes the theory particularly useful when exploring power relations within sport organisations which are 'multilevel entities that both shape and are shaped by myriad factors' (Cunningham, 2010, p. 396). Bourdieu does not place focus on either structures or individuals, but instead addresses the relationship between objective social structures and the subjective everyday practices of individuals (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). A strength of Bourdieu's work, therefore, is that he attempts to overcome the reduction of the status of agents to merely being controlled by structure, but at the same time does not conceive agents to be fully able to act as a function of intentions that they are conscious and in control of (Bouveresse, 1999).

Bourdieu's work on the production and reproduction of power and inequality has largely involved the theorisation of class. Although class relations, along with other social factors, impact upon the reproduction of gender power relations, I will not primarily focus on social class within this thesis. There are several rationales for this. First, I believe that the key concepts of Bourdieu's theory of practice can be appropriately and effectively applied to an analysis of gender power relations without a joint focus on class. Bourdieu's work on the (often unconsciously) subordinating nature of class relations can be borrowed and transferred to provide increased awareness of the unconscious and subordinating nature of gender relations. Second, my purpose of using Bourdieu's theory is to aid understanding and bring about new questions in the research area, rather than test the class-focused theory. Third, all of those interviewed identified as middle-class which means that class discussions did not arise within interviews. This will be discussed further in Section 5.3. Fourth, there was limited scope for this thesis to adequately cover both gender and class issues within sport governance. Within Chapter 10, I will identify areas of study that are beyond the scope of this thesis but are important topics for future research to develop further understanding of the intersectional experiences of women sport leaders.

Within the next section, I will discuss how Bourdieu's key concepts provide helpful tools to conduct multi-layered analyses of the gendered experiences of individuals within

organisational settings. This approach allows sport organisations to be positioned within their sociocultural and institutional contexts, whilst acknowledging their 'micro-level realities' (Karacam & Koca, 2015, p. 208). This is through applying the concept of field at the macro-level, habitus at the meso-level, and capital at the micro-level to provide a holistic, relational organisational analysis. I will discuss each of these concepts in turn.

3.1.1. Field

Bourdieu's macro-concept of the field refers to a semi-autonomous, objective hierarchy that is constituted by individuals and institutions who follow the same sets of rules, rituals, and conventions (Webb et al., 2002). Because of the field's rules and regularities, Bourdieu (1993) compares the field to a game which will only function if there are stakes available, and people prepared to 'play the game' (p. 72). The rules of the field are legitimated by the very act of individuals following them (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Fields 'are the products of a long, slow process of autonomisation' which splits contemporary society into different, distinctive sectors (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 67).

Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the field is used to theorise broad sections of society such as health, arts, or education (Bourdieu, 1993). Within the organisational literature, conceptualisations of the organisational field have tended to refer to the wider context within which groups of organisations are active, but do not account for analyses of individual organisations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Despite this, Everett (2002) helpfully suggests that it is possible to position the individual organisation as a field 'in which a game takes place' because all individual organisations are formed of 'relations between individuals who are competing for personal advantage' (p. 60). An organisational field is characterised by various positions with varying levels of power and authority. As I explained within Chapter 1, there are two interlinked hierarchies of power within NGBs. The voluntary governance hierarchy is headed by the board, and the paid workforce is led by the executive leadership team. Ozbilgin and Tatli (2005) highlight the usefulness of conceptualising the organisation as a field because it allows the researcher to go 'beyond the visible, surface-level indicators of discrimination and intergroup relationships in the workplace' (p. 867). Additionally, it 'provides an analytical perspective to investigate the structure without ignoring the agency of the individuals' (Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005, p. 867). Within this thesis, the concept of 'organisational field' has

provided a very useful tool to understand how the formal governance structures and rules of England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) reinforce, resist, or transform gender power relations within the two organisations.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) developed the concept of a 'field of forces' to describe how actors seek, 'individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position' within the field (p. 101). Additionally, Bourdieu (1993) introduced the concept of a 'field of struggles', where a field of forces is either transformed or conserved depending on the success of individuals and groups of individuals in obtaining positions of power (p. 30). According to Bourdieu (1993), there are three types of field strategies that are employed by individuals to change their position within the field: conservation, succession, and subversion strategies. First, a conservation strategy is employed by those who hold dominant positions within a field to safeguard or enhance their position by distributing and valuing forms of capital which are most favourable to them (Bourdieu, 1993). Second, a succession strategy is implemented by those who have less or no seniority and seek advancement of position within the field (Bourdieu, 1993). And third, subversion strategies are the most disruptive strategies which are adopted by dominated agents to attempt to transform the field's system of authority and the rules of the game to their own benefit (Bourdieu, 1993).

Throughout this research, the concepts of fields of forces, fields of struggles, and field strategies have helpfully aided analyses of how individual leaders and collective groups of leaders within England Golf and the LTA navigate and influence the formal rules and governance structures of the two organisations to conserve, resist, or transform their position within the two NGBs. As I will discuss throughout Chapters 6-9, all three field strategies outlined by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) were found within this research to be adopted by leaders at various times to gain or maintain position and power within England Golf and the LTA.

A weakness of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the field is that he does not fully investigate the impact of gender on the field in his work. However, feminist scholars have since overcome this by identifying the potential of the concept of the field to make sense of the complexity of gender relations in contemporary social life. Kraus (2006) suggests that gender impacts and engages with different fields in different ways that are specific to that field. This is because gender has varying levels of importance, value, and impact from field to

field. All fields enforce a set of gender rules which regulate the ways in which men and women behave within that field, some of which are common to many other fields and others which are specific to that field (Thorpe, 2009). For example, the sex-segregated nature of sports and their governance structures provides unique gender rules within the organisational fields of NGBs. As I will discuss within Chapter 8, this includes the normalisation of informal gender-segregation. Simultaneously, sport governance also shares gender norms with other sectors because, as I will discuss within Chapter 6, many voluntary sport leaders of sport come from professional backgrounds such as banking, accountancy, and law. Key factors in an individual's ability to improve their position within an organisational field are the types and volumes of capital that they accumulate. I will discuss the concept of capital in the next sub-section.

3.1.2. Capital

The micro-concept of capital is seen by Bourdieu simply and essentially as a resource that generates power (Calhoun, 1993). According to Bourdieu (1977), the various forms of capital function as weapons within the field, and the positions of individuals within the hierarchy of the field is defined by the types and volumes of capital they hold. This makes the notion of capital particularly useful in examining 'the operation of gender distinction and power' (Huppertz & Goodwin, 2013, p. 292). Bourdieu (1986) outlines four principle kinds of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Shilling (1991) has fostered a fifth form of capital, physical capital, which is an adapted and developed form of Bourdieu's (1986) embodied cultural capital. I will discuss each of these forms of capital in turn.

Economic capital refers to income, wealth, financial inheritances, and monetary assets (Skeggs, 1997). Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible to money and can be the product of the conversion of other forms of capital. Within NGBs, economic capital can be both a determinant and outcome of an individual's position within the field. It can be a determinant because a certain volume of economic capital is required for an individual to commit unpaid time to a senior voluntary governance position in place of paid work. Additionally, it can be an outcome because the highest paid positions within the workforce are also the most senior. Within the previous chapter, I discussed the gender pay gap and how this reflects the unequal volumes of economic capital that men and women hold, on average, across the UK. Within Chapter 6, I will draw on this data to analyse the different

amounts of economic capital that women and men hold within the two organisations studied within this research.

Cultural capital refers to the value placed on a collection of elements such as culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills, and awards that are acquired through being part of a particular social group (Webb et al., 2002). Thus, cultural capital 'serves as a marker and a legitimator of social differences' (Wilson, 2002, p. 6). Bourdieu outlines three forms of cultural capital. First, the objectified state refers to cultural goods and consumption patterns, which have limited influence within sport governance because cultural goods such as books, pictures, instruments, and machines are not central to the experiences of leaders of sport. Second, the institutionalised state encompasses things such as educational or professional qualifications and awards and work experience, which are important criteria for any leadership position (Skeggs, 1997). And third, the embodied state refers to long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body.

Bourdieu (1986) places particular emphasis on embodied cultural capital, arguing that 'most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment' (p. 243). An example of embodied cultural capital is long-lasting gender dispositions that are acquired over time through the socialisation process, which work as sources of power and impact upon the position the individual occupies in the social space (Laberge, 1995). Skeggs (1997) suggests that 'discourses of femininity and masculinity become embodied and can be used as cultural resources' (p. 8). McCall (1992) used the term 'gender capital' to describe the influence of gendered dispositions as sources of power. Within this thesis, I will use the term gender capital as a form of embodied cultural capital to conceptualise the use of masculine and/or feminine dispositions to accumulate power within England Golf and the LTA. Avoiding binary classifications of gender, which have been a weakness of early gender research, this refers to the impact of individual leaders adopting masculine and/or feminine qualities *regardless of their gender identity*. As I will discuss in Chapter 9, female and male leaders can embody similar gendered dispositions, such as typically 'masculine' leadership behaviours, but accumulate different amounts of power as a result. This difference in power accumulation is impacted by the extent to which these gendered dispositions deviate from dominant, binary

conceptualisations of gender that normalise men as embodying masculine attributes and women as embodying feminine attributes (Butler, 2004).

Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (p. 251). More simply, social capital is the resource of social connections and group membership which is generated through relationships (Skeggs, 1997). Here, social capital is directly related to both the size of the network and how much social capital the agent has previously accumulated (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Bourdieu, the main reason for engaging in a network is clear profit which is not necessarily economic, but can be reducible to economic profit (Tzanakis, 2013). For example, engaging in social networks can help to gain a more senior, and higher-paid, position within an organisation, which results in increased accumulation of economic capital through an increased salary and/or bonus.

Bourdieu's work on social capital has been adopted and adapted by a number of sociologists, including Coleman (1988), Burt (1992), and Lin (1999). However, it is the work of Putnam (1993, 2000) that I have found to be most useful in theorising the power and workings of social capital within sport governance. Whilst Bourdieu largely theorises about social capital and individual gain, Putnam (1993) examined social capital within the community setting and how it operates at the meso- and macro-levels to create a more prosperous community. Putnam (1993) discussed how contributions of individuals to community networks of trust can accumulate social capital for the whole community, which is more important than the profit-accumulation of individuals. Putnam's work allows a greater analysis of how social capital influences the gendered 'community' of sport governance, therefore, and how networks of trust amongst and between female and male leaders can profit the whole organisation. In particular, Putnam's (2000) concepts of bonding and bridging social capital are useful here.

For Putnam (2000), bonding social capital is the development of trust and strong social ties between individuals who share similar social identities (such as gender, race, and/or social class), whereas bridging social capital is the transcendence of 'our social and political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves' (p. 411). Putnam (2000) acknowledges the potential for bonding social capital to create antagonism with those who

are excluded from the network. I found these two concepts particularly useful when analysing the informal social relationships between and amongst female and male leaders, and the extent to which this creates inclusionary or exclusionary cultures for women leaders.

Symbolic capital is the recognition that individuals achieve once the other types of capital have been legitimated (Thorpe, 2009). Once an individual has gained symbolic status within a given field, they are designated with authority, prestige, knowledge, and reputation (Bourdieu, 1986). Within sport organisations, it has generally been found that men, masculinity, and male work/life arrangements are privileged and legitimated within the workplace (Corsun & Costen, 2001; Ross-Smith & Huppertz, 2010). This means that 'women and minorities must play by the rules and within the boundaries established by ... men' (Corsun & Costen, 2001, p. 18). Bourdieu (2001) describes how this can result in women experiencing a 'double bind' because 'if they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of 'femininity' and call into question the natural right of men to the positions of power; if they behave like women, they appear incapable and unfit for the job' (p. 67). This is a further example of symbolic violence reproducing the dominant gender order of male-domination. The concepts of symbolic capital and symbolic violence will aid my analyses of the extent to which men and masculinity are privileged and legitimated within sport leadership, in contrast to women and femininity, and the potential problems this can create for developing gender balance within sport governance.

Finally, the concept of physical capital was developed by Shilling (1991) to adapt and advance Bourdieu's (1986) notion of embodied capital. Shilling (1991) believes that "'the physical" is too important to be merely seen as a component of cultural capital... [and] the body is central *in its own right* to human agency in general' (p. 654, emphasis in original). Shilling (2004) refers to 'the *production* of physical capital as involving the development of bodies in ways recognised as possessing value in social fields, and the *conversion* of physical capital as involving the translation of bodily participation in work, education and other fields into other resources' (p. 474, emphasis in original). Shilling (1991) highlights that opportunities both for producing and converting physical capital are unequal depending on three elements which interrelate to develop physical capital: an individual's social location, habitus, and taste.

I am interested in exploring how leaders' opportunities to produce and convert physical capital within sport governance are influenced by gender. In the workplace, Acker (1990) discusses how 'men's bodies, sexuality, and relationships to procreation and paid work are subsumed in the image of the worker', which contributes to the marginalisation of women and reproduces gender segregation in organisations (p. 139). Contrastingly, women's bodies, 'female sexuality, their ability to procreate and their pregnancy, breast-feeding, and child-care, menstruation, and mythic "emotionality" – are suspect, stigmatized, and used as grounds for control and exclusion' (Acker, 1990, p. 152). Shilling (1991) argues that the perception of the 'weak' female body is directly responsible for the subordinate position of women in society. Therefore, the concept of physical capital aids my analyses of how women's bodies are perceived when they are located within sport leadership positions, and how this influences their power and authority as leaders.

The different forms of capital I have outlined within this sub-section have varying levels of value and power across different organisational fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For example, in Chapter 6 I will highlight how social capital is much more highly valued within board recruitment processes at England Golf than it is at the LTA, where institutionalised cultural capital is more highly valued. Capital is also convertible, and the convertibility of the different forms of capital is different for different actors across different social fields (Bourdieu, 1986). Within Chapter 9 I will discuss and analyse how some forms of capital are more convertible into power and position for male leaders than female leaders, and how this contributes to the reproduction of unequal gender power relations.

Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital is not without criticism. Common criticisms of the concept are its privileging of economic capital as the 'ultimate source and eventual exchange form of all other capitals', and its attribution of all human action to being interest-bound (Tzanakis, 2013, p. 3). Furthermore, Bourdieu fails to see gender as a primary principle in the structuring of social space and the ability of an individual to accumulate and convert capital (Laberge, 1995). However, for this research, I perceive the potential of Bourdieu's concept of capital to develop a new angle on the micro-analysis of gender power relations within sport governance as outweighing such criticisms. The concept of capital, when broken down into its different forms, helps to aid a deeper understanding of the different resources available to female and male leaders to improve their position within the hierarchies of sport

governance. In identifying the availability of different resources, the concept allows practical strategies for change and resistance to be identified. In isolation, identifying women's accumulation of capital as a strategy for change is an example of attempting to change women within an existing patriarchal social system. Therefore, in the next section I will introduce Bourdieu's meso-concept of habitus, which looks at power relations at the cultural level, and how patriarchal social systems can be challenged.

3.1.3. Habitus

Bourdieu's meso-concept of habitus is a useful tool to explain the habitual nature of agents' relationships with the social world, and how dominant cultures and power relations are reproduced through the regulation of behaviour (Baxter & Chua, 2008; Bouveresse, 1999). Bourdieu (2000) argues that habitus is a system where social actors develop 'repertoires' that enable them to function within the social world on an everyday basis. For Bourdieu (1977), habitus are 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions' that are both 'structured structures', which are impacted by the behaviours and interactions of individuals, and 'structuring structures', which impact on the future actions and behaviours of individuals (p. 72). Bourdieu uses the term 'dispositions' instead of 'rules' because habitus regulates behaviour outside of any explicit rules or laws, and outside of the consciousness of social agents through the development of social norms (Bourdieu, 1990). Butler (1999) emphasises the unconscious 'everydayness' of the habitus, and describes how the embodied rituals that a culture produces 'sustains belief in its own obviousness' (p. 114). Bourdieu (1977) uses the term 'doxa' to describe such 'seemingly 'natural' practices and attitudes which rather than being 'natural' are in fact taken for granted assumptions and beliefs which are so entrenched in the mind sets of individuals that they become 'givens' in society' (McCreadie, 2016, p. 81).

Outlining the strengths of Bourdieu's notion of habitus in theorising gender identity and power relations, McNay (1999) compared the concept to Foucault's work on the body and self. She argued that habitus 'yields a more dynamic theory of embodiment than Foucault's work which fails to think the materiality of the body and thus vacillates between determinism and voluntarism' (McNay, 1999, p. 95). Furthermore, she highlighted the importance of such a 'dynamic and non-dichotomous notion of embodiment' to feminist

understandings of gender identity as ‘a durable but not immutable norm’ (McNay, 1999, p. 95).

Bourdieu (2001) argues that gendered habitus develops when ‘collective [gender] expectations ... tend to inscribe themselves in bodies in the forms of permanent dispositions’ (p. 61). Kraus (2006) developed Bourdieu’s (2001) concept of the gendered habitus and described it as the ‘social construction of masculinity and femininity that shapes the body, defines how the body is perceived, forms the body’s habitus and possibilities for expression, and ... determines the individual’s identity – via the body – as masculine or feminine’ (p. 121). Gendered habitus is different to gender capital as it conceptualises the impact of collective gender expectations and socialisation on the embodied gendered dispositions of individuals, rather than gender capital’s conceptualisation of the relationship between the embodied gendered dispositions of individuals and the accumulation of power. This relationship between the individual and her or his body is a fundamental aspect of habitus, and Bourdieu (1984) uses the term ‘hexis’ to describe an agent engaging their body in practices that conform to the demands of a given field.

When using the concept of habitus to inform organisational analyses, two forms of habitus need to be considered. The first is individual habitus, which I have outlined thus far within this section. The second is organisational habitus, which conceptualises the ‘informal, unconscious practices which interact to guide the dispositions of the organisation as a whole’ (Kitchin & Howe, 2013, p. 129). Tatli (2010) discusses how organisational habitus ‘governs the allocation of power positions in the organisational context’ (p. 12). This governance of power is reproduced through both conscious and unconscious acts of conforming to organisational culture (Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005). As with capital, organisational habitus is field-specific and can profit certain social groups more than others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Through this research I will examine whether the dominant gendered organisational habitus of England Golf and the LTA are more harmonious to the individual habitus of female leaders or male leaders.

Organisational habitus is in a constant state of tension, negotiation, and negotiation amongst different organisational members (Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005). The primary way in which Bourdieu suggests that problematic habitus can be transformed is through reflexivity. Bourdieu (2000) suggests that this is because ‘heightened consciousness associated with an

effort of transformation' amongst agents will rework the logic of practice based on new ways of perceiving, appreciating, and behaving (p. 160). Increased reflexivity of problematic habitus is important because it helps to prevent 'merely replacing one modality of domination with another' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, p. 31). Furthermore, the chances of reflexive practice causing change to the habitus are increased when they are 'accompanied by an increasing recognition of other and competing possibilities for engaging in new and different relationships with practice' (Baxter & Chua, 2008, p. 215). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) acknowledge how:

It is difficult to control the first inclination of habitus, but reflexive analysis, which teaches that we are the ones who endow the situation with part of the potency it has over us, allows us to alter our perception of the situation and thereby our reaction to it (p. 136).

Within this research I investigate the extent to which leaders within England Golf and the LTA engage in reflexive practices that identify problematic gendered cultural norms and behaviours that reinforce male dominance and present barriers to women entering the field of sport governance.

In addition to reflexivity, Bourdieu (1991) also introduced the concept of 'regulated liberties', which refers to small exercises of power that arise within the context of the existing social (or gender) order, and do not transform it but 'dislodge' it in some way. McNay (1999) highlights the strength of this concept in 'obviating simplified theories of oppression' and escaping 'binaries of domination and resistance' that do not appreciate the 'complex processes of investment and negotiation' (p. 104-105). This is because individuals who exercise regulated liberties simultaneously experience both domination and resistance. Throughout this thesis I explore any examples of regulated liberties within England Golf and the LTA that resist certain gendered rules, practices, and processes, but do so within the current social order of the organisation and therefore are not transformative.

When discussing the resistance or transformation of habitus, Bourdieu (1992) uses the concept of 'hysteresis' to describe a time lag that can occur in transforming individual habitus when there is a change in collective habitus due to a lack of adjustment to the cultural environmental changes. This can lead to allodoxia, when individuals 'put into play at any given moment strategies that were appropriate to an earlier state of the field but that in the current

context appear as out of place and are revealed to be dysfunctional' (Lizardo, 2014, pp. 5-6). Within NGBs, allodoxic behaviours can be particularly common amongst older generations whose behaviours resist change within their organisation (Pfister & Radtke, 2009). I will discuss the impacts of allodoxic behaviours on gender equity further within Chapters 4 and 6.

As with the other elements of the theory of practice, there are weaknesses in Bourdieu's concept of the habitus. Laberge and Kay (2002) argue that it is heavily theoretically loaded and versatile, and so can become difficult to apply to empirical research that aims to identify specific dimensions of social practices and mechanisms at work. Similarly, Margolis (1999) describes habitus as 'a kind of holistic characterisation that never comes to terms with its operative substructures' (p. 69). Furthermore, the habitus has been criticised for being too determinist through its reduction of agents as 'cultural dupes', and its lack of explanation of the potential for agency and resistance (Bohman, 1999; Thorpe, 2009). However, I agree with Jenkins (1992) that Bourdieu's theory and its key concepts should not be treated as a clearly defined explanatory framework but should instead provide 'thinking tools' which allow questions to be asked within empirical situations that otherwise would not be. Additionally, with the research questions and methodology for this thesis being informed by a feminist perspective, strategies for change are a key focus to develop a greater understanding of how gender balance can be improved within English sport governance. This is aided by Bourdieu's theory providing a greater understanding of the gender power relations that exist, which is required to then identify what needs to be changed. Within the next section I provide a critical overview of the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice to research which has gender as a central focus.

3.2. Bourdieu and Gender

McNay (1992) argued that feminists will find in Bourdieu's work 'a powerfully elaborate conceptual framework for understanding the role of gender in social relations of modern capitalist society' (p. 837). Furthermore, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, she identified how Bourdieu's epistemological and methodological approach to research parallels and enhances the position of feminists (McCall, 1992). An example of this is the political purpose of Bourdieu's sociology (Krais & William, 2000). Other feminists have emphasised the strengths of Bourdieu's theory of practice in opening up new analytical perspectives for

feminist theory (e.g. Kraus, 2006; McLeod, 2005; Thorpe, 2009, 2010). Thorpe (2010) spoke specifically of the strengths of Bourdieu's work in researching gender power relations within the field of sport. She suggested that a feminist reading of Bourdieu's theory of practice 'may facilitate fresh insights into the multiplicity, dynamicism, and fluidity of masculinities and gender relations in contemporary sport and physical cultures' (Thorpe, 2010, p. 177).

Despite the strengths of Bourdieu's work in offering new perspectives from which to understand gender power relations within sport and society, several scholars have criticised Bourdieu's positioning of gender in his original works. For example, Bourdieu's position on gender has been criticised for lacking coherence (Laberge & Kay, 2002). This is because he treats gender as a secondary constituent of social life within some texts (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984), yet makes claims in other texts that gender is a major principle of differentiation within social life (e.g. Bourdieu, 2001). When theorising about power and class relations, Bourdieu (1984) famously stated that 'sexual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of a lemon is from its acidity' (p. 107). Despite the acknowledgement of such a strong relationship between class and gender, he has been accused of being 'gender-blind' in many of his writings and criticised for privileging male and masculine experience within *Distinction*, one of his key texts (Bourdieu, 1984; Huppatz, 2012).

Bourdieu rectified weaknesses of 'gender-blindness' when he published *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001). Within this book, Bourdieu not only acknowledges gender as a fundamental structuring principle of social space but uses the theory of practice to analyse gender power relations. This includes a discussion of positions of power and authority within the male-dominated Kabyle society in Northern Africa, where Bourdieu (2001) states that 'the definition of excellence is in any case charged with masculine implications' because 'the particularity of the dominant is that they are in a position to ensure that their particular way of being is recognised as universal' (p. 62). This is an example of male-domination and the gender order being maintained through symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001). Symbolic violence refers to the legitimisation and normalisation of symbolic systems to profit dominant groups, such as the naturalisation of excellence within leadership aligning with men and masculinity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Eagly & Karau, 2002). It is a form of non-physical violence as it is 'exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity', often making the existence of power relations unrecognisable to agents (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167).

Bourdieu's (2001) strong realist focus on the reproduction of the symbolic order has led to several feminist scholars criticising his work for being too determinist, placing too great an emphasis on women's complicity with masculine domination, and underemphasising the opportunities for agency (e.g. Fowler, 2003; Jenkins, 1992; Kenway & McLeod, 2004; Laberge & Kay, 2002). Such determinism is particularly problematic for feminist researchers as they are 'politically invested in researching and creating possibilities for change in gender relations' (Huppertz, 2012, p. 20). Throughout this thesis, I will place a strong focus on strategies for change that are either already being implemented or have the potential to be implemented to overcome the weaknesses of Bourdieu's gender theorising.

Bourdieu's analysis of masculine domination is closely connected to the female body and its 'objectification performed by the gaze and the discourse of others' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 63). Such body-focused theorising has been criticised for failing to take into account 'the relationship between the body and mind' to develop 'open-ended diversity of social strategies' (Margolis, 1999, p. 67). Within *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu (2001) does recognise 'differentialist feminist' calls for the acknowledgement of difference among women (p. 63). However, he then goes on to state that 'difference only appears when one adopts the point of view of the dominant on the dominated', which fails to recognise the different identities of individuals within dominant and dominated groups (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 63). As outlined within Chapter 1, queer theorisation of non-binary gender conceptualisations will be drawn upon throughout this research. This is because it appreciates differences amongst men and amongst women and allows a greater understanding of how dominant gender binary discourses reproduce gender inequity within sport leadership.

Despite criticisms of some of Bourdieu's work being gender-blind and determinist, the theory of practice allows a greater understanding of the conflicting roles that women negotiate when moving across social fields, and so we can begin to understand the 'uneven and non-systematic ways in which subordination and autonomy are realised in women's lives' (McNay, 1999, p. 113). Furthermore, Bourdieu's realist approach forces us to understand the challenges of making change in the gender order, and also forces the development of new strategies for change (Fowler, 2003; McNay, 1999). I believe the real strength in applying Bourdieu's theory of practice to gendered analyses of sport leadership and governance lies in its ability to reveal 'more nuanced conceptualisations of gendered subjectivity, power

relations, and transformations' within contemporary sport organisations (Thorpe, 2010, p. 203).

3.3. Summary

Gender power relations should be central to any discussion of the social and institutional organisation of individuals by gender. Whilst I have highlighted criticisms of Bourdieu's position on gender within this chapter, I have also highlighted how Bourdieu's theory of practice and its three key concepts provide a multi-layered theoretical framework to analyse gender power relations within sport organisations. In particular, this framework is very helpful in aiding analyses of gendered organisational structures, cultures, and resources and how they contribute to gender imbalance within English sport governance. I also highlighted within the chapter how Bourdieu's theory can help to identify examples of, or the potential for, resistance against hierarchies of dominance. This includes field strategies at the macro-level, increased reflexivity and regulated liberties at the meso-level, and capital-accumulation strategies at the micro-level. Within the next chapter I provide a review of the research that has already been conducted on gender, (sport) organisations, leadership, and power. Additionally, I outline how I will add to this work using the theoretical tools outlined within this chapter.

CHAPTER 4: GENDER, ORGANISATIONS, LEADERSHIP, AND POWER

Acker (1990, 1992) was one of the first feminist scholars to study gender within organisations and suggested that a systematic theory to study this relationship is needed. This is because organisational practices and processes can reinforce gender segregation, create income and status inequality between men and women, and disseminate cultural images of gender (Acker, 1990). Acker (1990) located the roots of gendered organisations in the suppression of (hetero)sexuality because large organisations such as the army or monasteries saw active sexuality as the enemy of orderly procedures. Women were excluded to control interferences such as (hetero)sexuality, procreation, and emotions which were seen to disrupt the ideal functioning of the worker Acker (1990). Acker (1990) suggested that the exclusion of women within organisational leadership continues to be maintained through gendered hierarchies because of the continued perceptions that women's reproduction, emotionality, and sexuality have negative effects on organisations.

Since Acker's early work in this field, an increasing number of academics have used a range of theoretical approaches to analyse gendered social processes within organisations across a range of sectors, including sport. Within this chapter I will review this research and outline how this thesis expands upon this work to develop a deeper understanding of the dominant gender power relations that exist within two English national governing bodies (NGBs), using Bourdieu's theory of practice as an analytical toolkit. I have identified six key themes across the literature and have structured this chapter around these themes to present a comprehensive critical overview. The first theme is the gendered demography of sport organisations and the existence of gender segregation. The second, third, and fourth themes are the structural, cultural, and individual barriers to women obtaining and maintaining leadership positions, respectively. The fifth theme is strategies for change to transform male-dominated organisational structures and cultures to be more gender-equitable and gender-balanced. Lastly, the sixth theme is the business case for having more women leaders in sport governance.

4.1. Gendered organisational demography

Within organisations, there are two forms of gender segregation that result in distributional inequality of position, power, and status. Vertical gender segregation refers to the segregation of men and women in terms of seniority of position within an organisation (Bloksgaard, 2011). Within sport organisations this describes the trend of an increased seniority of position being coupled with decreased female representation. Women have been found to be consistently underrepresented within leadership positions and overrepresented within positions located at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy and at the periphery of English sport organisations (Velija et al., 2014; Women in Sport, 2015c, 2017, 2018). This demonstrates how English sport organisations are fields of struggles where, overall, men have conserved their positions at the top of the organisational hierarchy. This phenomena is often referred to as the 'glass ceiling' because of the difficulty that women have experienced in breaking through into leadership positions (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013).

Horizontal gender segregation describes the pattern of certain disciplines being dominated by women or men (Kreitz-Sandberg, 2013). This is similar to Connell's (2006) concept of 'gender division of labour', where 'production and consumption are arranged along gender lines' (p. 839). Within English sport organisations, it has been found that even when women do break through into leadership positions, men still conserve their place in roles which offer the most economic and/or symbolic capital. For example, Velija et al. (2014) discussed how women leaders tend to occupy roles that are considered 'soft', such as focusing on sport development, child safety, and equity. In contrast, they suggest that men tend to occupy roles which are considered 'hard', such as performance-related roles and roles related to the management of sport organisations. Women in Sport's (2017) audit supports such claims, finding that only 24% of Performance Directors across NGBs were women at the end of 2016. The terms 'soft' and 'hard' roles are constructed out of 'the assumed 'natural' differences between men and women', which demonstrates how dominant binary conceptualisations of gender continue to influence the gendered demography of sport organisations (Velija et al., 2014, p. 215).

Similar trends were also found outside of the English context. For example, Sibson (2010) reported that in Australian sport organisations women directors were expected to

carry out tasks related to clerical work and catering, whereas the male directors tended to carry out tasks associated with facility management and maintenance. Additionally, Shaw (2006a) found that within New Zealand Regional Sports Trusts there were approximately five times more women than men working with young people, whereas more men worked with older athletes and in performance and coaching roles. Further, Adriaanse and Schofield (2013) reported that in one Australian national sport organisation, men controlled all of the significant positions such as those responsible for finance and strategic decision-making, and the one woman on the Board was responsible for marketing, a task that offers less symbolic capital than strategic and financial responsibilities. Within Chapter 6 I will outline and analyse the gendered organisational demography of England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA), and how closely they align with these findings from other research in the field. Within the next section I will discuss the extent to which organisational structure, policy, and formal practice has been found to contribute to men conserving the most senior and economically/symbolically profitable positions within sport organisations.

4.2. Organisational structure, policy, and formal practice

At the macro-level, research has identified that sport organisations are gendered institutions that reinforce masculine domination and subordinate women through certain institutionalised practices (Burton, 2015). Within this section I will outline and review research that has analysed the impact of organisational structure, policy, and formal practice on gender equity within sport governance.

4.2.1. Structure

It has been found by researchers that the structure and objective hierarchies of sport organisations can contribute to the privileging of male power and the conservation of the dominant position of men. For example, Pfister and Radtke (2009) found that the lack of term limits on the boards of German sport organisations meant that men could stay in their seats for long periods of time because men tended to hold onto their positions for an average of five years longer than women (Pfister & Radtke, 2009). With men being 'stuck to their seats', this made it difficult for a new generation of both women and men to be appointed to the board and for the culture and demography of the board to change (Pfister & Radtke, 2009). Board term limits are identified as an area for improvement in sport governance by Sport

England and UK Sport (2016) within *A Code for Sports Governance* to ensure that 'power is not perpetually concentrated in one group' (p. 36). The code is, therefore, contributing to sport governance becoming a field of struggles where the conditions of the organisational field make it more difficult for dominant groups of men to conserve their position at the top of the organisational hierarchy. This in turn makes it easier for dominant gender power relations to be transformed.

Another example of a structural challenge for women leaders is the merging of women's and men's organisations, which have been found to result in women experiencing reduced autonomy and control over their sport post-merger. This was seen with the merging of the (English) Women's Football Association (WFA) and the (English men's) Football Association (FA) in 1993. Whilst the merger helped to develop a nationwide structure for the women's game and increase the opportunities and facilities available to women, it also allowed men to wield a great deal of power over the development of women's football (Hargreaves, 1994). Critics of the merger argued that women had to relinquish control of the game, with men assuming the most senior decision-making positions (Hargreaves, 1994). A similar situation occurred with the merging of the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) and the (men's) England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) in 1998. Following the merger, there were no women on the ECB's Board until 2010 and the majority of female coaches who had previously carried out the coaching and training of squads lost their jobs (Velija et al., 2014).

Liston (2006) argued that football governing bodies gain mass acceptance when incorporating the women's game into a continued male-dominated structure through a 'pseudo inclusion' of women's football at a superficial level (p. 373). Scraton, Fasting, Pfister and Bunuel (1999) came to a similar conclusion, finding that within England, Germany, Norway, and Spain the women's game relied on integration into their respective national men's football organisations, but facilities and financial resources were worse for women's football (Scraton et al., 1999). Through the adoption of Connell's (1995) theoretical concept of hegemonic masculinity, Liston explains how men successfully safeguard their dominant position within the organisational field following a merger. This is primarily through the legitimisation and normalisation of men's dominant position within the organisation. Although hegemony is always in a state of resistance, in this instance it subordinates women leaders, as well as marginalised groups of male leaders, to sustain dominant gender power relations

within football governing bodies (Connell, 1995). This is similar to Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) concept of symbolic violence, with both concepts being reliant on the complicity of social agents and the often unrecognisable existence of power relations as a result.

In contrast to these studies, Allison (2017) found that the changing structure and demography of the professional women's football club that she researched in the United States (US) led to women leaders experiencing increased power and autonomy. Within the old structure, women experienced low power and autonomy because there was an expectation for women to have a lower competency and leadership ability than men, despite women and men generally occupying jobs that were accorded equal value. This resulted in men tending to manage and oversee the work of women (Allison, 2017). However, with the departure of several men from the club's leadership team due to financial issues she found that women had more positive experiences in the workplace and greater autonomy over their work following the change. This is not an example of a subversion field strategy where the field's system of authority is actively resisted and transformed, but instead is an example of a succession strategy where an increased female representation was a by-product of the changing economic position of the organisational field, which in turn changed the field's system of authority. Within Chapter 6 I will examine the extent to which the structures of England Golf and the LTA conserve or transform the historic male-dominated system of authority of the two organisational fields.

4.2.2. Policy

In addition to the structure and demography of organisations influencing gender power relations, formal policy has also been found to have an impact. Whisenant, Pedersen and Obenour (2002) found this to be the case with the introduction of the Title IX legislation in the US. Title IX was introduced in 1972 and was intended to expand opportunities for women through its requirement for gender equality in any educational programme or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (Whisenant et al., 2002). Whilst the introduction of Title IX had positive impacts on women's participation in sport, Whisenant et al. (2002) found that it also led to hegemonic masculinity becoming more entrenched within the administration of sport. This is because the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women was taken over by the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA), which led to a severe

underrepresentation of women within athletic administrative positions. As a result, women were denied access to power within the NCAA and hegemonic masculinity was maintained (Whisenant et al., 2002).

Within England, ineffective gender equity policies have been found to do little to contribute to overcoming women's underrepresentation in sport leadership. Shaw and Penney (2003) critically analysed gender equity policies within English sport governance and found that NGBs did not favour Sport England's 'one size fits all' approach. This is primarily because it did not allow NGBs to tailor their own policy to the characteristics of their sport and/or organisation (Shaw & Penney, 2003). Bourdieu's (1992) conceptualisation of fields as semi-autonomous hierarchies reflects the need for each field to have a bespoke strategy for change within the wider governance requirements of the field. This is because 'each field both exhibits homologous features to the wider social structure and has its own specific structure and logic' (Maton, 2005, p. 689). As I outlined in Chapter 2, Sport England and UK Sport (2016) have since addressed some of these policy weaknesses in *A Code for Sports Governance*, which replaced their one size fits all approach.

Shaw (2006a) also studied gender equity policies within regional sports trusts (RSTs) in New Zealand, and found that despite every RST within the study having a gender equity policy, they tended to be outdated and CEOs had little knowledge of the policies' creation nor content. The policies were, therefore, just perceived as formal documents which are powerless without support from individuals. Whilst concerns have been voiced around the sustainability of gender equity policies linked to funding, due to a lack of intrinsic motivation for organisations to make change (Shaw & Penney, 2003), a benefit of such an approach is an increased awareness of the policy and more concern regarding its implementation. As Bourdieu (2000) argues, heightened consciousness is paramount for changing a field's logic of practice. In Section 2.3 I outlined how UK Sport and Sport England's (2016) funding-related governance code has seen success in the compliance of NGBs, which supports Bourdieu's claims that human action is interest-bound (Tzanakis, 2013).

4.2.3. Formal Practice

Another factor that can contribute to sport organisations conserving the place of men within positions of power is formal practice. Recruitment practices are examples of formal

practices that are designed to examine the extent to which an individual's capital and habitus are harmonious with the rules and requirements of the field, and the specific position for which the individual is applying (Daulay & Sabri, 2018). Hovden (2000) states that 'leader selection is a very important micro-process in the web of organisational gender relations and *a site for identifying constructions of gendered substructures*' (p. 17, emphasis in original).

On the boards of national sport organisations in The Netherlands, Claringbould and Knoppers (2007) found that the criteria for job descriptions and specifications were determined by dominant groups of men, and that they did so in a contradictory manner. This was because they wanted to employ a woman as they felt morally obliged to do so, yet wanted to recruit someone who was congruent with the current board's male-dominated culture. Shaw and Hoeber (2003) also found that female senior managers within English NGBs were put under more pressure than male candidates during interviews to ensure their suitability for the role. The Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of one NGB explained that this gendered process was an act of non-tokenism and wanting to employ a female candidate on merit by ensuring they were adequately skilled to carry out the role.

Several scholars have also discussed the influence of gendered informal networks on recruitment and selection processes (Ibarra, 1992; McGuire, 2002; Pfister & Radtke, 2006; Shaw, 2006b). For McGuire (2002), 'informal networks differ from formal networks in that their membership is voluntary and they help workers achieve work-related, personal, and social goals through unofficial channels' (p. 304). Bourdieu views this investment in social relations with expected returns as the premise behind holding social capital, because individuals engage in networking to produce profits (Lin, 1999). These 'profits' are gained through the facilitation of a flow of information, the influence these social ties can exert on decision makers, and the social credentials an individual can gain from networking (Lin, 1999).

Within English sport governance, Shaw (2006b) found that 'old boys' clubs' (male-only informal networks) were influential within the leadership teams of NGBs. These networks were gendered, exclusionary, and able to disrupt and overturn decisions that had been made by formal democratic processes (Shaw, 2006b). The absence of women from these networks meant that they were excluded from access to knowledge and marginalised from contributing to important decisions. Similarly, within German sport organisations Pfister and Radtke (2006) found 'old boys' networks' to be particularly resistant to change for fear of losing power. Shaw

(2006b) did find that 'old girls' networks' also existed within English NGBs which constrained men from entering and provided a safe space for discussions around the challenges that women leaders face. These networks did, however, have significantly less power and influence than their male equivalents.

Bourdieu's theorising of social capital gives insight into the reasons for women being excluded from influential male networks. This is because, for Bourdieu (1986), being a member of an influential social network provides each of its members with "'credential" which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word' (p. 21). The volume of credit or reward that an individual can gain from networks is dependent on the various forms of capital that the individual themselves hold, but also the capital of others in the network. Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that a dominant group uses social capital to maintain group solidarity and in turn preserve the dominant position of the group (Lin, 1999). With these factors in mind, it can be harder for women to form powerful social networks and receive the same benefits of networking as men because they are often not seen as capital-accumulating subjects (Lovell, 2000). Therefore, their entry into male-dominated networks can endanger the preservation of the dominant position of male leaders. I will explore the influence of same-sex networks in developing gendered recruitment processes and gendered organisational cultures within England Golf and the LTA in Chapters 7 and 9, respectively. Within the next section I will discuss how organisational culture further contributes to the privileging of the dominant male habitus within sport organisations.

4.3. Organisational culture

The culture of sport in the dressing room and on the field is well known for being traditionally masculinised and male-dominated, and researchers have found that this also extends to the cultures of sport organisations (Burton, 2015). As outlined in Chapter 2, the development of the earliest sport organisations excluded or marginalised women both as administrators and participants. This led to sport organisations becoming particularly male-dominated through a combination of sport being viewed as a male-preserve and organisations adopting a 'masculine ethic' that perceives men to be more capable leaders than women (Kanter, 1975, p. 43). As such, 'images and discourses associated with management and leadership in sport are infused with masculine traits and characteristics

such as toughness, sport playing experience, and instrumentality' (Schull et al., 2013, p. 59). Within this section I will look at research that has discussed the organisational cultural barriers for women leaders in accessing leadership positions and gaining authority once in position.

4.3.1. Traditional gender roles

A key factor in the gendering of organisational and working cultures is the reproduction and reinforcement of traditional attitudes towards gender norms and roles. Scott and Clery (2013) conducted research that uses a representative survey of the British adult population to evaluate changes in attitudes and the reality of gender roles in Britain. They found that there had been significant changes in attitudes towards traditional gender roles, with 13% of the surveyed population agreeing that it is a man's job to earn money and a woman's job to look after the home and family in 2012 compared to 49% in 1984. They argued that decreasing support for traditional gender divides is due to 'generational replacement', with older generations dying out and being replaced by younger, less traditional generations. Despite changing attitudes, it was still found that on average women spent five more hours on housework a week than men, and 60% of women felt that their relative contributions to housework were unfair compared to 10% of men (Scott & Clery, 2013).

Scott and Clery's (2013) findings align with a significant number of other researchers who have found that one of the biggest barriers in women obtaining sport leadership positions is the expectation to work long and unsociable hours, both of which do not align with the domestic lives of many women (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007, 2008; Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Pfister, 2010; Pfister & Radtke, 2006; Titus, 2011). For example, Claringbould and Knoppers (2007) found that women Board Members in Dutch organisations were expected to be available when male Board Members were available, which made it very difficult for women with children to commit. One woman even said that her wish to have children was discussed in her interview, and that the committee made it very clear that it would be difficult for women to combine board membership with caring for young children (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007). Pfister and Radtke (2006) found that German women sport leaders were only able to fulfil their leadership roles if they had the support of their partner and there was a fair distribution of housework.

Drawing on the concepts of habitus and field, McLeod (2005) discussed how the increased movement of women into male-dominated fields results in women experiencing degrees of both autonomy and subordination. This is because their increased presence can start to break down traditional gender norms, but the entrenched nature of the gendered habitus and the embodiment of gendered dispositions makes it difficult to fully resist the constraints of traditional gender norms, such as time expectations for leadership positions (McNay, 1999). This means that the habitus of many women, and particularly the habitus of working mothers, continually fails to align with the gendered organisational habitus of sport organisations which have such a strong history of male-dominance.

4.3.2. The social construction of leadership

Traditionally, the dominant position of men within leadership positions has been attributed to the shortage of suitably qualified women as a result of their family responsibilities and women possessing fewer innate traits and motivations required for success within high-level positions (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This perspective is known as the personalist/trait perspective and argues that specific personality variables determine leadership effectiveness (Kets de Vries, 2006). This focus on the innate personality of leaders has previously been known as 'Great Man theory' because of the historical perception of the 'ideal leader' as a heroic individual with 'male' attributes (Western, 2008). In contrast, the situationalist/process perspective attributes effective leadership to environmental constraints and denies the influence of the personality and attributes of individuals (Kets de Vries, 2006). Situated within a Bourdieusian framework, within this thesis I position leadership as a concept that is constructed of both personal and environmental attributes. This is because the leadership and associated behaviours of individuals are inseparable from the habitus, which is an embodiment of cultural traditions (environmental), social location (environmental), and expressions of taste (personality; Thorpe, 2009).

Sport leadership continues to be associated with men and masculinity because of gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes develop when assumed natural differences between the genders become consensual, and groups of individuals make judgements about the assumed behaviours and qualities of individuals based primarily on their gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Eagly and Karau (2002) discuss how gender stereotypes within organisations

can result in gender inequality when 'social perceivers hold a stereotype about a social group that is incongruent with the attributes that are thought to be required for success in certain classes of social roles' (p. 574). Bourdieu's theory of practice similarly suggests that congruence within specific fields can only be achieved if the habitus of the individual is matched to the collective organisational habitus and rules and expectations of the field (Karacam & Koca, 2015). This is problematic when the most powerful leadership roles are typically associated with masculine traits such as those that are 'technically rational, performance-oriented, highly instrumental, devoid of intimacy yet preoccupied with identity, and driven by rarely reflected upon corporate or bureaucratic goals' (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004, p. 436). Within Norwegian sport organisations, Hovden (2010) found that both male and female Board Members saw women as being reluctant to make decisions, less ambitious and competent, and lacking knowledge of the 'rules of the game'. Again, this displays how binary gendered perceptions of women leaders result in organisational habitus being more harmonious with the dominant habitus of most male leaders over most female leaders.

Whilst gender stereotypes of women leaders who express typically feminine behaviours lead to questions on their suitability for leadership positions, it has also been found that women who adopt more masculine leadership qualities are marginalised. This is because 'women who exude confidence, competence, and fortitude risk comprising their femininity and (hetero)sexual desirability' (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010, p. 482). Sartore and Cunningham (2010) describe how women adopting masculine leadership qualities can lead to social rejection, negativity, and stigmatisation, particularly through the use of sexist labels such as 'bitch' and 'ice queen' (p. 482). Women in Claringbould and Knoppers' (2008) study experienced contradictions in what was expected of them as they did not want to be seen as different or inferior to their male colleagues, yet found that they were criticised if they behaved like men or were seen as a feminist. This means that women are placed in a difficult position whereby they are forced to adopt both traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine behaviours simultaneously. Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the gendered habitus gives insight into the difficulty that women face in adopting simultaneously gendered behaviours. This is because Bourdieu (2001) emphasises the inseparability of the body from gender norms and expectations through the embodiment of gendered expressions and dispositions (hexis). Therefore, it is very difficult for women leaders to display dispositions

that are congruent with traditional (masculine) notions of leadership because they engage with the social field through a female body that holds deep-rooted social meanings, expectations, and identities (Krais, 2006).

All of the research that I have discussed within this sub-section places men in a binary category of being dominant, and so fails to also discuss the experiences of men who are subordinated because they do not embody dominant conceptualisations of masculinity that are associated with 'ideal leadership' (Connell, 2009). Whilst a body of research has discussed the experiences of subordinate men within sport participation (Anderson, 2002, 2009a; Anderson & McGuire, 2010), there is an absence of empirical research that explores the experiences of men who are subordinated within sport leadership. Anderson (2009b) discusses sport management as a hegemonically masculine enterprise, but does not draw upon empirical data to support his discussions. Whilst a focus on subordinated men is not within the scope of this research, this is an important area of future research to understand the full impact of gender on sport leadership.

4.3.3. Gendered informal social practices

Shaw (2006b), Shaw and Slack (2002), and Claringbould and Knoppers (2007) all found that informal practices had subtle but effective impacts on the reproduction of male-dominance within sport governance. One informal practice identified by Shaw (2006b) and Shaw and Slack (2002) was the use of discriminatory and sexist language within English NGBs which marginalise women and negatively impact upon their symbolic capital. In particular, the use of sexist humour was found to be difficult to resist because both men and women tend to have a reluctance to challenge humour for fear of social exclusion (Shaw, 2006b). Therefore, sexist humour and its sexist messages are permitted to be articulated, reiterated, and protected. Shaw and Slack (2002) also found that patronising language was used to describe female members of staff, particularly following the merging of a male and female NGB. Bourdieu (1991) sees the use of discriminatory language as a form of symbolic power exercised to maintain a superiority/inferiority separation between dominant and subordinate social groups. This is because language reflects the perceptive and appreciative components of individuals' habitus, and so 'express[es] the state of relations of symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 20).

A second informal practice identified was dress codes, which were found to be more harmonious to male leaders than female leaders. In particular, the tradition of new Board Members receiving a blazer and tie (Shaw, 2006b) or tailored suit (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007) on appointment to the board carried a much higher meaning for men than women and created a sense of normalcy around men being appointed for the role. It also allows men a greater opportunity to accumulate symbolic capital through expressing and symbolising their position and authority within the field (Shaw, 2006b). Bourdieu described informal social practices that sustain inequality within the field in which they operate as 'social relations of domination and exploitation' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 30). I will discuss examples of informal organisational practices that sustain gender inequality within England Golf and the LTA within Chapter 8.

4.4. Individual leaders, gender, and power

Academics have begun to explore how power is exercised through gender at the individual level to reproduce gender segregation and gender-imbalanced leadership teams within sport organisations. This is primarily through the gendered expectations and behaviours of individual leaders and their use of different leadership styles, each of which I will discuss within this section.

4.4.1. Gendered expectations and behaviours

Claringbould and Knoppers (2008) use the term 'doing gender' to describe the ways that individual leaders engage in gendered behaviours as a result of gender norms and expectations. They define 'doing gender' as 'the use of gendered normative attributions or stereotypes in social interactions and engaging in what is often referred to as sex-typed behaviour and thus reinforcing gender differences' (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008, p. 82). They found that Directors on boards that had an uneven representation of men and women in their study 'did gender' by perceiving gender imbalance as normal. Furthermore, neither men nor women showed much support for changing the situation, and women were reluctant to take on board membership because they did not want to be seen as token women and not having been appointed on merit (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008). Both men and women were 'doing gender' by maintaining their 'normal' status of power and oppression, respectively, and failing to acknowledge let alone resist the uneven gender composition of the board

(Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008, p. 82). Adriaanse and Schofield (2014) found similar behaviours where men dominated the leadership of one Australian sport organisation both in numbers and power, yet there was no evidence of conflict amongst Board Members (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2014). Men and women directors attributed the underrepresentation of women to women themselves, and therefore outside of the control and responsibility of the organisation.

Claringbould and Knoppers (2012) found that Board Members of National Olympic Committees (NOCs) did acknowledge that a lack of women in leadership positions was problematic and needed to change, yet took little responsibility and did little to change it. They call this paradoxical practice 'gender passivity', and Board Members tended to legitimise their passivity by assuming that it was difficult to find qualified women or that women were not interested in being part of national sport boards (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2012). Other members legitimised their gender passivity by declaring themselves as having insufficient influence, or by arguing that change would happen by itself (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2012). Legitimisation of gender passivity allowed Board Members to not feel responsible for changing the situation, and so gender passivity was further reinforced. The normalisation of men in positions of power within these studies is a further example of symbolic violence, because it normalises symbolic systems to profit the dominant (male) group (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Furthermore, the lack of action to change the male-dominated symbolic systems is a field conservation strategy that safeguards the dominance of men within positions of power.

4.4.2. Leadership styles

A wide range of research has been conducted on the behaviours and styles of individual leaders. A leadership style can be defined as relatively stable patterns of behaviour that 'are not fixed ... but encompass a range of behaviours that have a particular meaning or that serve a particular function' (Eagly, 2007, p. 2). These functions are simultaneously task-focused (i.e. achieving a particular goal in line with the organisation's strategy) and people-focused (i.e. engaging and developing followers; Gipson, Pfaff, Mendelsohn, Catenacci, & Burke, 2017). Due to their relatively stable but unfixed nature, leadership styles are examples of repertoires that individuals develop as part of their habitus to function effectively within

the organisational field (Bourdieu, 2000). When a leadership style or behaviour is a long-lasting disposition that is also a source of power, it becomes a form of embodied cultural capital that the individual can convert into other forms of capital (e.g. social and/or symbolic capital) to conserve or advance their position within the field.

The behaviours of leaders have become widely categorised by academics and practitioners, such as transactional leadership, laissez faire leadership, and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership involves managing in the conventional sense by clarifying subordinates' responsibilities and rewarding them for meeting objectives, or correcting them for failing to meet objectives (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Conversely, laissez faire leadership is characterised by an overall failure to take responsibility for management (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Finally, transformational leadership is part of the 'new leadership' paradigm that has continued to be perceived as the ideal style of leadership within the organisational literature since its conception in the late 1970s (Western, 2008). This leadership style was first categorised by Burns (1978), and later expanded on by Bass (1985), and gives more attention to the charismatic and affective elements of leadership, with the leader acting as a role model to gain followers' trust and confidence (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Northouse, 2010).

Several academics have evaluated whether women's typical leadership styles are different to the typical leadership styles of men, and whether this acts as an asset or a barrier to women who are seeking leadership positions. In their meta-analysis of 45 studies that compared men's and women's use of different leadership styles across a variety of sectors, Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt and van Engen (2003) found that female leaders were more transformational than their male counterparts, whereas male leaders were more likely to manifest aspects of transactional and laissez faire leadership styles. In line with organisational research that has found transformational leadership to positively correlate to leadership effectiveness (e.g. Alam & Mia, 2015; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996), this meta-analysis therefore found that, on average, female leaders embodied more effective leadership styles than male managers.

Eagly et al. (2003) offer a number of reasons as to why female leaders tend to adopt a more transformational style than male leaders, including that women can overcome the dilemma of role incongruity because few transformational behaviours can be characterised as being distinctly masculine. In fact, on the contrary, certain aspects of transformational

leadership have distinctly female connotations such as mentoring and attending to the needs of followers (Eagly et al., 2003). Additionally, with research finding that women often have to work harder and prove themselves more than men to be considered for employment or promotion, Eagly et al. (2003) hypothesise that 'a tendency for women to have a more transformational style than men could reflect on the selection of women who have met the higher standard that is imposed on [them]' (p. 573-574).

Findings such as those in Eagly et al.'s (2003) study brings about the question of why there is a continued underrepresentation of women leaders within sport governance if women leaders typically use more effective leadership styles. Drawing upon Bourdieu's theory of practice, it seems that the accumulation of other forms of capital are more influential in women leaders' position-taking and accumulation of power than leadership styles. For example, the requirement for an individual to hold high levels of symbolic capital to effectively implement transformational leadership is clear. This is because a leader has to hold authority, prestige, and reputation to gain the trust and confidence of 'followers' (Western, 2008). However, as I discussed in Section 4.3.2, leadership has been socially constructed to legitimise dominant men and the male body within positions of power. Furthermore, as I discussed in Section 4.3.3, women have been found to hold less social capital in the form of high influence social networks, which are particularly influential in the recruitment and promotion of leaders. Therefore, the symbolic systems of sport organisations need to change to allow women greater opportunity to accumulate various forms of capital to then enable them to capitalise on the effectiveness of their approach to leadership. Within the next section I will discuss the proposals that academics have put forward in creating such change.

4.5. Strategies for change

Within Chapter 2 I outlined some of the work of key organisations and institutions that are attempting to improve gender balance within sport leadership/governance. In addition to the work of these organisations and practitioners, several academics have proposed and/or evaluated strategies for change across various sectors, including sport governance. Pfister (2011) presents a long list of recommended strategies for change in developing greater gender equality within sport governance. Her recommendations include: greater awareness

of gender inequalities and the barriers impeding the advancement of women in leadership positions, open and transparent recruitment processes, reducing the workload of leaders and expectations to work unsociable hours, offering childcare options, inviting women from outside of sport to apply for positions, and creating a pool of potential female leaders (Pfister, 2011). Three additional recommendations by Pfister (2011) that I will discuss in more depth in this section are, as follows: the introduction of gender quotas, the provision of education and support programmes for women leaders, and new/creative approaches towards gender equality.

4.5.1. Gender quotas

Quotas generally refer to positive action undertaken to recruit underrepresented demographic or social groups (Sisjord, Fasting, & Sand, 2017; Skirstad, 2009). Sisjord et al. (2017) highlight the key link between quotas and democracy, with a basic comprehension of both being that leaders should reflect the views of the whole population. Because of their explicit aim to advance the position of women within the field in which they are being applied, quotas are an example of a succession field strategy. Quotas come in many different forms, and Skirstad (2009) identifies three kinds of gender quotas: moderate, radical, and earmarking. Moderate quotas refer to the preference of the underrepresented gender if two candidates have the same qualifications. Radical gender quotas are used when the individual from the underrepresented gender is preferred, even if they are not the best qualified candidate for the position, as long as they meet the minimum requirements for the job. Finally, earmarking quotas are introduced when a certain number of jobs or positions are reserved for one gender (Skirstad, 2009).

Norway has been a leading country in the introduction of quotas within sport leadership. Skirstad (2009) discussed how the Norwegian Olympic Committee first introduced a moderate gender quota in 1988 for electing representatives to Councils, Boards, and Committees within the National Olympic Committee (NOC) and its regional sporting bodies and sport federations. Whilst the election of women was encouraged, no representation figure or target was presented. The quota rules changed in 1990 to become more radical, with the introduction of a requirement for a minimum of two representatives of each sex to be represented on each governance group which was extended to sport clubs that sit under the

NOC (Skirstad, 2009). There were proposals put forward to the General Assembly of Sports in Norway in 2003 and 2007 for an earmarked gender quota of 30% and 40% female representation, respectively, but neither of these proposals were successful (Skirstad, 2009). This demonstrates the constantly shifting power relations within a field of forces where actors are seeking, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Aside from research undertaken on Norwegian sport organisations (Fasting, 2003; Sisjord et al., 2017; Skirstad, 2009), only a handful of researchers have explored the use of gender quotas within sport governance. Pfister (2010) found that all of the leaders within Danish sport organisations in her study strongly rejected the idea of quotas because of concerns about women being seen as ‘token women’ and a belief that the person employed should be the best person for the job, regardless of gender. Adriaanse and Schofield (2014) examined the impact of gender quotas within Australian National Sport Organisations and concluded that quotas are essential for advancing gender equality through reducing the dominance that men have both in power and production. However, they also argued that gender quotas were not sufficient to advance gender *equity* within sport organisations because there were other gendered dimensions operating simultaneously Adriaanse and Schofield (2013). I will discuss the impact of national and organisational quotas on both gender balance and gender equity within the governance of England Golf and the LTA within Section 7.2.

Adriaanse and Schofield’s (2014) conclusions highlight that even if succession field strategies advance the position of women within the objective hierarchies of organisational fields, subversion field strategies are required to sustainably transform the field’s system of authority and change organisational habitus to be more gender-equitable. Furthermore, women leaders need the opportunity to accumulate and convert capital to ensure that they are not seen as token women. Within the next section I will review the work that academics have done in evaluating how successful women’s leadership development programmes are at achieving this.

4.5.2. Women's leadership development programmes

Leadership development has been defined as a process that expands 'the collective capacity of organisational members to engage effectively in leadership roles and processes' (Day, 2001, p. 582). Increasingly, it has been argued across various sectors that leadership development programmes need to be tailored for women leaders in order to meet their specific needs and experiences (Hopkins, O'Neil, Passarelli, & Bilimoria, 2008). However, Ely, Ibarra, and Kolb (2011) outline weaknesses of women's leadership development programmes (WLDPs), including that 'practitioners and educators lack a coherent, theoretically based and actionable framework for designing and delivering leadership programmes for women' (p. 475). As a result of this, they go on to suggest that many WLDPs adopt one of two problematic approaches: a 'fix-the-women' approach or an 'add-women-and-stir' approach (Ely et al., 2011, p. 475).

A 'fix-the-women' approach locates the problem in women and stereotypically assumes that women have not been socialised to compete on the same level as men, and therefore must be taught the skills that their male counterparts have learnt (Ely et al., 2011). This is particularly problematic because of its association of effective leadership with male attributes, which can lead to problems of role incongruity for women leaders who attempt to adopt typically masculine qualities. An 'add-women-and-stir' approach promotes the deliverance of the same development programmes that are delivered to men, and ignores that gender is a problem at all (Ely et al., 2011). Both approaches fail to resist the male-dominated organisational habitus of the sport organisations that female leaders work within which, as I have outlined throughout this chapter, tend to be more harmonious with the habitus of dominant male leaders.

In response to their arguments on the limitations of WLDPs, Ely et al. (2011) suggest that WLDPs would benefit more from elements such as 360-degree feedback, leadership networks, and exposure to a range of leadership styles. Furthermore, they argue that WLDPs should be based around three key principles. First, they should be situated within an analysis of subtle forms of cultural and organisational bias to increase awareness of gender bias, make women less susceptible to its effects, and offer women a framework for diagnosing and intervening in their organisations (Ely et al., 2011). This aligns with Bourdieu's strong

emphasis on reflexivity as a method of resistance. Second, there should be a safe space established for learning and experimenting with a community of peer support to allow participants to feel a sense of belonging and identification. This develops a bonding form of social capital amongst the women through their strong social ties, which in turn develops trust (Putnam, 2000). Third, WLDPs need to anchor participants on their leadership purpose to allow women to redirect their attention outward towards shared goals and who they need to be to advance those goals (Ely et al., 2011). This is more of a focus on enhancing the cultural capital of women, through identifying what experiences and qualifications they need to obtain (institutionalised cultural capital), and what mental and physical dispositions they need to adopt (embodied cultural capital) to become more effective leaders and achieve their goals. Despite the detail and depth of Ely et al.'s (2011) informative and distinctive recommendations for WLDPs, they are yet to conduct a study which proves the effectiveness of their suggestions.

As outlined within Chapter 2, there have been several WLDPs delivered in sport since the underrepresentation of women leaders was first identified as an issue in the 1980s. The extent to which WLDPs within the sport sector achieve Ely et al.'s (2011) recommendations varies. For example, the Women's Sport Leadership Academy (WSLA) uses 360-degree feedback, personal development planning, and the development of leadership networks (Pike, White, Matthews, Southon, & Piggott, 2018), whereas the Women's Sport Network (WSN) just focuses on developing leadership networks (Women in Sport, 2015d). An outcome that seems to consistently be lacking in sport WLDPs is women leaders attempting to change the culture and structure of the gender-biased organisations within which they work. Pike et al. (2018) suggest that the women who attend the WSLA tend to maintain a liberal approach towards gender equality rather than focusing on gender equity. This is because a liberal approach aligns with the requirements of the governance code that has been developed by the public bodies of sport that their organisations are funded by.

It may be the case that a liberal approach is needed before more radical changes can take place, as the culture of sport organisations are unlikely to change without more women within them to initiate and substantiate change (Matthews, 2014). In terms of field strategies, WLDPs are succession strategies that better equip women with various forms of capital to take up leadership positions. Subversion strategies can then be introduced once these women

are in positions of power to attempt to transform the field's system of authority, as well as organisational habitus, to be more gender-equitable. Within the next section I will discuss alternative frameworks that have been proposed to better understand ways of implementing subversion strategies to achieve organisational cultural change.

4.5.3. Alternative frameworks for understanding gender equity

Ely and Meyerson (2000) and Meyerson and Kolb (2000) outline three traditional approaches to gender and organisational change, and express their reservations towards each of these. The first of these, 'fix the women', was explained in the previous sub-section. The second, 'value the feminine', is in complete contrast to the first approach and celebrates women's difference from men. In particular, this approach values women's relationship-orientation as an effective management style (Ely & Meyerson, 2000; Meyerson & Kolb, 2000). This approach is criticised because interventions are 'predicated on particular, dominant images of feminine and masculine, those that are heterosexual, white, and class-privileged' (Ely & Meyerson, 2000, p. 110). The third approach, 'create equal opportunity', focuses on structural barriers that women face in recruitment and advancement. Interventions within this frame are largely policy-based, such as revising recruitment procedures and establishing more transparent promotion policies (Ely & Meyerson, 2000; Meyerson & Kolb, 2000). Although Ely and Meyerson (2000) acknowledge how these interventions have helped to improve the material conditions of women's lives, they also argue that their impact is limited because again they 'do not fundamentally challenge the sources of power or the social interactions that reinforce and maintain the status quo' (p. 112).

In response to the inadequacy of these three traditional approaches, Ely and Meyerson (2000) and Meyerson and Kolb (2000) developed 'frame 4', which is a non-traditional approach to achieving gender equity. Frame 4 conceives gender as 'a complex set of social relations enacted across a range of social practices that exist both within and outside of formal organisations' (Ely & Meyerson, 2000, p. 113). It is made up of three key phases: critique, narrative revision, and experimentation (Ely & Meyerson, 2000; Meyerson & Kolb, 2000). The first of these phases, critique, identifies a need for organisations to be self-reflexive in their social practices to make them more gender-neutral. This aligns with

Bourdieu's emphasis on reflexivity as a key first step in transforming problematic habitus. The second phase, narrative revision, encourages organisations to change dominant gendered narratives through which gender equities are discussed. For Bourdieu (1991), gendered narrative is a form of symbolic power because it normalises unequal gender power relations. Therefore, promoting alternative narratives can help to change the gendered logic of the field. The final phase is experimentation, which encourages small changes to be made to the behaviours of individuals which can in turn start to change organisational cultures. With organisational habitus being a structured structure that is influenced by the behaviours and interactions of individuals, changes to micro-behaviours such as refusing to laugh at sexist jokes can begin to transform the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977)

Shaw and Frisby (2006) developed and extended the 'fourth frame', highlighting two key limitations. First, they addressed a need to acknowledge the intersectionality of gender in its application to management. As it is, frame 4 fails to acknowledge the differences in the experiences and ease of access to leadership positions for different women depending on their social background (Shaw & Frisby, 2006). Shaw and Frisby (2006) argue that frame 4 would be stronger if it engaged with postcolonial feminism that challenges the authority of white feminist theorising and questions its representativeness. Second, Shaw and Frisby (2006) emphasise a need for changing the assumption that gender equity is achieved at the expense of organisational effectiveness. Within the next section I will outline research that has provided evidence for gender balance on boards leading to improved organisational performance.

4.6. The business case for more women leaders

As I have highlighted within this chapter thus far, academics and practitioners are increasingly calling for a higher representation of women leaders within sport organisations. With this being the case, the important question arises as to whether an increased representation of women within sport organisations is beneficial to the functioning and effectiveness of organisations. Research reports and papers have contributed to this debate both outside and inside of sport. Outside of sport, Women on Boards UK's (WOB UK; 2011) review of the *Davies Report* outlines four key benefits of gender balance on corporate boards: improved performance, access to the widest talent pool, allowing a better response to the

market, and achieving better governance. They draw upon a number of different studies that have been conducted within the world of business to back up these claims (e.g. Desvaux, Devillard, & Sancier-Sultan, 2009). In their 2015 review, WOB UK add that greater gender balance helps to modernise British businesses and their reputation, and organisations benefit from more diverse perspectives (Women on Boards UK, 2015b). No evidence is given to support these claims, however.

A range of research projects have been conducted that have found benefits in increasing the number of women leaders within the business sector. Findings include that, on average, women leaders use more effective leadership styles (Eagly et al., 2003), that companies with good female representation in their top management groups have better financial performance (Krishnan & Park, 2005), that leaders have reported that gender-balanced boards have a positive impact on performance (Desvaux et al., 2009), and that gender balance has a positive influence on corporate social responsibility (Setó-Pamies, 2013). Within politics, Childs (2016) argues that a more gender-balanced parliament develops a greater awareness of the public's needs, considers a more expansive set of issues and interests, provides more informed decision-making, and enhances legitimacy due to the public feeling better represented by parliament.

Conversely, two meta-analyses have been conducted that suggest there is little evidence that gender-balanced corporate boards lead to better performance (Pletzer, Nikolova, Kedzior, & Voelpel, 2015; Post & Byron, 2014). Post and Byron (2014) found that firms with more female Directors tend to have slightly higher returns on assets and equity than firms with fewer female Directors, but the effect was very small. Furthermore, Pletzer et al. (2015) found that a relationship between female representation on corporate boards and firm performance was small and not statistically significant.

Comparatively little research has been conducted on the impact of gender-balanced leadership teams within sport governance. *Women in Sport's (2015a) Checklist for Change* argues that more gender-balanced sport boards would widen the skills and experiences on offer, develop more creative and forward-thinking boards, and bring more ideas and insight on how to better engage women and girls in sport participation and spectatorship. However, no evidence or references are provided to back up these arguments. Pfister (2010) gathered the opinions of male and female Danish senior level sport officials on the role of both women

and men within their organisations, and reported that the majority of sport leaders in her study claimed that they would prefer more women to be involved in the leadership of their organisation. Reasons given for this included that women would bring different perspectives and new ideas to the boardroom, would improve the atmosphere in meetings, and would help with alleviating the lack of volunteers. Additionally, Acosta and Carpenter (2014) found that a benefit of more female Athletic Directors within intercollegiate sport in the US was a trickle-down effect of more female coaches working in that department. Whisenant et al. (2002) argue that young women need to see women in decision-making positions in order to locate sports participation as being important in their futures, and that gender equity in administrative positions is simply a matter of fairness.

The research findings that I have discussed within this section outline the complexity of the issue of gender balance within sport leadership. Findings that demonstrate the positive impacts of more female leaders suggest that women have the potential to accumulate gender capital through effective leadership styles, offering new and different perspectives, and effective ways of working. If legitimised and viewed positively, theoretically such gender capital should be a cultural resource which is convertible into power, influence, and status (Skeggs, 1997). However, as I have highlighted throughout this chapter, women remain underrepresented within sport leadership and the system of authority and organisational habitus of sport organisations continue to privilege men. More research needs to be conducted on the business case for gender-balanced sport leadership to better inform and substantiate calls for the appointment of more women leaders. I will discuss the views of senior leaders within England Golf and the LTA on the impact of gender-balanced leadership teams in Chapter 6.

4.7. Summary

Throughout this chapter I have outlined the increasing depth and breadth of work that is being conducted around the underrepresentation of women in sport leadership positions. This body of literature has identified that men continue to dominate sport governance, both numerically and culturally. A range of barriers have been identified within the literature that impact upon women obtaining leadership positions, or gaining authority and legitimation once in position. These barriers transcend across the societal/organisational,

structural/cultural, formal/informal, and conscious/sub-conscious at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. The multi-layered complexity of the issue creates challenges in identifying and implementing effective yet sustainable strategies for change. That said, strategies for change are being proposed and actioned at various levels, including policy change at the structural-level, alternative frameworks for cultural change at the organisational-level, and women's leadership development programmes at the individual-level.

In reviewing the literature, I have identified that a key limitation of some of the work being undertaken is a lack of evidence provided to support recommendations given to increase the number of women in sport leadership positions (e.g. Women in Sport, 2015a; Women on Boards UK, 2015b). Going forward, organisations should collaborate more with researchers to ensure all claims and recommendations are evidence-based. Furthermore, it has become apparent that there are areas that require further investigation. This includes more research on the gendered structures of sport organisations, the impact of recent sport governance/gender equity policy, the motivations of women to aspire for leadership positions, the experiences of women leaders from different cultures, social backgrounds, and social locations, and the benefits of gender-balanced leadership teams. I contribute to filling some of these gaps in this thesis, including conducting an in-depth analysis of the structures and formal practices of England Golf and the LTA, discussing the impact of UK Sport and Sport England's (2016) *Code for Sport Governance*, and exploring the perspectives of the participants on the benefits/limitations of gender-balanced leadership teams. I also offer a new angle on some of the issues that have already been researched through my use of a Bourdieusian theoretical framework. Within the next chapter I will discuss the methodological approach that I have adopted in aiming to produce high-quality, impactful research to contribute to the research that has been outlined and discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

Within Chapters 2, 3, and 4 I offered a historical and literary contextualisation to this research and outlined the theoretical framework that underpins it. The purpose of this chapter is to outline and justify the methodological decisions made throughout the research process. This includes highlighting the philosophical and theoretical influences on the methodology, justifying my choice of research sites/participants, explaining the methods I used to conduct and analyse the research, outlining quality and ethical considerations, and offering a reflexive account of my position as the researcher within the research process. Within the next section I will outline the research perspective of this thesis, which informs the rest of the chapter.

5.1. Philosophical orientation of the research

Guba (1990) describes a philosophical orientation as ‘a basic set of beliefs that guide action’ (p. 17). These beliefs are based on the discipline and theoretical position of the researcher, the inclinations of mentors and/or supervisors for the research project, and past life and research experiences (Creswell, 2014). In this section I will outline and justify three key components of the philosophical orientation of this research: its epistemology, ontology, and research paradigm.

5.1.1. Epistemology

Epistemology is a theory of knowledge that focuses on how knowledge is acquired by the researcher, who is capable of being a knower in different situations, what can be legitimated as knowledge, and what kinds of things are capable of being known (Harding, 1987). It has been argued by feminists that traditional epistemologies exclude the notion of women being capable ‘knowers’, and instead view the voice of science as a masculine one, with history being written by men, for men, and about men (Harding, 1987). Feminist epistemologies not only recognise women as ‘knowers’, but acknowledge ‘the ways in which gender influences what we take to be knowledge’ (Anderson, 1995, p. 50). Feminist epistemologies are necessary, therefore, because ‘we cannot understand women and their

lives by adding facts about them to bodies of knowledge which take men, their lives, and their beliefs as the human norm' (Harding & Hintikka, 1983, p. IX).

Bourdieu's epistemological stance is centred around reflexivity and uncovering the position and associated dispositions of the researcher in developing new knowledge within the social sciences (Maton, 2003). This aligns with feminist epistemologies in that it identifies the social scientist's position as a site of struggle for voice (McCall, 1992). Reflexivity of my own position within the research process will be discussed in Section 5.8. One aspect of Bourdieu's epistemological position that McCall (1992) argues does not align so closely with feminist epistemology is his use of terms such as 'truth' and 'objective methods' of claiming the truth. This goes against contemporary feminist beliefs that the diversity and difference of women only ever allows for partial, situational truths to be claimed (McCall, 1992). Whilst there are some epistemological challenges in the coupling of Bourdieu's original work and feminist research, I agree with Laberge (1995) that Bourdieu's theoretical framework and epistemology are compatible with feminist epistemology if there is a reconceptualisation of gender within feminist-informed Bourdieusian research. Within this thesis I place gender as a fundamental organising principle of social space and adopt a non-binary definition of gender that is informed by queer theory to attempt to rectify the binarist androcentrism for which Bourdieu's work is commonly criticised. Furthermore, I use a Bourdieusian theoretical lens, which is informed by a rationalist position, to generate new questions and angles that allow knowledge to develop outside of traditional feminist approaches to research.

5.1.2. Ontology

The ontological assumptions of research relate to the philosophy of existence, or more simply, how we characterise the nature of reality (Creswell, 2007; Gratton & Jones, 2004). Feminist ontological assumptions have developed and changed over time. For example, early liberal and radical feminists have been criticised for giving a lack of attention to the realities of non-dominant women, namely those women who are non-Western, non-white, non-heterosexual and/or disabled. This lack of attention given to difference, or groups that are 'peripheralised', has been criticised for not recognising the multiple identities, and therefore multiple realities, of women (Bar On, 1993, p. 89). A number of feminist scholars have highlighted the dominant discourses of white, Western, middle-class women within sport,

and particularly within the women and sport movement (Hargreaves, 2000; Matthews, 2014; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002).

Contemporary feminisms such as post-structural and post-colonial feminism have developed out of dissatisfaction with macro-analyses of the experiences of women that characterise earlier strands of feminism. Contemporary feminisms argue that there are multiple realities of women's experiences, multiple femininities, and diverse identities and subjectivities that women can experience. This is based on intersectionality: when oppression scales more than one social sphere at one time (Shields, 2008). Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) argue that Bourdieu's theory of practice can provide new understandings of intersectionality, and so contribute to contemporary feminist perspectives. For example, an examination of the accumulation, value, and convertibility of capital for different social agents can provide a new perspective on the resources, attributes, and forms of power that individuals of different social backgrounds and locations hold (Metcalfe & Woodhams, 2012). Therefore, Bourdieu's social theory is particularly useful in revealing relational inequalities through an individual's (gendered) position within the social field. Furthermore, Bourdieu's discussions of strategies available to agents in accumulating more capital offers a form of individualised resistance that contemporary feminisms are criticised for failing to achieve (Bourdieu, 1993). An additional strength of Bourdieu's social ontology within organisational research is its attempt to position knowledge outside the dualism of structure/agency (King, 2000). This is particularly beneficial for feminist organisational research because it allows a multi-layered analysis of how the gendering of organisations reproduces gender inequality.

5.1.3. Research paradigm

A paradigm is 'a general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study' (Creswell, 2014, p. 6). Each paradigm differs with regards to its epistemological and ontological assumptions, which in turn has differing implications on the ways in which data is collected and interpreted (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Research in the sport sciences has typically been situated within one of two paradigms: positivism or interpretivism. Positivism is a view 'that the world of experience is an objective world, governed by underlying regularities, even natural laws' (Sprague, 2010, p. 79). Positivism has been heavily criticised by feminists for typically assuming that all of the

researched are men and that women's experiences are the same as men's (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Additionally, positivist language tends to use dichotomous gender binaries to categorise data which further reinforces hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal domination through its failure to acknowledge difference and diversity (Connell, 1995).

The interpretivist paradigm emerged in reaction to criticisms of positivism, thus making it much more aligned with feminist research principles. Interpretivists believe that there are multiple realities of truth and knowledge which leads them to look for the complexity of multiple, subjective views and experiences rather than reducing meanings into set categories and ideas (Creswell, 2014). This research is situated within the interpretivist paradigm because I have used predominantly qualitative methodologies to explore and analyse, in-depth, the different experiences and realities of both female and male leaders of sport within two context-specific settings. Interpretivists see the researcher's position as crucial to the research process because the researcher's experience of the world forms the basis of their knowledge as a social scientist, and influences how data is interpreted (Matthews, 2014; Stanley & Wise, 1993). Bourdieu's epistemology is more aligned to the interpretivist paradigm, therefore, because of 'his signature obsession with reflexivity' (Wacquant, 1992, p. 36). Bourdieu's extensive writing on reflexivity can help individuals to not only generate more truthful knowledge through a 'heightened consciousness associated with an effort of transformation', but can also provide a source of insight into the nature of the research process (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 160). In the next section I will outline the choice of research sites and participants for this research.

5.2. Research perspective

The research questions and aims of this research are primarily informed by a feminist perspective. This is because women and gender relations are at the centre of the research and the explicit purpose of the research is to make visible the experiences of women and make a contribution to public debate on crucial practical issues that impact the lives of women (Aitchinson, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Lather, 1992). I interviewed and observed both female and male leaders to investigate dominant gender power relations from both a privileged and subordinate perspective, which is often absent in feminist research (hooks, 2000). This is because 'without males as allies in struggle [the] feminist movement will not

progress' (hooks, 2000, p. 12). Importantly, men can offer new understanding and perspectives on feminist issues, and men hold the most power within sport leadership, so therefore they need to be active agents in resisting male-dominated organisational cultures. Furthermore, the very process of interviewing male leaders heightens their consciousness of gender inequity within sport leadership, which is a key step in creating change (Bourdieu, 1990).

As explained in Chapter 3, whilst the research questions and methodology have been informed by a feminist perspective, I have applied Bourdieu's theory of practice to analyses of the key literature in the field and the primary data collected. I chose the theory of practice as a theoretical framework instead of feminist theory because it offers more useful tools in conducting in-depth, multi-layered organisational analyses that provide a different angle on gendered practices and power relations. Throughout the rest of this chapter I will identify the methodology of this research and demonstrate how it is informed by both feminist and Bourdieusian perspectives, as well as how it aligns with the feminist research questions and research aims. I will begin by explaining the philosophical orientation of the research in the next section.

5.3. Research sites and participants

The research sites for this study are the headquarters of two English national governing bodies (NGBs): England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA). The National Golf Centre (NGC) is based in Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire, and the National Tennis Centre (NTC) is based in Roehampton, London. Two organisations were selected as research sites to allow for an in-depth level of analysis within each organisation, whilst offering more than one organisational perspective. The depth of conducting a multi-level organisational analysis of two organisations was valued more highly than the breadth of a study that offers a surface-level analysis of a larger number of organisations. The lack of breadth of this study does mean that findings specific to the structures and cultures of the two organisations are not generalisable across all English NGBs. That said, some of the findings presented across Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 are relatable to all NGBs and leaders because of all NGBs possessing some common characteristics, and because of the shared experiences of leaders across the sector.

Creswell (2007) discussed the concept of 'purposeful sampling', which means that 'the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study' (p. 125). This research is situated at the organisational level, and specifically within England Golf and the LTA, for several reasons. First, organisational research offers a multi-level analysis of dominant gender power relations in sport governance because of the multi-layered nature of sport organisations and their formal and informal structures, practices, policies, rules, cultures, and people (Shaw & Slack, 2002). Both England Golf and the LTA are large NGBs, and so they provide ideal sites for a multi-layered analysis because of their different hierarchical levels of leadership. Second, sport organisations rather than individuals are the focus of sport governance policy, and so organisational research allows an analysis of the effectiveness of such policy. Both England Golf and the LTA have achieved the 30% gender balance requirement for boards outlined within Sport England and UK Sport's (2016) *A Code for Sports Governance*, and so this research can offer insight into the strategies that have been employed to meet this requirement. Third, research situated within these two long-standing English sport organisations allows for an analysis of the construction, formation, and development of gender power relations over time (Baron, Mittman, & Newman, 1991).

There are 33 formal participants for this research: 17 from England Golf and 16 from the LTA. Out of the interviewees from England Golf, seven were women and 10 were men, and all were white, British. Furthermore, the interviewees were made up of: eight Non-Executive Board Members (four female, four male), six Executives (all male), two middle-managers (all female), and one colleague-level employee (female). Out of the interviewees from the LTA, seven were women and nine were men. Additionally, 14 of the interviewees were white, British, one was white, North American, and one was white, Southern European with English as their second language. Furthermore, the interviewees were made up of: five Non-Executive Board Members (three female, two male), seven Executives (six male, one female), one middle-manager (female), two colleague-level employees (one female, one male), and one former leader (female). All of the interviewees from both organisations identified as middle-class.

I identified these interviewees as being those who could provide the greatest insight into the gendered experiences of current, past, and prospective leaders of sport. I deemed

the sample size to be large enough to generate knowledge from different positions, perspectives, and genders because of the variability of roles (both vertically and horizontally) represented across male and female participants. In addition to interviewees, there were also an unrecorded number of informal participants who I observed within the headquarters of the two organisations and across several meetings and events. I will discuss the ethical implications of informal participants within Section 5.7.

The lack of race and class diversity amongst participants demonstrates trends which privilege white, middle-class leaders. With no working class or minority ethnic representation at all amongst interviewees, it would also suggest that class and race are bigger barriers in obtaining leadership positions than gender. However, because all of the participants were in positions of middle-class, white privilege, discussions around racial and class-based experiences did not arise within interviews. This is interesting in itself, and aligns with Bourdieu's (1977) notion of doxa which conceptualises how taken for granted assumptions and beliefs of privileged individuals lead to a lack of conscious awareness of their privileged bodies. However, it also means that any discussions within this research on race and class barriers that individuals experience in obtaining and maintaining leadership positions would be one-dimensional and speculative. This is because the voices of the disadvantaged would not be heard. Therefore, whilst an intersectional approach is important, and has mostly been ignored within the gender and sport leadership literature, race and class do not centrally feature throughout Chapters 6-9.

5.3.1. Access to research sites and participants

Gaining access to the two research sites involved different processes for the two organisations. For the LTA, I initially contacted the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) via a letter in April 2016. This letter contained information about the study and the rationale for the research, and I requested to spend a period of time within the NTC to carry out participant observation and interviews with senior leaders. To increase my chances of gaining access to the NGB, I also offered assistance with any suitable administrative work that I could contribute to in return for research access. I did not conduct any such work in the end, however, as it was felt that there was not the human resource available to offer training and oversee the work. The CEO passed on the request to the Director of People whose team

responded and agreed that the LTA would participate in the research. Following a meeting with a member of the People Team at the NTC and numerous telephone and email conversations, an itinerary was agreed for both the interviews and participant observation. This itinerary can be seen in Appendix 3.

Access to England Golf was made easier by my pre-existing professional relationship with the CEO because of us both being involved with the Anita White Foundation (AWF). Following several telephone and email conversations with the CEO, the Personal Assistant to the CEO, and the Women and Girls' Participation Manager, an itinerary was arranged over a two-week period for interviews with senior leaders and participant observation. This itinerary can be seen in Appendix 3. The agreement of both organisations to be involved and named in this research alludes to their willingness to be transparent, their confidence in their progress in terms of governance and gender equity, and their commitment to use their involvement in the research to continue to develop their governance. Four additional large NGBs were also approached to participate in this research, and they all either declined or failed to respond to the request.

Recruitment of participants for interviews was mostly arranged through the gatekeepers within the two organisations. Some of these interviews were arranged before my arrival at the headquarters of the NGB, and some were arranged in person once I was there. Recruitment of some of the interviewees was the result of a snowball effect, with interviewees making recommendations during their interviews of others who would be interesting to interview. Additionally, a smaller number of interviews were the result of recommendations made through informal conversations during my time within the NGBs. This was a major strength of conducting more sustained, observational research than just interviews, and I will discuss this in more detail in Section 5.4.2.

5.4. Data Collection

To collect data for this research I used a multi-method approach that consisted of semi-structured interviews supported by participant observation and documentary evidence. I adopted an ethnographic approach in using multiple methods to explore the complexity of the social world of sport governance (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). This analysis occurred at both the organisational level, which appreciates 'the complexities of the everyday in organisational

settings' (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg, 2009, p. 1), and the agentic level, 'describing a human group – its institutions, interpersonal behaviours, material productions and beliefs' (Angrosino, 2007, p. 14). Although I have adopted an ethnographic approach, this research cannot be classed as an ethnography because it lacks 'direct and sustained contact with human beings, in the context of their daily lives, over a prolonged period of time' (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 3). In organisational research, an organisational ethnography means becoming 'part of the day-to-day life of the organisation' (Kenny, 2008, p. 375). For this research this would have meant joining the two organisations as an employee, and such a request was not made possible.

An ethnographic approach complements a feminist research perspective as it is able to reveal 'unconscious actions that can inadvertently marginalise groups, or reveal how dominant agents wield strategies to maintain inequality' (Kitchin & Howe, 2013, p. 132). Furthermore, an ethnographic approach also offers an alternative to androcentric methodologies that feminists have argued misinterpret women's participation in social life and fail to understand men's participation in social life as gendered, and not simply the norm (Harding, 1987). This is because a key aim of ethnography is to understand the culture of a particular social group from the perspective of the members of the group (Krane & Baird, 2005). In the next three sub-sections I will provide more detail on each of the three individual research methods utilised.

5.4.1. Semi-structured interviews

An interview is 'a conversation with a purpose' that allows a researcher to find out about the experiences, ideas, and impressions of an individual (Holloway, 1997, p. 94). Alvesson (1996) commends the use of semi-structured interviews within organisational research because of the rich account of the interviewee's experiences that can be documented, and the lesser constraint on interviewees by the researcher's preconceptions compared to more structured interviews or quantitative approaches. Interviews are also considered by feminists to be a good way to ensure that the experiences of women, and other oppressed groups, are heard (Oakley, 2005). As discussed in Section 5.2.1, this is important for feminist research because the voices of women have traditionally been excluded from social enquiry, privileging the experiences of men (Harding, 1987)

I chose semi-structured interviews as the primary research method for this thesis because they allowed the experiences of both female and male leaders to be captured through long stretches of uninterrupted discourse. Such lengthy discourse rarely occurs when observing more 'natural' social conversations due to politeness and social awareness leading actors to take turns to speak (Quinn, 2010). Additionally, the interviews allowed me to take control over questioning which meant I could direct conversations to answer the research questions of this thesis, and they provided an opportunity for more in-depth exploration of interesting situations and processes that I witnessed during participant observation.

In addition to interviews being important in generating narrative evidence of dominant gender power relations, they also positively impacted on the reflexive behaviours of some of the participants. Both female and male leaders across the two organisations discussed how being involved in interviews provided a unique opportunity for them to discuss issues around gender and sport governance without distraction, and these discussions led them to reflect on their own behaviours and how they could change these to make their organisation more gender-equitable. Several interviewees also requested that I share key information from this research with them to provide them with further insight into the dominant gender power relations that exist.

For participants to feel comfortable and safe enough to share their honest experiences and opinions, rapport needed to be developed. One way that I developed rapport with participants was by accumulating field-specific cultural capital in the form of field-specific knowledge. This included researching the history, structure, and people of each organisation, and keeping up to date with golf and tennis news, results, and events. Accumulating this field-specific cultural capital enabled me to easily engage in conversations that were interesting to the participants during both interviews and observations. This was particularly important before researching within England Golf because the 2016 Ryder Cup took place the weekend before the first week of data collection, and so was sure to be a topic of conversation across the NGB. In being up to date with Ryder Cup news and scores, I was able to initiate conversations that went beyond formalities and allowed bonds to form with various individuals within the organisation. Furthermore, by obtaining knowledge of each sport and organisation going into interviews and observations, I was able to have more in-depth discussions with participants because 'the basics' had already been learnt. This demonstrates

how the accumulation of capital is also important for researchers to profit when conducting research by collecting more fruitful, in-depth data. Clearly outlining the anonymity measures in place for this research was also important in developing a safe environment, and this will be discussed further in Section 5.7.

Across England Golf and the LTA, I carried out 33 semi-structured interviews with female and male Board Members, Executive Leaders, individuals in middle-management positions, and further employees of interest to the project. 32 interviews were carried out in person, and one interview was carried out over Skype. The majority of interviews I conducted in person took place at the headquarters of the two organisations, but one interview took place within a golf club house and two interviews took place at two Board Members' places of work. For each interview, I gave the interviewee an information sheet to take away (see Appendix 4) and a consent form to sign (see Appendix 5). I recorded all the interviews on a Dictaphone, transferred them onto a password-protected computer, and manually transcribed them using a foot-pedal. Transcription is a time-consuming exercise, but this time allowed for reflection on the interview and the development of greater familiarity with the data. Once the interviews were transcribed, I emailed them to the interviewees to check for error or misinterpretation and allow for reciprocity throughout the research process (Oakley, 2005).

The interviews lasted between 35 and 100 minutes and were conducted using interview guides that consisted of between 15 and 30 questions (see examples in Appendices 6 and 7). The central themes of the guides for those in leadership positions included: their backgrounds/motivations for becoming a leader, their recruitment process, their experiences of being a leader, the effectiveness of targets/quotas, the culture of their NGB/sport, barriers for women leaders in sport, and strategies to increase the number of women in sport leadership. I developed these guides from themes in the literature, theory, observations, and discussions with current and previous women leaders of sport.

There were different interview guides for each position and gender of the individuals interviewed at the two organisations. The interview guides differed across positions because certain questions around topics such as recruitment, culture of the leadership team, and leadership experiences need to be worded differently for different positions. Furthermore, some interviewees were interviewed for their insights into specific events, such as the

England Golf merger. The guides differed across the two genders because some questions were related to the experiences and perceptions of female leaders, and others the experiences and perceptions of male leaders. Although in a traditional, positivist sense this would be accused of lacking reliability because the interview questions were not the same for every individual interviewed, the premise of the interview questions was to gain information on individual experiences and perceptions relating to that individual's position/gender in the organisation. Examples of how the interview guide differed for female and male Board Members at England Golf can be found in Appendices 6 and 7, respectively.

A frequent criticism of interviewing as a research method is the situation-specific context in which interviews are carried out and the potential limitations in reflecting reality outside of the subjective world of the interviewee (Alvesson, 1996). Additionally, interviewers can be accused of bearing symbolic violence upon the interviewee through the presumed power, social status, and knowledge of the interviewer that may be used to manipulate the interview (Barbour & Schostak, 2005). Using a Bourdieusian analysis within this research helped to overcome some of these criticisms because of Bourdieu's strong focus on reflexivity throughout his work. Bourdieu (1999) used interviews for their ability to provide a voice for the French working-class, and argued that vigilant self-reflexivity throughout the interview process can guard the researcher against imposing their own views on the interviewee and the interview process. This includes constant awareness of the position of the interviewer throughout both the interviewing and analysis processes, and the interviewer adopting the position of the listener when not asking questions (Bourdieu, 1999). I will provide a reflexive account of my position in the research process in Section 5.8.

Wreyford and Cobb (2017) highlight a limitation of using interviewing as a research method for feminist studies which, like this research, are located within social contexts that are gender-imbalanced. This is because 'hearing from members of the minority group still only includes the voices and experiences of those who have had some degree of success' (Wreyford & Cobb, 2017, p. 108). Furthermore, 'it does not tell us about the women who are unable to be part of that profession' (Wreyford & Cobb, 2017, p. 108). They suggest that this limitation can be overcome if interview data is combined with quantitative data that is able to illustrate the extent of inequality (Wreyford & Cobb, 2017). For this reason, within Chapter 6 of this thesis I present an overview of statistics of the gendered demography of the

leadership and governance teams of England Golf and the LTA. This is so that, whilst still not heard, ‘the missing women ... can at least be made visible by their astonishing absence’ (Wreyford & Cobb, 2017, p. 108).

Some challenges were encountered during the interview process. For example, one interview was conducted within a golf clubhouse which was not a particularly suitable location due to the noise levels and lack of privacy. It was necessary to conduct the interview within this space, however, because it took place whilst a Board Member was having lunch before driving home, and the interview would not have been possible otherwise. Additionally, one interviewee had a hearing impairment and did not speak English as a first language. This could make understanding during the transcription phase difficult but replaying the tape more than once allowed an accurate transcription to be made. I also ensured that the participant fully understood the question being asked before providing an answer.

5.4.2. Participant observation

Observation can be defined as ‘the rigorous act of perceiving the workings of people, culture and society through one’s senses and then documenting these in field notes or recording them through technological means’ (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, pp. 100-101). Observational research aligns with feminist research because it has an ability to place women (and/or other marginalised populations) at the centre of the analysis without treating them as depersonalised objects of research (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). Such actor-oriented observations aim to understand the ways in which individuals interact with, and give meaning to, their surroundings (Alvesson, 1996). The key distinction of participant observation from observation is the researcher’s participation in the daily lives and culture of those being studied (Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

Participant observation was initially intended to be a primary research method for this research alongside interviews, but the amount of data collected and recorded through participant observation was significantly less than the amount of data collected and recorded through interviewing. Participant observation is, therefore, categorised as a supportive research method for this study. The key reason for significantly less data being collected and recorded through observation compared to interviewing is that I was only able to make a relatively limited amount of observations due to the confidential nature of some meetings.

Furthermore, when I was researching within the two organisations a department or individual was responsible for 'looking after me' by arranging the logistics of research visits and specific observations. This would be inconvenient as a long-term option for the two organisations. Observational data was drawn upon most for this research at the meso-level, as it offers a key insight into doxic elements of organisational habitus which go beyond the 'routines of knowledge' of individuals who engage in the daily social practices of the organisational field (Bourdieu, 1999).

Despite less observational data being collected than I originally anticipated, participant observation as a research method remained extremely important. Whereas interviews provided the opportunity for participants to tell their stories in a semi-structured environment, participant observation allowed aspects of the working lives of leaders to be examined in situ and as it happened in 'real time' (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Additionally, observation allowed certain topics and aspects to be explored that may have been uninteresting for participants to discuss or that participants may have been unaware of, but were important to the research (Creswell, 2014). Finally, the biggest benefit of using participant observation in this research was the development of general organisational knowledge such as the jargon, the people, current organisational priorities, and current organisational challenges. This was instrumental in contextualising the interviews and documentary evidence for this research. Additionally, the informal knowledge I gained here meant that interviews were able to occur more conversationally, particularly with those interviewees who I had already met through observational research, and I was able to relate interviewees' comments with my own observations. Through observation and informal conversations, I also gained the trust of participants which created a snowball effect where more observation and interview opportunities arose, and more documents were shared, which increased the breadth and depth of my research across the two organisations.

In total I observed 11 specific events across the two organisations (all of which are outlined in Appendix 3) and I spent time across 15 days conducting 'general observations' within the two headquarters. After reading an information sheet outlining the details of the observational research (see Appendix 8), a senior individual within each organisation signed a consent form to formally authorise the observational data collection. I recorded data in a number of different ways during the observational research, including using written notes,

photographs, voice recordings, and video diaries. The data from written, voice, and video recordings were transcribed to field notes templates (see Appendix 9) that formed a structure to the notes and was based on five factors highlighted by Alvesson (1996): the act (what), the agent (who), the scene (where), the purpose (why), and the agency (how).

During the observations, my role as a researcher was varied and changed depending upon the nature of the observation. The various roles of an observer are outlined in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Participant observation roles (Sparkes & Smith, 2014)

Role	Definition
Complete observer	The researcher does not actively participate in the field and observes an event or interaction from an 'outsider's perspective'.
Observer as participant	The researcher is marginally involved in the situation which allows questions to be asked and the researcher to be accepted into the group.
Participant as observer	The researcher is part of the group under study which allows relationships to be formed and more movement around various sites to observe in greater depth and detail.
Complete participant	The researcher is part of the setting and takes an insider role. The researcher's primary role is participation, and observation is developed out of this.

During my time with England Golf and the LTA I adopted the roles of complete observer, observer as participant, and participant as observer. Table 5.2 provides examples of these as well as the advantages and challenges that resulted.

Table 5.2: The different observational roles assumed during observational research and their advantages and challenges

Role	Examples	Advantages	Challenges	How challenges were addressed
Complete observer	Formal meetings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to exclusive and hard-to-enter spaces • I could focus on observing the micro-behaviours of individuals such as dress, body language, seating arrangements, language use, and silences • Easy to record data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I was not able to ask questions during the meetings • I was more visible as a researcher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where interviews followed meetings or events, I asked follow-up questions for further clarification or information on points or discussions of interest • I tried to sit in positions within meetings that drew the least attention • I avoided making gestures that indicated particular interest in points, opinions, or discussions
Observer as participant	General observations within both organisations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I engaged in a wide range of conversations and gained good organisational context • I gained the trust of individuals • I could ask questions to strengthen organisational knowledge • Easy to record data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Often the interactions were less specific to the research 	
Participant as observer	Social events such as the England Golf partners and sponsors golf event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A more relaxed environment to ask questions • I could develop more rapport with participants • I gained a more informal, honest, off-the-record understanding of what it is like to work for the two organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to record data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I used audio recording on a mobile phone and video diaries at the end of the day to help capture the event subsequently

There are a number of limitations of participant observation as a research method. These include the impact of the researcher's paradigmatic, cultural, social, and political stance on the interpretation of the research, the potential for the researcher to be seen as intrusive, the possibility that the researcher may not have good observational skills, that consent may not be obtainable by all participants which can provide ethical issues, and that only a small proportion of what has been observed can be reproduced into a thesis (Alvesson, 1996; Creswell, 2014). I have acted to try to limit the weaknesses of participant observation as a research method within this research. This has included being reflexive of my position within the research, practising my observational skills in various meetings and events in preparation for data collection, gaining consent from a senior individual within the two organisations for all observations, and highlighting how participant observation is a supportive research method.

5.4.3. Supporting documents

I used a range of documents to both contextualise and support the data I collected through interviews and observation. Advantages of using documents include the opportunity to obtain the language and words of participants, the ability to learn about historical events which precede the careers of participants, and convenience to the researcher in that they can often be accessed at a time convenient to the researcher and do not require transcription (Creswell, 2014). In particular, I found the use of documents to be helpful and important when analysing the structure and rules of England Golf and the LTA at the macro-level because a complete and detailed overview of the formal structures, policies, and rules of England Golf and the LTA could only be gained from the textual documentation of these (England Golf, 2012; Lawn Tennis Association, 2015c). This also allowed interview questions to focus more on opinions, perspectives, and implications of these organisational structures and processes.

I obtained documents before, during, and after data collection from several sources, including the websites of the NGBs, the archive of England Golf, and via a memory stick or emails from organisational representatives. As all documents were sourced directly through the two NGBs, this ensured their authenticity and reliability. Broadly speaking, the documents included annual reports, financial reports, strategic plans, policies, governance documents, merger documents, and handbooks. I considered several factors when drawing data from

documents, including when the documents were written, who they were written by (and their position), the purpose of the documents, and the conditions under which the documents were produced. This ensures that the documents are utilised authentically when supporting other data collected within the research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

5.5. Analysis of Data

In total there were 267,039 words of typed interview transcripts and 18,109 words of typed field notes to analyse. The aim of the data analysis phase is to 'provide some coherence and structure to this cumbersome data set while retaining a hold of the original accounts and observations from which it is derived' (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994, p. 309). I analysed all interview and observation data manually through the same process of thematic analysis. Supporting documents were not formally analysed as they supported, informed, and contextualised the primary data collected through observations and interviews rather than forming a separate data set.

Thematic analysis is 'a method for systematically identifying, organising, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set' (Braun, Clarke, & Terry, 2012, p. 57). During the data analysis phase I made the decision of whether data saturation had been reached or whether I needed to collect more data to achieve the desired depth of study. I found that data saturation had been reached because the information collected, transcribed, and analysed began to repeat itself (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Therefore, I felt that no new information on organisational gender power relations would arise from collecting further data from interviews or supporting documents. Further observations of events such as board and executive meetings may have provided new information on informal and unconscious social processes, but access to these events was not possible due to their confidential/sensitive nature and/or the limited research time offered by each organisation.

Braun et al.'s (2012) 'six phase approach to thematic analysis' was applied because of its strong focus on familiarity with the data, its thoroughness, and its methodical and easy-to-follow structure. The first phase of the analysis is 'familiarising yourself with the data', which is necessary to 'begin to notice things that might be relevant to your research' (Braun et al., 2012, p. 61). I achieved this by manually transcribing the interviews and thoroughly reading over all transcripts of both interview and observational data before starting to code the data.

The second phase is 'generating initial codes'. Codes provide 'a label for a feature of the data that is potentially relevant to the research question' (Braun et al., 2012, p. 61). I developed codes for this research from the research questions (which were informed by feminist tenets), the literature, the theoretical framework, and the data itself. Some of these codes were descriptive, such as 'board structure', and some of these were interpretive using theoretical concepts such as 'role incongruity'.

The third phase of analysis is 'searching for themes', which involves grouping codes to make themes which represent a patterned response to the data (Braun et al., 2012). For this research I identified four broad themes which were 'challenges and barriers to gender balance', 'strategies for improving gender balance', 'the business case for gender balance', and 'participant background information'. I then developed sub-themes with up to three layers of analysis. The same themes were used for interview and observational data. I named and numbered each theme and sub-theme before recording them onto a colour-coded Excel spreadsheet. Once the themes had been developed and recorded, all of the interview transcripts and field notes were fully coded at this point. The 'comments' feature on Microsoft Word was used to code the data, with the name and number of the theme(s) that related to that piece of data being written in the comments box alongside the highlighted text. Some data related to more than one code. All interviews and observations were also given a number to help during the indexing phase.

Phase four of the analysis, 'reviewing potential themes', occurred throughout the coding process. Here, I re-named and/or re-located some sub-themes and extra levels of themes were developed if the sub-themes were too general and needed extra layers of distinction. Once all the data had been coded and all themes had been revisited and revised, I pulled all of the coded data from the Word documents and indexed them into four identical Excel spreadsheets (England Golf interviews, LTA interviews, England Golf observations, and LTA observations). Table 5.3 displays an example of this in practice when indexing England Golf interview data according to a sub-theme with two layers of analysis that was that was part of the wider 'strategies for improving gender balance' theme. Any original data from interviews or observations that related to sub-themes B2.1-B2.4 were copied and pasted into the relevant cells.

Table 5.3: An example of the use of Microsoft Excel to index primary data from England Golf interviews according to one of the identified sub-themes

B2 - Educating and empowering women leaders				
Interview number	B2.1. Women's leadership development programmes	B2.2. Mentoring/coaching/ buddy schemes	B2.3. Networking events	B2.4. Developing communication skills of women leaders
1	<i>*Relevant primary data from interview transcript inserted here*</i>			
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				

Whilst this created a very large spreadsheet, this recording method made it very easy to compare and contrast data relating to the same sub-themes during the write-up phase.

Phase five of the thematic analysis is ‘defining and naming themes’, which is the process of developing the themes into a format that will be used within the writing-up phase of the thesis. At this point, I decided on the broad structures of the four discussion chapters in relation to the research questions and themes developed, and the themes/sub-themes were grouped according to this structure. Some themes were re-named and/or joined together at this point to ensure clarity, flow, and to prevent repetition within the discussion. The sixth phase, ‘writing the report’, was not separate to phase five, but developed as themes were defined, expanded, deeply analysed, and made sense of. I used direct quotes from the original data throughout the writing-up stage which meant that, at times, the language use

of participants was different to my own language preferences. This was found with the frequent use of the term 'ladies' rather than 'women' by England Golf interviewees. This language is used as part of the original data throughout the discussion chapters and is analysed and discussed in depth in Section 8.2.2.

One challenge that I encountered when analysing different data sets involving the same participants (i.e. interview data and observational data) was occasional discrepancies in the data collected. An example of this will be discussed further in Chapter 8, with some individuals claiming that the organisational cultures of England Golf and the LTA are gender-neutral and welcoming to women leaders, despite my observations and the claims of other individuals suggesting otherwise. Braun et al. (2012) emphasise that all data-based claims must be justified and 'fit within your overall theoretical position' (p. 70). With this research being situated within a Bourdieusian framework, the concept of the habitus regulating individual and collective perceptions and behaviours outside of the consciousness of social agents allowed this discrepancy to be theoretically explained (Bourdieu, 1990). This highlights the importance of a theoretical framework in allowing a deeper level of understanding during the data analysis stage. Within this sub-section I have outlined the rigorous thematic data analysis process that I used to maintain the quality of this research. Within the next sub-section, I will discuss other ways in which the quality of the research was ensured.

5.6. Quality of the research

Amongst qualitative researchers there are competing claims as to what qualifies as high-quality research and how quality criteria should be used to pass judgement (Sparkes & Smith, 2009). Early qualitative researchers such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) took a criteriology approach which perceives qualitative research as an alternative paradigm to quantitative or postpositivist research, creating a need for a unique set of criteria. Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed a parallel approach which re-termed and developed the quantitative concepts of validity, reliability, objectivity, and generalisability into credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability, respectively. Despite many qualitative researchers choosing to adopt Lincoln and Guba's (1985) parallel approach, a number of scholars have questioned the place of a criteriology approach within qualitative research (Schwandt, 1996; Sparkes, 1998; Sparkes & Smith, 2009; Tracy, 2010). Sparkes and

Smith (2009) argue that this approach is 'inherently limiting and one dimensional', and 'imposes its own preordained criteria on all forms of inquiry' (p. 496).

Tracy (2010) highlights how quality criteria still has a place within qualitative research because they 'quite simply, are useful' (p. 838). This is because 'rules and guidelines help us learn, practice and perfect ... [and] provide a path to expertise' (p. 838). An alternative perspective to criteriology is relativism, which adopts a more flexible, context-specific approach to quality criteria. Quality criteria is seen as a starting point which is then challenged, changed, and modified from study to study and throughout the research process (Sparkes & Smith, 2009). Tracy (2010) presents eight 'big-tent' criteria for conducting quality qualitative research that have developed out of a dissatisfaction of the restrictive criteriology approach. I applied these criteria to this research because they were very useful in guiding the process of the research through offering practical, workable guidelines that appreciate the nature of real-world, empirical research where processes, practices, and inquiries change and develop. Table 5.4 lists these eight criteria and outlines how this research has attempted to meet each of them.

Table 5.4. Applying the eight ‘big-tent’ criteria for excellent qualitative research (Tracy, 2010)

Criteria	How it has been achieved throughout this research
Worthy Topic	<p>The topic of the research is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant: there is increasing public and scholarly focus on both sport governance and gender balance within sport leadership • Timely: UK Sport and Sport England’s (2016) <i>A Code for Sports Governance</i> was released during the time of research which changed the landscape of sport governance policy in England • Significant: there is a continued underrepresentation of women in leadership positions within English sport governance (Women in Sport, 2015c, 2017, 2018)
Rich Rigor	<p>The study uses sufficient and appropriate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical constructs • Research sites • Samples • Data collection and analysis processes
Sincerity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Section 5.8 offers self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases, and inclinations of the researcher • Section 5.4 provides transparency about the research methods and challenges
Credibility	<p>The research is marked by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thick description presented throughout the discussion chapters • Triangulation using multiple research methods through an ethnographic approach • Member reflections in providing opportunities for all interviewees to review and provide feedback on their interview transcripts
Resonance	<p>The research resonates with readers through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A clear, accessible writing style • Showing rather than telling the experiences of individuals through using extensive direct quotes • Transferability: I conducted a follow-up focus group with four female leaders from the Football Association, the England and Wales Cricket Board, British Rowing, and England Rounders to understand the level of transferability of the findings from this research. A summary and analysis of the key findings from this focus group can be found in Appendix 11.
Significant contribution	<p>Chapter 10 summarises how the research provides a significant contribution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptually • Theoretically • Methodologically • Practically, through its application to the ‘real world’
Ethical	<p>Sections 5.7 and 5.8 consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procedural ethics • Situational ethics • Relational ethics • Exiting ethics
Meaningful coherence	<p>The study:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieves what it purports to be about by answering the four research questions outlined in Chapter 1 • Uses methods and procedures that fit its stated goals • Meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, and findings

Tracy's (2010) eight 'big-tent' criteria sit within the relativist approach because they are universal and 'can be approached via a variety of paths and crafts, a combination of which depends on the specific researcher, context, theoretical affiliation, and project' (p. 837). The extent to which the research is successful in meeting the quality criteria is difficult to assess because of the very fact that, in alignment with a relativist approach, the criteria are open, flexible, and modifiable. However, Table 5.3 does demonstrate a quality of research in that the research process has been informed by conscious, reflexive decisions and judgements in line with the aims and choice of methods of the research. Within the next section I will discuss one of these eight criteria in more depth: ethical considerations.

5.7. Ethical considerations

Research ethics refer to 'the moral deliberation, choice and accountability on the part of researchers throughout the research process' (Edwards & Mauthner, 2007, p. 14). Discussions on how to practice feminist research ethically are well-documented, and feminist scholars have raised several ethical issues that need to be considered by feminist researchers. Such issues include: ensuring transparency throughout the research process (Fonow & Cook, 2005); navigating difficult situations (such as witnessing misogynistic behaviour) which can contradict and challenge feminist researchers' political, research, personal, and gendered positions (Olive & Thorpe, 2011); the language use of feminist researchers in their writing to avoid further perpetuating women's subordination (Cook & Fonow, 1986); an avoidance of positioning the researcher as being intellectually superior to the researched (Stanley & Wise, 1993); and the need for reflexivity throughout the research process, which acknowledges the researcher 'as an active and busily constructing agent' (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 200). As I outlined in Table 5.4, Tracy (2010) places ethical considerations into four categories: procedural ethics, situational ethics, relational ethics, and exiting ethics. Throughout the next two sections I will discuss how I addressed each of these to conduct ethical research which is also harmonious with feminist epistemology.

Procedural ethics are primarily put in place to safeguard participants from harm, deception, and exposure (Tracy, 2010). One key procedural ethical consideration that emerged throughout the research process was the anonymity of the participants and organisations. Sparkes and Smith (2014) discuss how anonymising participants is generally an

ethical necessity, but can impact upon the quality of the study. This is because of the restrictions it places on the level of depth and richness of detail that can be shared on people, places, and observations. Despite these unavoidable limitations, reassurance of anonymity is particularly important for feminist research, such as this doctoral research, which involves women discussing experiences that sometimes negatively reflect upon their organisation (Watts, 2006). This anonymity builds trust between the participant and researcher, and so allows for richer and more truthful data to be collected.

The CEOs of both organisations agreed that they were happy for their organisations to be named if individual participants remained anonymous. Naming the two organisations had both advantages and disadvantages. It was advantageous in allowing for an in-depth contextualisation of the organisations and their structures and demography without the restriction of anonymising them. However, it made it more difficult to anonymise individuals because simply stating the position of some interviewees would have revealed their identity. For example, with just one female Executive Leader and one former female leader at the LTA, female Board Members, the single Executive, and the single former leader all had to be grouped under the position of 'leader' when presenting findings throughout the discussion chapters, rather than being more specific as to their position. Despite this challenge, I saw the identification of the two organisations as important in allowing for a more open and informative discussion around the histories, challenges, and strategies for change of the two organisations.

Anonymity of participants was achieved through the use of pseudonyms. Within the discussion chapters, I only used the pseudonyms of participants to reference their quotes to prevent 'clunky' position titles being used repeatedly. The positions of all participants in relation to their pseudonyms can be found in Appendix 10, which can be used as a reference point throughout the discussion chapters. There were two occasions where points were discussed within interviews which were particularly important to the research but discussing these points would have revealed the identity of the participants by exposing their positions. On these occasions, I asked the two individuals whether they would give consent for their identity to be revealed in relation to these points only. After agreeing to this in writing, the positions of the two participants were revealed when the two points were made, but no pseudonym was used, to maintain the anonymity of the pseudonym throughout the rest of

the research. Additionally, where interviewees have named other individuals within the interviews, I have replaced the names of these individuals with their position, only if this would make them unidentifiable. Five interviewees discussed issues which they later asked to remain confidential. Whilst often these discussions were very important points for this research, confidentiality was always respected and maintained.

A second procedural ethical consideration that had to be navigated was informed consent. As I explained in Section 5.4, I gained individual consent from all participants who were interviewed, and I gained formal consent from a senior individual for participant observation to be conducted within each organisation. This meant that, whilst formal consent was gained for observations to take place at the organisational level, individuals who were involved in the observational element of the research did not formally give individual consent. In the case of this research, it was simply not practical nor possible to gain individual consent from every single individual involved in the observational research. This is because it would have created too much of a disturbance to meetings and events that were being observed to ask every individual to sign a consent form during their busy schedules. Informal consent was gained, however, by my openness of my research position. This was either through a formal introduction to attendees of meetings and events, usually by the person chairing the meeting, or through more informal introductions when talking to individuals during observational research. Sparkes and Smith (2014) call this 'process consent' (p. 214).

Gaining process consent is also an example of relational ethics, which ensures the researcher is mindful of their actions and the consequences of these actions on others (Tracy, 2010). Across the whole data collection process, only one individual expressed discomfort or gave a negative response when I made formal or informal introductions to myself and my research. This exception resulted in this individual undermining the research and my position by repeatedly referring to my presence and the research agenda. Ethically, this created awkward social situations for me as the researcher and impacted on the behaviours of other England Golf employees at these times. Although these occasions were informal social occasions which did not involve any of the key participants of the research (senior leaders), these were still valuable observations which were impacted by the individual's behaviour. In response to this behaviour, I did not use any data that involved this individual as it was clear that they had not given full process consent. This aligns with feminist considerations around

the position of power of the researcher, and avoiding using this power unethically to subordinate participants of feminist research who are often already subordinated (Edwards & Mauthner, 2007). Furthermore, I continued to be transparent and open about the aims and purposes of the research. This was effective in diluting the situation and reassuring those who were present that their identities would not be revealed at any point throughout the research.

In addition to adopting good procedural and relational ethical practice, researchers also need to continually reflect, critique, and question their ethical decisions (situational ethics) and behave ethically when writing up and sharing the research (exitting ethics). Each of these ethical considerations will be discussed in the next section, where I address my position in the research process.

5.8. Reflexivity: Position in the research process

Reflexivity is ‘the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the “human as instrument”’ Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011, p. 124). This is an example of situational ethics which involves an interrogation of the ways in which the research is ‘shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that form our own lives’ (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 124). As some degree of bias is unavoidable and necessary within qualitative research, it is vital for bias to be accounted for through the identification of the perspectives that the researcher brings to the research and an anticipation of how these perspectives affect the analysis, interpretation, and reporting of findings (Sparkes & Smith, 2014).

A range of feminist scholars have placed strong emphasis on the need for reflexivity throughout the research process (England, 1994; Fonow & Cook, 2005; Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Reay, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1993). England (1994) highlighted a number of benefits of reflexivity for feminist researchers, including analytic scrutiny on the self as researcher, new insights and hypotheses about research questions, a more flexible approach to challenges to the researcher’s theoretical position, and a careful consideration of the consequences of interactions with the participants of the research. Bourdieu’s work also has an ‘obsessive insistence on reflexivity’ because of a need to ‘turn the instruments of social science back upon the sociologist in an effort to better control the distortions introduced in the construction of the object’ (Wacquant, 2008, p. 272). Bourdieu (1990) discussed three key factors that need to be addressed as sources of bias in sociological research to enable the

researcher to be reflexive throughout the research process. I will discuss each of these in turn in relation to my own position within this research.

The first factor outlined by Bourdieu (1990) is the personal identity of the researcher. I began this research as a 25-year-old White, British, middle-class, queer², non-disabled woman who holds a master's degree as her highest educational qualification. This background places me in a unique position of being able to relate to positions of privilege, through being White, British, middle-class, non-disabled, and educated, whilst at the same time being able to relate to positions of marginalisation as a queer woman. Whilst having experiences of both of these positions, I also appreciate the multiplicity of experiences of privilege and marginalisation that individuals of all genders encounter as a result of intersectionality (Olesen, 2011).

My social background placed me as both an insider and outsider to this research. I shared Whiteness with all interviewees, non-disabledness with all bar one interviewees, Britishness with all bar two interviewees, and all interviewees identified as middle-class. This allowed me to develop bonding social capital through shared characteristics with participants (Putnam, 2000). However, I was an outsider in that I was younger than all of those I interviewed (significantly younger in most cases), and I had no experience as a leader of sport. Sparkes and Smith (2014) highlight the necessity of the researcher to be sensitive to the power imbalance between the researcher and the researched. In the case of this research, as a student I had a lower field-specific social status than the majority of those I was interviewing. This meant that using symbolic violence to manipulate the interview process was not an ethical issue because of my lesser presumed power, social status, and field-specific knowledge than those being interviewed.

The second factor that Bourdieu (1990) outlined as a source of bias is the researcher's location within the intellectual field. Bourdieu (1990) calls for a critical dissection of the concepts, methods, and problematics that the researcher inherits, as well as an awareness of the disciplinary and institutional attachments of the researcher. In order to overcome

² Whilst my own sexual orientation has been discussed here, it was decided that the sexual orientation of participants would not be explored as this was not central to the research and could make participants feel uncomfortable, which in turn could negatively impact upon rapport.

intellectual bias, Alvesson (2003) highlights a key purpose of reflexivity as 'conscious and consistent efforts to view the subject matter from different angles and avoid... [privileging] a single, favoured angle or vocabulary' (p. 25).

There are four key ways in which intellectual bias has been reduced or avoided within this research. First, my lack of experience of researching or working within a sport organisation allowed me to approach the research with a 'fresh pair of eyes' that did not hold biases of those with experience of working or researching in sport governance. Second, the use of multiple methods to collect the data allowed a multi-level analysis of the problems being researched. Third, I used 'critical friends' at different stages of the research process to examine the process and data through a different lens. This included gaining critical feedback from: 'scoping interviews' with experts in the field before data collection began, numerous conference presentations of the research, publishing two peer-reviewed book chapters that were heavily informed by this thesis, critical discussions on the primary data with a colleague researching in a similar field, and consistent feedback and suggestions for improvement from my supervisory team throughout the whole research process. And fourth, this thesis being theoretically framed by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice has allowed new questions to be asked and new discourses to be developed because of the lack of application of this theory to research in the field.

The third factor that Bourdieu outlined as a source of bias is the scholastic stance of the researcher that forms a certain construal of the social world. This is linked to exiting ethics, and the way in which the research is written-up and shared. I have transparently outlined the research perspective and philosophical orientation of this thesis in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 and have discussed the impact of this perspective and orientation on the choice of research sites and participants, data collection, and data analysis throughout this chapter. I have also tried to make this research transparent and accessible through a clear writing style. Furthermore, I have carefully considered my language use throughout the write up of my findings to avoid further perpetuating the subordination of women (Cook & Fonow, 1986), to acknowledge non-binary conceptualisations of gender (Caudwell, 2006), and to avoid essentialist conceptualisations of all men as dominant and all women as subordinate (Connell, 2009).

5.9. Summary and reflections

Within this chapter I provided an 'audit trail' which gives the reader insight into the research process and the decisions behind it. I acknowledged that the research questions and aims are informed by a feminist perspective, which places gender and the experiences of women at the centre of the research. Whilst a feminist perspective is central to the motive, aims, and philosophy behind the research, I have applied Bourdieu's theory of practice as a theoretical framework to enhance multi-layered organisational analyses of dominant gendered practices and power relations within English sport governance. Both feminist and Bourdieusian perspectives inform the methodology of this research to ensure that the research paradigm, sites, participants, methods, and analysis are harmonious with its research questions, aims, and theoretical framework. This was achieved through the research: being situated within the interpretivist paradigm which, in alignment with contemporary feminisms, appreciates multiple realities of truth and knowledge; employing an ethnographic approach within two large NGBs to allow in-depth, multi-method organisational analyses; collecting data using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and official documents to place the experiences of individuals at the centre of the research, whilst uncovering both conscious and unconscious actions, rules, and processes; and using a thematic analysis to efficiently and effectively organise and identify the key patterns and themes of the research.

To attempt to maintain high-quality research practice, I drew upon Tracy's (2010) eight 'big-tent' quality criteria. This helped to guide the research process and encourage reflectivity and reflexivity throughout. A key element in ensuring high quality research is identifying and addressing ethical issues and implications of the research. Within this research, ethical issues that were addressed included anonymity, informed consent, and accurately reflecting participant experiences and perceptions when writing-up/sharing the data. Feminist research ethics informed my navigation of ethical issues throughout the research process to ensure that the research is harmonious with feminist epistemology.

Despite putting quality and ethical measures in place, on reflection there were ways that the research process could have been more efficient and effective. For example, manually transcribing interviews and analysing the data were extremely time-consuming and

I will further investigate time-saving strategies that maintain high quality transcription and analysis for future research projects. Additionally, more pre-emptive preparations for research challenges could have better prepared me for the ethical issues identified within this chapter, particularly around process consent and participant concerns. Discussions within this chapter provide an important contextualisation to the next four chapters of this thesis which form the discussion section of the research. Within the next chapter I will analyse the demographic make-up of England Golf and the LTA and discuss the extent to which their objective rules and structures reproduce gender imbalance and inequity within their governance.

CHAPTER 6: GENDERED DEMOGRAPHY AND STRUCTURE

National governing bodies (NGBs) are structures that enforce formal rules, policy, and practice upon the individuals who work within them. These structures are formed of two hierarchies within which individuals compete for dominant positions: the voluntary governance hierarchy and the paid workforce. Within this chapter I reveal how the leadership hierarchies of England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) are both male-dominated and gender-segregated. Furthermore, I apply Bourdieu's macro-concept of the (organisational) field to analyse the ways in which the structures and rules of the two organisations reinforce and reproduce such male-dominated, gender-segregated leadership hierarchies. In doing so, I identify examples of the two NGBs being both fields of forces, where female and male leaders seek to safeguard or improve their position within the hierarchy, and fields of struggles, where dominant gender power relations are conserved or transformed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). All rules and statistics outlined within this chapter were accurate at the time of research within each organisation. I have only used the pseudonyms of participants to reference their quotes throughout all discussion chapters to prevent 'clunky' position titles being used repeatedly. The positions of all participants in relation to their pseudonyms can be found in Appendix 10, which can be used as a reference point throughout the discussion chapters.

6.1. The gendered demography of England Golf and the LTA

Within both England Golf and the LTA a clear majority of leaders recognised the value of having greater gender balance within sport leadership. Reported benefits of having more women on boards and executive leadership teams (ELTs) included "having varying views of different people" (interview with Phillip), "representing people who play sport" (interview with Sue), "better decision-making" (interview with Michael), women bringing better "empathy and understanding" to leadership (interview with Rebecca), female leaders being more approachable (interview with Natalie), and having a greater "female voice" (interview with Colin). With leaders placing high value on gender-balanced ways of working, it could be logically expected that the two organisations would reflect this within the demography of

their leadership teams. However, within both England Golf and the LTA gender-imbalance and segregation were evident across their Boards and ELTs.

Acker (1990) emphasised how gender segregation within organisations can lead to advantage/disadvantage and exploitation/control through a binary distinction between male and female. Analysing and theorising about occupational gender segregation is important, therefore, in revealing dominant gender power relations that subordinate women leaders. Blackburn and Jarman (2006) warn, however, that theories of occupational gender segregation often use essentialised conceptualisations of gender where the binary of man/woman is naturalised and regarded as fixed. Therefore, approaches to occupational gender segregation should go beyond 'body counting' and instead focus on 'how and where masculinity and femininity, as social constructions, are produced and reproduced' (Huppatz & Goodwin, 2013, p. 293). I will attempt to achieve this through analyses of gender power relations at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels throughout Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9. Within this section I will focus on two forms of formal gender segregation: vertical gender segregation of labour (seniority of position) and horizontal gender segregation of labour (job functions and tasks). Informal forms of gender segregation were also found, and I will discuss these within Chapter 8.

6.1.1. Vertical gender segregation of labour

Vertical gender segregation of labour refers to the segregation of men and women in relation to seniority of position (Bloksgaard, 2011). This means that it is a very direct indicator of gender (im)balance within an organisation's leadership teams. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 display the prevalence of vertical gender segregation within the two hierarchies of England Golf and the LTA: the governance structure and the paid workforce, respectively.

Table 6.1: Female representation within the voluntary governance structures of England Golf and the LTA

	Board of Directors		Council	
	Total number	Number of women	Total number	Number of women
England Golf	13	4 (31%)	73	37 (51%)
LTA	10	3 (30%)	57	15 (26%)

Table 6.2: Female representation within the paid workforces of England Golf and the LTA

	Executive Leadership Team (ELT)		Leadership Team		Paid Workforce (excluding ELT and Leadership Team)	
	Total number	Number of women	Total number	Number of women	Total number	Number of women
England Golf	6	0	N/A	N/A	83	40 (48%)
LTA	8	1 (13%)	26	6 (23%)	293	144 (49%)

The statistics shown in Table 6.1 demonstrate that both England Golf and the LTA meet the 30% minimum gender representation target for boards set by Sport England and UK Sport (2016), even though both boards are still gender-titled in favour of men. For the LTA, the Board has a higher female representation (30%) than the Council (26%), and so vertical gender segregation was not present. For England Golf, vertical gender segregation was found with the Board having significantly lower female representation (31%) than the Council (51%). Table 6.2 highlights the stark vertical gender segregation found in both organisations across their paid workforces. England Golf has 48% female representation across its paid workforce excluding the ELT, but no women on its ELT, and the LTA has 49% female representation across its paid workforce excluding the ELT and leadership team, with just six women on its leadership team (23%), and one woman on its ELT (13%).

At the LTA, a key outcome of the vertical gender segregation shown in Table 6.2 is that across the organisation women earn, on average, 31% less than their male counterparts (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018b). As I explained within Chapter 2, since April 2017

organisations with more than 250 staff have been required by British law to publish annual figures on the gender pay and bonus gap within their organisation (Government Equalities Office, 2017). This means that the LTA are required to publish these figures, but England Golf are not. England Golf did not have any data on their gender pay and bonus gap. Figure 6.1 demonstrates more specifically how the vertical gender segregation outlined in Table 6.2 reflects on the earnings of male and female employees within the LTA. Within this figure, salaries across the organisation are split into four quartiles, and the proportion of men and women within each quartile are highlighted.

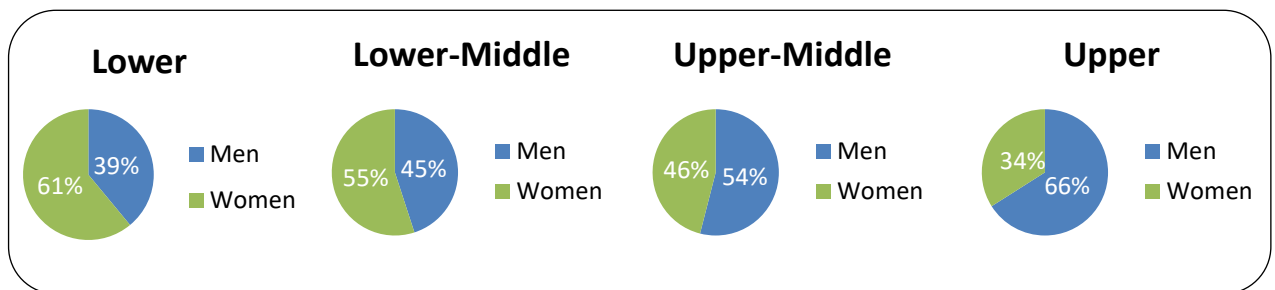


Figure 6.1 Gender Split of Pay Quartiles at the LTA (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018b)

Figure 6.1 demonstrates how, at the LTA, there is an inverse relationship between representation of women and lucrativeness of position. The representation of women is highest in the lowest pay quartile (61%), and lowest in the upper quartile (34%). This demonstrates how women accumulate significantly less economic capital than their male counterparts within the LTA, which is a result of men holding the most powerful and lucrative positions within the organisational field. In their own analysis, the LTA (2018b) suggest that the gender pay gap can be attributed to more men than women in senior roles, men outnumbering women in high-performance roles which can receive large bonuses, and more women in part-time roles. These suggestions focus only on the demography of the organisation rather than attempting to understand the reasons for this demography such as a gendered organisational structure and culture, and more opportunities for men to accumulate and convert capital within the organisational field. Throughout the remainder of this thesis I will add to the LTA’s suggestions by identifying the various, multi-layered reasons as to why vertical gender segregation occurs at both the LTA and England Golf.

The LTA (2018b) also outlined strategies to attempt to transform this gender-segregated organisational field into a field of struggles where more women are attaining powerful and high-earning positions. This includes working with relevant organisations to attract a more diverse workforce, introducing unconscious bias training, ensuring gender balance on shortlists for senior positions, promoting flexible working opportunities internally and externally, encouraging appropriate career progression opportunities, and providing mentoring and support to colleagues (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018b). I will summarise further recommendations on how to tackle issues of vertical segregation within Chapter 10.

Class and race statistics were not included in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 or Figure 6.1 to provide a wider demographic overview for three reasons. First, these statistics were not provided by the two organisations for the paid workforce. Second, the number of women and men on the Council of each organisation was determined by the title and/or name of each Councillor listed in certain supporting documents. The race and class of each Councillor could not be recognised in this way. Third, there is not yet a requirement for organisations to report on race or class pay gaps, and so this information was not available within either organisation. This demonstrates that gender is currently a considerably bigger focus of national and organisational policy and evaluation than race or class.

6.1.2. Horizontal gender segregation of labour

Horizontal gender segregation of labour is ‘a systematic distribution of women and men in different sectors, different professional fields and different job functions’ (Bloksgaard, 2011, p. 6). Horizontal gender segregation becomes problematic when the organisational field (and agents who compete within it) give higher symbolic and material value to jobs that are predominantly made up of men, and lower symbolic and material value to jobs that are predominantly made up of women (or vice versa; England, 2005; Magnusson, 2009). Within sport, an example of this has been found with performance and financial roles being male-dominated and holding high symbolic capital compared to marketing and human resources (HR) roles that are female-dominated and hold low symbolic capital (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013). In the following sections I will discuss two forms of horizontal gender segregation that were repeatedly referred to throughout interviews: gendered distribution of roles and gendered distribution of tasks.

6.1.2.1. *Gendered distribution of roles*

There is evidence of gendered distribution of roles within both England Golf and the LTA. At England Golf there is a higher prevalence of women in stereotypically ‘feminised jobs’³ such as office administration positions (100% women) and HR (100% women; England Golf, 2016b). However, below the executive level, a gendered distribution of roles is not seen within traditionally ‘masculinised’ sectors such as performance (67% women) and championships (50% women; England Golf, 2016b). This shows that, below the executive level, women are transcending binary conceptualisations of gender-appropriate positions through increasingly competing for traditionally male-dominated positions which tend to offer high symbolic capital (Huppatz & Goodwin, 2013). Men are not transcending binary conceptualisations of gender-appropriate positions to compete for traditionally female-dominated positions, however, which can be explained by these positions tending to offer less symbolic and economic capital (Huppatz & Goodwin, 2013).

At the LTA, the People Team is also female-dominated (80% women) but the same gender distribution data was not available for other departments. Gender segregation was evident at executive level at the LTA with the only woman on the ELT being the Director of People, HR and Development (HR Director), which has historically been a female-dominated sector (Caldwell, 2011). The position of HR Director was not an executive position until 2014 and this is the only position on the ELT that is from a traditionally female-dominated sector. At England Golf there is no HR position on the ELT, resulting in no positions from typically female-dominated sectors being on the ELT. This suggests that sport organisations are similar to corporate organisations in their enforcement of a ‘widespread symbolic and material devaluation of female-dominated work’ (Ross-Smith & Huppatz, 2010, p. 292). However, if women transcend binary conceptualisations of gender-appropriate roles at the executive level by entering traditionally ‘male-dominated work’ that holds high symbolic capital, as they have been found to do below the executive level at England Golf, then the devaluation of traditionally ‘female-dominated work’ will become less problematic for women leaders.

³ Feminised and masculine jobs/roles/tasks are defined as those which follow traditional discourses of femininity and masculinity which are constructed out of the assumed binary differences between men and women (Velija et al., 2014).

The LTA's HR Director⁴ reported how she feels that she has a "dual role" in being both an Executive and the HR Director. This is because she performs strategic planning alongside "an approachable and open-door policy to enable people to speak freely with me" (interview with the LTA's HR Director). She alluded to concerns about her perceived valuing of "feminised" tasks being judged on her gender rather than her job role: "some of the stuff that I talk about is because I'm an HR professional rather than because I'm a woman, and I hope the two don't get confused" (interview with the LTA's HR Director). This is an example of role incongruity, where traditional feminine behaviours associated with HR positions, such as employee wellbeing, are not congruent with typical executive behaviours. In the case of the HR Director, feelings of role incongruity were the result of the responsibilities of her job role being inharmonious with the informal 'rules of the game' of the ELT (i.e. 'masculinised' executive behaviours). If the LTA had an ELT made up of individuals with a more diverse range of working styles and behaviours that transcended traditionally feminine and masculine behaviours (regardless of their gender), this would not only increase diversity of thought and behaviour on the team but also reduce the likelihood of individuals on the ELT experiencing role incongruity.

A gendered distribution of roles was also seen at the LTA through the stark male-dominated history of individuals occupying the position of President. In its 129-year history, the LTA has only had one female President who was not appointed until 2014. The role of the President is to "Chair Council ... steer Council and ... work with Council in order to help the delivery of British Tennis" (interview with Graham). Furthermore, Joyce explained that the President acts as "an ambassador for the whole of British Tennis". Until 2012, the President was also Chair of the Board, and so was the most powerful position in the LTA. Whilst the decision-making power of the President has been reduced since the appointment of an Independent Chair, the President still holds significant symbolic capital as the figurehead of the organisation. For example, it is the President who represents the LTA at the prize-giving

⁴ The Director of People, HR and Development has agreed for her job role, and so her identity, to be revealed for quotes used within Section 6.1.2.1. No pseudonym has been used within this section to maintain the anonymity of her pseudonym throughout the rest of the thesis.

ceremonies for the men's and women's singles finalists at The Championships, Wimbledon, one of the most high-profile sporting events in the world.

The President of the LTA is elected from within the (male-dominated) Council, and Jill suggested that a key factor in the President being such a consistently male-dominated role is because more male Councillors hold "highly professional jobs" within sectors such as banking, law, and accountancy. Jill suggested that these jobs hold more symbolic capital on the Council than "lower level" jobs within sectors such as administration that more women hold. Bourdieu (1993) stresses that, in order to compete for dominant positions within a field, an individual has to accumulate the forms of capital which are most highly valued within that field. In this case, institutionalised cultural capital in the forms of work experience and qualifications was reported to be a particularly convertible form of capital in Councillors being legitimised and elected as President. Therefore, male Councillors continuing to hold greater volumes of institutionalised cultural capital conserves their positions at the top of the organisational field.

England Golf were pre-emptively concerned about similar male-dominance within the role of President following its merger in 2012. To address this, one of the terms of the merger was that 'the President will be supported by the President Elect and the Immediate Past President in meeting the duties assigned to the President. One of these three office holders shall be a woman' (England Golf, 2012, p. 26). Daniel explained that having this rule in place was particularly important because it "just breaks the Chief Exec male, Chair male, President female ... it just breaks that trend a little bit". This highlights the importance to Daniel of England Golf avoiding the perception that men dominate all the most senior and powerful positions. Whilst this rule can be positive in changing both internal and external perceptions of the organisation, it does little to change organisational culture which can have a greater influence on developing the pool of Councillors to be more sustainably gender-balanced. I will discuss cultural strategies for change in Chapter 8.

6.1.2.2. Gendered distribution of tasks

The second form of horizontal gender segregation of labour found to operate within England Golf and the LTA is the gendered distribution of tasks. Female leaders within both organisations explained how certain tasks are perceived as 'female issues' which are assigned

only to women leaders. Charlotte explained how through her working life she has found that “there are certain agendas that are women’s agendas which really upsets me”. Sally also highlighted how the England Golf Board “are wanting us to concentrate on the ladies’ issues, or female issues”. Such ‘female issues’ included managing people and the female side of the sport. This task segregation is problematic for two key reasons. First, women’s sport has historically been undervalued compared to men’s sport (Francombe-Webb & Toffoletti, 2018), and so these tasks assigned to women likely hold less symbolic capital within the organisation. Second, ghettoising ‘women’s issues’ implies that only women can bring about change. Therefore men, as well as women, need to be provided the opportunity to develop women’s sport. This can help to increase its symbolic status within the organisation, develop greater understanding across the organisation of the issues and challenges that women face in sport, and start to move away from binary conceptualisations of gender-appropriate tasks within sport organisations.

In addition to reports that male leaders assign ‘women’s agendas’ to women leaders, it was also highlighted by interviewees that women also segregated themselves in relation to one particular ‘women’s agenda’ at the LTA. This was found at the launch of ‘She Rallies’, a women’s tennis coaching initiative that was developed as a women-only event. Colin discussed how he felt this was wrong because “it gave off the wrong message” as “the speakers were largely talking about the differences between boys and girls in coaching and, when 70% of the coaches are males, why would you exclude males from that seminar?” Additionally, Rebecca expressed her belief that “we have to be careful, if there was an all-male conference the women would be up in arms wouldn’t we. So it’s a delicate balance I think that we have to tread.”

Single-sex programmes have long been a topic of debate for sport feminists, with radical feminists promoting separatist approaches and liberal feminists critiquing them (Hargreaves, 1994; Pike et al., 2018). For example, single-sex programmes have been promoted for providing a safe, secure, and non-threatening environment which makes it easier for the women to engage fully with the programme (Pike et al., 2018). However, separatist programmes like She Rallies have been critiqued for embodying further complexities, contradictions, and problems such as recreating social divisions, exaggerating the overall extent of sexism, and implicating that only women can bring about change

(Hargreaves, 1994). The organisation of She Rallies as a single-sex event is an example of intentional gender segregation which can strengthen bonding social capital amongst women and provide them with certain skills and experiences to take forward in their careers, but can have a negative impact on the formation of bridging social capital between women and men (Putnam, 2000). This can, in turn, create exclusionary fields of forces where men and women compete against each other for power and position along gendered lines rather than utilising bridging social capital to develop networks and profit as a mixed-gender 'community'. In the next section, I will discuss how the structures of the two organisations can continue to contribute to the examples of gender segregation discussed thus far.

6.2. The Structure of England Golf and the LTA

At the macro-level, the structures of both England Golf and the LTA present barriers in developing gender balance within their leadership teams. The voluntary governance hierarchy and the paid workforce are two different but interlinked hierarchies within the two organisational fields that have different roles, responsibilities, and structures. Because of this, each of these will be discussed separately within this section.

6.2.1. The voluntary governance hierarchy

NGBs have traditionally developed with a representative voluntary governance structure where the board is oriented towards member representation rather than being commercially-oriented (Taylor & O'Sullivan, 2009). This is because NGBs are not-for-profit organisations, and so 'are motivated by a preponderance of goals, are not solely driven by financial gain, and instead are charged to protect service-to-mission' (Ferkins et al., 2009, p. 247). Analysing the voluntary governance of England Golf and the LTA highlights their positions as organisational, semi-autonomous sub-fields within the wider field of sport. This is because of commonalities in their structures, such as having a board, a council, and county or member organisations, which are largely made up of individuals who have developed through the sport. Simultaneously, individual organisations have rules and structures specific to each organisation that have developed from their history, size, wealth, and demography of members, amongst other factors. Within the following three sub-sections, I will discuss three ways in which the voluntary governance structures of the two organisations impact upon gender balance on their Boards and Councils: the impact of a high proportion of Elected

Directors on the Board, gendered governance rules, and a lack of control over the appointment of Elected Directors.

6.2.1.1. *The impact of a high proportion of Elected Directors on the Board*

One area where England Golf has unique rules around its governance is in the appointment of Elected Directors from the Council to the Board. The Board of England Golf has a particularly high proportion of Elected Directors (77%) because the composition of the Board, as stated within the rules of England Golf, shall always have 10 Elected Directors (England Golf, 2012). This is significantly higher than the recommendation set by Sport England and UK Sport (2016) within *A Code for Sports Governance*, which recommends that no more than a third of sport boards should be made up of Elected Directors. This requirement is in place to avoid governance structures safeguarding the positions of 'insiders' within the sport, and to 'ensure better informed and more rounded decisions' by striking 'the right balance between those who have an intimate knowledge of the sport and those who bring experience from outside' (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016, p. 33).

Such a high proportion of Elected Directors on the Board is particularly problematic within a sport like golf that has a history and tradition of sexism and male-dominance at all levels of the game. This is because the gendered habitus of individuals and groups of individuals that have developed from within the game can penetrate the boardroom. Several interviewees spoke of the sexist and old-fashioned behaviours of some of the male Voting Members who make up the pool from which male Elected Directors are appointed from. Sally explained how "there's many who would prefer us to be in the kitchen washing up or doing the washing or ironing. And certainly not on the golf course *laughs*. And certainly not around the board table". Additionally, Clive explained how "it really is the old blazer brigade in some of the Counties ... quite a number of them are still totally dominated by, I hate to say it, but old men". Mary described how this has led to most of the male Board Members being "ex-voting member traditionalists ... [who] don't want to see change". An example that Mary gave was reluctance by male Board Members to appoint an Independent Chair, which is a recommendation within *A Code of Sports Governance* to 'offer the potential to have a more detached, objective view' (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016, p. 37).

The age of Voting Members who make up the pool from which Elected Directors are appointed from was, therefore, highlighted as a key issue in the negative cultural impact of having a high proportion of Elected Directors on the Board of England Golf. The age of those involved in the governance of golf is particularly high because of the high proportion of golf club members over the age of 65. For example, in 2016 it was found that, on average, over 65s were the most highly represented age group amongst golf club members with 35% representation (England Golf, 2016a). This increased to 58% representation for individuals over the age of 55 (England Golf, 2016a). Older Voting Members and Board Members resisting change to make sport governance more gender-equitable aligns with research that has found older generations to support traditional gender roles more than younger generations (Scott & Clery, 2013). Gilleard (2004) conceptualises differences in the styles, consciousness, and thought processes of individuals of different ages as 'generational habitus'. Gendered and/or sexist behaviour from older male Voting Members is an example of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of allodoxic behaviours, where their behaviours are not seen to be appropriate within the present social conditions of the organisational field. This is the result of their habitus lagging behind changes made to these objective social conditions, namely new discourses and expectations around gender equality in governance across the field of sport governance (e.g. Sport England and UK Sport, 2016).

Naturally, 'generational replacement' (older generations dying out and being replaced by younger, less traditional generations) reduces the impact of generational habitus, as found by Scott and Clery (2013) in relation to the traditional division of gender roles. Phillip discussed how this can be seen within golf clubs, as "certain golf clubs will have members within them that feel that ladies shouldn't be a part of, or certainly allowed in certain places, or shouldn't play on certain days, but that is disappearing with every year that goes by". To try to limit the impact of generational habitus within the LTA, they introduced the '70 rule' which forced Councillors over the age of 70 to leave the Council. This rule was introduced in reaction to older male Councillors "treat[ing] the ladies as the little ladies" and "very rarely put[ting] the ladies onto any of the decent committees" (interview with Joyce). Joyce explained how the rule made a "huge difference" as "the culture began to change because younger people coming on were more used to working with ladies". Generational replacement is an example of a natural subversion strategy that transforms the system of

authority of the field through declining support for traditional divisions of gender roles and sexism.

The LTA found that the adoption of the '70 rule' as a subversion strategy was not straightforward, however, as the rule was removed during my time researching there due to concerns over age discrimination. This demonstrates how subversion strategies can be resisted or reversed when different social groups are competing for power. In this case, the implementation of a subversion strategy to overcome gender discrimination resulted in a rule that was later perceived as age discrimination. This displays the complexity of implementing strategies for change when working within organisational fields that are composed of agents whose habitus are influenced by their intersectionality and multiple social identities. At the LTA, several alternative subversion strategies have been employed that have transformed the field's system of authority by moving away from traditional, (male-dominated) member-oriented hierarchies and structures that have a high proportion of Elected Directors towards a more efficient, corporate model of governance. This includes the appointment of two Independent Directors, the development of a smaller, more skills-based Council, the streamlining of a number of Committees and Panels to allow the LTA to be more effective in its decision-making, and appointing its first Independent Non-Executive Chair in 2013 (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015a).

6.2.1.2. *Gendered governance rules*

In addition to the number of Elected Directors being particularly high on the England Golf Board, following the England Golf merger a rule was also put in place that ensures that of the 10 Elected Directors, six male Directors should be elected from Voting Members of the men's County Golf Unions, and four female Directors should be elected from Voting Members of the women's County Golf Associations (England Golf, 2012). The six male Elected Directors are elected by male Voting Members, and the four female Elected Directors are elected by female Voting Members. The rationale for the 'six to four rule' is not stated within the *Rules of England Golf* (England Golf, 2012), but it became apparent through a number of interviews that the main reason for the decision was the uneven gender split of members of England Golf. That is, the uneven gender split of Elected Directors on the Board represents the (men's) England Golf Union (EGU) having had significantly more members than the England Women's

Golf Association (EWGA) before the two organisations merged to form England Golf in 2012 (interview with James).

Clive explained that six to four was chosen as the ratio so that men could never override women when it came to vote as this requires a 75% majority. A rule was also put in place to protect the place of women on Board Sub-Committees to ensure there is always a minimum of two men and two women on every Sub-Committee (interview with James). Whilst both of these rules are positive in protecting the Board and its Sub-Committees from a completely gendered majority, they still give more voting influence to male Voting Members. The quorum for England Golf Board meetings is 'six eligible Elected Directors for so long as there are 10 Elected Directors' on the Board, 'reducing to three eligible Elected Directors where there are fewer than 10 Elected Directors' (England Golf, 2012, p. 22). Furthermore, the quorum must feature at least one male Elected Director and one female Elected Director. The combination of the 'six to four rule' and the quorum means that there can never be fewer than two male Directors and one female Director present at Board meetings for decisions by voting to be made. Whilst it is positive that the representation of one female Elected Director is protected here, a gender imbalance can be seen in the very governance rules of the organisation.

There were differing opinions from interviewees as to whether the 'six to four rule' is fair and effective. For example, Michael argued that the rule discourages a sustainable transformation of male-dominated governance because "you will always get those percentages if you discourage women in that way". Furthermore, he stressed the intersectionality of individuals by highlighting how "being a woman is only one characteristic of a person" and questioned the focus on gender over other social or physical characteristics. Sarah also questioned the central positioning of gender in the rule and argued that appointments to the Board "should be on their ability" rather than gender. The fact that the rule is gender-focused supports feminist arguments that gender is the most fundamental structuring principle of social space (Laberge, 1995).

Other interviewees voiced concerns about the impact on the Board's gender balance if the 'six to four rule' was removed. This is because the 'six to four rule' guarantees four female Elected Directors, which gives the Board the 30% female representation required for Sport England and UK Sport's (2016) minimum gender requirement. James saw a particular

positive of the rule being that a female “presence is protected” and Clive doubted whether there would be as many women on the Board without the rule, despite paradoxically claiming that “there’s no real reason for there not to be more women coming up through the Board”. Clive’s paradoxical comments reveal an awareness of the lack of women being appointed to the Board in the absence of gendered rules, but a lack of awareness as to what the causes of these issues are. Within Chapters 8 and 9, I will discuss the need for greater awareness within organisations of cultural and individual barriers for women leaders.

Debates over the fairness and effectiveness of the ‘six to four rule’ in creating gender balance on the Board of England Golf can be discussed in relation to Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of field strategies. The ‘six to four rule’ is a conservation strategy that maintains male-domination through the very rules of England Golf maintaining more male Elected Directors on the Board than female Elected Directors. However, it also conserves and protects a certain level of female representation and power that may otherwise be lost without the rule in place, because of factors such as fewer women being involved in golf and a problematic organisational culture. If the ‘six to four rule’ was removed or changed, then more sustainable subversion strategies could be more employed to change the rules and structure of the organisational field to be more gender-equitable. Michael suggested that one such subversion strategy could be to introduce “a minimum number of men and a minimum number of women and the rest are made up of whatever because you then start to get into the debate about the best person for the job”. This would maintain a minimum female representation, which is seen as a strength of the current ‘six to four rule’, but not limit the maximum number of women Elected Directors to four.

6.2.1.3. A lack of control over the appointment of Elected Directors

The LTA has fewer Elected Directors on its Board than England Golf, with only four out of the 13 Board positions being elected from the Council. Additionally, there are no rules that govern the gender make-up of these Elected Directors. This provides gender equality, through equality of opportunity for female and male Councillors to apply for Board positions, but does not provide gender equity, as informal organisational processes and practices also influence the gender-make up of Elected Directors. With a lack of rules in place for the gendered composition of Elected Directors, John describes how it is difficult for the Board “to affect

gender in that recruitment process”. This is because power over the appointment of Elected Directors sits with the Council to allow those within the sport who have the most intimate knowledge of the game and issues faced ‘on the ground’ to maintain some control. The lack of power that the Board holds here demonstrates how organisational fields are not products of total consensus, but products of permanent conflict because of the different rules that constitute different elements of the field (Bourdieu, 1993). This highlights the complexity of achieving gender balance on the boards of sport organisations when power over board recruitment is shared amongst different stakeholders.

Despite not having direct control over the appointment of Elected Directors, it was suggested by interviewees that succession strategies could be employed to influence the gender balance of the pool of Councillors from which Elected Directors are appointed from. Joyce suggested that better succession planning was needed within the LTA’s voluntary sector which forms the pipeline for Elected Director positions on the Board. For Joyce, this is needed because many clubs have “had the same Chairman for 25/30 years and things have stagnated”. Whilst Joyce acknowledged that the LTA “can’t enforce anything at all” within clubs, she suggested that “we can do workshops about succession planning”. As Joyce suggests, the LTA can provide succession training to increase awareness and reflexivity amongst club and county committee members around their poor governance practice. This demonstrates how long-term succession strategies can be employed at a junior level to attempt to influence demographic change higher up the hierarchy. In the next section, I will discuss how the structures of the paid workforces of England Golf and the LTA also contribute to continued gender imbalance within their leadership.

6.2.2. The paid workforce

As part of a process of modernisation over the past two decades, NGBs in England have been encouraged to professionalise their administrative structures (Houlihan & Green, 2009). This includes a general increase in the numbers of paid employees across NGBs. England Golf and the LTA both have paid employment numbers well above the national average of 27, with 83 and 293 employees, respectively (Walters et al., 2011). The LTA has a significantly larger paid workforce than England Golf, which does impact upon both its structure and the resources it has available. For example, England Golf has an HR function made up of just one

individual, whereas the LTA has a People/HR department made up of 10 individuals, including the HR Director. The implications of this will be considered when critically analysing the structures and practices of the two organisations. Within the following two sections, I will discuss two key issues relating to the organisational structures and practices of the paid workforces of the two NGBs that were repeatedly reported within interviews: flat organisational structures and the England Golf merger.

6.2.2.1. Flat organisational structures

The flat organisational structures of both England Golf and the LTA, coupled with an infrequency of available positions on their leadership teams, provides a lack of opportunity for women to access dominant positions and compete for power (Bourdieu, 1993). As displayed within Appendix 1, there is only one level of leadership at England Golf, and once an individual has made it onto the ELT there are few options to progress within the wider world of golf administration because it is one of the biggest golf organisations in the world (interview with Clive). Furthermore, Clive suggested that some of the positions on the ELT, such as Performance Director and Championship Director, require specialist knowledge and so are not particularly transferable to executive positions within sport more widely. This means that many Executive Leaders “haven’t got anywhere else to go”, and so individuals tend to stay in their position for a long time, leaving few opportunities for the high proportion of women who sit on the level below the ELT to be promoted (interview with Clive).

Tracey highlighted the impact of such a flat structure at England Golf when discussing her career development: “the obvious next step for me would be to leave England Golf, and I’m quite open with them about that”. This displays how, for some individuals within middle-management positions, there is such a lack of opportunity within the organisation to employ succession strategies and gain promotion that their only option to access a more powerful position is to leave the organisation altogether. At the LTA, individuals needing to leave the organisation to develop their skills and experience was embraced, and Fiona spoke of their focus on developing “boomerang employees”. These are employees who leave the LTA once there are no more development options for them, “go and learn something”, and then return to the organisation once they have developed the skills to be considered for a more senior position (interview with Fiona). This is an agency-approach which aims to develop the

institutional cultural capital of individuals to enable them to become more competitive agents to succeed within the organisational field.

Despite actively adopting such forward-thinking approaches, both the ELT and Leadership Team of the LTA have poor female representation. Fiona explained how the Leadership Team was even less diverse in its early establishment, when “it was very much filled with I’m tennis or sport, I’ve worked my way up, I’m a guy, I probably have played tennis my entire life”. Fiona highlights how embodied cultural capital played a key part in who was accepted onto the team because individuals shared an internalised identity, ‘I am tennis’ or ‘I am sport’, which was developed through either playing or coaching the sport. Within Section 7.2, I will expand upon why this is problematic in developing gender balance in the LTA’s leadership team: because there is male-domination both in elite tennis participation and coaching. An underrepresentation of women in coaching is not unique to tennis, but has been found to be a problem in sport at the national (Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2016) and global levels (Norman, 2014). Fiona went on to explain that the structure of the Leadership Team has changed over time, with the new Leadership Team being made up of all direct reports to the ELT. This had some impact on gender balance, largely because it no longer focused on ‘general sport leaders’ who held high volumes of field-specific embodied cultural capital, but on institutionalised cultural capital in the form of work experience, skills, and qualifications.

Succession planning was identified by leaders within both organisations as a succession field strategy that can help to overcome challenges of their flat structures. At England Golf, Michael explained that a key part of improving women’s chances of gaining dominant positions within England Golf is to better understand the career goals of female employees and develop female employees who want to progress to the next hierarchical level. This is so that they have the skills and experience when that position becomes available. He felt that “because we have pretty good [female] representation at all other levels of the organisation, apart from that management team, you’d like to think that [succession planning] would help tackle that problem” (interview with Michael). At the LTA, Fiona described a similar programme in the form of a People Strategy that has been in place since 2016. The programme aims to work with the ELT to understand the needs of their teams against the organisation’s strategy and the skillsets of the employees within those teams. This includes discussions with employees about their personal development and training needs

which are informed by the identification of potential vacancies in the future (interview with Fiona). Again, these are agency-focused succession field strategies that aim to increase the institutionalised cultural capital of individual women leaders by supporting them to meet the entry requirements for dominant positions within the organisational field.

6.2.2.2. *The England Golf merger*

A second key structural factor that influenced gender balance in the ELT of England Golf is the effects of the merger between the EWGA and the EGU in 2012. Most of the individuals interviewed, both male and female, expressed their belief that the outcomes of the merger are positive for the game, particularly with regards to efficiency and the sharing of resources. The process of the merger was discussed with less positivity, however, due to the apparent domination of the EGU throughout the process. In particular, this was regarding the terms of the merger resulting in the EWGA's head office in Birmingham being closed down, and the new body being based at the National Golf Centre in Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire (English Golf Union & English Women's Golf Association, 2011). This is 114 miles from EWGA's former head office which meant that any EWGA employees who wished to transfer their employment to England Golf had to move to Lincolnshire.

The reason for the merged body being located at Woodhall Spa, despite it being "a bit of an out-post" due to its lack of central and accessible location, was because of the EGU's £10 million investment in the land, building, and golf course that make up the (since-renamed) National Golf Centre (interview with James). James spoke of the attitude of those within the EGU at the time, regarding the location of the merged body: "we just said no, we own it, we're keeping it, we ain't going anywhere, if you want to merge, you come here". This is an example of the influence of the economic capital accumulated by the EGU on the terms of the merger. The lack of economic capital of the EWGA, who were in rented accommodation and had few monetary assets, put them in a financially vulnerable situation with less influence to compete for power and position in the newly formed organisational field (interview with James).

The assets of the Woodhall Spa Estate have continued to be owned by the EGU, under the separate company name of Woodhall Spa Estate Management Ltd, who rent the accommodation to England Golf on a "special levy" (interview with James). James explained

that economic profit is not at stake for the individuals who invested in the facilities because there is no record of investors or the amount they invested. Therefore, this continued EGU control over the assets appears not to be for the sake of preservation of economic capital, but for its conversion into symbolic capital. That is, maintaining ownership of the facility acts as a 'trophy' which displays how the EGU were the more financially successful organisation in the merger, and therefore is a conservation strategy which safeguards their dominant position within the newly merged organisational field (Bourdieu, 1993).

In addition to logistical challenges around the merger, there were also some cultural challenges that were discussed in bringing the two organisations together. For example, Clive spoke of how "in some respects EWGA did lose their identity ... in some respects it wasn't a merger it was a bit of a takeover". Ruth discussed how this 'takeover' was influenced by a lack of openness for change on behalf of former EGU employees who remained within their place of work and saw little logistical change in their everyday working lives:

Rather than bringing on board the good bits of both it seemed that ... this is how the men have done it and this is how we're gonna do it. ... They didn't sort of take on board the good bits that EWGA had ... it just drove me mad really (interview with Ruth).

What Ruth is describing here is a form of symbolic violence, where the symbolic and cultural systems of the dominant group (the EGU) became normalised and accepted (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). A combination of structural, logistical, cultural, and individual factors resulted in the initial ELT of the merged body of England Golf being made up of entirely ex-EGU employees, all of whom were male except one. Furthermore, only three (female) less senior employees transferred from the EWGA to the EGU. This demonstrates that individuals from the women's organisation became peripheralised and lost autonomy as a result. Therefore, whilst the structure of the EGU changed to incorporate the EWGA, the ideological and cultural systems were largely conserved and maintained.

The opportunity for female employees to transfer from the EWGA to the newly merged governing body was also impacted by the economic system of society more widely. This was because many of the women who previously worked for the EWGA did not accumulate enough economic capital within their family unit to warrant moving their family to Woodhall Spa:

The majority of my colleagues lost their jobs. They took redundancy because, with families and young children in school and that sort of thing, they couldn't move to Woodhall. ... They weren't the main earner within their family unit, and so to move for their job wasn't an option (interview with Tracey).

This aligns with findings at the national level that I discussed in Section 6.1.1, which highlight how men, on average, earn more than women across all sectors. This displays the real-life impact of the gender pay gap: women, on average, hold less economic capital than men, which can result in women within heterosexual relationships having to make sacrifices around their employment options to maintain the family income.

One aspect of the merger that did not go ahead in 2012 was the merging of (men's) County Golf Unions and (women's) County Golf Associations to form one body for each county. This was due to strong resistance from the County Unions and Associations. Leaders within England Golf largely saw the merging of the counties as important for the NGB to move forward in a fashion which is less gender-segregated, and more efficient and effective:

Personally, I think it's a great way forward and the sooner they do it the better because it's going to break down some of those barriers that are there. And it's got to be for the better of the game (interview with Sue).

[A merged structure is] cleaner, it's straightforward, and the structures that exist within the counties are just not efficient. They're busy fools in many cases (interview with Tracey).

Daniel explained that some of the counties could see the benefit of merging to become a better business and improve the county structure of the game, but others spoke of resistance within the counties. Reasons for resistance included "the fear of the unknown" (interview with Sue), men being concerned about "the disparity in funding availability" between the men's Unions and the women's Association (interview with James), fears from women of not being treated well within a merged body (interview with Robert), and beliefs from both men and women that "there's no need for us to work in partnership" (Tracey).

The resistance shown by some Voting Members displays the workings of different forms of capital at play and how they can be valued differently by individuals depending on their position within the organisational field. For example, male Voting Members' concerns

about funding reflects their desire to conserve their economic capital, as was found to be influential in the England Golf merger. Alternatively, the lack of belief in the need for a partnership from both men and women displays a preference amongst some for developing bonding social capital rather than bridging social capital because of “fear of the unknown” or being treated poorly upon merger. This bonding social capital was observed within an England Golf board meeting, with female Board Members tending to discuss issues from the perspective of the women’s Association and male Board Members tending to speak from the perspective of the men’s Union (observation, 18th October 2016). Whilst this strengthening of bonding social capital can develop stronger relationships amongst female Voting Members and amongst male Voting Members, it can also continue to widen gender divides. The complete merging of the County structure would be a subversion strategy that changes the field’s system of authority, but it is unclear at this point whether this would benefit women leaders in accessing dominant positions. This is because women and men would be directly competing for Council positions (which forms the pool for Elected Directors) and, as I will go on to outline within Chapter 8, there are several cultural barriers against women successfully competing for such positions.

6.3. Summary

Within this chapter, I have provided evidence that the organisational fields of England Golf and the LTA are fields of struggles that are simultaneously conserving and transforming male-dominated gender power relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Evidence of the conservation of male-domination was displayed through the existence of both vertical and horizontal gender segregation of labour, with men conserving their positions at the top of the two organisational hierarchies and in the most symbolically influential positions. This was more severe within the leadership teams of the paid workforce than the voluntary governance sectors of both organisations.

I discussed within the chapter how structural factors contribute to the reproduction of male-dominated hierarchies of dominance within the two NGBs. In the voluntary governance hierarchy, this included a high proportion of Elected Directors on the Board of England Golf resulting in the sometimes problematic, gendered generational habitus of male Voting Members penetrating the boardroom. Additionally, gendered governance rules at

England Golf continue to conserve male power and authority, but also preserve a guaranteed female representation. Further, the LTA Board's lack of control over the election processes for Elected Directors onto the Council contributed to a challenging structural environment within which to implement succession strategies to get more women onto the Board. In the paid workforce, interviewees reported that flat organisational structures offered little opportunity for demographic change and increasing the number of women within the most senior positions. Additionally, specifically for England Golf, the merging of the EGU and the EWGA resulted in an absence of EWGA employees in senior positions, which not only conserved the position of men at the top of the organisational field but conserved the ideology and culture of the EGU.

Despite structural challenges for both organisations, both NGBs employed strategies to attempt to create transformational fields of struggles. This included succession planning in both the paid workforce and voluntary governance structure to increase the institutional cultural capital of women within the two organisations. This develops female employees to better meet the entry requirements for senior positions when they become available. Subversion strategies were also enforced in the form of new or changing governance rules which influenced the make-up of the Board, the protection of the position of both genders on the Board and its sub-committees, and a guarantee that at least every third President would be female at England Golf.

Overall, both organisations still face challenges in making their structures gender-equitable. Some of the challenges are shared across the two organisations, such as flat organisational structures, whilst others are unique to each NGB based on their history and values, such as the 'six to four rule' at England Golf and male-dominance in the position of President at the LTA. In analysing the structures of the two organisations, it became apparent that England Golf faced more structural challenges than the LTA. Amongst others, I believe two factors are particularly influential in this: the relatively late establishment of the merged body of England Golf, which is still developing an identity, culture, and rules, and the significantly greater resources available to the LTA to be able to implement more strategies and programmes. Within the next chapter, I will discuss the extent to which this difference in challenges that the two organisations face extends to their recruitment processes and practices.

CHAPTER 7: GENDERED RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION PROCESSES

All leaders of sport must successfully engage in recruitment and selection processes to be employed or elected into senior positions. This makes these organisational processes particularly important to analyse when exploring the reasons for gender imbalance in English sport governance. Recruitment and selection processes become gendered when they profit one gender over others. Corsun and Costen (2001) argue that in the corporate environment, where fields of power and business intersect, there is a naturalness of fit for men to preserve male-dominated leadership because the rules of the field 'were established years ago by White, Anglo-Saxon, male "captains of industry"' (p. 19). Applying Bourdieu's theory of practice, the extent to which an individual experiences a 'naturalness of fit between disposition and position' during recruitment and selection processes relates to the extent to which an individual's (gendered) habitus is harmonious with the requirements of the organisational field (Corsun & Costen, 2001, p. 19). This includes the formal requirements of the position as well as informal requirements such as 'cultural fit'. The extent to which an individual's habitus is harmonious with the requirements of the organisational field is also proportionally influenced by the volume of field-specific capital they hold. Examples of this are cultural capital in the forms of specific knowledge, skills, and experience, and social capital in the networks and contacts that an individual has developed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Interviewees across both England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) discussed a consistent lack of women applying for leadership positions in both the voluntary governance sector and the paid workforce. For example, Phillip explained that when England Golf recruited for the position of Championships Manager, out of 40 applicants only two or three were women. The reasons for a lack of women (successfully) applying for both voluntary and paid leadership positions are multi-faceted, including structural factors (Chapter 6), cultural factors (Chapter 8), and individual factors (Chapter 9). Within this chapter, I will discuss how gendered recruitment and selection processes within England Golf and the LTA also contribute to this. I will highlight the ways in which some formal and informal recruitment and selection processes continue to align more with the habitus and capital of dominant men than women, resulting in more men successfully applying for leadership positions. However,

I will also outline the strategies that are being put in place that either make recruitment and selection processes more gender-equitable, or favour women over men to achieve gender balance in their leadership teams.

7.1. Formal recruitment processes

I define formal recruitment processes as the procedures that lead up to the selection of a candidate for a role, including job advertisement, the application process, and the interview process. The first step in the recruitment process for paid leadership positions is advertising, which includes the distribution of a job description and job criteria. Both England Golf and the LTA use online platforms to advertise their executive and middle-management positions. England Golf use various online sport-specific platforms, including Global Sports Jobs, UK Sport, and Sport England (interview with Daniel). The LTA tend to use headhunting agencies for executive positions, but also use sport-specific platforms as well as LinkedIn and other non-sport-specific platforms to advertise for less senior positions (interview with Liam). Research has found no difference in the abilities and behaviours of men and women in navigating online content, including job searches, which suggests that the use of online platforms has no gendered consequences (Hargittai & Shafer, 2006).

Advertising is a key practice through which an individual decides on whether they wish to apply for a position based on their perception of the role, the organisation, and the extent to which they meet the formal and informal requirements of the job. Leaders within both organisations spoke of the impact of gendered job advertisements. At England Golf, Michael questioned how effectively they advertise jobs to target potential women leaders:

I wonder whether some of the imagery, the way we describe it, the way we write about it, the way we advertise, whether that just means the people we're trying to attract ... never see it, or those that do see it, it doesn't quite resonate in the same way.

Research supports Michael's concerns over the language of advertisements, as it has been found that women are more likely to apply for roles that are described using gender-neutral generics instead of male generics in their description (Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay, 2011). At the LTA, Colin believes that part of the problem in appealing to women through advertising and recruitment is that "it's a bunch of ... men making those decisions [about job advertisement] ... [and] you only go from what you know". Therefore, if it is dominant men who are making

the decisions about the requirements for a position, these requirements are likely to be more aligned to a dominant male habitus because 'a habitus finds a similar habitus ... to avoid feeling like fish out of water' (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010, p. 22). In turn, this can contribute to the lack of women applying for leadership roles in sport organisations, which reproduces gender-imbalanced leadership teams.

At the LTA, Natalie and Fiona discussed the importance of educating managers on how their subconscious habitus can impact upon the recruitment process. Bourdieu (2001) describes subconscious behaviours as the 'feel for the game', and argues that this leads people to mistake their (perceptive) dispositions and schema as natural rather than socialised. For Natalie: "we need to increase our own education. We need to have training, we need to understand our bias, we need to ... stop recruiting people because they look like us, sound like us". Fiona explained how the LTA are implementing some of this training, including educating managers on "unconscious bias and diversity and how you make sure you don't ... miss out on great talent by your unconscious bias". This includes the development of a 'good recruitment practice pack' for managers to use when hiring (observation, 7th March 2017). In recent years, literature has increasingly argued that unconscious bias training is ineffective in improving organisational cultural and diversity (e.g. Duguid, 2015; Noon, 2017). However, Emerson (2017) suggests that unconscious bias training can be taught effectively if a careful balance is struck between limiting defensiveness about unconscious bias and communicating the importance of managing bias, the content is structured around workplace situations, and training is action-oriented.

At the LTA, Natalie also spoke about the importance of "educating people who are going to help us advertise and be more transparent about it ... and not doing one size fits all". This includes HR departments fully briefing recruitment agencies or head hunters about the requirements of the job to ensure that gendered language or inaccurate descriptions of job roles do not deter women from applying. Natalie gave an example of recruitment agencies assuming that sport is "24/7", which can deter women (and men) with domestic responsibilities from applying. Robin similarly spoke about ensuring that the credentials of any recruitment agencies used "prove and demonstrate that they can bring talented women to the table as potential candidates as equally as they can do men". Educating and monitoring the quality of both internal and external recruiters is important in developing gender-

equitable recruitment processes. This is because it helps to move away from practices that unconsciously and unquestionably value the dominant male habitus most highly, towards organisational practices that align more harmoniously with both the habitus of a diversity of women and the habitus of a diversity of men.

As well as the gendered nature of job advertisements, interviewees from both organisations also discussed a need for more conscious thought around the location of job advertisements. For example, Liam explained how “the visibility of where that stuff goes is always a challenge ... and whether ... you’re plugged into those networks is pretty much the biggest barrier to hearing about these things”. Several leaders spoke of the importance of looking outside of traditional (male-dominated) recruitment pools to improve the gender balance of applicants. Actions being taken included England Golf using recruitment agencies that focus more widely than just golf markets (interview with Daniel), the LTA identifying spaces to advertise outside of the traditionally male-dominated sports market (interview with Fiona), and the LTA working with non-sport-specific partners to identify potential female candidates (interview with Liam). These strategies can broaden opportunities for a more diverse range of women and men, who do not hold field-specific social capital within the male-dominated sports market, to convert their social capital within other professional networks during the recruitment process.

During the interview stages of recruitment, it was apparent that cultural capital was the most highly valued form of capital. For example, the cultural capital of applicants was examined through presentations (both organisations), formal skills assessments (LTA), and psychometric tests (England Golf; interviews with Daniel and Natalie). Psychometric tests are typically used by employers to provide information about skills shortages within the current leadership team, and to find out whether the applicant possesses the skills in need (Jenkins, 2001). The use of psychometric tests, presentations, and skills assessments ‘constitute the individual as an object of knowledge’, and therefore have a strong focus on the institutionalised cultural capital that the applicant possesses (Bergstrom & Knights, 2006, p. 356). Constituting the individual as an ‘object of knowledge’ goes some way in reducing the impact of gender-bias in the recruitment process, because the quality of the applicant is measured more objectively than within traditional interview processes that are highly subjective. That said, as I highlighted within Chapter 5, feminists have criticised positivist,

quantitative ways of measuring 'objective knowledge' because of their use of binary conceptualisations of gender and their failure to acknowledge difference and diversity which privilege the experiences of men over women (Connell, 1995). Therefore, the language used within more objective recruitment methods needs to be gender-neutral, and the criteria applied need to be appreciative of the strengths of different and diverse experiences, traits, and behaviours that are not attributed to one gender over others.

Within their interview processes, the LTA are trying to go one step further in reducing bias through their new "strengths-based recruitment" framework (interview with Fiona). Fiona explained that the focus is on more effective interviewing that allows for a "deeper level of ... how [the interviewee's] passion and their experience relates to what you're asking them to do". This is because it is focused around "do you fit with the organisation and can you bring the right skills? ... Because it's about strengths, it's a very positive way of interviewing people" (interview with Fiona). Fiona also emphasised that it is focused more objectively on skills and therefore "it doesn't matter which university you went to, it doesn't matter ... which companies you worked for before".

The development of new recruitment strategies and frameworks such as this begin to change the logic of practice around recruitment practices by assigning more value to institutional cultural capital, such as qualifications, knowledge, and expertise, rather than embodied and objectified forms of cultural capital that are more heavily influenced by the (gendered) social background and characteristics of an individual. There is a potential weakness in placing such high value on institutionalised cultural capital, however, if the institutional cultural capital of men is valued more highly than that of women. In Chapter 9 I will discuss how women leaders have found their institutionalised cultural capital to be less convertible than their male counterparts. This means that strengths-based recruitment processes will continue to be gendered until the capital accumulated by all women is valued equally to capital accumulated by all men within the two organisational fields.

Whereas recruitment processes for paid leadership positions were mostly centred on the cultural capital of individuals, recruitment processes for the Boards of the two NGBs were more heavily influenced by social capital. Board Members discussed how recruitment processes have become more rigorous over time which has changed the way in which social capital is played out. James and Joyce explained that recruitment processes previously lacked

rigour, which allowed bonding social capital to be used more easily to reproduce hierarchies of inequality and dominance. This is because it was the social networks of those in the most senior positions that were most influential: “in those days the current [LTA] President would actually ask somebody, just tap them on the shoulder and say would you be Deputy” (interview with Joyce). Similarly, James described how for England Golf Board positions, elections would involve “somebody putting a hand on your shoulder” and saying “well he looks alright let’s get him to do it”.

Recruitment processes for appointing Elected Directors are now more rigorous within both organisations as they involve official nomination processes. At England Golf, a Member County must officially nominate a voting member to be an Elected Director, with the nomination being seconded by another Member County (interviews with Simon, Robert, and David). At the LTA, Elected Directors must be nominated by at least six eligible Councillors (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015c). Although these recruitment processes require the individual to have developed ‘a durable network ... of mutual acquaintance and recognition’ through holding high levels of social capital, this form of social capital is more attainable for women leaders as it is not centred around the social networks of a small group of the most powerful individuals in the organisation who have historically been men (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 251).

The increased modernisation of NGB board recruitment processes is also being pushed through *A Code for Sports Governance* (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). Within the code, it is a requirement that ‘each organisation shall have a formal, rigorous and transparent procedure for the appointment of new directors to the board, and all appointments shall be made on merit in line with the skills required of the board’ (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016, p. 26). This requirement places less value on social capital and more value on institutionalised cultural capital. Both NGBs showed evidence of moving towards this. For example, the England Golf Board circulate a “missing skills list” to all Voting Members alongside the advertisement for the Board vacancy to ensure that the applicants’ skills and knowledge can contribute to those missing on the Board. Additionally, the LTA circulate brief details of each candidate to all Councillors to inform their decision if it comes down to a ballot vote, which focus on the candidate’s field-specific cultural capital such as details of their past service to the LTA and their occupation or profession (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015b).

More rigorous, modernised, and skills-based recruitment processes provide less opportunity for gender-biased recruitment through informal networks. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, it is still the skills and experiences of those in male-dominated, “highly professional” roles such as banking and accountancy that are valued most highly for board positions (interview with Jill). This is because they are viewed as being most transferable to the needs of the board. Furthermore, as discussed within Section 4.3.2, the social construction of leadership continues to follow binary conceptualisations of gender that place dominant male experiences and behaviours as ‘the ideal’. Therefore, for these election processes to avoid reproducing male-dominated gender power relations, the organisational habitus of the two NGBs need to resist binary conceptualisations of gender, as well as gender stereotyping and labelling, to allow women equal opportunity to accumulate symbolic capital and be recognised by peers as future Board Members.

7.2. Formal selection processes

Formal selection processes involve a panel being formed and decisions being made on both the shortlisting and hiring of candidates. Acker (2006) suggests that selection processes are gendered because ‘images of appropriate gendered ... bodies influence perceptions and hiring’, with female bodies being seen as appropriate for some jobs and male bodies for others (p. 449). This argument links to Shilling’s (2004) conceptualisation of physical capital, because the (gendered) body is centrally located when valuing an individual and their capabilities within organisational fields. The most problematic example of a gendered selection process is discrimination on the basis of gender. Leaders within both organisations spoke of their experience of discriminatory, gendered selection processes, particularly with regards to reluctance to hire women of child bearing age:

I have only once heard of direct discrimination, which was really around a candidate in her 30s who had just got married, and the person I was recruiting with suggested that she’d go off and have children and therefore he was less interested in recruiting her (interview with Michael).

I think you definitely get situations ... where people will be recruiting ... [and] think crikey if I employ this 28-year-old ... wouldn’t it be a nightmare if she goes off on maternity leave in a year or 18-months’ time (interview with Matthew).

During observational research, one female England Golf employee also informally explained that the CEO at the time had asked someone on the interview panel whether she was married and whether there was any chance of her having children in the near future (observation, 4th October 2016). These findings align with research conducted by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2015) which used a large-scale survey of 3034 employers across large, medium, and small-sized businesses in the UK. This research found that a quarter of all employers surveyed believed that it is acceptable to ask women at recruitment about their plans to have children (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2015).

Bourdieu's social theory is largely based on the public habitus due to the economy being at the centre of its analysis, and so pays little attention to women mediating between the 'masculine/public world of paid work and the feminine/personal world of human reproduction', where women encounter patriarchal relations in both (McCall, 1992, p. 848). Although Bourdieu does acknowledge the role of mothering in the transmittance of cultural capital from mother to children, he does not combine this aspect of a woman's habitus with her work in the paid labour force (McCall, 1992). This is a gap in his work which fails to acknowledge how the bodies of women of child-bearing age have been scrutinised throughout the history of the gendered organisation because they do not align with masculine qualities that are traditionally associated with leadership (Acker, 1990). This scrutiny reduces the physical capital of women leaders of child-bearing age during the recruitment process (Shilling, 2004). Bourdieu's (2000) emphasis on heightened consciousness in transforming the logic of practice can be applied, however, to increase awareness of discriminatory gendered recruitment and selection processes.

To attempt to achieve heightened consciousness in their recruitment processes, the LTA have introduced 'Induction Lunches' which give new employees the chance to meet each other and feed back on their recruitment experience (observation, 20th May 2017). Feedback given during this event is focused on both positive and negative elements of the recruitment and selection processes, including the application and interview processes. For example, during the Induction Lunch that I observed, one woman who had small children was able to discuss her good and bad recruitment experiences in relation to her personal situation as a mother. This included expressing appreciation of flexible interview times, but also discussing how poor communication around start dates impacted on her arrangements for childcare

(observation, 20th May 2017). Within this lunch, the HR Director told the inductees that “we want the truth to improve the experience of other people going through the recruitment process” (observation, 20th May 2017). This demonstrates ‘heightened consciousness associated with an effort of transformation’ that Bourdieu (2000, p. 160) argues can rework the logic of practice based on new ways of perceiving, appreciating, and behaving. A weakness of this approach is that feedback is not gained from those who were unsuccessful within the recruitment and selection process, as these may be the individuals who experience more problems because of gendered or discriminatory practices.

In addition to the (child-bearing) age of female applicants influencing selection processes for executive positions, field-specific cultural capital in the form of experience of playing or coaching the sport to a high standard was also perceived to be important for the selection of both Executive and Non-Executive Directors. At England Golf, Robert explained that when recruiting for a CEO “we wanted, this time, somebody that had a very good knowledge of golf”. Additionally, Michael explained how “one of the concerns when I applied for the job was I didn’t play golf. And I’ve been at meetings where people have said we don’t want to be recruiting people into senior management positions ... who don’t play golf”. Steve thinks that experience and knowledge of golf is important because “you have to have a passion for your sport”. Furthermore, he suggests that “there’s a different level of respect initially, and that initial period is critical to the development of the role”.

At the board-level, female interviewees spoke of both positive and negative recruitment experiences in relation to the high valuing of sporting knowledge and talent. For example, at England Golf Sarah spoke of how she was “concerned that my golf is not ever going to be, nor has ever been, at a top level” but was subsequently assured that it “really did not matter, there were plenty of people who could play golf, it was somebody that could ... have an enthusiasm for it and a passion for it, which I do”. Mary similarly explained how she is not an elite golfer, whereas most male Voting Members are, and expressed that “to some extent I think [golfing ability] is valued more than other skills”. For one female Board Member at the LTA it was her knowledge of the systems and practices of tennis that led to her fellow Councillors encouraging her to apply for the Board:

I wouldn’t say I had a particularly high profile, but people started approaching me to say you’d be really good on the Board. And I thought the Board? You’ve got to be joking. I’m

just not the board sort of person. But a lot of people said but you really know about tennis and a lot of the Board don't, so why don't you give it a go. So I gave it a go.

Jill demonstrates that women can profit within recruitment processes from holding high volumes of field-specific cultural capital, although Shaw and Hoeber (2003) argue that men profit more from this because sporting experience is more associated with dominant men and overtly masculine attributes.

More men playing, coaching, officiating, and volunteering within both golf and tennis also allows more men the opportunity to accumulate this form of cultural capital than women. In 2016 there was gender-skewness across participants and coaches affiliated to England Golf, with just 14% and 4% female representation, respectively (Piggott, Pike, & Matthews, 2019). Tennis has gender balance amongst participants at the non-elite level, with 45% of monthly tennis players and 43% of weekly tennis players being women in 2016 (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016a). However, high-performance tennis is gender-tilted with 30% of the competitors being female (interview with Colin). Additionally, tennis coaching is gender-skewed with just 27% of coaches being female (observation, 8th March 2017), which is in line with only one in five qualified coaches within the UK being women (Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2016).

Leaders in both organisations spoke of how the gender make-up of other areas of the two sports impacts upon gender balance in the leadership teams of the two NGBs. For example, Michael discussed how “lots of people who play golf are attracted to work for England Golf and there are more men that play golf than women”. Similarly, Nathan spoke of how a lot of people working for the LTA were involved in tennis, and “because there's less women trying to make it to the elite level, ... there's less of them falling out and therefore there's less of them wanting to stay in sport and ... administrative ... head office-type roles”. These comments provide an example of how the wider fields of the two sports impact upon the two organisational fields. Improved gender balance and gender-equity throughout the wider sporting fields would likely positively impact the number of women leaders entering and climbing the hierarchies of the two NGBs.

There was evidence within both organisations of resistance against sporting competency being viewed as an important characteristic of being a good leader during

selection processes. At England Golf, Ryan suggested it is more about “whether you can do the job, whether you’ve got the skills and the knowledge to be able to do that”. Furthermore, Michael argued that “sports organisations place far too much emphasis ... on sports ability ... [because] they might be great at golf but it doesn’t mean they’re a great Chief Executive”. At the LTA, John expressed that “in sport, ridiculously, there’s this clarion cry all the time ... [that] you can only make a real difference if you come from the sport. I don’t accept any of that nonsense”.

Natalie explained how the LTA have moved away from a culture focused on recruiting those with a tennis background towards an organisation with a greater interest in the administrative skills and experience of the applicant:

There were too many people that were sat ... saying to me oh I love tennis and I play and I watch and, oh right, that’s great, just tell me your job title. ... We’ve done a lot to ensure that ... first off ... you [are] competent to do the job you’re employed to do, and then if ... you’re just a tennis nut, that’s great, but it’s not the reason you’re sat in an interview.

The experiences of a group of LTA employees that I spoke to informally one lunchtime aligned this, with them all confirming that tennis had not been discussed within their job interviews unless they brought it up (observation, 7th March 2017). NGBs moving away from mostly recruiting from within their sport is an example of the modernisation of the administration and governance of NGBs which Walters and Tacon (2018) argue initially results in improved legitimacy (symbolic capital) external to the organisation, but over time also strengthens the internal legitimacy of good governance. This suggests that modernised recruitment processes, such as the example provided by Natalie, are not only beneficial in reducing the gendered nature of selection processes but also in improving the perception of the organisational field both internally and externally.

In contrast to the selection strategies discussed thus far, that tend to privilege dominant men, an example of a formal selection strategy that privileges women is positive action. One form of positive action that has been employed by the LTA is ensuring there is always a woman on the shortlist for interviews for leadership positions (interviews with John, Natalie, Colin and Fiona). Natalie believes this is important because “people should see a woman against a man on any shortlist for a senior position, well, any position”. Fiona

discussed how often, in order to ensure a woman is on the shortlist, the organisation insists that recruitment agencies make a particular effort to target women to apply for the position. Fiona argued that “if you insist they give you women, they’ll find the best women, so there’s no harm in doing it”. As discussed within Section 2.1.2, positive action such as this is supported by the Equality Act on the grounds that it is positive action towards a social group (women) who have previously suffered a social disadvantage because of their protected characteristic (Government Equalities Office, 2010).

Leaders in both organisations also discussed the employment of moderate quotas where preference is given to a female applicant if she is as equally qualified for the role as a male applicant (Skirstad, 2009). Daniel suggested that at England Golf:

...sometimes if it comes down to two candidates in a position maybe we need to be a bit bolder and braver ... if there’s not much between those two positions should I be saying that actually ... we’re splitting hairs between the two candidates, we should be going for ... the female person because that’s starting to trail blaze already in that camp, but it also gives us a gender representation at a senior level which we don’t currently have.

Similarly, at the LTA Colin discussed how:

[The HR Director] and I have actually talked and said, look, if there’s not a lot of difference, let’s go with the female because we need to change where we’re headed ... at the end let’s make sure we still hire who we think’s the best person, but man let’s think it through if it’s close because there’s other benefits that are going to come, not just whoever is running the department but what does that say to other women in the organisation and everything else.

Daniel and Colin both highlight the greater benefits to the organisation that more female Executives can bring, including providing role models for other women in the organisation and changing negative perceptions of the organisational field as male-dominated.

Whereas moderate quotas were suggested as possible strategies for change within the Executive Leadership Teams (ELTs) of the two organisations, which do not have gender targets assigned to them, at the board-level of the LTA radical gender quotas have been employed in line with the 30% minimum gender representation requirement to receive public funding (Skirstad, 2009; Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). John explained that the LTA did

not even interview men for the most recent vacant Board positions, which means there was no guarantee that the women appointed were more qualified for the position than eligible men. This demonstrates that, in this case, the symbolic and economic capital at stake for the organisation through complying with the governance code was valued more highly than gender equality and recruiting the best person for the role. This again highlights the semi-autonomous nature of organisational fields and their rules which can be heavily influenced by external powers if enough is at stake. It also demonstrates the power of targets that are linked to funding.

Several leaders spoke of their concerns or dislike of positive action. For example, at England Golf Michael agreed that “it’s always good to interview men and women”, but he also raised concerns around “interviewing for interviewing sake” and not wasting the time of women who evidently do not have the right skills for the position. Sarah expressed how positive action is part of a “nutty old problem ... which I don’t agree with at all” and Rebecca thinks that positive action is “dangerous because ... you need the best person for the job”. Additionally, Phillip sees positive action as “a pretty sad state of affairs” and expressed a dislike of “tick-boxing exercises”. Further, Charlotte expressed how she felt that “just putting someone on the Board if they’re completely out of their depth and they don’t know what they’re doing ... doesn’t feel like that’s going to help anybody very much except tick a box”. Most of the negative comments around positive action were based on the belief that it is wrong because it either discriminates against men or puts the symbolic capital of women leaders at risk through them being viewed as token women who are not on the leadership team on merit. The appointment of token women onto leadership teams are succession field strategies rather than subversion strategies, and so do not create a transformation of the authority of the field or organisational habitus. Therefore, positive action needs to be combined with succession planning and cultural change to ensure it leads to sustainable change to the social order and organisational habitus of NGBs.

7.3. Informal recruitment and selection practices

I define informal recruitment and selection practices as individual and/or organisational dispositions and behaviours that are not part of formal or official processes but still have influence over the recruitment and selection of employees and leaders. Informal,

homophilous networks were the most commonly reported informal practice that influenced recruitment and selection. At England Golf, there were examples of homophilous networks operating during recruitment for both executive and board positions. For example, Steve's recruitment experience for an executive position was impacted by having a male network within golf and knowing the male recruiters for his position. In knowing all the men who were interviewing him, Steve discussed how: "I felt quite comfortable in there, I felt relaxed because I knew them all. And I felt like I knew them all quite well from seeing them at various golf tournaments and other golf functions".

Mary also reported that she had experienced the workings of the 'old boys' club' when recruiting for an England Golf Executive position: "we had a late application which I thought was appalling, it was a terrible one, but he was known to some of the other members of the group and they insisted on shortlisting him". According to Mary, the male Board Members only shortlisted the candidate because they knew him rather than because of his ability to carry out the role. These are examples of the bonding social capital of male applicants proving beneficial in recruitment, despite this form of capital not being formally recognised within the official recruitment processes of England Golf. Because of an absence of women Executives at England Golf, the prevalence of female networks could not be analysed in recruitment to the ELT.

It was found that homophilous networks were also influential for both male and female Voting Members in being elected onto the England Golf Board. For example, Sarah's application was the result of support given by a former female Board Member and other women with high-status within the England Golf governance structure:

[A female Board Member] who was standing down ... approached me and said would I consider putting forward my name and be up for nomination? ... A number of other people I got to know in my regional rep role ... were [also] all very enthusiastic about supporting me. So that was why I went forward at that point.

Similarly, David was asked to stand for the England Golf Board by male Voting Members from other counties "because I'd been a voting member for 4 years". Both examples of bonding social capital amongst male and amongst female Voting Members are a result of the single-sex nature of the England Golf county structure.

The benefits accrued from homophilous networks appeared relatively even for male and female Elected Directors within England Golf because of the nature of women voting for female Board candidates and men voting for male Board candidates. However, Mary expressed concerns that access to social capital would become gender-skewed if all counties merged:

It's so much easier I think for a man to get on a board than it is for a woman in a circumstance when there's no set numbers ... [because] men network and ... you've got to be an exceptional woman to want to be put forward by some of the men.

Mary suggested that the majority of male Voting Members at England Golf accrue more social capital than the majority of female Voting Members because they network more frequently. Furthermore, she highlighted how these networks are most likely to recognise male Voting Members as future Board Members than female Voting Members unless they are "exceptional". This aligns with Bourdieu's (1986) claim that social capital can acquire symbolic character and be transformed into symbolic capital through mutual cognition and recognition between the network members. This mutual cognition and recognition creates social divides between social groups (such as men and women) because it is transformed into symbolic differences and classifications that create symbolic recognition and distinction (Bourdieu, 1986). In the case of male networks within sport governance, this is a symbolic recognition and distinction of good leadership characteristics as being synonymous with being male, unless a woman possesses high volumes of other forms of capital (such as institutionalised cultural capital) that make her an "exceptional" candidate.

At the LTA there was less discussion of the impact of homophilous, field-specific social networks on recruitment and selection for executive and board positions. Whilst not explicitly stated, reasons for this can be hypothesised. For example, the structure of the organisational field has always been mixed-gender through its establishment as a mixed organisation and its lack of any single-sex county structure. This means that there is less of a tradition of individuals being split by gender within the organisation. Additionally, the LTA has two Independent Directors who are recruited from outside of the game and have gone through a recruitment process that is more like recruitment for paid leadership positions (interview with

an Independent Director at the LTA⁵). As I discussed in Section 7.1, recruitment processes for paid leadership positions are shifting towards valuing cultural capital more highly than social capital.

Leaders within both organisations suggested that women need to start to utilise their networks more to turn social capital into profit. For example, Robert suggested that “sometimes men may target other men to come on the Board, well we’ve got ladies on the Board who maybe should be targeting other ladies.” Additionally, Sarah discussed how “we could do something to encourage women to feel more empowered that there’s nothing that stops them being on that Board”. The empowerment and belief that women can experience through endorsement from peers can enable them to perceive their habitus and capital to be more aligned with the requirements for leadership positions, and so are more likely to apply for positions. However, Robert and Sarah’s suggestions are binarist and continue to discuss social capital as being homophilous. As Putnam (2000) argues, individuals developing bridging forms of social capital that transcend different social identities can create a more prosperous community for both male and female leaders.

One example of a strategy being implemented within both England Golf and the LTA to use social networks to develop and empower women in recruitment, employment, and promotion is mentoring schemes. The benefits of mentoring schemes highlighted by interviewees included: the support they offer (interviews with Sue, Sally, and Matthew), their ability to increase the self-esteem of women leaders (interviews with Sue and Jill), the provision of a safe space in which to ask questions (interviews with Sue, Sally, Jill, and Rebecca), their ability to empower women leaders (interview with Sophie), engaging with professionals in other industries (interview with Sophie), getting a different perspective on certain issues (interview with Sophie), and the independence mentors can offer (interviews with Sally, Sophie, and Rebecca).

At England Golf, a mentor was offered to every new Board Member to support them through the process. The extent to which this was viewed positively differed amongst female Board Members. For example, Sue felt that “the sessions have been fabulous” and Sally found

⁵ A pseudonym has not been used here as there is only one female and one male Independent Director at the LTA and so this would reveal the identity of this individual.

that having a mentor allowed her to “get it all off my chest” when she was facing difficulties in the early stages of her England Golf board career. Sally also particularly liked the independent nature of her mentor to both her professional and personal lives. In contrast, Sarah was “not quite sure what the value [of the mentoring scheme was] ... for England Golf” and was not sure that “navel gazing in the way we seem to be doing in these sessions is particularly beneficial”. The differences in the perceptions of this mentoring programme appeared to be dependent on whether the individual had faced challenges in their board career and the extent to which they perceived the development of bonding social capital through mentoring schemes to be helpful in overcoming these challenges.

The LTA were involved in a cross-business mentoring programme run by Women Ahead which was initially aimed at women because of an appreciation by the LTA of its male-dominated Executive Leadership Team and Leadership Team (observation, 4th May 2017). However, four “very special” men were also invited to take part because they had argued that a women-only mentoring scheme is unfair (interviews with Fiona and Natalie). Overall, 20 LTA employees at leadership, management, and colleague level were selected by an Executive Leader and matched with a female or male senior leader from the electronics company Ricoh (Stallwood, 2017). Ricoh does not have particularly good female representation on its Board, with one woman on the Board of Ricoh Europe (n=4) and one woman on the Board of Global Ricoh (n=8; Ricoh, 2018). Acker (1990) argues that capitalist societies and organisations are ‘built upon a deeply embedded substructure of gender difference’, which can be problematic if LTA employees are learning from individuals located within a male-dominated, capitalist organisation and these values, ideals, and norms are passed on (p. 139). Nevertheless, the cross-disciplinary nature of the programme, and the inclusion of mixed-sex mentors, develops both cultural capital and bridging social capital through sharing knowledge and professional experiences across disciplines and genders, and through developing the self-confidence of leaders. This was seen by 95% of mentees reporting an increase in confidence and/or self-belief within interviews conducted as part of an unpublished report commissioned by the LTA, which reviewed the programme (Stallwood, 2017).

A key element of mentoring schemes that was discussed by interviewees was whether it is more beneficial for women mentees to have a female or male mentor. Women leaders within both organisations gave examples of how having a female mentor can be important.

For example, Sue discussed how a female mentor “would have been able to disclose the challenges they’ve faced, [and] give you some solutions to some issues that you might be facing that you wouldn’t get from a male colleague” (interview with Sue). Charlotte also felt that women being mentored by women can be beneficial in relation to “very practical stuff that you can only say privately between two women”, such as appropriate dress codes or how to deal with sexism if you face it. These discussions highlight how bonding social capital can develop between female mentees and mentors that allows a sharing of experiences that would not be possible through the development of bridging social capital with male mentors.

Other opinions were expressed by interviewees which questioned the importance of the gender of mentors. For example, Charlotte highlighted how “you don’t just mentor about being a woman”, and so “men can mentor women to help them a lot”. And Natalie felt that “one of the most valuable things that senior men can do is mentor a woman ... because they really get under the skin of what women are thinking and ... how women think differently”. Natalie’s comments do homogenise the experiences of women, though, in suggesting that all women “think differently” to men. Concerns raised about women-only mentoring programmes demonstrate that, whilst women-only mentoring schemes may increase the level of same-sex bonding social capital for women leaders, they can reduce levels of bridging social capital between female and male leaders. Whilst some women value bonding capital more highly, reduced bridging capital can create more antagonism between female and male leaders which can increase gender divides and make it harder to develop a gender-neutral organisational habitus where equitable recruitment and development opportunities exist for both women and men.

7.4. Summary

Within this chapter I revealed that recruitment and selection processes within England Golf and the LTA are both explicitly and implicitly gendered. As a result, some formal recruitment and selection practices discussed by interviewees align more harmoniously with the habitus and capital of dominant men than the habitus and capital of many women. This goes some way in understanding why fewer women apply for leadership positions within the two NGBs: women likely perceive their habitus and the capital they hold to be less well-suited for the role and the organisation than dominant men. Gendered formal recruitment and

selection practices that I discussed within this chapter that favour the habitus and capital of dominant men include: gender-bias in job advertising processes from male decision-makers writing the adverts and locating them within male-dominated spaces; the continued discrimination of women of childbearing age; and high value being placed on those with a strong sporting ability, which is most often associated with men and overt masculinity.

There was also evidence of resistance to formal recruitment processes that privilege dominant men over women. This includes: the modernisation of recruitment processes, which reduces gender-bias and focuses more heavily on skills-based recruitment; interviewees being reflexive and gaining feedback on gendered advertising and recruitment; and the education of internal and external recruiters on unconscious bias within the recruitment process. Each of these strategies for change can disrupt the reproduction of patterns of 'like for like recruitment' where male-dominated leadership teams are attracted to recruiting individuals who embody a (male) habitus that is similar to their own, and help to move closer towards gender-balanced sport governance (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010).

Positive action was a strategy that provided an exception to male privilege within formal selection processes, with its implementation privileging women over men in attempts to achieve gender balance within the leadership teams of the two NGBs. In relation to executive recruitment, this strategy was only considered if women held similar levels of institutionalised cultural capital in the forms of field-relevant skills and experience. This moves away from 'tick-box exercises', that can result in 'token women', towards processes that ensure the right women are being hired whilst achieving gender-balanced leadership teams that can bring benefits to the whole organisation. In relation to LTA Board recruitment, women were privileged over men even if they were less skilled and experienced. Concerns were raised about women's symbolic capital being at risk through the implementation of such radical quotas.

Informal recruitment practices in the form of homophilous social networks were found to benefit both female and male Board Members within the single-sex county structure of England Golf, as both accumulated bonding social capital and converted it into symbolic capital which legitimised them as future Board Members. Concerns were raised about the power of male, homophilous networks over the England Golf Board nomination process should the counties become merged, however, because most men were reported to capitalise

more on bonding social capital than most women through more profitable and powerful homophilous networks. This demonstrates how positive moves towards sex-integration and more gender-equitable organisations can face challenges if the capital of dominant men is more valuable within the organisational field than the capital of women (and subordinated men). One strategy that was being implemented in both organisations to develop the value of the social capital of women leaders in recruitment, employment, and promotion was mentoring schemes. There were mixed opinions amongst female interviewees on both the value of mentoring schemes and the importance of the gender of mentors. Some women leaders reported how a formal relationship with a mentor can offer support, develop knowledge, and leave them feeling empowered, whilst others felt it was not an effective use of their time. Additionally, some women highly valued the bonding capital that is developed between female mentees and mentors, whereas others felt that this reduces bridging capital between women and men which can increase antagonism and gender divides.

All strategies for change discussed within this chapter that either attempt to reduce male-privilege throughout the recruitment process or transform privilege towards women are positive steps in working towards gender-balance in the leadership teams of England Golf and the LTA. However, unless change is also made to the wider gendered organisational habitus of the two NGBs, these strategies will be 'regulated liberties' that arise within the context of the existing male-dominated social order, and will not have transformative results (Bourdieu, 1991). This is particularly because women's symbolic capital can be at risk if they are actively recruited into organisations with a problematic, gendered culture. I will discuss the gendered habitus of the two organisations, and strategies for their transformation, within the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: GENDERED ORGANISATIONAL HABITUS

In Chapters 6 and 7 I highlighted the gendered nature of the structures, formal rules, and recruitment processes of England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA), which in turn influence the gender balance of their leadership teams. As I discussed within these two chapters, for structural or process-related changes to be genuine and sustainable, the cultures of the two NGBs need to be gender-equitable. This is to allow women and men equal opportunity to engage in informal practices through which they can accumulate and implement various forms of capital to profit within the organisational field (Dumais, 2002). Within this chapter I will use Bourdieu's concept of (organisational) habitus to analyse the extent to which behaviours are informally regulated along gendered lines within England Golf and the LTA. In doing so I will assess the influence of the wider sporting field on organisational habitus, analyse informal gendered practices that take place within the two organisations, and identify strategies that are being implemented to attempt to transform the organisational habitus of the two NGBs to be more gender-equitable. Furthermore, I will explore individual leaders' perceptions of the gendered cultures of the two organisations and how closely they align with the findings discussed throughout the chapter.

8.1. The influence of the wider field of sport on organisational habitus

The organisational habitus of England Golf and the LTA are both influenced by the social conditions of the wider field of sport. In terms of cultural influence, most of the traditional practices discussed by England Golf interviewees were based around behaviours within golf clubs. An example of this is gender segregation within certain golfing spaces, such as having a "ladies' room" and a "men's room" within the clubhouse for members to socialise (interview with Sue). Ruth explained that in some clubhouses this goes as far as the existence of a physical line in the bar area to separate male and female members. Other traditions include having certain times during the week when only members of a certain gender can play (interviews with James and Sue), gendered forms of membership based on availability to play on certain days (interview with Sarah), or the exclusion of women from becoming members altogether (interview with James). The persistent exclusion of women in the history of golf has contributed to gender segregation becoming normalised in all areas of the game. James

explained that gender segregation is often defended because it is “tradition” rather than being the formal rules of the field.

Another element of golfing culture that was identified as being particularly problematic is the sexist behaviour of men within golf clubs. For example, Simon discussed how:

I was in the pro shop one day and a guy comes in ... and said to the professional in the pro shop, “Mr Professional?” “Yes sir?” “There’s a woman on the golf course by herself”. “Yes sir”. “Why?” “She’s not married, she hasn’t got anyone to play golf with sir”. And he looked totally confused and said “good god we’ll have members of the labour party joining soon”.

In addition to men trying to exclude women from golf clubs and golf courses, Simon also gave an example of male power being maintained within the clubhouse setting through intimidating, overtly sexist behaviour:

In this bar here I had a man in front of me that had ordered a bun of some sort and the lady said “do you want butter and jam with that?” And he said “yes I want blackcurrant jam”. He said “do you know why I want blackcurrant jam?” She said “no, because you like it?” “No”, he said, “because it makes me virile”. He said “I’ve always had it all my life and it makes me virile”. The girl looked very uncomfortable and I said “I think that’s enough, you’ve made her feel uncomfortable”. And he said “oh I suppose you’re one of these people that think women are the same as us?” And he walked off.

Although these examples of traditional behaviours within golf clubs do not directly relate to the leadership teams of England Golf, they form the social conditions of the wider sport of golf within which England Golf is located. Organisational habitus is field-specific, and so individuals bring norms and practices developed within the wider field into an organisation located within that field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This means that the perceptions, appreciations, and actions of individuals within England Golf both structure and are structured by the social norms within game more widely. As I discussed in Chapter 6, the majority of both the voluntary governance hierarchy and paid workforce at England Golf are made up individuals who have previously played the game or have been involved in the game in some way.

At the LTA, discussions around the influence of the wider tennis culture on organisational habitus were less focused on gender and more focused on the sport's poor reputation for diversity more generally across the game (interview with Liam). This is because tennis is gender-balanced across non-elite participants and has high-profile female athletes who compete for equal prize money at the top end of the sport (interview with Robin). Charlotte explained how the LTA are "perceived to be white, middle-class" which is "a challenge for our whole sport". Corsun and Costen (2001) discuss how 'one's success in a given field is primarily a function of the degree to which one's feel for the game matches the game itself' (p. 18). Therefore, if one does not perceive their overall identity, dispositions, and positions to be 'harmonically paired' with the organisational habitus of England Golf and the LTA, they are less likely to have a desire to 'play the game'. In-depth discussions about race and class are beyond the scope of this thesis, and so further exploration of the experiences of women leaders along racial and class lines is a recommendation for future research within sport leadership/management/governance. Within the next section I will outline the informal organisational practices that exist within England Golf and the LTA, and how these further contribute to a gendered organisational habitus.

8.2. The influence of informal organisational practices on the gendered organisational habitus

Informal organisational practices within both England Golf and the LTA contribute to the normalisation of gender norms and dominant gender power relations within the two organisations. Gendered informal practices are particularly important to analyse because of their often-subconscious nature, which makes them difficult to challenge and resist. Because they often operate outside of the consciousness of agents, research can increase awareness of their problematic nature. In this section I will discuss four informal organisational practices that were either reported by interviewees or observed as being significant in the development of gender norms and/or gender power relations: gendered dress codes, gendered language, informal gender segregation, and expectations for leaders to work long and unsociable hours.

8.2.1 Gendered Dress Codes

Gendered dress codes were observed and discussed within both England Golf and the LTA. The most obvious example of this was when male Board Members and Councillors wore official blazers and ties which create a visual distinction between male and female leaders. At England Golf this was observed within a board meeting where male Board Members all wore a red and silver striped England Golf tie and a blazer (observation, 18th October 2016). Daniel explained that wearing a tie and blazer is not a formal requirement for male Board Members, but a social expectation. At the LTA, gendered dress codes were observed in a Council meeting where the combination of men wearing official blazers and ties, and women wearing different styles and colours, created differing levels of formality between male and female Councillors (observation, 19th May 2017). It created a visual sense of unity and uniformity amongst male Councillors but not female Councillors.

Gendered dress codes within sport organisations are a form of symbolic violence because they are naturalised and normalised practices that offer male leaders a form of symbolic power that legitimises their dominant position in a way that women cannot experience. This gives female leaders less visible status and prestige within the organisation. Mary spoke of how the men all having “their blazers [and] their ties” was “the thing that struck the women on the first meeting” after the merger. Additionally, Sue expressed how when “you’ve got all of the men turning up in their blazers from the different counties ... it’s a bit staid. And you can feel the testosterone in the room”. Sue went on to argue that such dress codes are “a bit stuffy” and that “if we’re trying to attract young females to come into [England Golf] it’s very off-putting”. Sue’s association of ties and blazers with testosterone and stuffiness demonstrates how male Councillors at England Golf use their masculine clothing as a form of gender capital to exert power and distinguish themselves from women.

Speaking from a male point of view, Daniel suggested that he wears official England Golf clothing for board meetings to show “that I’m really committed to the organisation and that’s not about aligning myself to the male side”. However, he also acknowledged that female Board Members do not have the same opportunity to visually display their commitment to the organisation:

What do women wear? ... They don't wear blazers, they haven't got ties, they haven't got cufflinks, so what do we give to the female members of the Board to feel a part of the Board? I feel that identity's very important.

Daniel speaks of the importance of identity, and how traditional male dress codes can visually exclude women Board Members from being a part of the collective identity of the Board. This can widen gender divides through the greater development of bonding social capital amongst men as a result of having a collective visual identity (Putnam, 2000). Sally discussed how England Golf have attempted to offer an alternative to the tie and blazer for female Board Members in the form of a scarf. However, Sally expressed how she has "never worn a scarf like that in my life" and so would not be likely to wear such a garment. England Golf have, however, given her a branded golf jumper which, for Sally: "is nice because then if I go to events I can wear that ... [which gives] a bit more of ... an identity ... as being England Golf". This form of visual identity mentioned by Sally is external-facing, however, and does not provide equivalent status within the internal hierarchies of the organisation. This is because a branded jumper cannot be worn at formal organisational events where status is arguably most at stake, such as board meetings.

For Ross-Smith and Huppertz (2010), women's appearances can both help and hinder women in navigating organisational fields that have been established by men. This is because a 'groomed appearance is a social signifier' that can be used as a form of feminine capital, yet femininity can still be equated to traditional female roles which are devalued (Ross-Smith & Huppertz, 2010, p. 12). Sue discussed how in the initial stages of her career she felt she had to "have that presence when I walked in the room to get attention". This was attempted by "power dressing to the nth degree", which even involved getting expert advice on "what colours should I wear for what eventuality" (interview with Sue). Entwistle (2000b) explains how power dressing emerged in the 1980s as a form of female empowerment in the workplace and 'spoke to the emerging 'career women' about how to fashion themselves as competent and capable professionals' (p. 225). Power dressing emerged, therefore, as a strategy for women to increase their symbolic capital within the workforce through gaining both attention and acceptance.

McDowell and Court (1994) argue that women power dress to both distance themselves from the traditional domestic expectations of women and perform in such a way

as to be recognised as honorary men. Women's adoption of tailored clothes attempts to orientate women's bodies to the context of the traditionally male workplace and its habitus (Entwistle, 2000a). Entwistle (2000a) suggests that power dressing in masculinised clothing can only have limited success for a woman leader, however, because 'her identity will always be as a "female professional", her body and her gender being outside the norm "masculine"' (p. 343). Sue suggested that men do not need to think about dress in the same way: "as a man you just rock up in your black or grey suit, white shirt, not a lot to think about is it". As Sue alluded to, men do not need to use their dress to maximise chances of success in the same way as women because men's bodies are taken for granted or rendered invisible.

Female leaders within the LTA discussed their beliefs that displaying female sexuality through clothing is problematic. Charlotte expressed that: "what I wouldn't try and do is ... think oh I want to look attractive". Similarly, Natalie explained that she: "would be more careful about making sure that I didn't wear something that overtly made it look like I was trying to use [her female sexuality]". Both female leaders felt that attempts to utilise feminine capital through overtly feminine dress would negatively impact upon their symbolic capital as a leader if they were deemed to be attempting to gain an advantage in the field. Acker (1992) has suggested that sexualised feminine capital does not hold currency within the workplace because sexuality is deemed inappropriate as a distraction from production. Female leaders have much more at stake in their dress choices than male leaders because of the alignment of organisational dress codes to the male habitus, which has become naturalised and normalised.

Edwards (2016) describes the suit as 'the mutating uniform of modernity' which 'remains a potent symbol of success, virility, and maturity' (p. 21-22). This highlights how the suit is particularly difficult to resist because it transcends the traditional/contemporary, professional/personal, and asexual/sexual. As NGBs becoming increasingly modernised and professionalised, the suit will be further reinforced as the male 'uniform' of the corporate world (Edwards, 2016). Despite this, some resistance to gendered dress codes were reported within the two organisations. For example, Daniel explained that he sometimes consciously does not wear a tie to certain male-dominated meetings, which "always makes a comment". However, for Daniel "it's just a great way of me talking about why I don't and the reasons for

it and that I just think it's about sometimes you're putting barriers up rather than creating opportunities for people".

Daniel's actions are an example of how reflexivity can initiate proactive resistance against problematic gendered informal practices (Bourdieu, 2000). This is because he is not only individually being reflexive of the impacts of gendered dress codes, but is using this heightened consciousness to inform his actions of resisting such dress codes at some formal events. In turn, he is using this act of resistance as an opportunity to raise awareness amongst other men of the barriers that gendered dress codes can create. As an isolated case of resistance, this form of action is a regulated liberty that occurs within a dominant social order that continues to normalise official ties and blazers. However, if more male leaders follow Daniel's lead, this can become a transformative form of resistance where the logic of practice within the organisation is changed. This is through the destabilisation of social expectations around the wearing of an official tie and blazer. This was the case at the LTA, where Joyce discussed one example of norms around gendered dress codes changing. She explained that when she first joined the Council "it was frowned on when we first wore trousers", but through women continuing to wear trousers it became normalised and is now deemed perfectly acceptable within the organisation. Joyce's experience was nearly 20 years ago, which demonstrates that organisational habitus does change over time, but this can take persistent resistance by a collective of individuals to achieve.

8.2.2 Gendered Language

Another example of an informal practice reported within both England Golf and the LTA that contributes to the development of gendered organisational habitus is the use of gendered and sexist language. Discussions within this sub-section on the use of gendered language are culturally specific to the organisations being located within England because of the meanings and associations behind the language having their roots in English culture. Within England Golf, there were isolated reports of the use of overtly sexist language to describe women. Daniel explained that he had heard the use of sexist language such as "what's this bird thinking?" or "what's this lass thinking?". Additionally, James explained how he had experienced the use of humour to make overtly sexist comments:

We used to have a President ... [that] used to say “women in golf, I think it’s really good, every golf club should have at least one” ... Although he was smiling all the time, you have to say behind that smile there was a “what are women doing in golf?”

It has long been argued by feminists that the use of sexist language has real world consequences for gender relations, and gendered language can shape peoples’ interpretations of the world along gender lines (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell, & Laakso, 2011). Which words are said and how they are said can perpetuate gender stereotypes and widen status differences between women and men through affording men more symbolic capital (Chew & Kelley-Chew, 2008). Whilst the Past President’s use of sexist humour attacks female belonging and legitimates male dominance, James did show some resistance to this through his reflexivity around the sexist intentions of the joke and how this attempt at humour was disguising more serious sexist perceptions and intentions. However, this reflexivity did not extend to James taking any action against the Past President, which highlights the limits of merely being reflexive without enacting strategies for change. As Bohman (1999) argues, ‘merely uttering a performative hardly makes it so’ (p. 145).

There was a greater prevalence of more subtle forms of sexist language within both England Golf and the LTA. For example, Fiona reported that male pronouns were used when discussing the appointment of a new CEO at the LTA:

We’re recruiting a new CEO. I have been in many meetings when people mention it and they’ll go “when the new CEO arrives, he will...” ... it’s deep-set cultural, unconscious bias about what a CEO looks like. ... CEO equals man.

Fiona similarly highlighted this language use when discussing coaches: “when people talk about coaches they will talk about “he”. They will just do it, it’s not deliberate, it’s totally unconscious” (interview with Fiona). Fiona outlines the unconscious, or doxic, nature of the use of male pronouns on these occasions. The doxic nature of this language not only reinforces the naturalisation of the male habitus as being synonymous with leadership at the LTA, but is difficult to resist because it is entrenched in organisational habitus and becomes a ‘given’ (Bourdieu, 1977).

Men were also normalised and naturalised as leaders through the use of ‘false generics’: masculine or feminine terms that are used to represent both men and women

(Prewitt-Freilino et al., 2011). One false generic that is consistently used within both organisations is the word 'Chairman' to describe the highest officer of the board, regardless of whether the individual within that role is male or female. Additionally, England Golf use the terms 'he' and 'his' within the *Rules of England Golf* to describe those in leadership positions (England Golf, 2012). It has been reported by a number of social scientists that when one reads, hears, or uses male-gendered generics such as 'Chairman' or 'he/his', that person is more likely to think of "maleness" (e.g. Gastil, 1990; Hamilton, 1991; McConnell & Fazio, 1996).

The use of these terms are not informal practices, but are instead written into the rules of the two organisations (England Golf, 2012; Lawn Tennis Association, 2015c). This is problematic but also offers potential for resistance. It is problematic because, as formal rules of the field, they are formally recognised and legitimised which gives greater license for their continued use. However, the more formal and overt nature of the terms' usage provides the opportunity for transformational resistance in changing the rules through formal processes and practices, such as within meetings or in the development of new versions of the formal rules of each organisation. Reform of the use of 'Chairman' to either 'Chair' or 'Chairperson' had been discussed at the LTA, but it was objected by Councillors because the term is "the noun, ... the status, ... the position they hold" (interview with Joyce). This demonstrates how this highly-gendered term has become so entrenched and legitimised within the organisation that its reform is seen to be linguistically inappropriate.

Even after a successful review of language use, language that is particularly entrenched within an organisational field can continue to be used informally following formal linguistic changes. This was found with the use of the term 'ladies' within England Golf. The former English Ladies Golf Association changed its name to the English Women's Golf Association as part of its modernisation review in 2008 out of dissatisfaction of the term 'ladies' (interview with Tracey). This is because it is the female counterpart of 'gentlemen' and is associated with English women from a high social class who have traditionally lived a life of leisure and had decisions made for them (Carboon, 1999). Despite the formal name change of the former women's association, the term 'ladies' was used frequently within interviews and across the everyday practice of the organisation. Michael described how he feels "very uncomfortable using the word ladies, but it's a golf thing". This demonstrates how

this particular practice has its roots in the history and traditions of the sport, with golf tournaments and matches traditionally being defined by the terms 'ladies' or 'gentlemen's' tournaments. Phillip reflected on his use of the term and explained how "ladies is a much nicer term to me than women". At the LTA, Colin explained that he sometimes uses the term "dear" when talking to a woman in an attempt to be "quite warm" but reflected that he "probably wouldn't use the same term for a guy". Gendered language such as the use of "ladies" or "dear" reinforces gendered stereotypes around the physical and emotional weakness of women which do not align with the formal or informal requirements for leadership positions.

In much of this sub-section I have discussed how gendered language is a factor that contributes to the normalisation of men within leadership positions. Cathie Sabin, the sole female Past-President of the LTA⁶, spoke of one example where this doxic attitude towards men in leadership positions led to assumptions that she was not the President of the LTA based solely on her gender:

It was quite a shock when GB appointed a female president and for a while wherever we went people approached my husband John thinking he was the President. Our first grand slam visit after my appointment was to Australia and when they gave us our accreditation, John's card said President and mine said Deputy. They were mortified when they realised their error. ... So often people greeting us at an event would turn to John who would say "actually it is Cathie who is the Ambassador for British Tennis". ... One would hope that people would do their homework and find out who their guests are but when we appear as Mr and Mrs John Sabin then the presumption is that John is the President. All it needs is a simple clerical amendment to say Mrs Cathie Sabin, President, and her husband John.

In addition to Cathie's husband wrongly being naturalised as the President of the LTA because of his gender, Cathie also highlights how traditional marital naming within the UK, particularly in the written form, contributed to her husband being assumed to be the President instead of her. (Opposite sex) marital naming is the traditional practice of a woman taking the surname of her husband upon marriage. Additionally, in written formal settings a woman is

⁶ Cathie agreed to be named in quotes used within this paragraph of Section 8.2.2. No pseudonym has been used to maintain the anonymity of her pseudonym throughout the rest of the thesis.

also often defined by her husband's forename, such as the example of "Mr and Mrs John Sabin" that Cathie provided. Kim (2010) discusses how marital naming is a measure of gender hierarchy that embodies 'the absence of autonomy and individual identity of women both within the family and in public life' (p. 919). The issue of women's control over their names occupied a prominent place in the agendas of both first- and second-wave feminism (Kim, 2010). In Cathie's case, her symbolic capital as a leader was threatened and her position as the President was doxically questioned through a combination of men being normalised within leadership positions and her experiencing a lack of identity and autonomy in written form when attending events with her husband.

In order to resist androcentric language, Bourdieu (1991) suggests that gender-neutral language must be assessed and valued more highly than gendered language to be considered 'legitimate language' (p. 53). A key way of achieving this higher valuing of gender-neutral language is through agents engaging in reflexive practice that develops an understanding of the influence of language on the social environment (Kogler, 2011). Male and female leaders have displayed reflexivity around language use within this research, but more reflexivity is needed on the impact of gendered language. This reflexivity also needs to go one step further in informing and initiating action, as Daniel did through resisting dress codes (as was highlighted in the previous sub-section). In her discussions of feminist theorising of reflexivity, Hemmings (2012) uses the term 'reflexive disruption' to emphasise how reflexivity should prioritise activity and work towards alternative practices that shift the position of the subordinated within the social order (p. 149). In the case of gendered language use within England Golf and the LTA, androcentric language in formal documents need to be identified, actively resisted, and replaced with gender-neutral language. Within informal settings, the use of sexist or problematically-gendered language needs to be called out by individuals across the organisation, alongside encouragement of the use of alternative language that avoids the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and the naturalisation of men as superior leaders.

8.2.3 Informal gender segregation

In addition to examples of formal vertical and horizontal gender segregation that I discussed within Chapter 6, informal forms of gender segregation were also found to operate

within both England Golf and the LTA which accentuate perceived gender differences within the two organisations. Within England Golf, informal gender segregation was observed with the separation of men and women spatially within meetings. For example, within the board meeting I observed there was a line of five women sitting together at one end of the table (observation, 18th October 2016). During interviews, several female Board Members commented on this without being probed, whereas no male Board Members mentioned it. One male Executive who does not have a professional or sporting background in golf did observe the gender segregation. He commented that the “sharp gender divide” was “absolutely the first thing I noticed when I came into golf” and stated that “I’ve never been in any aspect of society where it’s as pronounced as it is in golf” (interview with Michael). Physical gender segregation within the boardroom creates a visual divide between the two genders that can limit the accumulation of bridging social capital amongst Board Members and do little to develop a gender-neutral boardroom.

An example of the accumulation of bridging social capital being affected by spatial segregation around the board table was observed within an England Golf board meeting (observation, 18th October 2016). Most of the Board Members arrived in the boardroom ten to fifteen minutes before the meeting was due to begin, and this was a time for Board Members to chat informally and develop stronger personal relationships. However, because men and women were spatially separated within the boardroom, different conversations were taking place amongst male Board Members and amongst female Board Members. The male Board Members had a long discussion about a particular football match that had taken place that week, whereas the female Board Members were having more personal discussions about their friends, families, and home lives (observation, 18th October 2016). It has previously been found that a critical mass of women in the boardroom changes what is talked about in both informal conversations and boardroom discussions (Kramer et al., 2006). In particular, it has been reported that a greater mass of female Board Members creates a more comfortable environment to discuss ‘softer topics’ during formal discussions such as the community, organizational diversity, and inclusiveness (Kramer et al., 2006). However, the informal gender segregation within the England Golf boardroom meant that women only discussed ‘softer’ conversations amongst themselves rather than changing the culture of the boardroom as a whole.

When discussing the reasons for such a “sharp” gender divide, Michael suggested that “perhaps the men feel more comfortable with the men and the women feel more comfortable with women”. Lockheed (1986) claimed that such feelings of ‘comfort’ that accompany sex segregation are the result of sex segregation becoming habituated through the development of ‘tastes for working with same-sex peers’ (p. 619). These are developed early and are rarely challenged but often encouraged (Lockheed, 1986). Whilst this article was written over 30 years ago, the segregation of children by gender still occurs across society, and sport participation within schools or clubs is one of the most pronounced examples of this. This means that sex segregation can become habitual for those who have been involved in sport from a young age, which many leaders in sport have.

Some women leaders at England Golf did discuss their attempts to resist informal gender segregation within the boardroom. For example, Sally explained how within one board meeting she “went and plonked myself in the middle of [the men] because I don’t like that. We should be sat together, we should be working together”. Mary similarly explained how she “went and sat with the men” within her first board meeting to try to physically (and symbolically) bridge the gap between the two genders within meetings. Bridging this physical gap within board meetings is also likely to increase levels of bridging social capital amongst Board Members through increased cross-gender social interactions. Sally and Mary’s attempts to resist gender segregation also demonstrate their reflexivity in identifying this trend as problematic. Importantly, this reflexivity ‘allows us to alter our perception of the situation and thereby our reaction to it’, which can lead to transformative actions in resisting problematic gendered organisational habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 136).

A problematic outcome of informal gender segregation is the social exclusion of an individual based on their gender. Within England Golf, it was found that bonding forms of social capital existed amongst male and female Board Members which were ‘inward looking and tend[ed] to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups’ (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Whilst bonding social capital can be good for mobilising solidarity through creating strong in-group loyalty, it can also create ‘strong out-group antagonism’ (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Such antagonistic feelings were felt by Sally when she was trying to arrange a meeting date for one of the sub-groups of the England Golf Board. When suggesting a date to the group, one of the male Board Members spoke of how he just wanted “to play golf with the other men” on that

day instead (interview with Sally). Sally described such an environment as “like a gentleman’s club” and stressed that “they need to grow up a bit and move with the business of England Golf that’s grown up. It’s no longer an over-sized golf club”.

Mary suggested that such bonding social capital develops strongly between male Board Members because of their shared contacts and experiences: “they know the same people and ... chat about the same things and they’ve been to the same things”. Mary explained that “the women do feel a little bit excluded from that ... and we probably as a fall-back congregate together”. Mary highlights that, whereas the male Board Members form a bond through shared past experiences, women Board Members form a bond through the shared experience of being excluded from male networks.

Bonding social capital amongst men at the exclusion of women was also found to be evident within the world of tennis. Graham explained how he was not invited to a “men’s meeting” at the All-England Tennis Club because it was still assumed that a woman was in his position:

Somebody said “oh why didn’t you come to the men’s evening?” I went “oh never got the invite”. Then it turns out the reason I never got the invite was because they thought [former female leader] was still [in position] and they hadn’t updated their list. ... and I think that’s terrible, I didn’t even know they did that.

Whilst it is important to state that the LTA had no input in the staging of this meeting, it demonstrates how male leaders within tennis have greater opportunities to develop their social capital than female leaders, which includes access to information, influence, contacts, and social inclusion.

Unlike Shaw’s (2006b) findings, female leaders in both organisations condemned the development of same-sex bonding networks and had no interest in developing ‘old girls’ clubs’ that profit women over men. For example, Sally explained that “I don’t think there should be men and women ... we should be in there all together”. Additionally, Charlotte discussed her negative experience of women’s networks: “it’s probably not so bad now but 15 years ago actually having women’s networks made it even worse for the men accepting you because they sort of felt like you were ganging up”. Sally and Charlotte’s experiences and

disapproval of single-sex networks align with Putnam's (2000) argument that bonding social capital within a field is most likely to result in illiberalism, intolerance, and exclusion.

Despite this condemnation of single-sex networks, an example of a female-only network was observed during a break from an England Golf Board meeting. On this occasion, some female Board Members were continuing discussions from the boardroom in the women's toilets, which is clearly an exclusionary space for male Board Members (observation, 18th October 2016). Whilst this space provides forced separation for male and female Board Members during comfort breaks and was likely not an intentional or pre-planned discussion at the exclusion of men, it is an example of how cultural norms and the gendered habitus operate outside of the formal conventions of organisational fields. This can, in turn, result in gendered practices which subconsciously create exclusionary gendered spaces. Whilst I do not propose that organisations should change their toilet arrangements, more bridging social capital is required across the culture of the boardroom that transcends genders to create a more inclusive and prosperous community for all sport leaders (Putnam, 2000).

8.2.4 Expectations for leaders to work long and unsociable hours

A final organisational practice that was identified as contributing to the development of gender power relations is an informal expectation for leaders to work long and unsociable hours to be successful in their position. At the LTA, Natalie explained how two male Executives were promoted from more junior positions because of "hard work and doing long hours and showing that they were a cut above somebody else". Additionally, during his presentation at an induction day for new employees, Colin spoke of how he was a workaholic and had put his family second throughout his career (observation, 8th March 2017). Although he remarked that "I'm not proud to say that", he did infer that his successful career was heavily influenced by that work ethic (observation, 8th March 2017).

Working long and unsociable hours was reported to be challenging for both men and women. For example, Matthew suggested that "the amount of travel, the unsociable hours, [the] evenings and weekends ... it makes it difficult for the blokes as well, it's not unique to females". However, Natalie suggested that a woman of the same age as the two Executives who were internally promoted at the LTA may not have been able to commit to the same hours if they were mothers and had domestic responsibilities, and so "might not have been

identified as good old solid hard workers". This is because "there's still an expectation that senior people work hours that don't fit in with childcare arrangements" (interview with Natalie).

The vast majority of interviewees discussed the reproduction of traditional gender roles as being a barrier for women in leadership positions, continuing norms of women being the primary caregivers for children. The biggest factors identified here were a lack of time to balance both motherhood and full-time leadership positions (interviews with Sue, Sally, Charlotte, Graham, Colin and Jill), the logistical challenges of working full-time and organising childcare arrangements (interview with Rebecca), the negative impact of a career break that most women take during maternity leave (interviews with Sally, Steve, Michael, Simon and Matthew), the psychological and emotional challenges of working full-time as a mother of young children (interviews with Sally, Rebecca and Matthew), the cultural pressure to choose between children and a career (interviews with Sarah and Natalie), and that motherhood is the most difficult barrier to overcome because women will always be the ones to give birth to children (interviews with Sally, Phillip, Jill, Rebecca, Matthew and Robin).

The latter point demonstrates how the female body as the bearer of children can negatively impact on a woman's physical capital (Shilling, 2004). This is because the very act of giving birth to a child can put a woman out of work for several weeks or months, which in turn damages their symbolic capital in being legitimised as a committed and hard-working employee. All of the barriers outlined are the result of the traditional habitus of mothers failing to align with organisational habitus that makes long and unsociable hours a norm for sport leadership positions, and values dominant masculine norms such as unattachment and flexibility (Corsun & Costen, 2001). Consequently, dominant men are much more likely to be appreciated and valued as "good old solid hard workers" because their habitus is more harmonious to that of the organisation (interview with Natalie).

Most female leaders interviewed did manage to navigate these barriers and have both a family and a successful career. Sarah spoke of how she was "never treated badly ... or felt that I got any prejudice because I was a working mother", and so a supportive working environment made it easier for her to balance motherhood and her career. Additionally, Mary explained that her husband was the primary caregiver for her children and so she was able to focus more time and energy on her career. And Rebecca mentioned that overcoming the

barriers of motherhood as a career-driven woman are easier for women with higher economic capital because “you can afford a full-time nanny” which takes away the logistical challenge of collecting children from nursery or school whilst balancing a full-time job. These examples demonstrate that women can have both a family and a career if the right support is in place to enable them to meet the formal and informal requirements of a leadership position. This includes their ‘family habitus’ going against traditional norms through the women not being the primary caregivers (Tomanovic, 2004), the development of an organisational habitus that supports and welcomes working mothers, or the accumulation of enough economic capital to be able to afford external help in raising children.

A transformative strategy that was identified by interviewees within both organisations to make the habitus of working mothers more aligned to the requirements for leadership positions was the introduction of flexible working. At the LTA, flexible working has been implemented as an option for women returning to work after taking maternity leave. Over the past four years “everyone who’s asked for flexible working has got some kind of flexible working agreement”, and the LTA have “done some great work in giving some flexible work to ... the local mum’s network” (interview with Fiona). Natalie discussed how she thinks the effectiveness of this work could be improved by the LTA “being a bit more transparent” in the offering of flexible working, particularly when advertising for new jobs. This was an issue discussed within an LTA People Team meeting, and demonstrates that the NGB are actively working to improve the process of flexible working to be more effective for female employees, particularly those who are coming back from maternity leave (observation, 7th March 2017).

At England Golf, flexible working was also implemented when hiring one female middle-manager who was “the best candidate” but could only work three days a week because of her commitments as a mother (interview with Michael). Although on this occasion flexible working was offered on request, Sophie discussed how it is “not actively promoted” within the organisation which “makes you wonder then actually would that be possible, would you be able to do that?” This demonstrates how, within England Golf, flexible working was a one-off implementation that did not transform collective organisational working expectations or change individual perceptions of the options available to working parents. Greater transparency and promotion around flexible working options could allow women

(and men) to more easily navigate the challenges that they face if choosing to balance a career and parenthood.

Despite flexible working being a strategy that can help women with domestic/family responsibilities to gain greater access to leadership positions, some women leaders did express caution in its ability to fix to the problem of male domination in sport leadership. For example, Fiona stated how “it drives me mad when I hear that ... getting women into a senior leadership position is all about flexible working, ... it’s not one thing, I think it’s the whole culture”. Additionally, Charlotte cautioned that “you have to look after everybody”, and flexible working should not only be offered to women. Whilst flexible working was in place for a small number of women at the colleague-level of the two organisations, no flexible working plans were in place for female or male Executives within either organisation. As I have highlighted within this sub-section, there are still perceptions and expectations within the two NGBs that to be successful within a leadership position one must work long and unsociable hours to be legitimised as a hard worker. Therefore, for flexible working to be a viable option for both female and male Executives, there needs to be a transformative cultural change which resists norms around long and unsociable working hours for both female and male leaders.

Within the next section I will discuss the extent to which the perceptions of individual leaders on the gendered cultures of the two NGBs align with the findings outlined within the previous four sub-sections. This provides some evidence on whether these practices exist outside of the consciousness of agents and have become entrenched within organisational habitus.

8.3. Individual perceptions on gender equality and the organisational cultures of England Golf and the LTA

During interviews I asked all interviewees whether the organisations offer welcoming cultures to women leaders, and whether the cultures of the two organisations are gender-neutral (see Appendix 6). Interviewees reported mixed perceptions in answer to these questions. At England Golf, most of the male leaders suggested that the cultures of the Board and ELT are welcoming to women leaders and do not favour men. For example, Robert suggested that “I’ve not seen any male domination personally”, and James argued that

England Golf have “cracked it” in creating a gender-neutral culture, despite his comments on hearing a former male leader use sexist language. This displays a lack of awareness from these individuals on how the gendered practices discussed within this chapter contribute to an overall gendered culture.

Daniel was one of a minority of male leaders who spoke of his appreciation of how the culture of England Golf could be perceived as profiting men more than women. He was concerned that male-domination in the gender make-up of the Board and ELT of England Golf could give a negative external perception of the organisation. Daniel felt this was “a shame because ... it’s not an exclusive club ... it’s not a male-only club”. Female leaders expressed mixed perceptions about the gendered nature of the culture of England Golf. For example, Sue explained how at the board-level she feels “an equal amongst peers” and does not “feel that stuffiness, that testosterone environment that I do feel you get in the County environment”. Contrastingly, Mary felt that the organisation is “probably still on balance male-dominated. ... [Men’s] views will carry more weight than the collective views of the women. Not all the time, but ... sometimes when push comes to shove that’s what happens”. Additionally, Sally described how “some people do accept [women in leadership positions,] ... some people don’t”.

Bourdieu (1989) discusses how perceptions of the social world ‘depend on the point from which they are taken, since the vision that every agent has of the space depends on his or her position in that space’ (p. 18). The different perceptions between men and women, with fewer men perceiving a gendered organisational culture, are therefore partly the result of their position within the organisation. Because men form the dominant group within NGBs, they are more likely to take for granted elements of an organisational habitus that reproduce male-domination. This is because it is a ‘familiar world’ (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18). Bourdieu (1989) did acknowledge, however, that ‘even the most disadvantaged ... tend to perceive the world as natural and to accept it much more readily than one might imagine’ (p. 18). This goes some way in explaining why some of the female leaders also did not perceive any sort of gendered organisational culture: it is such a naturalised part of the organisational habitus that it does not reach their consciousness.

The different perceptions amongst men and amongst women are also attributable to differences in their habitus, which are influenced by past experiences and the intersectional

nature of the leaders' social backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu positioned perception as one of the three elements of the habitus because 'habitus implies a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others"' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19). One element of the habitus that influences a difference in opinions between Sue and Mary is their working backgrounds. Sue emphasised that "I've worked in a man's world all my life", whereas Mary explained that "I've become a lot more feminist since I became a golfer than I ever was at work ... [because] they were more open to equality issues and diversity issues than possibly golf is". This demonstrates how the previous experiences of individual leaders influence their individual habitus, which influences the extent to which their habitus is harmonious or conflicting with organisational habitus, and in turn influences their perception of the gendered nature of organisational culture.

At the LTA, all the male leaders interviewed expressed opinions that the organisational culture is a welcoming and gender-equitable environment. There was also more overall positivity about organisational habitus from female leaders. For Charlotte, "it never feels an issue being a woman. ... We're all in it together and it feels very equal". Additionally, Jill expressed how "I don't feel any different because I'm a woman ... I don't feel anybody behaves differently to anybody else because of gender". Similarly, Rebecca stated that "I don't see any difference in the way the females are treated ... [compared] to the men. You know, you're a Board Member". I offer two suggestions as to why there are overall more positive perceptions of the LTA from internal agents than England Golf. First, as I outlined throughout Chapters 6 and 7, the LTA are implementing more subversion and succession strategies in changing their structure and recruitment processes than England Golf. This is, in part, due to the greater economic capital that the LTA holds, resulting in more money and resources being available to implement such strategies. In doing so, they are creating a field of struggles that allows women a greater opportunity to progress within the field, and so creates a more positive perception of the organisation. Second, the LTA has been a merged body for a significantly longer period of time than England Golf, and therefore has implemented governance changes to the mixed-sex organisation more gradually and over a longer period of time. This means that there has been more time for the habitus of members of the LTA to 'catch up' on any cultural lag, or hysteresis, experienced as a result of cultural changes to make the organisation more gender-equitable.

A lack of perception of a gendered organisational habitus by female leaders can be both positive and negative for improving gender balance within the leadership teams of the two NGBs. It is positive because it demonstrates that, for these women, the cultures of the organisations do not present barriers for their progression into leadership positions. Furthermore, where there are challenges, most of the women highlighted their self-confidence in being a key factor in overcoming them. For example, Sue emphasised that “I’m very comfortable in my own skin”, and Sally spoke of how she “just keep[s] knocking on the door and barging through” when men provide barriers for women leaders in golf through their “very, very old-fashioned ways”. Additionally, Sarah spoke of how “you get patronised sometimes, but that’s water off a duck’s back to me because I’ve always felt confident I can stand my ground”. The confidence of female England Golf Board Members was also noted during an England Golf board meeting where it was observed that all of the female Board Members demonstrated confidence in both their speaking style and body language throughout the meeting (observation, 19th October 2016).

A lack of perception of a gendered organisational habitus by female leaders can be problematic, however, because whilst these women perceive their habitus to be harmonious with the organisational habitus, as other interviewees have discussed (e.g. Mary and Sally), this is not the case for all women. Furthermore, a lack of perception of a gendered culture that has been shown to exist within this chapter will lead to a lack of action in overcoming problematic gendered practices. This means that changing the perceptions of individuals throughout the organisations is important because ‘the construction of visions of the world ... themselves contribute to the construction of this world’ (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18).

One strategy that was identified within both organisations to increase reflexivity of gendered organisational habitus was generating greater discussion around organisational culture and the barriers that women face within sport organisations. For example, Mary spoke of how “there needs to be more discussion and openness around some of the issues that women face”. In particular, she felt that golf clubs and counties “need to be far more aware of how their behaviour is acting as a barrier” (interview with Mary). Additionally, Natalie spoke of how it is important to create a cultural environment “where women can feel able more to talk about why they think there is a glass ceiling ... because perception is reality”.

At the LTA, there were several examples of how employee feedback was being used to increase organisational reflexivity of any cultural problems that employees face. Liam spoke about the LTA striving to become a “learning organisation” which can help to enable cultural change. This was seen through the implementation of a “talking points survey” in 2014 that gains feedback from employees on “different parts of the environment, the culture, the way the people are being managed, [and] the opportunities they’ve built” (interview with Liam). For Liam, the survey is particularly important because it “really gets under the heart of how people feel they’re being communicated [to], do they feel empowered in their jobs, do they understand where the organisation’s going and their role within it?” The organisation also has a “talking points group” that is made up of colleagues who provide “recommendations about how we can improve stuff, and ... take the Execs to account” (interview with Liam). Although this programme is not gender-specific, it does allow for any discriminatory gendered practices to be raised.

Women-only programmes have also been included at the LTA to increase organisational reflexivity on the issues that women face. This includes an “employee women’s event” that was facilitated by the People Team where women gave feedback on any barriers they face in working at the LTA (interview with Natalie). For Natalie, it’s important to keep these “channels of communication open”. Additionally, the LTA have introduced a maternity returner’s lunch to find out “whether we’ve been good, bad, or indifferent both in terms of the maternity before the baby, during maternity leave, and now when you’ve come back” (interview with Natalie). These programmes give women a voice within the organisation and are positive in two key ways. First, they provide a sense of organisational support to the women who attend the meetings which allows women to better perceive a harmonious fit between their individual habitus and the organisational habitus. And second, hearing the challenges and experiences of women from the women themselves allows the LTA to increase their reflexivity on problematic gendered organisational practices and use these insights to inform organisational action to better meet the needs of those affected.

8.4. Summary

Within this chapter I highlighted that the organisational habitus of both England Golf and the LTA are gendered, which is influenced by both the culture of the wider field of sport,

and specific informal practices that contribute to the development of dominant gender norms and gender power relations. Problematic cultural influences from within the sport of golf include the normalisation of gender segregation, the exclusion of women from certain sporting practices, and sexist behaviour. Furthermore, the lack of wider diversity in tennis translates into a lack of overall diversity within the organisation. Within the chapter I discussed four examples of informal practices that exist within the two organisations which normalise the position of men within leadership positions, afford men more symbolic capital as leaders, naturalise gender differences between male and female leaders, and develop organisational habitus to be more harmonious with the male habitus. This includes masculine dress codes symbolising organisational status and belonging, the use of male pronouns and false generics to normalise the place of men within leadership positions, informal gender segregation leading to weakened bridging social capital and the social exclusion of women leaders, and expectations for leaders to work long and unsociable hours contributing to the habitus of many working mothers being incompatible with the informal requirements for success in the organisational field.

In many cases, the perceptions of individual leaders on the overall culture of the two organisations did not recognise their gendered nature, despite interviewees identifying specific gendered practices throughout this chapter. This is positive in that, for these individuals, no cultural barriers were initially identified that prevented their progression into leadership positions. However, due to examples of the gendered nature of the two organisations that have been uncovered throughout this chapter, this demonstrates the unconscious nature of the habitus which leads to gendered practices to become doxic and normalised. There were some differences in perceptions between and amongst male and female leaders, and these were attributed to both the position and habitus of these individuals.

I identified examples of strategies in place within the two organisations which are going some way in resisting problematic gendered practices and cultures. These include attempts to change social conditions within the organisations, such as the introduction of flexible working, and increasing reflexivity amongst agents through education, gaining feedback from employees, and greater discussions around the challenges that women face. However, it is important that the leaders of NGBs do not only increase their reflexivity through

the various strategies outlined, but also act collectively to put more proactive change in place to enforce greater transformative change. One transformative change that needs to take place is a reassessment of the value placed on the different forms of capital that leaders accumulate and convert to be successful in the field, and how gender influences this. I will discuss this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9: INDIVIDUAL LEADERS COMPETING FOR CAPITAL

To be successful in obtaining and maintaining leadership positions within national governing bodies of sport (NGBs), individuals must accumulate the forms of capital most highly valued within the organisational field and convert these into profit in terms of position and power. Within Chapters 6, 7, and 8 I have already discussed some findings which highlight that gender is influential in the ability of leaders to accumulate and convert capital in relation to the structures and rules, recruitment processes, and organisational habitus of the two NGBs. For example, in Chapter 6 I spoke of how the prevalence of vertical gender segregation within the two organisations results in more men holding higher-paid positions than women, which leads to men accumulating, on average, more economic capital than women. In Chapter 7, I identified how men accumulate more bonding social capital than women through more frequent and effective networking, which influences recruitment and election processes for leadership positions. Furthermore, in Chapter 8 I discussed how men accumulate gender capital through masculine clothing, allowing them to exert power and distinguish themselves from women leaders.

Within this chapter I add to this work through an analysis, at the micro-individual level, of the ways in which the gender of an individual leader influences their experiences of accumulating and converting capital within England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA). I also identify strategies that women adopt to accumulate and convert capital to gain legitimacy as leaders within the two organisational fields. Furthermore, I discuss the different ways in which women leaders negotiate the maintenance of the capital that they have accumulated, which can be put at risk if they engage in collective movements to resist male-dominated organisational processes and practices.

9.1. The impact of gender on the accumulation of capital

At the individual level, leaders within both organisations reported that gender was highly influential in the accumulation of some forms of capital, and less influential in the accumulation of others. For example, when discussing education and qualifications as forms of institutionalised cultural capital, female leaders conveyed that their gender did not

influence the educational opportunities offered to them and expressed a belief that they had received the same educational opportunities as their male counterparts. Rebecca explained that “I was encouraged to go to university as much as my brother”, and Sarah discussed how she has “had the opportunity through education to be socially mobile”. In contrast, women leaders discussed how gender is highly influential in the accumulation of physical capital. For example, Charlotte argued that women and men have different physical abilities to communicate which can negatively impact upon women using their bodies to exert power within the organisational field:

When we get nervous it shows more for women than it does for men I think. I don't know if there's any research in it but the tightness, when you get nervous and your throat gets tight and your voice gets higher, and so you don't have so much authority.

She went on to speak of her own experiences of this:

Over the years I've got stressed and ... for me my risk is that my voice goes up and I get very dry, and I've seen other women do it. ... [You] rarely see it with men ... it seems to happen more easily to women than it does to men. ... I wish my voice was deeper quite often. So when I'm Chairing something, to get the attention of the 17 or 18 people round a table ... I sometimes wish I had a louder, deeper voice to make that work (interview with Charlotte).

Research supports Charlotte's claims, with women's vocal pitch being, on average, twice as high compared to men's (Anderson & Klofstad, 2012). Furthermore, research has found that men with lower-pitched voices are perceived as more physically and socially dominant to listeners (Puts, Gaulin, & Verdolini, 2006), and that political voters prefer both male and female leaders with lower voices (Klofstad, Anderson, & Peters, 2012). Anderson and Klofstad (2012) argue that there is a preference for leaders with lower voices because a lower pitch is associated with traits such as integrity, strength, and competence, which in turn are traits associated with the ideal leader.

Jill spoke about the impact of physical body size in having “presence” as a leader and described herself as being “not a very big person”. She noted her smaller size in comparison to a much taller female counterpart who “always had a presence” (interview with Jill). Although Jill highlights the differing body shapes and sizes of women, on average, men have

a larger physical stature than women (Murray & Schmitz, 2011). This means that men have greater access to a form of physical capital that has been found to be positively related to leadership efficacy and is a preferred physical leadership characteristic of followers (Murray & Schmitz, 2011). Both Charlotte and Jill's comments demonstrate that gender is highly influential in the accumulation of field-specific physical capital because masculine physical attributes such as a low pitched voice or larger physical stature are valued more highly in organisational settings such as senior meetings than feminine physical attributes (Shilling, 2004). This gives many men more embodied authority and power as sport leaders.

Whilst little can be done to change the physical differences between and amongst men and women, Charlotte suggested that some communication training could increase the physical capital of women leaders. Charlotte presented an example of "Margaret Thatcher training herself to talk how she did in a deeper tone", which she believed "had a huge amount of impact" on her leadership. She felt that voice training for women leaders "could be quite helpful ... [and] is an area of management/leadership development that possibly could be more" (interview with Charlotte). Charlotte's suggestions could be successful in increasing the amount of physical capital that women produce, however this is a 'fix the women' approach that Ely et al. (2011) strongly criticise for locating the problem in women and continuing to associate effective leadership with male attributes. It is, therefore, more important to develop a gender-equitable organisational habitus that reduces the naturalisation of male attributes as ideal leadership characteristics, which will in turn allow women to accumulate more physical capital within NGBs.

Another form of capital accumulation that was discussed as being influenced by gender was embodied cultural capital in the form of leadership styles. Leadership styles are a form of embodied cultural capital because they are a product and expression of the dispositions of an individual's mind and body which are convertible to authority and power within the organisational field. Interviewees had different opinions on the influence of gender in the accumulation of this form of capital. For example, there were some examples of leaders implementing non-binary conceptualisations of gender to argue that leadership styles are not gendered. Ryan expressed how differences in leadership styles "boil down to ... the individual person, personalities, and strengths and weaknesses". Furthermore, he believes that "it's wrong to broad brush" with regards to gender differences and leadership styles (interview

with Ryan). Similarly, Matthew argued that rather than gender, “personality plus experience equals how you lead”. And Michael explained how he has had male and female bosses who have all been different, and so he does not know “how much of that was to do with gender and how much was to do with that they’re different people”. These discussions avoid positioning the leadership styles of female and male leaders as opposites based on gender, but instead highlight a diversity of leadership styles adopted by women and men that are no more influenced by gender than they are by other factors which contribute to the personalities and experiences of individuals.

Others expressed more binary ways of thinking about gender and leadership styles, describing the leadership styles of women as aligning with traditional notions of femininity. Unlike the other forms of capital discussed in this section thus far, gender was perceived as being a positive factor in influencing women’s accumulation of embodied cultural capital. This is because interviewees discussed the leadership traits of women leaders in a positive light. Interviewees expressed that female leaders: possess greater empathy and emotional intelligence (interviews with Sue, Sarah, Daniel, John, Rebecca and Natalie); are more approachable (interview with Natalie; observations, 3rd October 2016 and 4th October 2016); are more organised (interview with Phillip; observation, 15th March 2017); have better communication and listening skills (interviews with Sue and Daniel); focus more on relationships (interview with Sally); are more forward-thinking (interviews with James and Mary); work harder (interview with Clive); are more prepared for meetings and events (interviews with Sarah and Jill); question more (interview with Liam); and utilise more democratic, consultative, and collaborative approaches (interviews with Sue, Mary, Nathan and Robin). Only the leadership styles of women were discussed by interviewees, which Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001) argue is not surprising ‘because social perceivers generally concentrate on the nonprototypical members of categories’ (p. 782). Therefore, because of a long history of male-dominated sport leadership, attention is paid to women leaders and their leadership styles as being different to the norm.

Many of these traits highlighted by interviewees are examples of what Eagly and Karau (2002) call ‘communal characteristics’, which are primarily concerned with the welfare of other people and are ascribed more strongly to women. This includes highlighted traits such as empathy and emotional intelligence, approachability, better communication and listening

skills, focusing on relationships, and being more democratic, consultative and collaborative. These traits are in contrast to what Eagly and Karau (2002) describe as 'agentic characteristics', such as aggression, ambition, dominance, forcefulness, independence, and self-sufficiency, which are mostly attributed to men. Positive perceptions of women leaders adopting 'communal characteristics' develops a form of gender capital through their 'feminine dispositions' being highly valued within the organisational field. However, to generate power and influence within the organisational field as a result of this gender capital, it needs to be converted into symbolic capital through the individual being authorised and legitimated as a leader. The extent to which gender capital in the form of leadership styles is converted into symbolic capital for women leaders is still questionable, however, and this will be discussed further in the next section.

One strategy discussed by interviewees to increase the overall capital accumulation of women leaders is education and leadership programmes. These programmes primarily increase women leaders' accumulation of social and cultural capital. Across the two organisations, women leaders had attended programmes such as Sport England and Cranfield University's joint Leadership and Management Programme (interview with Sophie), an Open University course in Performance Management (interview with Tracey), Warburton Business School's Advanced Management Programme (interview with Charlotte), and an Institute of Directors training programme for board directors (interview with Jill), as well as gaining various sport-specific professional qualifications (interview with Tracey). Tracey was an example of an interviewee who spoke of how "lots of CPD [(continuing professional development)]" has been "great for my personal development". This demonstrates how the confidence of individual women leaders can be enhanced through greater accumulation of capital through education and leadership programmes.

A key element of leadership/education programmes that was discussed in relation to the accumulation of social capital was the role of gender in its delivery. Women-only programmes were reported by women leaders within both organisations to be particularly beneficial in developing bonding social capital. For example, Sue spoke of how the main strength of women-only programmes is:

...The emotional element. So you can build empathy, you can build a relationship with females far more easily than when it's mixed. It's almost like that sisterhood effect. And

also you can understand some of the concerns that females may have as a budding leader. You can tell them your experiences you've had as a leader, what you found has been easy, what you found is difficult. So I think that can only come from another female in some instances because men will not experience the challenges females can have as a leader.

Natalie also felt that women-only programmes can help women to change their perceptions of the "glass ceiling" by sharing experiences. Furthermore, Fiona expressed her belief that there should not be a need for women-only programmes in a gender-equal society, but that "we're not quite there yet". Because of this, she felt that women-only programmes can help women who "feel that their experience is an issue because they're a woman... [and] having other women in that environment and having a safe place to discuss all that stuff is helpful" (interview with Fiona). These findings align with Ely et al.'s (2011) argument that women-only education and leadership programmes can help to overcome a weakness of many leadership development programmes that ignore that gender is a problem at all.

Despite the outlined strengths of women-only programmes in developing bonding social capital, other women spoke of weaknesses of these programmes. For example, Sally felt that they can be less effective in creating overall change and in allowing men to see the issues that women face, as well as women "understand[ing] where the men are coming from as well because I'm sure they've got their issues". Charlotte was wary of women's leadership development programmes presenting themselves as training women differently than men to be a leader. She believes that these programmes "are not inappropriate probably for a lot of women" if the emphasis is on "being a leader who happens to be a woman" rather than "being a woman leader". Natalie expressed that she was not against women-only programmes but felt that the learning content should be the same as a leadership programme that includes men. And Fiona's reservation with women-only programmes is "that you've got to learn to do it with men as well and ... if you think about campaigns like the He for She campaign ... it doesn't work if you only teach women".

These findings demonstrate that education and leadership programmes can be effective in women accumulating both the social and cultural capital of women leaders. The convertibility of the capital attained through these programmes also needs to be considered, however. For example, as outlined by Pike, White, Matthews, Southon and Piggott (2018), a liberal approach is often a weakness of educational programmes that fails to attempt to

change the culture within which participants work. As I discussed in Chapter 8, gendered organisational cultures can make it more difficult for women to accumulate and convert highly valued capital within the organisational field. Within the next section I will further discuss the impact of gender on the conversion of capital.

9.2. The impact of gender on the conversion of capital

Within the previous section I discussed examples of gender influencing the accumulation of capital in different ways. In some instances, it was discussed that gender either has no influence or a positive influence on the accumulation of capital by women leaders. Whilst this is positive in women being capital-accumulating subjects, which is in contrast to historical theorising of women as “capital-bearing objects” whose value accrues to the primary groups to which they belong (e.g. her husband, the family)’ (Thorpe, 2009, p. 493), capital is field-specific. Therefore, the extent to which the accumulation of capital can profit individual women in the organisational field is dependent on the convertibility of that form of capital and the value placed on it (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, whilst there were no expressed gender differences in the accumulation of institutionalised cultural capital by interviewees, there was a reported difference in the value and convertibility of this form of cultural capital for female and male leaders.

Interviewees of both genders discussed how women in leadership positions must accumulate more institutionalised cultural capital than men to obtain and maintain leadership positions. Sue discussed how she has had a permanent feeling of needing to be “top dog” throughout her professional career:

I felt that I had to be the best I could be to be accepted as the norm. So doing my qualifications, I had to be student of the year ... and because of that I got sponsorship. ...Then [I] had to go and do a Master’s ... [because] I felt that I needed the qualifications to prove who I was.

She further explained how her male colleagues “were less qualified than me but they were going up the scale equally as quick” (interview with Sue).

Joyce also suggested that it is easier for men to be appointed to a male-dominated board than women because “there is a perception on a board of mainly men, why would we

have a woman?” Joyce claimed that this is in part due to many men having never worked with “a good female”, and therefore “you’ve got to be really good in order to make the gentlemen feel comfortable and willing to give it a go”. Sally explained how similar feelings of needing to be better than her male counterparts have influenced her behaviours on the Board, leading to her taking “a lot of time in planning what might come out” because “for me it was typically in my career that you had to be better [as a woman], and it’s an irrational belief but that’s a fact”.

Sally identifies a strategy to attempt to increase her symbolic capital in being legitimated as a knowledgeable Board Member, through preparing for board meetings more thoroughly than men. This strategy is an example of women using their cultural literacy in ‘a strategic engagement with the field based upon self-reflexivity, an understanding of the rules, regulations and values of the field, and an ability to negotiate conditions and contexts moment by moment’ (Webb et al., 2002, p. X). These findings align with other research that has found that women ‘have to work harder than men to have power in the field, to be accepted, and to prove themselves’ (Karacam & Koca, 2015, pp. 219-220). Whilst women and men appear to have similar opportunities in accumulating institutionalised cultural capital through educational opportunities, the lower field-specific valuing of the cultural capital held by women leaders makes it harder for women to convert this capital into symbolic capital which provides a leader with authority, influence, and power.

Another example of the capital of women lacking convertibility compared to the capital of men is gender capital in the form of gendered leadership styles. In the previous section I explained how a range of interviewees discussed the leadership styles of women in a positive light, which led to women accumulating a form of gender capital. However, the extent to which this form of capital was converted into symbolic capital to legitimise and authorise women as leaders was less apparent. For example, Sally suggested that some of the aforementioned leadership traits described by interviewees led men to sometimes “see ladies as being a bit fluffy”, which implies that they do not value these traits as aligning with the effective and efficient leadership of an organisation. Furthermore, Robert was the only interviewee to speak explicitly about women gaining an advantage over men within professional settings because of their gender:

I think that women have a much greater advantage than men because you put a lady in the room and people will, in my experience, ... afford the lady a lot more courtesy, therefore she will gain their attention more. ...Whereas perhaps if it's all male it can get a bit more ... adversarial at times.

Robert's use of the term 'lady' to describe more courtesy afforded to female leaders aligns with traditional gender norms associated with that term which, as I discussed in Chapter 8, associate women with fragility and living a life of leisure, and not as serious professionals (Carboon, 1999). Within the LTA, Natalie discussed her experience of being afforded more courtesy within meetings, with male colleagues occasionally saying "I musn't swear because [Natalie's] in the room". Natalie spoke of how she did not like this, because "there could be somebody who's much more offended by him swearing in the room who's a man than me", and it singles her out as a female minority. Whereas Robert saw courtesy as an advantage that women enjoy because of their gender, Natalie saw it as a barrier that did not convert to power but drew further attention to her gender rather than her ability to do her job.

Sue discussed how "in some of the organisations I've worked with I have seen quite dominant ladies who have taken an aggressive approach because they've felt they needed to because it was in a male environment" (interview with Sue). This demonstrates how some women adopt masculine leadership qualities in attempts to convert masculine gender capital into symbolic capital because of the poor convertibility of feminine gender capital. Sarah expressed how she feels that the adoption of masculinised leadership behaviours by women leaders is problematic:

I've come across women who sadly, justified or not, have a huge ... chip on their shoulder and feel they've got to behave like a man. So we're actually far more tough, draconian bosses than some men are because they feel they've got to do it like a man does.

Despite women adopting masculine leadership behaviours which have been found to be more highly valued within organisational fields (Eagly & Karau, 2002), Sarah's comments demonstrate how these too are not legitimated or viewed positively for women leaders. This aligns with the experiences of one female England Golf middle-manager who informally commented several times how she is "quite blunt" and does not like to "beat around the bush" (observation, 4th October 2016). She felt that other people thought she was too harsh but wished that others would behave in a similar way to be more efficient during meetings.

Jill gave a further example of how the same leadership behaviours are perceived differently for female and male leaders: “women are less likely to push themselves forward [because] ... it’s interpreted differently when a woman does it”. This is because “when women do it, somehow it’s considered a bit pushy. I think it looks different” (interview with Jill).

Jill’s comments highlight the incongruity that women experience as a woman and a leader, with masculine leadership styles being incongruent with the traditional female habitus, but traditional female leadership styles being incongruent with organisational habitus. This is an example of how ‘women’s gender capital may only manipulate constraints rather than overturn power’ because of the role incongruity they experience as a result of binary conceptualisations of gender (Ross-Smith & Huppertz, 2010, p. 13). Within the previous two sections I have highlighted the challenges that women leaders face in accumulating and converting field-specific capital within the governance of England Golf and the LTA. Within the next section I will analyse examples of how women leaders also negotiate the challenge of maintaining the individual capital that they have accumulated to generate profit and power within the organisational field.

9.3. Women leaders negotiating the challenge of maintaining their individual capital

Across both England Golf and the LTA, several women leaders discussed how they have experienced a challenge in maintaining their individual capital whilst fighting for the rights of women or aligning with feminist ideologies. Mary found this to be the case when she experienced isolation in fighting for the rights of women during a consultation process on the constitution of the Executive Committee of a newly merged golf Member County:

When I looked at the constitution it was quite clear to me that the rights of women were not being protected because the Executive Committee they were setting up, which was the committee that made all the decisions, ... [had] no guarantee that in future years there would be a female on it. So there was no requirement to have two men or at least a requirement of two women, and I raised that. I made myself very unpopular actually because there wasn’t a lot of sympathy around the table for it. They thought I was being OTT [(over the top)] and a bit strident about it, and I said well ... I’m really sorry but ... this isn’t right.

Mary discussed how she feels that such unpopularity resulting from fighting for women's rights can lead many women to shy away from doing so:

I think it's potentially confidence ... and the feeling that they're not gonna win so why make themselves unpopular? ... I'm always amazed there aren't more women like me in golf who ... want to push the boundaries a bit and move things on and influence.

Mary suggested that a lack of women pushing boundaries can stem from women who do push forward a women's agenda being seen as "bleating or sort of whinging", leading to colleagues thinking "oh she's at it again". For Mary, this can make fighting a feminist agenda "a lonely position". Mary feels that she "would like some more support" but is "used to being the only woman on the Board and having to fight my corner anyway so I just get on with it".

Research has found that a 'solidaristic social network' of women can be influential in women challenging the status quo of sport organisations, with a sense of belonging being a key factor in this (Bruegel, 2005). Bruegel (2005) argues that social capital is used by men as a conservation strategy to maintain the status quo (male domination), whilst women use their social capital as a subversion strategy to challenge the status quo. However, Mary's experience of being a minority feminist within golf leadership suggests that women leaders in golf do not use their social capital as a resource to challenge sexism and benefit the wider 'community' of women in sport, which Putnam (1993) views as a power of social capital. This is further demonstrated through some women leaders expressing negative perceptions of feminism in sport leadership because of the negative impact it can have on their individual maintenance of social capital and, in turn, symbolic capital.

Charlotte reported how "I put myself in that category: don't rock the boat and we accept discriminatory comments and actions when arguably you shouldn't". For Charlotte, this decision "to ignore [sexism] and carry on" stems from her belief that women who "call [men] out ... [are] really the thorn in the side". Charlotte questioned this approach, and whether it "delivers ... the best relationship because over time once you build a relationship and ... you get to know people, then you can start saying things as the relationship develops". Charlotte believes that "more people get success that way" because "you sort of quietly prove your worth ... as opposed to ... championing the flag". These comments demonstrate how, for Charlotte, it is more important for individual women leaders to maintain and build their social

capital and convert this into symbolic capital within a problematic, sexist social order than it is for women to risk losing social capital but attempt to transform a problematic organisational habitus. This aligns with Bourdieu's (1986) statement that:

The convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in the social space) by means of the conversions least costly in terms of conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself (in a given state of the social power relations).

Similarly, Rebecca expressed her opinion that:

As females we have to be careful about ... rather negative use of language. We've been there in the 80s and 70s and all that feminism and everything like that and I wouldn't like to see us beating that drum again.

Charlotte and Rebecca both suggest that women leaders refraining from "rocking the boat" through feminist actions is the least costly strategy for women in maintaining the positions that they occupy in the social space. These are, however, regulated liberties that occur within a social order that continues to subordinate women. This is because refraining from feminist actions will not transform problematic organisational habitus to better value the capital of women leaders. This highlights the complex balancing act that women leaders have to navigate in choosing between maintaining their capital to achieve individual success, or risk losing their capital to achieve collective success for women in sport leadership.

One way in which women did use their social networks to attempt to benefit other women whilst maintaining their own capital was through role modelling. For example, Sue spoke of how role modelling can provide inspiration and practical advice and help to break down misconceptions. Additionally, Sally spoke of her own experience of having a role model who "was very supportive", which "is a tremendous thing" and inspired her to apply for the Board position. Daniel expressed his feelings that role modelling is something that England Golf could do "a bit more of ... at the national level". He highlighted the potential for role modelling to display the contributions that women make to the organisation and to "trailblaze" for other women (interview with Daniel). Additionally, Sophie felt that seeing a woman who had children within a leadership position would increase her belief that "you can

actually go to those positions being a full-time mum at the same time as actually juggling a career”.

Several women leaders also spoke of other ways in which they had attempted to use their own position as a leader to positively influence others. For example, Charlotte explained how she has made an effort to go to every LTA Council Meeting as a Board Member, which she thinks is influential in giving women visibility: “as a female you get more noticed than another suit walking in, probably”. This links to discussions in Chapter 8 about the high visibility of women and their difference within male-dominated social spaces because men’s bodies and the suits they wear are often taken for granted or rendered invisible. In this case, Charlotte is using her visibility and minority status as a woman leader to give women a voice and empower other women leaders. Additionally, Jill spoke of how her experience of being positively influenced by Board Members in applying for the Board has led to her “already talking to somebody ... who I know will make a great Board Member in the future and I’m making sure she knows because I know that that’s what pushed me to it”. Natalie reflected during the interview that in terms of role modelling she is “not good enough”, and needs to:

“spend more time with women to say there is no glass ceiling ... because ... other than a very, very isolated six-month time with ... somebody who treated every woman badly, I’ve never had any issue ... [and] I’m not sure I share that journey enough”.

As demonstrated by these quotes, all of the interviewees who spoke of role modelling did so in a positive light. This is because of the positive influence that it can have on the development of other women leaders. In contrast to the conflict that women leaders can face in negotiating a solidaristic social network to challenge sexism through feminism, this form of solidaristic social capital was not perceived to have the potential to damage their individual accumulation of social capital and make them unpopular amongst colleagues. Whilst more radical feminist approaches such as pushing for social change can create more transformational change within organisations, role modelling is an example of a strategy to positively influence women within organisations without threatening the social capital of current women leaders in being ridiculed or excluded for their actions.

9.4. Summary

Within this chapter I have highlighted the different ways in which gender impacts upon the ability of women to accumulate various forms of capital, the extent to which these forms of capital are valued and convertible within the organisational field, and the challenges that women face in maintaining their individual capital. Findings revealed that gender differences in the accumulation of capital vary across the different forms of capital. For example, women leaders expressed their belief that they have an equal opportunity to accumulate institutionalised cultural capital in the forms of education and qualifications compared to men, but have greater difficulty in accumulating physical capital because of the physical differences between the genders. Where women did have seemingly equal access to capital, it was reported that this capital was not always as highly valued or as easily convertible for women as for men. An example of this was seen through perceptions of women having to work harder than men to be respected as a leader, which suggests that their cultural capital is not held in as high esteem as men's.

In addition to women facing challenges in accumulating and converting capital, it was also reported that women face challenges in simultaneously maintaining the individual capital they accumulate and pushing feminist agendas to resist problematic, gendered organisational practices. With one exception, all the female leaders spoke of their lack of desire to engage in feminist behaviours within their organisations to prevent their social and symbolic capital from being at risk. The single woman leader who did speak about her feminist beliefs and actions reported making herself "very unpopular" as a result (interview with Mary). This demonstrates the difficult position that individual women find themselves in when working within male-dominated fields, and the limited power that individual women hold to create change without collective action. It also highlights the importance of commendable collective social movements, such as the women and sport movement, where women (alongside male allies) have come together to push feminist agendas and create change.

Further to discussing the challenges that women face in accumulating, converting, and maintaining capital, I also outlined three strategies that were discussed by interviewees as being effective in either increasing the individual capital of women leaders or utilising individual capital to positively influence other women leaders. These were: voice training to

increase women's physical capital, education and leadership programmes to increase women's social and cultural capital, and role modelling to utilise bonding social capital to empower future women leaders. Whilst these strategies can effectively increase and/or utilise the capital of women leaders, some characteristics of these strategies do little to increase the convertibility of capital for women leaders. For example, increasing the physical capital of women through voice training is a 'fix the women' approach which does not change the male-dominated systems that continue to reproduce gender inequity within sport leadership. Furthermore, the liberal approaches of education and leadership programmes fail to address organisational culture which can, at times, value the capital of men more highly than that of women. Within the next chapter I will highlight the key recommendations that I have drawn from Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 to attempt to transform organisational culture to be more accommodating to the accumulation, conversion, and maintenance of capital for women leaders.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

The purpose of the closing chapter of this thesis is to provide a summary of the main conclusions and recommendations that can be drawn from the research, present additions to knowledge that have been made, suggest alternative approaches for future research in this area, and provide some concluding thoughts on the research.

10.1. Conclusions from the research

The aim of this research was to gain an in-depth understanding of dominant gender power relations within the leadership teams of two English national governing bodies (NGBs): England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA). Exploring this has revealed how power operates along gendered lines to reproduce male-dominance within sport leadership numerically, structurally, culturally, and agentially. Numerically, both organisations had gender-tilted boards, which were made up of over double the amount of men than women. This is problematic when the board is the most senior decision-making group within the organisation. Furthermore, both Executive Leadership Teams (ELTs) of the two organisations were gender-skewed, with the LTA only having one woman on its ELT (n=8) and England Golf having none (n=6). This demonstrates how, in answer to the first research question outlined in Chapter 1, the demographics of the leadership teams of England Golf and the LTA are not gender-balanced.

In answering the second and third research questions outlined in Chapter 1, there was evidence of both the conservation and resistance of dominant gender power relations within England Golf and the LTA. A key finding of the research is that these dominant gender power relations exist across the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels within the two organisations. Bourdieu's theory of practice was key in identifying this multi-layered nature of gender power relations through the application of the key concepts of (organisational) field, (organisational) habitus, and capital. Whilst each of these concepts were used to primarily inform individual chapters, the interrelated nature of the concepts became very apparent through the data analysis and write-up. The next three sub-sections will summarise how each of these concepts were applied to the research to inform a multi-layered analysis of gender power relations

within the two organisations. Furthermore, in answering the fourth and final research question outlined within Chapter 1, additional strategies for change will be recommended in achieving greater gender equity within the governance of the two organisations. All recommendations provided within this chapter are based only on the findings that have emerged from the time spent researching within the two organisations, as outlined within Appendix 3. I have provided an addendum following this chapter which highlights all key moments and changes that have occurred in the time since I conducted the research within the two NGBs.

10.1.1. Organisational fields: The gendered structures, formal rules, and formal processes of England Golf and the LTA

Broadly speaking, the key findings at the macro-level that I discussed within Chapter 6 are that the organisational fields of England Golf and the LTA are fields of struggles that are simultaneously conserving and resisting male-dominated gender power relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In comparing the findings of this chapter to the sport leadership/management/governance literature, it became apparent that few scholars have previously developed in-depth research on the structures and rules of organisations at the macro-level and how this influences gender balance within sport governance. New findings from this research include the gendered impact of flat organisational structures in offering little room for demographic change, the problematic nature of organisation-specific gender governance rules such as England Golf's 'six to four rule', the cultural impact of a high proportion of Elected Directors on the England Golf Board who have developed within the traditionally male-dominated sport of golf, and the LTA Board's lack of control over the appointment of Elected Directors presenting barriers in developing strategies to improve female representation. One finding that did align with the work of other scholars is the England Golf merger conserving the position, culture, and ideology of men and the male organisation in the newly merged body (Hargreaves, 1994; Velija et al., 2014). Except for a flat organisational structure, the findings within this section of the research were organisation-specific because of the unique nature of the structures and rules of each organisation and their links to the history and development of the two NGBs. This is an

example of the 'slow process of autonomisation' that has led to England Golf and the LTA forming into different, distinct organisational fields (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 67).

Both succession and subversion field strategies were being employed within the two organisations, moving the two organisations towards being fields of struggles where structures and systems that privilege men are resisted and/or transformed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Succession strategies include succession planning and protecting the presence of both women and men on the sub-committees of both boards as well as the role of President for England Golf. Examples of subversion strategies were the introduction of new or different governance rules such as the LTA appointing an Independent Chair and Independent Directors. In Section 10.2 I have identified several recommendations to further transform these NGBs into fields of struggles where dominant gender power relations are resisted.

10.1.2. Organisational habitus and its harmony with the dominant male habitus

Several conclusions can be made from my analyses of the cultures and practices of England Golf and the LTA throughout Chapters 7 and 8: both NGBs have a gendered organisational habitus, which is influenced by formal and informal gendered practices as well as the traditions and values of the wider field of sport; the gendered organisational habitus of the two NGBs are more harmonious with the individual habitus of dominant male leaders than female leaders; and individual perceptions of the gendered nature of organisational habitus do not match the reality of the gendered nature of organisational habitus that has been revealed within this research.

Many of the findings across Chapters 7 and 8 align with the work of other scholars in the research field. For formal recruitment practices this includes male decision-makers continuing to develop and place gendered job advertisements within male-dominated spaces (Burton & Hagan, 2009; Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007), women of child-bearing age continuing to be discriminated against within the recruitment process (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003), and the placing of high value on sporting ability, knowledge, and experience, which can be problematic in recruiting more women leaders (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003). In terms of informal cultural practices, this includes the influence of

homophilous networks on the recruitment of both Board Members and Executive Leaders (Ibarra, 1992; McGuire, 2002; Pfister & Radtke, 2006; Shaw, 2006b), masculine dress codes symbolising organisational status and belonging (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Shaw, 2006b), gendered language continuing to create a doxic perception that normalises men as leaders (Shaw, 2006b; Shaw & Slack, 2002), and expectations for leaders to work long and unsociable hours which do not align with the habitus of many working mothers (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008; Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Pfister, 2010; Pfister & Radtke, 2006; Titus, 2011).

Claringbould and Knoppers (2008) also reported that both women and men in their study failed to acknowledge the uneven gender composition of the board, let alone resist it, which poses similarities to the findings of this research. This is because both female and male leaders across England Golf and the LTA perceived a gender-neutral organisational habitus that does not match the reality of the gendered nature of organisational habitus that has been found to exist within both organisations. A finding that has not previously been discussed within the sport leadership/management/governance literature is informal gender segregation, which was found to operate both spatially and socially within England Golf and the LTA. This contributes to the normalisation of binary gender differences and the weakening of bridging social capital between female and male leaders, resulting in social exclusion along gendered lines (Putnam, 2000).

Some attempts to resist and transform gendered organisational practices were evident within both NGBs. Some of these were examples of regulated liberties, where small exercises of power arise within the context of the existing social order (Bourdieu, 1991). This includes the provision of mentors for potential women leaders, both women and men resisting gendered dress codes, and women physically and symbolically resisting informal gender segregation within the boardroom. Some forms of resistance were examples of increased reflexivity, which Bourdieu (2000) argues can lead to the transformation of habitus when associated with an effort of transformation. Examples of this included interviewees discussing gendered recruitment practices, the education of internal and external recruiters on unconscious bias within the recruitment process, the gaining of feedback on the recruitment processes and organisational culture from employees, and greater discussions on the challenges that women face. Other forms of resistance were more transformative, which

aim to change the logic of practice. These included positive action at the LTA through: always shortlisting a woman for executive positions and introducing radical quotas for the Board; the introduction of flexible working within both organisations; and the modernisation of recruitment practices to reduce bias along gendered lines.

10.1.3. Gender and individuals competing for capital

There were three key findings at the micro-level of analysis that I discussed within Chapter 9. These are that gender influences the ability of women to accumulate capital, convert capital, and maintain the capital they already hold. First, findings revealed that gender differences in the accumulation of capital vary across the different forms of capital. For example, women leaders expressed their belief that they have an equal opportunity to accumulate institutionalised cultural capital in the forms of education and qualifications compared to men. Conversely, they also conveyed that they have greater difficulty in accumulating physical capital because of physical differences between the genders and the naturalisation of dominant male physical attributes with leadership positions. Neither of these findings have been reported before in the sport leadership, management, nor governance literature.

Second, when women did have strong access to capital, I found that this capital was not always as highly valued or as easily convertible for women as it was for men. Whilst this conceptual relationship between gender and the convertibility of capital has not previously been explored in the sport leadership/management/governance literature, individual examples of this did align with previous research. For example, previous research has similarly found that women reported that they have to work harder than the majority of men to be considered for leadership positions, even if they have the same volume of institutionalised cultural capital in the forms of qualifications and professional experience (Eagly et al., 2003; Karacam & Koca, 2015). Additionally, as has previously been widely reported, I found that women leaders experience challenges in converting gender capital in the forms of both typically feminine and masculine leadership styles into symbolic capital. This is because dominant masculine leadership attributes are not harmonious with the female (or subordinate male) habitus, but female leadership attributes are not aligned with ideal

leadership (Burton & Hagan, 2009; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Hovden, 2010; Sartore & Cunningham, 2010; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003).

The third key finding of Chapter 9 was that women face challenges in maintaining their individual capital if they push feminist agendas to resist problematic, gendered organisational practices. This is because their popularity is put at risk which threatens their social and symbolic capital. As a result, the majority of the female leaders who were interviewed refrained from engaging in feminist behaviours to protect their individual capital. This aligns with findings from Claringbould and Knoppers' (2008) study where women were criticised if they behaved like feminists. This places women in a difficult position where they must choose between their own career and the wider feminist movement in sport leadership.

Within Chapter 9 I also identified several strategies for change that are either being discussed or employed by individuals within the two organisations to positively influence the capital accumulation, conversion, and/or maintenance of women leaders. This included increasing the social and cultural capital of women leaders through education and leadership programmes, and increasing the physical capital of women through voice training. Role-modelling opportunities were also discussed to allow current women leaders to utilise their symbolic and social capital to inspire and empower future women leaders. Whilst there is value in increasing the capital of women leaders to make them more qualified to attain leadership positions, this needs to occur alongside cultural change to ensure that this capital is valued and convertible within the organisational field. Recommendations on how to achieve this are outlined in the next section.

10.2. Recommendations

Based on findings across Chapters 6-9, I have recommended several further strategies to make the leadership and governance of England Golf and the LTA more gender-equitable. Bourdieu's work has informed the development of these strategies, particularly with regard to field strategies, reflexivity, and increasing the individual capital of leaders. However, as outlined in Section 3.1.3, there are gaps in Bourdieu's work in providing tools to transform organisational habitus. Because of this, I have also drawn on Schein's (1984, 1996) work on organisational culture, values, and learning to further inform my recommendations.

Schein (1984, 1996) discussed how organisational culture manifests itself at several levels, which need to be identified to enable organisational learning to occur: visible artefacts (e.g. office layout, manner of dress, and public documents); deep, tacit assumptions (typically unconscious but determine how group members think, perceive, and feel); and day-to-day behaviour (a combination of visible artefacts, espoused values, deep assumptions, and immediate requirements of the situation). These levels of analysis were helpful in breaking down the different layers of organisational habitus to identify areas for organisational improvement. Visible artefacts are the easiest element of organisational culture to change because they are more tangible than tacit assumptions or day-to-day behaviours (Schein, 1984). Tacit assumptions and day-to-day behaviours are more challenging to transform because they are typically unconscious and determine how organisational members think, perceive, feel, and behave.

Schein (1984, 1996) also discussed how espoused values impact upon organisational culture, and in turn organisational performance. Espoused values are public statements about how the organisation functions and behaves, and so demonstrate the aspirations for organisational culture and governance that have been set by senior leaders. Espoused values and behaviours do not always match actual values and behaviours, and therefore an organisation must work towards aligning actual and espoused values to achieve ideal organisational culture. Both the LTA and England Golf identify espoused values and behaviours to which they aspire. For England Golf, these are honest, inclusive, responsible, excellent, and supportive (England Golf, 2019). For the LTA, these are teamwork, integrity, passion, and excellence (Lawn Tennis Association, 2017a). Many of these organisational values are synonymous with behaviours required to develop organisational gender equity.

In the next two sub-sections I will identify recommended actions for each organisation and highlight the espoused organisational value(s) to which each recommendation relates. This is important because it allows the two organisations to understand how gender equity across their leadership and governance can contribute to achieving and embedding organisational values, and in turn improve organisational performance. I have thematically grouped recommendations into the following categories: leadership, recruitment, visible artefacts, employee support, and development of leaders. A theoretical explanation is also given for each recommendation.

10.2.1. England Golf

Table 10.1: Recommendations for England Golf

Theme	Recommendation	Theoretical Explanation	Espoused organisational value(s)
Leadership	Elected Directors should reflect no more than a third of Board Members (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016).	This is a subversion field strategy to transform the Board’s system of authority towards more independence. This moves away from providing strong influence to Voting Members who have developed from within the traditional, gender-segregated culture of golf.	<u>Responsible</u> : Responsible governance which offers independence of thought and avoids conflict of interest.
	At least 25% of Board Members should be Independent Directors (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016).	As above.	As above.
	The Board should remove the ‘six to four rule’ and introduce a minimum gender rule which preserves the presence of an equal number of female and male Elected Directors.	This is a subversion field strategy to transform the Board’s system of authority from privileging the position of male Elected Directors towards conserving the position of both female and male Elected Directors.	<u>Inclusive</u> : The composition of the Board would be more inclusive to female and male Elected Directors. <u>Excellent</u> : This would incorporate diversity of thought, perspective, and experience to improve organisational decision-making.
	Any policies or programmes to change gendered organisational culture or to develop individual women leaders should be fully	This influences the tacit assumptions of female employees to perceive the leadership teams of England Golf to take	<u>Supportive</u> : Female employees feel supported by their leadership teams in working towards a more gender-equitable organisational culture.

	and visibly supported by the senior leadership teams.	gender-bias, discrimination, and the development of women leaders seriously.	<u>Responsible</u> : The leadership teams should take responsibility for leading cultural change and developing a supportive working environment.
	The use of gender-biased or discriminatory language should be called out across the organisation, but particularly advocated by the leadership teams.	This will transform the habitual gendered language use of individuals, and therefore transform the day-to-day behaviours of employees to develop a more gender-equitable organisational culture.	As above.
	Heads of departments and managers should avoid pressurising their employees to work long and unsociable hours, unless necessary to complete the specific task.	This changes the actual (as opposed to espoused) value of the leadership teams and employees which places high value on long working hours. It also transforms the tacit assumption that you can only be successful if you work long and unsociable hours.	<u>Supportive</u> : Women and men who have young families are supported to have successful careers without having a negative impact on their family life. <u>Inclusive</u> : Leadership opportunities become available to a more diverse pool of individuals.
	Cultural auditing should be explored by the Board to identify any problematic behaviours within the organisation and provide confidence amongst employees that there is a strong commitment to good conduct.	This is a commitment to reflexively analysing the cultural conduct of the organisation through external channels.	<u>Responsible</u> : The information from a cultural audit 'allows the board an opportunity to mitigate the risk of integrity failure' (Chartered Institute of Internal Auditors, 2014, p. 2). <u>Inclusive</u> : Changes made as a result of the audit can make the culture more inclusive to all.

Recruitment	Club support teams should introduce workshops on succession planning at the club and county levels to attempt to get more women into junior governance positions.	This is a succession field strategy which makes the pool for senior governance positions more gender-balanced.	<u>Inclusive:</u> The composition of more junior leadership positions would be more inclusive. <u>Excellent:</u> This would incorporate diversity of thought, perspective, and experience to improve organisational decision-making.
	The HR team should conduct an in-depth analysis of job applicants to identify gendered recruitment patterns.	This is reflexive practice which allows gender-bias to be identified, and provides a critical analysis of the extent to which the recruitment process is gender-equitable.	<u>Honest:</u> This practice allows for honest reflection on current recruitment practices. <u>Inclusive:</u> Changes to the recruitment process as a result of the feedback will make the process more gender-inclusive.
	The HR team should gain detailed feedback on the recruitment process from both successful and unsuccessful applicants.	As above.	As above.
Visible Artefacts	Gendered dress codes should be discussed within a board meeting, and other options should be considered that would allow women Board Members more identity and uniformity.	This can weaken bonding social capital amongst male leaders (which can be exclusionary to female leaders) and also allow women more symbolic capital through their clothing providing a visual indicator of position and authority.	<u>Inclusive:</u> Less gendered dress codes may result in women leaders feeling more included in the boardroom.
	The Board should oversee the revision of official documents, removing the use of gender	This will change the tacit assumptions of those reading the documents as to the gender of those in leadership positions.	<u>Inclusive:</u> Official documents would become more publically inclusive and

	pronouns and false generics such as 'Chairman' and 'he/his'.		neutral to the gender of those sitting within leadership positions.
	Female and male Board Members should refrain from sitting in gender-segregated groups within board meetings.	This will strengthen bridging social capital between female and male Board Members, and weaken bonding social capital amongst female and male leaders which can be exclusionary to the other gender.	<u>Inclusive</u> : Less gender segregation allows more inclusive conversations to occur within board meetings. <u>Excellent</u> : This can help to create better governance by Board Members developing stronger professional relationships across the genders.
Employee Support	The HR team should promote their flexible working policies more widely so that both women and men are more aware of their options and the support in place when starting a family.	This will change the tacit assumptions of individual leaders to allow them to perceive the organisational culture to be more accepting and supportive of those who request flexible working.	<u>Supportive</u> : Employees will be better supported to combine family life with leadership. <u>Inclusive</u> : Flexible working allows individuals with family commitments to still be able to access leadership positions.
	HR teams should put more protective measures in place to protect women when calling out sexist or discriminatory behaviours, or examples of gender inequity. This can include having safe spaces and policies in place (including disciplinary measures where appropriate) that are known by all employees. The leadership teams should fully	This helps preserve the social and symbolic capital of women leaders when challenging sexism, discrimination, and gender inequity.	<u>Supportive</u> : Female employees feel supported by the organisation in working towards a more gender-equitable organisational culture <u>Responsible</u> : The leadership teams should take responsibility for leading cultural change and developing a supportive working environment.

	and visibly support these protective measures.		
Leadership Development	Education, leadership, and mentoring programmes should continue to be utilised across all departments to develop the capital of women leaders.	This develops the social and cultural capital of women leaders, and better equips them for leadership positions.	<p><u>Supportive</u>: Supports women leaders to develop their leadership skills and networks.</p> <p><u>Excellent</u>: Leadership development programmes can help to develop women leaders who excel within their organisations.</p>
	A more conscious effort should be made to use current women leaders as role models for other women and men within the organisations.	This changes the tacit assumptions of both female and male leaders. For women, this can influence their perceptions of career possibilities. For men, this can increase their awareness of the work that women leaders are undertaking.	<u>Supportive</u> : This demonstrates more organisational recognition and support for the work of women leaders.

10.2.2. The Lawn Tennis Association

Table 10.2: Recommendations for the Lawn Tennis Association

Theme	Recommendation	Theoretical Explanation	Espoused organisational value(s)
Leadership	The Board should put a rule in place which ensures that at least one out of every three Presidents will be a woman.	This is a subversion field strategy to transform the position of authority of the President from being very male-dominated to being more gender-equitable.	<u>Integrity</u> : A more transparent system which allows women the opportunity to obtain the leadership position of President and represent the LTA externally.
	Any policies or programmes to change gendered organisational culture or develop individual women leaders should be fully and visibly supported by the senior leadership teams.	This influences the tacit assumptions of female employees towards perceiving the leadership teams of the LTA to take gender-bias or discrimination seriously, as well as the development of individual women.	<u>Teamwork</u> : Female employees feel supported by the leadership teams in working towards a more gender-equitable organisational culture. <u>Integrity</u> : The leadership teams demonstrate courage to take responsibility for leading cultural change and developing a supportive working environment.
	The use of gender-biased or discriminatory language should be called out across the organisation but particularly advocated by the leadership teams.	This will transform the habitual gendered language use of individuals, and therefore transform the day-to-day behaviours of employees to develop a more gender-equitable organisational culture.	As above.
	Heads of departments and managers should avoid pressurising their employees	This changes the actual (as opposed to espoused) value of the leadership teams	<u>Passion</u> : A good balance is created between work and home life. Any

	to work long and unsociable hours, unless necessary to complete the role.	and employees which places high value on working long hours. It also transforms the tacit assumption that you can only be successful if you work long and unsociable hours.	fixed mindsets that leaders have over working hours is transformed. <u>Integrity:</u> There is more equality of opportunity for women and men who have young families to develop into leadership positions. Individuals are praised on the quality of their work rather than the amount of hours they have worked.
	Cultural auditing should be explored by the Board to identify any problematic behaviours within the organisation, and provide confidence within the organisation that there is a strong commitment to good conduct.	This is a commitment to reflexively analysing the cultural conduct of the organisation through external channels.	<u>Integrity:</u> The information from a cultural audit 'allows the board an opportunity to mitigate the risk of integrity failure' (Chartered Institute of Internal Auditors, 2014, p. 2).
Recruitment	Club support teams should introduce workshops on succession planning at the club and county levels to attempt to get more women into junior governance positions.	This is a succession field strategy which makes the pool for senior governance positions more gender-balanced.	<u>Passion:</u> Succession planning can motivate and inspire more women to become leaders of tennis. <u>Excellence:</u> This would incorporate diversity of thought, perspective, and experience to improve organisational decision-making.
	The HR team should conduct an in-depth analysis of job applicants to identify gendered recruitment patterns.	This is reflexive practice which allows gender-bias to be identified, and provides a critical analysis of the extent to which the recruitment process is gender-equitable.	<u>Integrity:</u> This practice allows for honest reflection on current recruitment practices to attempt to make recruitment more inclusive.

	The HR team should gain feedback on the recruitment process from those who were unsuccessful as well as successful as these could be more useful in identifying challenges and issues.	As above.	As above.
Visible Artefacts	Gendered dress codes should be discussed within a board meeting, and other options should be considered that would allow women Board Members more identity and uniformity.	This can weaken bonding social capital amongst male leaders (which can be exclusionary to female leaders) and also allow women more symbolic capital through their clothing providing a visual indicator of position and authority.	<u>Teamwork</u> : Less gendered dress codes may result in women leaders feeling more part of the team of the Board.
	The Board should oversee the revision of official documents, removing the use of gender pronouns and false generics such as 'Chairman' and 'he/his'.	This will change the tacit assumptions of those reading the documents as to the gender of those in leadership positions.	<u>Integrity</u> : Official documents would become more publically inclusive and neutral to the gender of those sitting within leadership positions.
	Female and male Board Members should refrain from sitting in gender-segregated groups within board meetings.	This will strengthen bridging social capital between female and male Board Members, and weakening bonding social capital amongst female and male leaders which can be exclusionary to the other gender.	<u>Teamwork</u> : Less gender segregation allows more inclusive conversations to occur within board meetings which can strengthen team spirit amongst Board Members. <u>Excellence</u> : This can help to create better governance by Board Members developing stronger professional relationships across the genders.

Employee Support	The HR team should promote their flexible working policies more widely so that both women and men are more aware of their options and the support in place when starting a family.	This will change the tacit assumptions of individual leaders to allow them to perceive the organisational culture to be more accepting and supportive of those who request flexible working.	<u>Passion</u> : Flexible working allows individuals with family commitments to be motivated and inspired to strive for leadership positions.
	HR teams should put more protective measures in place to protect women when calling out sexist or discriminatory behaviours, or examples of gender inequity. This can include having safe spaces and policies in place (including disciplinary measures where appropriate) that are known by all employees. The leadership teams should fully and visibly support these protective measures.	This helps preserve the social and symbolic capital of women leaders when challenging sexism, discrimination, and gender inequity.	<u>Integrity</u> : The leadership teams should take responsibility for leading cultural change and developing a supportive working environment. <u>Passion</u> : The leadership team should take pride in creating an environment where women feel able to challenge sexist behaviour.
Leadership Development	Education, leadership, and mentoring programmes should continue to be utilised across all departments to develop the capital of women leaders.	This develops the social and cultural capital of women leaders, and better equips them for leadership positions.	<u>Excellence</u> : Leadership development programmes can help to develop women leaders who excel within their organisations.
	A more conscious effort should be made to use current women leaders as role models for other women and men within the organisations.	This changes the tacit assumptions of both female and male leaders. For women, this can influence their perceptions of career possibilities. For men, this can increase their awareness of the work that women leaders are undertaking.	<u>Passion</u> : The success of women leaders is celebrated to inspire and motivate others to achieve success.

10.3. Additions to knowledge

Within Section 10.1 I summarised the main findings of the research, some of which align with the work of other scholars and some of which provide new knowledge that has not previously been reported. Where findings from this research have aligned with the work of other scholars, it has provided valuable information that can give insight into the reproduction of dominant gender power relations within English NGBs, the extent to which they align with or differ from trends within other cultures or countries, and their durable nature.

New knowledge has not only been generated through the identification of specific examples of gendered practices and processes, but also through using Bourdieu's theory of practice to explicitly structure the thesis around analyses at the macro-, meso- and micro-levels. This has allowed in-depth organisational analyses and has highlighted the interrelated nature of gender power relations across the various layers of organisations. An understanding of this interrelatedness is vital to developing sustainable and effective strategies for change within organisations. For example, I have discussed within this thesis how agentic strategies for change such as women's leadership development programmes are not effective unless the structure, rules, and culture of the organisation support the development of women into leadership positions.

In addition to the theoretical framework, the ethnographic approach of this research has also helped to uncover new knowledge and areas of focus. An example of this is that both semi-structured interviews and participant observation were important in identifying informal gender segregation as a practice that contributes to the reinforcement of gender power relations, which has not been discussed before within sport leadership, management, nor governance literature. The *practice* of informal spatial gender segregation was observed within an England Golf board meeting, whereas reflections on the *impact* of this practice and resistance to it were discussed within interviews. Furthermore, in using a feminist research perspective to inform the research questions and data collection for this thesis, there is a strong focus on identifying strategies for change and providing recommendations to resist gender power relations and improve the experiences of women leaders in sport. With a few notable exceptions (Cunningham, 2008; Shaw & Penney, 2003; Shaw & Slack, 2002), few

researchers in the field offer specific, practical strategies for change at the organisational level to work towards achieving gender balance in the leadership teams of sport organisations.

I also considered the transferability of the findings of this research, and a summary of key findings from a follow-up focus group with female middle-managers and senior leaders from the Football Association (FA), the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB), British Rowing, and Rounders England can be found in Appendix 11. Within this focus group, I presented findings from the research to the participants and asked questions around the transferability of the findings to their own experiences and perceptions. I found that the findings are highly transferable to the experiences of the women from the FA, the ECB, and British Rowing. I attributed this to these organisations having similar histories to England Golf and the LTA as well as also being large, wealthy NGBs (British Rowing, 2018a; Marylebone Cricket Club, 2018; The Football Association, 2018b). Similarities in the structures, demographics, rules, and values of these organisational fields develop similar field-specific organisational habitus, and so in turn similar experiences of those who work within them (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). I found that the findings were not transferable to Rounders England, however, because the structure, demographics, rules, and values of Rounders England are dissimilar to England Golf and the LTA. This is because it is a small organisation with female-domination throughout the organisation and the sport, and a comparatively short history having formed in 1943 (Rounders England, 2018). This means that the organisational habitus is dissimilar to England Golf and the LTA, and so the experiences of those who work within Rounders England are also dissimilar.

Although the findings of this research are not transferable to all NGBs, all NGBs can take learning points from the challenges that these two organisations have faced, the strategies they have put in place to attempt to resist these, and the recommendations that I have outlined within this thesis. To utilise the knowledge gained, I will disseminate this research in several different formats to attempt to create change. This will include writing accessible reports for England Golf and the LTA to summarise the key findings and recommendations, which will provide them with key information in working towards being more gender-equitable organisations. Furthermore, I will create a report that accessibly summarises the findings of the whole thesis, which I will share with key organisations to attempt to influence their future policy, strategy, programmes, and research. This includes

Sport England, UK Sport, Women in Sport, and the Sport and Recreation Alliance. Finally, I will publish the research over several academic, peer-reviewed journals to contribute to the current published literature on gender and sport leadership/governance.

10.4. Limitations of the study and alternative approaches to investigating and understanding gender power relations in English sport governance

Within this section I provide reflections on the shortcomings of the theoretical framework and methodological approach of the research and offer alternative approaches to investigating and understanding dominant gender power relations in English sport governance.

10.4.1. Theoretical framework

As I outlined in the previous section, Bourdieu's theory of practice has been instrumental in offering a new angle on investigations of organisational gender power relations and has provided a lens through which new knowledge has been generated. As with all theoretical frameworks, the theory of practice also had its limitations in being applied to this research. First, the theory is determinist and lacks in-depth theorising about strategies for change (Fowler, 2003; Jenkins, 1992). Although Bourdieu does outline forms of resistance such as field strategies, reflexivity, and regulated liberties, he does not discuss in detail how these strategies can be employed or give empirical examples of transformative strategies for change. This meant that the application of Bourdieusian theory in discussing strategies for change was more descriptive and conceptualist rather than providing a critical analytical tool. Second, Bourdieu offers a binary conceptualisation of gender through the power that he attributes to the perceived biological body, which sits in opposition to my own conceptualisation of gender as outlined in Chapter 1 (Laberge, 1995). This was limiting when I analysed the experiences of women leaders who are successfully holding positions of power within male-dominated spaces, and so possess multiple gendered dispositions. Drawing upon queer theorising of non-binary conceptualisations of gender to inform discussions of gender throughout the thesis went some way in overcoming this challenge (Caudwell, 2006). This is

because it appreciates the heterogeneity of the experiences of women and men rather than placing them in dichotomous, binary categories.

Finally, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the field is used to theorise broad sections of society such as health, arts, or education, which means that it is positioned at a more macro-level of analysis than individual organisations. Within this thesis, I have argued that an individual organisation can be conceptualised as an organisational field that has its own structures, hierarchies, rules, and conventions 'in which a game takes place ... between individuals who are competing for personal advantage' (Everett, 2002, p. 60). Whilst not applying the concept of field in the 'pure' Bourdieusian sense, the use of this concept in analysing the macro-structures of organisations has been extremely useful in creating a full picture of organisational gender power relations.

10.4.2. Methodological approach

As I discussed within Chapter 5, this study adopts an ethnographic approach but is not an ethnography because it was not possible to be immersed in the lives of the participants over a prolonged period of time (O'Reilly, 2012). Due to issues of access not making a full ethnography feasible, participant observation was used to participate in and observe the daily lives of participants when opportunities arose. As I explained in Chapter 5, fewer observations were able to be conducted than I intended because of the inconvenience to the organisations and the confidential nature of some of the meetings. This is a limitation of the research, and future research could overcome this by having stronger links with organisations being studied before research takes place or having a longer time period available to conduct more observations. For future research projects, an auto-ethnographic study on gender power relations in English sport organisations would also provide very interesting insights into the lives and experiences of women leaders in sport. Whilst this would require a scholar-turned-leader or leader-turned-scholar to conduct this, there are examples of such individuals within the world of sport governance (Matthews, 2014).

10.4.3. Areas for future research

In conducting this research, a whole range of areas of scholarship to further explore and understand gender power relations in English sport leadership/governance became clear.

First, research with a sole focus on gendered recruitment practices could fill some of the gaps that are present within this research because recruitment agents were not interviewed. This would give some further insight into gendered recruitment processes, particularly around headhunting for Executive Leaders. Second, I carried out this research within two of the largest NGBs in the country which govern two of the oldest sports in the world, and so the findings were unique to NGBs which share similar characteristics, as demonstrated by the findings of the follow-up focus group. Research on gender power relations within smaller or younger NGBs would provide an interesting insight into any different or further challenges faced as well as any successes and learning points that are transferable to other NGBs. Third, through this research I focused on those who were already within, or had the potential to obtain, leadership positions. Researching those who have been unsuccessful in reaching leadership positions or who have dropped out of the voluntary governance sector could provide a greater depth of information as to the gendered challenges faced by women (and men) in the pursuit of position and power. Identifying and accessing such participants is a challenge, however.

Fourth, this research had a sole focus on gender, but future research with a greater focus on intersectionality and the interrelatedness of the different social characteristics of women (such as race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability and social class) could better reflect the whole experience of women leaders rather than just their gendered experience. Fifth, research on the experiences of subordinated men within sport governance would add knowledge to a very under-researched area and provide new knowledge on the broader relationship between gender and sport leadership/governance rather than a persistent focus on women. Sixth, a study focusing on cross-sector comparisons would be very interesting in comparing the findings from research such as this to other sectors such as business, politics, and education. This would be important in understanding where the similarities and differences lay between different sectors and sharing cross-sector learning points. Seventh, more rigorous research on the business case for more women in sport leadership is required. As I discussed in Section 4.6, this evidence base is lacking in governance reports and documents and is hugely important in providing incentives for organisations to make change. And finally, a longitudinal study following a group of female middle-managers over a sustained period of time could offer some very interesting insights into the experiences,

challenges, and successes of women in obtaining sport leadership positions. Simultaneously studying a group of male middle-managers could also provide an interesting comparison.

10.5. Concluding thoughts

This research has been conducted at an interesting time for England and English sport governance. This is because it is a time of policy change, with the introduction of cross-sector gender pay gap reporting (Government Equalities Office, 2017) and sport-specific gender targets for the boards of NGBs (Sport England and UK Sport, 2016). It is also a time of political change, with the UK being set to leave the European Union on 29th March 2019, which leaves the whole country in political uncertainty. Furthermore, it is a time for social change, with generational replacement changing national perceptions on traditional gender roles (Scott & Clery, 2013). And finally, although there remains significantly more men than women within sport leadership positions, it is a time of demographic change, with the number of women Board Members and Executives having gradually increased since 2012 (Women in Sport, 2015c, 2017).

Through this research I have gone some way in revealing the dominant gender power relations that continue to contribute to English sport leadership lacking gender balance. Gender power relations are complex, and one of the key challenges going forward is achieving cultural change. Cultural change is instrumental in sustainably increasing the number of women leaders in English sport governance. This research has highlighted some positive legislative, policy, activist, organisational, and individual work being implemented in attempts to achieve structural, cultural, and agentic change. A key factor in the success of these strategies for change is the support of male allies in the struggle to make feminist agendas not just a women's fight but a human fight. This not only benefits women through greater opportunities to develop as sport leaders, but also benefits men through the overall advantages of gender-balanced leadership teams. This research has played a part in the fight for gender equity by contributing to a body of research that develops a greater understanding of gender power relations within sport governance, and how they can be transformed. Further research should build on this to continue to reveal, discuss, understand, and resist gender power relations in a time of profound change. This is because 'the function of sociology, as of every science, is to reveal that which is hidden' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 17).

ADDENDUM

This addendum provides a timeline of key events post-data collection within England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA). These changes, many of which are examples of positive steps towards more gender-equitable governance of the two NGBs, demonstrate the fast pace at which English sport governance changes and develops.

England Golf

Date	Event	Specific changes and/or further comments
November 2016	England Golf's Articles of Association were amended (England Golf, 2018a).	The articles now state that an Independent Chair will be appointed through 'a formal and transparent selection process which will be competence based' (England Golf, 2018a, p. 13).
January 2017	A new (female) Marketing and Communications Director was appointed (England Golf, 2018d).	This increased female representation on the Executive Leadership Team (ELT) to two out of seven Executives (29%).
March 2017	A new (male) finance Director was appointed (England Golf, 2018d).	This maintained the same level of female representation with two out of seven Executives being women (29%).
April 2017	England Golf appointed its first (male) Independent Chair (England Golf, 2017c).	'He was selected after a rigorous appointment process which considered a number of high-calibre candidates for the role' (England Golf, 2017d, para. 2).
April 2017	A new (male) President was appointed (England Golf, 2017c).	
August 2017	England Golf appointed its first two Independent Directors (England Golf, 2017b).	One of these Independent Directors is female, and one is male.
November 2017	England Golf's Articles of Association were amended (England Golf, 2018a).	The Board will be composed of not less than 30% male representation and not less than 30% female representation.

		<p>The method for electing Elected Directors is as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ ‘Where there is less than 30% of either gender on the Board ... the first step shall be to appoint the required number of either gender to achieve that minimum’ (England Golf, 2018a, p. 14) ○ Where there are fewer candidates than are required to achieve the 30% minimum gender requirement, the remaining vacant positions shall not be filled and the Board is entitled to appoint Directors to achieve the requirement who shall serve as if they have been elected ○ Where there are more candidates of both genders than are required to meet the 30% minimum gender requirement, there shall be an election at the annual general meeting or a postal ballot. Where this results in less than 30% of either gender on the Board, then ‘candidates of the relevant gender achieving the highest number of votes shall be elected until the minimum number is achieved, and then the candidate of either gender achieving the next highest votes shall be elected until all of the positions are filled’ (England Golf, 2018a, p. 14).
November 2017	England Golf Voting Members voted to streamline the Board from 15 to 12 Members (England Golf, 2017a).	<p>The Board is now composed of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ An Independent Chair ○ Up to eight Elected Directors ○ Up to two Independent Directors appointed by the Board ○ The Chief Executive. <p>This change has resulted in a higher proportion of female representation on the Board, with four out of 12 of Directors (33%) being women (England Golf, 2018b).</p>
April 2018	A new (male) President was appointed (England Golf, 2018e).	
May 2018	England Golf pledged support to The R&A’s Women’s Charter (England Golf, 2018c).	The Charter aims to get more women and girls playing, working, and volunteering in golf.

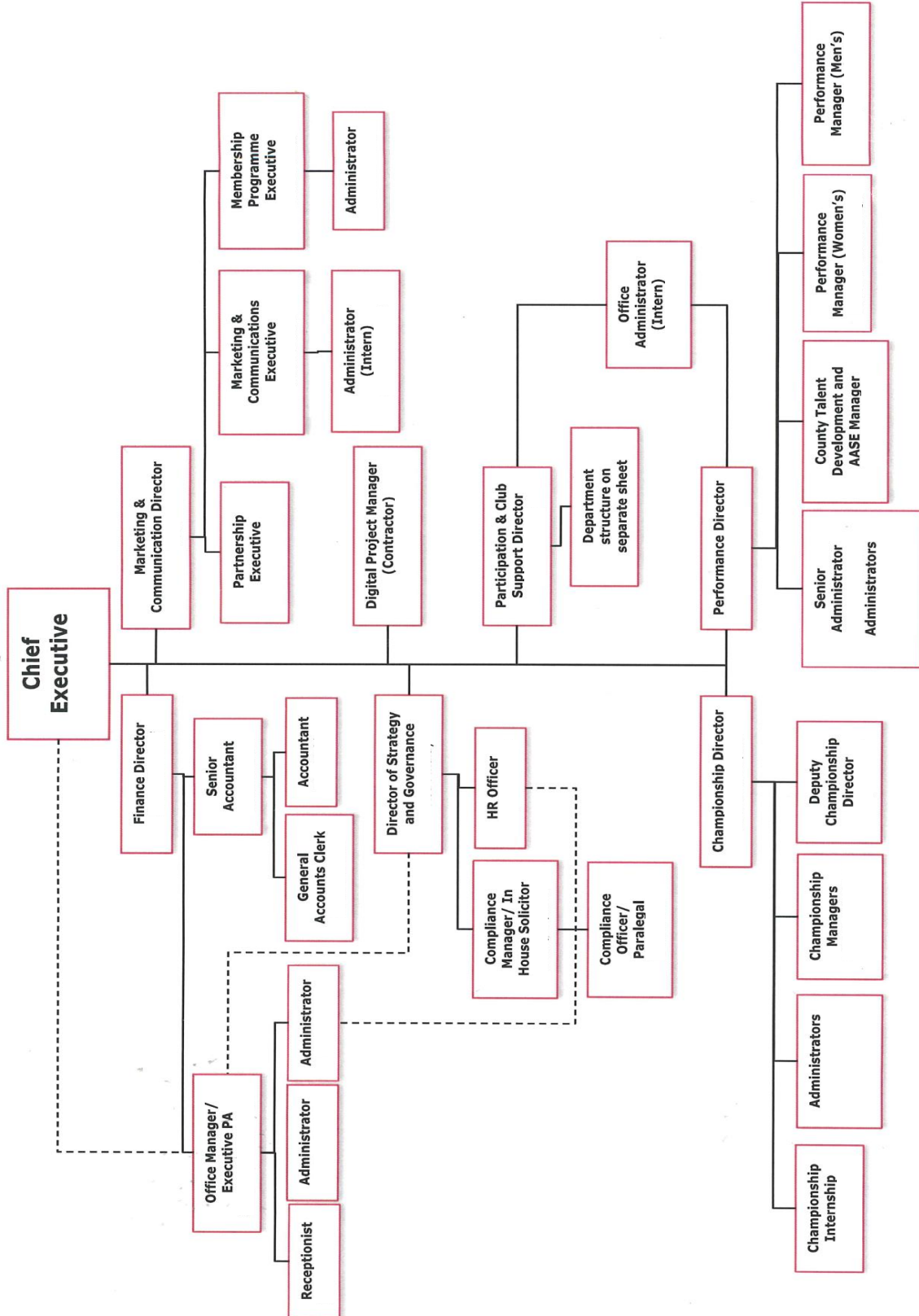
August 2018	A new (male) President Elect was appointed with a view to becoming President in 2020 (England Golf, 2018f).	
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The Lawn Tennis Association

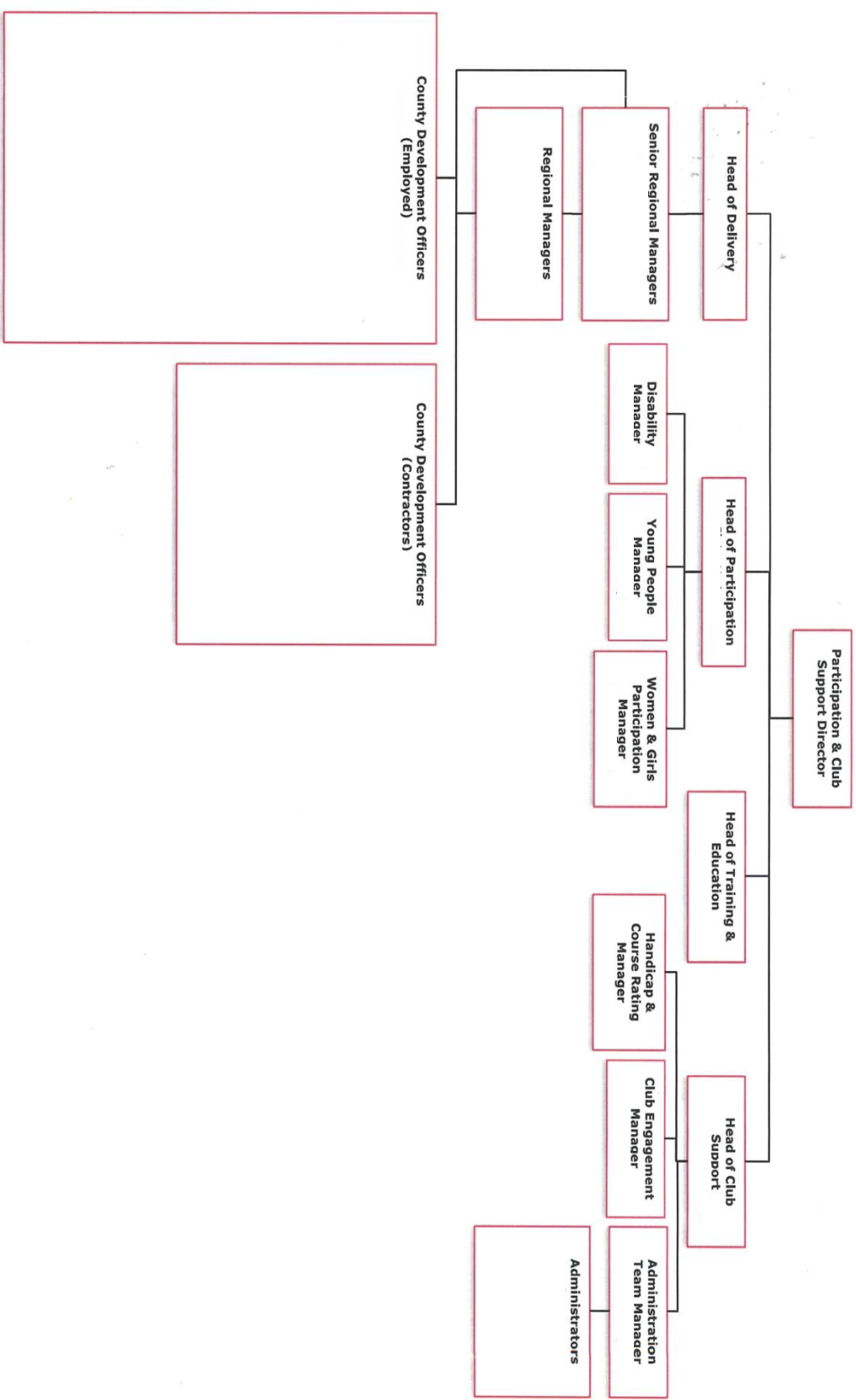
Date	Event	Specific changes and/or further comments
June 2017	A new (male) Chief Executive Officer was appointed (Lawn Tennis Association, 2017b).	He formally took up the position in January 2018.
May 2018	A new (male) Chairman was appointed (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018c).	
May 2018	A new (female) Chief Operations Officer was appointed.	This increased female representation to two out of seven Executives (29%; with one vacancy) on the LTA's ELT.
May 2018	The Rules of the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) were amended (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018d).	The Board is now composed of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The (Independent) Chair ○ The President ○ The Chairperson of the Tennis Development Committee ○ Two Council Board Members ○ Four Independent Board Members ○ The Chief Executive ○ The Finance Director ○ No more than two Executives recommended by the Chief Executive and the Board Nominations Committee.
June 2018	A new (female) Independent Director was appointed to the Board (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018a).	This took female representation of the Board up to four out of 11 Directors (36%).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Structure of the Paid Workforce of England Golf

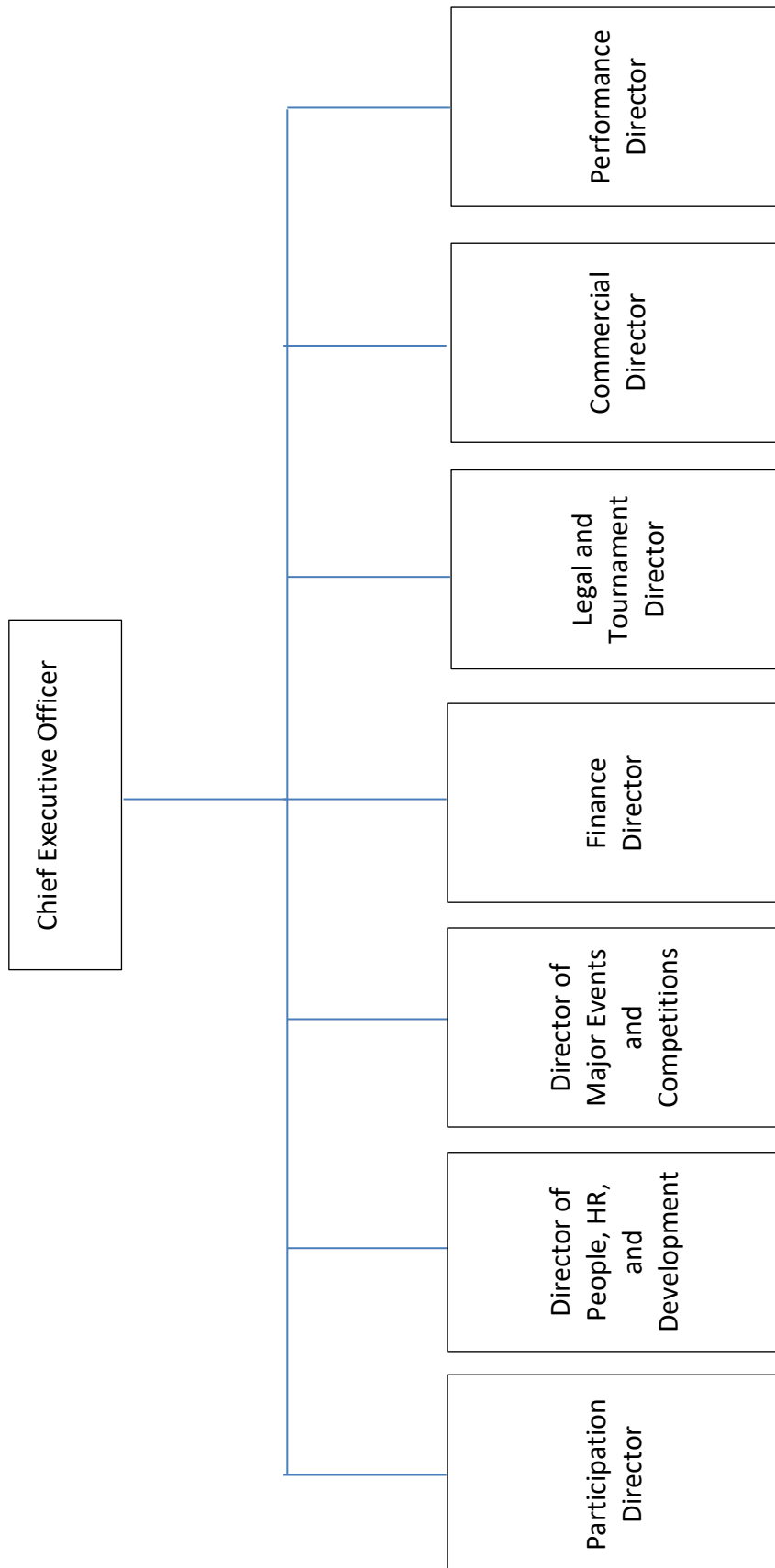


Participation & Club Support



Appendix 2: The Structure of the Executive Leadership Team of the Lawn

Tennis Association



Appendix 3: Research itinerary at England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association

Date	England Golf	Lawn Tennis Association
April 2016		Initial letter sent to the Chief Executive Officer (CEO).
May 2016		Email received from the People Team expressing their interest in participating in the research.
June 2016		Meeting with member of the People Team.
July 2016	Initial email sent to the CEO. Email received from the CEO expressing interest in participation in the research. Follow-up phone call with the CEO.	Email communication.
August 2016		Email communication.
September 2017	Further follow-up phone call with the CEO. Research itinerary confirmed.	Email communication.
October 2016	<u>17 interviews</u> with female and male Executives, Board Members, middle-managers and employees. <u>Events observed:</u> digital project meeting, partners and sponsors golf dinner, partners and sponsors golf event, strategy meeting, board meeting, national county development officer day. <u>Other:</u> general observation at the National Golf Centre, time spent in the England Golf archive.	Follow up phone call to confirm research schedule.
November 2016		Email communication.
December 2016		Email communication.
January 2017		Email communication.
February 2017		Planned first day of research, but was postponed because of illness at the LTA.
March 2017		<u>13 interviews</u> with female and male Executives, Board Members, middle-managers and employees.

		<p><u>Events observed:</u> People Team meeting, induction day for new staff, new starter lunch.</p> <p><u>Other:</u> general observation at the National Tennis Centre (NTC).</p>
April 2017		<p><u>One interview</u> with female Board Member.</p>
May 2017		<p><u>Two interviews</u> with male and female Board Members, and follow-up chat with female Executive.</p> <p><u>Events observed:</u> Closing Celebration for Women Ahead's mentoring scheme, Council Meeting.</p> <p><u>Other:</u> general observation at the NTC.</p>

Appendix 4: Interview Information Sheet



Information Sheet for: Lucy Piggott

Department of Sport Development and Management

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY

Study title: Gender, Leadership, and Organisational Change in English Sport Governance

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Purpose of Research

This project aims to examine the gendered experiences and perceptions of leaders working within English sport organisations, and how this contributes to a lack of gender diversity in English sport leadership. This will include an analysis of:

- Barriers that prevent women from becoming leaders in sport organisations
- The effectiveness of gender equity policies and targets in developing a more gender-equitable workplace within sport organisations
- The impact of women leaders on the culture of sport organisations
- How men and women lead within sport organisations (e.g. leadership behaviours used)
- How more women can be recruited into sport leadership positions

The project will use a mixed-methods approach via: an analysis of secondary data such as archival material, policy documents, audits and official records; semi-structured interviews; and participant observation.

What will you be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview. The interview will be tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Your name **will** be anonymised, but the name of the organisation **will not** be anonymised, as agreed by the Chief Executive Officer.

Benefits of participating in the research

In taking part in this research it is likely that you will gain an increased awareness of gender relations within your organisation. The data from this project will be used to inform future gender equity policy/practice by publishing and presenting the results to both academic and professional audiences. This will aim to improve the experiences of future women leaders in sport.

Do you have to take part?

This study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the project without giving reason before 31st December 2017. Please inform the researcher at the earliest possible opportunity if you would like to withdraw from the project.

Who can you contact if you have any questions about the project?

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions about the project:

Lucy Piggott

Tel: 01243 816361

Email: lpiggot2@stu.chi.ac.uk

Twitter: @lucypiggott

Skype: lucy.piggott

What will happen to the information collected as part of the study?

Participant consent forms will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. The information collected within the interviews will be transcribed onto a password-protected computer. Final storage of the data and project will be stored on a password-protected computer for three years in accordance with data protection regulations.

Who can you contact if you have a complaint about the project?

Should you wish to make a complaint about the project please contact Dr Elizabeth Pike, Director of Studies for this project at the University of Chichester:

Email: e.pike@chi.ac.uk

Tel: 01243 816356

This project has been approved in accordance with the University of Chichester Research Ethics Policy

Thank you for your time

Appendix 5: Consent Form



Consent Form for: Lucy Piggott

Department of Sport Development and Management

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY AND ANSWER ALL STATEMENTS

Study title: Gender, Leadership and Organisational Change in English Sport Governance

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1) I have read and understand the information sheet for this research project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | Yes |
| 2) I understand that my participation in the activity is voluntary and that I am therefore free to withdraw my involvement at any stage, without giving a reason. | Yes |
| 3) I am aware of the timescales in which I can withdraw my data (as indicated on the Information Sheet) | Yes |
| 4) I understand that not all information will be anonymised, but that my personal information will not be released to any third parties. | Yes |
| 5) I agree to participate in this research. | |

Your name (please print).....

Your signature.....

Date.....

Researcher's name (please print).....

Researcher's signature.....

Date.....

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6: Interview Guide for England Golf Female Board Members

1. Background/motivations for becoming a leader

1. Just to get a bit of background information, do you, or did you, play sport as well as work in sport?
2. Can you please tell me about your current position within England Golf (when appointed, roles, responsibilities)
3. What was your career path leading up to this job, such as your education, sporting background, early career?
4. Why did you want to become a Board Member?

2. Recruitment processes

5. How did you find out about the board vacancy?
6. What was the application process for this role?
7. What was the interview process for the role?

3. Leadership in Sport

8. What type of a leader do you think you are?
9. Do you think there is a typical type of female leader within NGBs in terms of their skills, experience and social background?
10. Have you come across any examples of men and women leading differently?
11. (If not answered) are there any examples of women and men leading differently within your organisation?
12. Does your gender cause you to present yourself in a certain way when working with England Golf that you would not if you were male?
13. What impact, if any, do you think an increase in the number of female leaders has or would have on the organisation both in terms of results/successes and the culture of the NGB?

4. Impact of targets/quotas

14. Are you aware of Sport England's expectation for female representation on the boards of NGBs?
15. What is your opinion of expectations such as this?
16. What is your opinion of quotas?

5. Culture of the NGB/sport

17. Do you think England Golf and its employees offer a welcoming environment for women leaders? (please give examples)
18. Do you think the culture of the England Golf is gender-neutral?

19. Have you noticed any changes in the behaviours of employees towards female leaders in England Golf or the sports sector more broadly throughout your career?
20. (If have been in the position for a long time) Has your experience changed from when first appointed to England Golf? Were you ever a token woman?

6. Barriers to being a female leader

21. Why do you think there is still an underrepresentation of women in decision making positions within sport organisation?
22. Have you experienced and/or witnessed any form of sexist behaviour when working within sport leadership?
 - (If not answered) have you experienced and/or witnessed any form of sexist behaviour whilst working for England Golf.
23. What are the biggest challenges you face as a woman within a decision-making position in a sport organisation? Can you give some examples please?
24. How have you overcome these challenges?
25. Are you aware of challenges that (other) women leaders in sport face that you haven't?

7. Supporting women in sport leadership

26. How do you think more women from diverse backgrounds could be encouraged to work towards and apply for decision making positions?
27. What support do you think could be offered to current women leaders to make their experiences as leaders more positive?
28. Have you ever taken part in a women's leadership development programme?
 - (If so) how effective do you think WLDPs are for developing women leaders.
 - (If not) do you think this would be beneficial to you as a female leader?
29. Have you been on any non-woman specific training courses?
 - If so, how to these differ to women's leadership development programmes?
30. Have you ever had a mentor as part of your development?
 - (If so) who was your mentor and how beneficial was this?
 - (If not), who would have been an effective mentor for you and would this have been beneficial?

8. Bio of leaders (if not already covered)

- Age
- Marital status/children
- Ethnicity
- Education
- Socio-economic background
- Position in organisation
- Hours worked a week

- Leadership background

Summary

- Ask if anything has come into their head during the interview, but after that question has been asked, that they would like to discuss?
- Explain that the interview will be transcribed and discuss timeline of activity for thesis.
- Thank you for taking part in this interview.

Appendix 7: Interview Guide for England Golf Male Board Members

1. Motivations for becoming a leader

1. Just to get a bit of background information, do you, or did you, play sport as well as work in sport?
2. Can you please tell me about your current position within England Golf (when appointed, roles, responsibilities)
3. What was your career path leading up to this job, such as your education, sporting background, early career?
4. How did you find out about the board vacancy?
5. Why did you want to become a Board Member?

2. Recruitment processes

6. What was the application process for this role?
7. What was the interview process for the role?

3. Leadership in Sport

8. What type of a leader do you think you are?
9. Do you think there is a typical type of female leader within NGBs in terms of their skills, experience and social background?
10. Do you think this differs to the 'typical type' of male leader?
11. Have you come across any examples of men and women leading differently?
12. (If not answered) are there any examples of women and men leading differently within your organisation?
13. What impact, if any, do you think an increase in the number of female leaders has or would have on the organisation both in terms of results/successes and the culture of the NGB?

4. Impact of targets/quotas

14. Are you aware of Sport England's expectation for female representation on the boards of NGBs?
15. What is your opinion of expectations such as this?
16. What is your opinion of quotas?

5. Culture of the NGB/sport

17. Do you think your NGB and its employees offer a welcoming environment for women leaders?
18. Do you think the culture of England Golf is gender-neutral?

19. Have you noticed any changes in the behaviours of employees towards female leaders in England Golf or the sport sector more broadly throughout your career?
20. (If been on board a long time) do you think the increase of women on boards has had a significant impact on the board and how it functions?

6. Barriers to being a female leader

21. Why do you think there is still an underrepresentation of women in decision making positions within sport organisation?
22. Have you witnessed any form of sexist behaviour when working within sport leadership?
 - (If not answered) have you witnessed any form of sexist behaviour whilst working for England Golf.
23. What do you think the biggest challenges that women within decision-making positions within a sport organisation face? Can you give some examples please?
24. How do you think successful women leaders have overcome these challenges?
25. What do you think are some of the biggest challenges in getting men on board to fight for gender equality within sport organisations?

7. Supporting women in sport leadership

26. How do you think more women from diverse backgrounds could be encouraged to work towards and apply for decision making positions?
27. What support do you think could be offered to current women leaders to make their experiences as leaders more positive?

8. Bio of leaders (if not already covered)

- Age
- Marital status/children
- Ethnicity
- Education
- Socio-economic background
- Position in organisation
- Hours worked a week
- Leadership background

Summary

- Ask if anything has come into their head during the interview, but after that question has been asked, that they would like to discuss?
- Explain that the interview will be transcribed and discuss timeline of activity for thesis.
- Thank you for taking part in this interview.

Appendix 8: Participant Observation Information Sheet



Information Sheet for: Lucy Piggott

Department of Sport Development and Management

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY

Study title: Gender, Leadership and Organisational Change in English Sport Governance

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Purpose of Research

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- Barriers that prevent women from becoming leaders in sport organisations
- The effectiveness of gender equity policies and targets in developing a more gender-equitable workplace within sport organisations
- The impact of women leaders on the culture of sport organisations
- How men and women lead within sport organisations (e.g. leadership behaviours used)
- How more women can be recruited into sport leadership positions

The project will use a multi-methods approach via: an analysis of secondary data such as archival material, policy documents, audits and official records; semi-structured interviews; and participant observation.

What will you be asked to do?

You will be asked to allow the researcher access to the main working office at the headquarters of the organisation and senior leadership team meetings where appropriate. The researcher would be prepared to act as a volunteer/intern and carry out administrative tasks as part of conducting researching within the main working office. The names of individuals **will** be anonymised, but the name of the organisation **will not** be anonymised, as agreed by the Chief Executive Officer.

Benefits of participating in the research

In taking part in this research it is likely that you will gain an increased awareness of gender relations within your organisation. The data from this project will be used to inform future gender equity policy/practice by publishing and presenting the results to both academic and professional audiences. This will aim to improve the experiences of future women leaders in sport.

Do you have to take part?

This study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the project without giving reason before 31st December 2017. Please inform the researcher at the earliest possible opportunity if you would like to withdraw from the project.

Who can you contact if you have any questions about the project?

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions about the project:

Lucy Piggott

Tel: 01243 816361

Email: lpiggot2@stu.chi.ac.uk

Twitter: @lucypiggott

Skype: lucy.piggott

What will happen to the information collected as part of the study?

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Who can you contact if you have a complaint about the project?

Should you wish to make a complaint about the project please contact Dr Elizabeth Pike, Director of Studies for this project at the University of Chichester:

Email: e.pike@chi.ac.uk

Tel: 01243 816356

This project has been approved in accordance with the University of Chichester Research Ethics Policy

Thank you for your time

Appendix 9: Template for Field Notes

Date		Time		Pg. no.	
Context (Events/deadlines/highs/lows?)					
Description of place of observation (Where, what, purpose of space, who controls that space (whose job to control it vs who is actually controlling it))					
Who was involved?					
Specific facts (Numbers, events, weather)					
Sensory impressions (Sights, sounds, textures, smells, tastes)					
Language (Specific words, phrases, summaries of conversation, any insider language used, body language)					

Emotional and human relations (How did different people/groups of people behave towards each other?)	
How people described/presented themselves	
What was not said or what did not happen that may seem unusual?	
Dress of employees and/or props used	
Personal feelings/responses to events	
Any impact of my presence as an observer	
Any particular behaviours to be noted for future observations.	

Appendix 10: Participant Biographies

Name	Gender	Organisation	Position
Charlotte	Female	The LTA	Leader
Clive	Male	England Golf	Executive
Colin	Male	The LTA	Executive
Daniel	Male	England Golf	Executive
David	Male	England Golf	Board Member
Fiona	Female	The LTA	Middle-manager
Graham	Male	The LTA	Board Member
James	Male	England Golf	Board Member
Jenny	Female	The LTA	Colleague
Jill	Female	The LTA	Leader
John	Male	The LTA	Board Member
Joyce	Female	The LTA	Leader
Liam	Male	The LTA	Executive
Marcus	Male	The LTA	Executive
Mary	Female	England Golf	Board Member
Matthew	Male	The LTA	Executive
Michael	Male	England Golf	Executive
Natalie	Female	The LTA	Leader
Nathan	Male	The LTA	Executive
Oscar	Male	The LTA	Colleague
Phillip	Male	England Golf	Executive
Rebecca	Female	The LTA	Board Member
Robert	Male	England Golf	Board Member
Robin	Male	The LTA	Executive
Ruth	Female	England Golf	Colleague
Ryan	Male	England Golf	Executive
Sally	Female	England Golf	Board Member
Sarah	Female	England Golf	Board Member
Simon	Male	England Golf	Board Member
Sophie	Female	England Golf	Executive
Steve	Male	England Golf	Executive
Sue	Female	England Golf	Board Member
Tracey	Female	England Golf	Middle-manager

Appendix 11: A Summary of the Key Findings from a Follow-Up Focus Group

Method

In June 2018, I presented key findings from this research to four female middle-managers and senior leaders from the Football Association (FA), the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB), British Rowing, and England Rounders. I presented the findings in a report which was split into four sections, structured around the four discussion chapters of this thesis. I asked participants to read the summarised findings within each section in turn and discuss the extent to which the findings were similar or different to their own experiences and/or perceptions. I recorded the focus group on a Dictaphone, saved it to a password-protected computer, transcribed it, and analysed it according to the four macro-themes of this research. A summary of the findings is presented in the table below.

Organisation	Examples of similar experiences to research findings	Examples of different experiences to research findings
<p style="text-align: center;">The FA</p>	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male-domination across the demography of the whole organisation and the leadership teams • A notably high number of older white males in voluntary governance positions. <p>Recruitment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive action being employed within recruitment. <p>Culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I would say every point apart from ... the long and unsociable hours ... is definitely definitely us” 	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has a more tiered organisational structure through being a larger organisation than both England Golf and the LTA. <p>Recruitment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substantial changes to the HR department have resulted in recruitment being heavily led by the HR department instead of managers or executives. <p>Culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male colleagues failing to report sexist behaviour.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous negative experience of whistleblowing has developed a reluctance to report sexist behaviour • Gendered dress codes across the organisation, including the Board, officials, participants. <p>Individual leaders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A negative perception of feminism and activism. 	
<p>The ECB</p>	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I think it absolutely rings true for what’s going on in my organisation, all of the above”. <p>Recruitment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unconscious bias in recruitment: “they all think the same and talk the same and I think that’s so unhealthy” • Informal networks being influential in recruitment. <p>Culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “So much [applies to us]” • “I can tell you some sexist humour that I’ve heard, unbelievable!” • Unconscious bias training was delivered but it was “a bit of a joke”. <p>Individual leaders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lack of women calling out sexist behaviour because “it’s going to stop my career progression if I start calling every single thing out because it would be on a daily basis” • Preferences for masculine leadership attributes in the leadership teams. 	

<p>British Rowing</p>	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male-domination within voluntary governance positions • Male-domination within the performance team. <p>Recruitment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Like for like recruitment” within the performance team which is heavily male dominated. <p>Culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the performance side of the organisation there’s an extreme requirement to work long and unsociable hours • Male leaders do not understand the needs of working mothers in terms of time commitments • The existence of gendered dress codes: “we love a blazer in rowing!” and white trousers which are unflattering for women and can put them off applying for positions • “Small pockets of unconscious bias”. <p>Individual leaders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lack of self-confidence in women leading to a lack of women applying for leadership positions • Women having smaller networks than men. 	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has been more successful than England Golf and the LTA in having gender balance within their leadership teams • Has women in positions that hold the most symbolic capital, such as the Chief Executive, Chair and President • Has a good gender split within participation of the sport • Has introduced shorter term-limits for Board and Committee members which has led to an imminent need for better succession planning. <p>Recruitment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not have a lack of women applying for paid leadership positions • Some positions are not advertised for long or very widely to allow for internal appointments.
<p>Rounders England</p>	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has Independent Directors on the Board (similar to the LTA) • Has a flat organisational structure as a very small organisation (14 employees) • Uses succession planning to develop all staff 	<p>Structure and demography:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More women than men throughout the organisation and in the leadership teams. This includes having a female CEO and Chair, a 50/50 gender split on the Executive team, and more women on the Board than men

	<p>Recruitment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses personality profiling within recruitment • Managers are involved in the recruitment process because of the size of the organisation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More women than men participating in the sport. <p>Culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “None of [the cultural factors] apply to us”.
--	---	--

Discussion

There are many similarities in the experiences and perceptions of women leaders from the FA, the ECB, and British Rowing compared to the findings of this research. This is particularly with regards to cultural factors. The FA, the ECB, and British Rowing are all large, wealthy NGBs which have long histories. The FA was founded in 1863 (The Football Association, 2018b), the Marylebone Cricket Club (the first governing body of cricket) was founded in 1787 (Marylebone Cricket Club, 2018), and British Rowing was founded in 1882 (British Rowing, 2018a). They also all have similar female representation on their Boards to England Golf and the LTA, with the FA having 30% women on its Board (n=10; The Football Association, 2018a), and the ECB and British Rowing both having 33% women on their Boards (n=12 for both; British Rowing, 2018b; The England and Wales Cricket Board, 2018). Furthermore, the FA and the ECB both have a long history of male-domination within their participation and leadership and have also both experienced mergers in the past 25 years (see Section 4.2.1 of this thesis). The organisational characteristics that the FA, the ECB, and British Rowing share with England Golf and the LTA go a long way in explaining the transferability of findings. This is because organisational habitus is field-specific, and the structures, demographics, rules, and values of the five organisational fields have many similarities (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In contrast, transferability of findings to the experiences of the female leader from Rounders England are limited, particularly in relation to cultural factors. I would suggest that these changes are due to the significantly different history, structure, wealth, and size of England Rounders compared to the FA, the ECB, and British Rowing. The structure, demographics, rules, and values of Rounders England are dissimilar to England Golf and the LTA. This is because it is a small organisation with female dominance throughout both the

organisation and the sport, and it has a comparatively short history, having formed in 1943 (Rounders England, 2018).

Although the findings of this research are not transferable to all NGBs, all NGBs can take learning points from the challenges that these two organisations have faced, the strategies they have put in place to attempt to resist these, and the recommendations that have been outlined within this thesis.

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