

Gender, Leadership, and Governance in English National Governing Bodies of Sport: Formal Structures, Rules, and Processes

Lucy V. Piggott

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Jordan J.K. Matthews

University of Chichester

Within this article, the authors explore the extent to which the administrative and governance hierarchies, rules, and processes of two English national governing bodies (NGBs) reproduce or resist gender segregation and male dominance within their leadership and governance. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of practice, the authors expand upon current literature to better understand the workings of gender power relations at the structural level of organizational practice. Semistructured interviews with male and female leaders were supplemented by an analysis of formal documents. The authors found that gender power relations privileging men were simultaneously conserved and resisted within the two NGBs. While resistance to male-dominated leadership and governance was evident, transformational organizational change was lacking. This highlighted the limitations of strategies being primarily driven through top-down, policy-based approaches. The authors end the article by emphasizing the importance of a combined approach at the structural, cultural, and individual levels to enable sustainable and transformational organizational change.

Keywords: gender equity, gender power relations, sport governance, sport leadership, transformational organizational change

Researchers from a wide range of nations and regions have identified sport leadership and governance as being gender-imbalanced and gender-inequitable. This includes scholars from Africa (Titus, 2011), Australasia (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013, 2014), Europe (see a range of chapters in Elling, Hovden, & Knoppers, 2019), and the United States (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011). The benefits of gender-balanced organizational governance are increasingly being documented by both academics and advocacy groups. Outside of sport, research has found that gender-balanced boards have a positive impact on overall performance (Desvaux, Devillard, & Sancier-Sultan, 2009), financial performance (Krishnan & Park, 2005), and corporate social responsibility (Setó-Pamies, 2013). Additionally, research has suggested that, on average, women leaders use more effective leadership styles than men (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003). Within sport, researchers have argued that women bring new and different perspectives and ideas to the boardroom and improve the atmosphere of meetings (Pfister, 2010), as well as creating a trickle-down effect resulting in more women working in sport (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014) and creating role models for younger women (Whisenant, Pedersen, & Obenour, 2002).

Most research in this field has focused on organizational culture or the individual gendered experiences of sport leaders. Reported cultural barriers influencing gender-imbalanced sport governance include gender discrimination, gender stereotyping, gendered language, gendered dress codes, and informal gender segregation (Piggott & Pike, 2019; Shaw, 2001, 2006b; Shaw & Hoerber, 2003; Shaw & Slack, 2002). Reported gendered barriers

experienced by individual sport leaders include gendered expectations and norms leading to gendered leadership experiences and behaviors (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008, 2012). Few scholars in this field have previously engaged in organizational-focused research exploring the gendered influences of formal administrative and governance structures, rules, and processes.

We investigate the administrative and governance structures and practice of two long-established English national governing bodies (NGBs): England Golf and the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA). The roles and responsibilities of English NGBs broadly include the management of major facilities, the development of their sport from grassroots to international level, and the performance of national teams (Walters, Tacon, & Trenberth, 2011). Within the voluntary governance hierarchy, the board is the highest decision-making level within an English NGB and is typically concerned with the development of strategy to improve or maintain the organization's performance. Within the paid administrative hierarchy, the executive leadership team (ELT)—the equivalent of the "senior management team" in other organizations—oversees the various departments of an NGB, led by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO), to make operational decisions on the delivery of organizational strategy. The aim of this study is to explore the extent to which the administrative and governance hierarchies, rules, and processes of England Golf and the LTA reproduce or resist gender segregation and male dominance within their leadership and governance.

The Gendering of Organizational Structure, Policy, and Formal Practice

Research has consistently found women to be underrepresented within leadership positions and overrepresented within positions located at the bottom of the organizational hierarchy and at the periphery of sport organizations (Adriaanse & Claringbould, 2016;

Piggott is with the Department of Sociology and Political Sciences, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway. Matthews is with the Institute of Sport, University of Chichester, Chichester, United Kingdom. Piggott (lucypiggott1@gmail.com) is corresponding author.

Elling, Knoppers, & Hovden, 2019). Kanter (1977) described organizational teams with a large preponderance of one social group over another (e.g., a typological ratio between 100:0 and 80:20) as skewed, with the numerically dominant group controlling the team and its culture. While English sport governance has historically been gender-skewed in favor of men, with women lacking control over both sport policy and culture (White & Brackenridge, 1985), recent sport policy change has resulted in increased numerical representation of women in English sport governance. A new sports governance code was introduced in 2016 that included a 30% minimum gender representation target for the boards of all English NGBs applying for public funding (Sport England & UK Sport, 2016). Latest national figures report that average female representation on the boards of English NGBs is 40% (Sport England & UK Sport, 2019) which Kanter (1977) described as “gender-balanced” (a typological ratio between 60:40 and 50:50), and average female representation on the ELTs of English NGBs is 36% (Women in Sport, 2017), which Kanter (1977) described as “gender-tilted” (a typological ratio between 80:20 and 60:40).

Kanter (1977) discussed how gender-tilted leadership teams begin to move toward less extreme distributions and less exaggerated gendered effects, and gender-balanced teams start to move toward a more balanced culture and interaction. However, outcomes for individuals and groups of individuals will depend on other structural and personal factors (Kanter, 1977). For example, while funding-related targets have been positive in achieving “gender-balanced” boards across English sport governance, they can also lead to NGBs viewing gender representation as a box to tick to obtain funding rather than striving for sustainable organizational change. Furthermore, women are accorded less 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).

When women do break through into sport leadership positions, trends show that men still conserve their place in roles that offer the most authority and prestige (Women in Sport, 2018). 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 suggested that men tend to occupy roles that are considered “hard,” such as performance-related roles and roles related to the management of sport organizations. The terms “soft” and “hard” roles are constructed out of “the assumed ‘natural’ differences between men and women,” demonstrating how dominant binary conceptualizations of gender continue to influence the gendered demography of sport organizations (Velija et al., 2014, p. 215).

Similar trends have also been found outside of the English context. For example, Sibson (2010) reported that in Australian sport organizations 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. Furthermore, Adriaanse and Schofield (2013) reported that in one Australian national sport organization, men controlled all of the significant positions such as those responsible for finance and strategic decision making.

Acker (1990) argued that organizational practices and processes can reinforce gender segregation, create income and status

inequality between men and women, and disseminate cultural images of gender. Furthermore, Acker (1990) suggested that the exclusion of women within organizational leadership continues to be maintained through gendered hierarchies because of the continued misperceptions that women’s reproduction, emotionality, and sexuality have negative effects on organizations. Researchers have identified that sport organizations are gendered institutions that reinforce masculine domination and subordinate women through certain institutionalized practices (Burton, 2015). For example, Pfister and Radtke (2009) found that governance rules within German sport organizations lacked any form of term limits, which profited male leaders because more men than women hold sport board positions and therefore men stay in their seats for long periods of time (Pfister & Radtke, 2009). This makes it difficult for a new generation of both women and men to be appointed to boards and results not only in men conserving their leadership positions, but also the conservation of a traditional (male-dominated) organizational culture. Furthermore, Hovden (2000) emphasized how leader election and selection processes provide “a site for identifying constructions of gendered substructures” (p. 17). This is because, through their very nature, election and recruitment practices are designed to examine the extent to which an individual and their (gendered) embodied dispositions are harmonious with the formal (and informal) rules and requirements of the field and position that they are applying (Daulay & Sabri, 2018).

A further structural process identified as contributing to gender-inequitable sport governance is the merging of sporting bodies governing men’s and women’s sports. Researchers have found that mergers can result in women experiencing reduced autonomy and control over their sport. For example, the merging of the (English) Women’s Football Association and the (English men’s) Football Association in 1993 allowed men to wield a great deal of power over the development of women’s football (Hargreaves, 1994). Similarly, the merger between the Women’s Cricket Association and the (men’s) England and Wales Cricket Board in 1998 resulted in no women on the England and Wales Cricket Board until 2010 and the redundancy of the majority of female coaches who had previously carried out the coaching and training of squads (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 and the legitimation and normalization of men’s dominant position within the organization (p. 373). This is an example of what Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) termed symbolic violence: the legitimation and normalization of symbolic systems that profit dominant groups and often make the existence of power relations unrecognizable to social agents.

Within this article, we present findings that contribute new knowledge on the influence of the administrative and governance structures and processes of sport organizations in creating inequitable leadership opportunities for female and male leaders. We next outline our theoretical framework that has informed and enhanced our analyses to enable us to make sense of the complex gender power relations that exist within English sport organizations.

Theoretical Framework

Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice, and particularly his concept of the field, informs our analyses of the gendered administrative and governance structures and rules of England Golf and the LTA. The focus of the theory of practice is the ways that cultural resources,

processes, and institutions continually hold individuals within hierarchies of domination. The concept of the field refers to a semiautonomous, objective hierarchy that is constituted by individuals and institutions who follow the same sets of rules, rituals, and conventions (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). The rules of the field are legitimated by the very act of individuals following them (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

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” to describe when 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 preserve or change their position within the field: conservation strategies (employed by those who hold dominant positions within a field to safeguard or enhance their position), succession strategies (implemented by those who have less or no seniority and seek advancement of position within the field), and subversion strategies (adopted by dominated agents to attempt to transform the field’s system of authority and rules of the game to their own benefit).

Everett (2002) theoretically positioned organizations as subfields “in which a game takes place” because all organizations are formed of “relations between individuals who are competing for personal advantage” (p. 60). Ozbilgin and Tatli (2005) highlight the usefulness of conceptualizing the organizational context as a (sub)field because it allows the researcher to go “beyond the visible, surface-level indicators of discrimination and intergroup relationships in the workplace” (p. 867). It also “provides an analytical perspective to investigate the structure without ignoring the agency of the individuals” (Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005, p. 867). England Golf and the LTA are examples of organizational subfields comprised of both voluntary governance hierarchies (led by the board) and paid administrative hierarchies (led by the ELT) in which individual sport leaders follow the rules of the field while competing for personal and professional advantage (Everett, 2002). Within this article, the concept of the “organizational subfield” has provided a very useful tool to understand how agents consciously and unconsciously reproduce and resist gendered sport administrative and governance hierarchies by following, resisting, or transforming formal organizational rules and practices.

In addition to Bourdieu’s field strategies that are employed by either dominant or dominated agents, strategies can also be implemented at the organizational level (e.g., by the board) or the external governance level (e.g., UK Sport and Sport England) to improve the position of dominated social groups within organizational subfields. These strategies that are implemented by leadership teams consisting of both dominant (male) and dominated (female) agents can improve the position of dominated individuals while continuing to conserve the power of dominant men and resist transformation of the gendered logic of practice of the organization. This will be discussed further when presenting our findings.

In addition to the field, Bourdieu also developed two further primary concepts that interlink to form the theory of practice. First, the concept of capital is a resource that generates power. Sport leaders’ access to economic (income, wealth, and monetary assets); cultural (consumption of cultural goods and expression of taste); social (social connections and group membership); and symbolic

(authority, prestige, and reputation) capital influence their opportunity to gain advantage within the organizational field (Bourdieu, 1977). Second, the concept of the habitus refers to “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” which are “structured structures,” that are impacted by the behaviors and interactions of individuals, and “structuring structures” that impact upon the future actions and behaviors of individuals (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). Bourdieu uses the term “dispositions” instead of “rules” because, unlike the formal rules of the field, habitus regulates behavior outside of any explicit rules or laws and outside of the consciousness of social agents through the development of social norms (Bourdieu, 1990).

We are interested in exploring the role of organizational habitus within the subfields of England Golf and the LTA in placing individual leaders into gendered hierarchies of domination. Organizational habitus conceptualizes the “informal, unconscious practices which interact to guide the dispositions of the organization as a whole” (Kitchin & Howe, 2013, p. 129) and “governs the allocation of power positions in the organizational context” (Tatli, 2010, p. 12). Organizational habitus is field specific and can profit certain social groups more than others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Next, we provide context to the two organizational subfields under study.

Research Context

England Golf and the LTA were selected as research sites because they are large NGBs that provide ideal sites for multilayered organizational analyses. The depth of conducting multilevel organizational analyses of two organizations was valued more highly than the breadth of a study that offers a surface-level analysis of a larger number of organizations. Additionally, both England Golf and the LTA have achieved Sport England and UK Sport’s (2016) 30% gender representation target for boards, allowing the research to offer insight on the extent that organizational processes and practices are gender-equitable within organizations that meet gender governance requirements. Furthermore, tennis and golf are two of the oldest modern sports in England, allowing for an analysis of the construction, formation, and development of gender power relations across their governance over time.

In addition to governing two of the longest-standing sports in England, England Golf and the LTA also both govern sports that have historically been dominated by men of the upper-middle class (Ceron-Anaya, 2010; Lake, 2015b). Bourdieu’s work explored how status, distinction, and social class contribute to the development of complex structures of power (Bourdieu, 1978), and throughout the histories of golf and tennis, social groups have battled to reinterpret or maintain social order. Within golf, men of the dominant upper-middle class have historically worked to maintain power and perceived social order through the exclusion of women and the working class. For women, this included being denied full membership in golf clubs, having no voting power, and having limited access to club facilities (Hargreaves, 1994).

Within tennis, men of the upper-middle class fought to maintain power and social order through an unwritten code of sportsmanship and restrained behavior, rooted in upper-middle class values, that marginalized both women and the working class (Lake, 2015a). Although women have participated in tennis alongside men from the earliest days of the sport, traditional, binary notions of upper-middle class female-appropriate behavior were reinforced through conservative dress and women playing a passive

role both in clubs and on court (Lake, 2012). Women's achievements were often trivialized, and women's active participation was only able to survive when assumed that it was inferior to men's (Hargreaves, 1994). While England Golf and the LTA are both actively working toward increased diversity across all areas of the two sports, the governing bodies are situated within sports that have seen men of the dominant class resist change that threatens their power and dominance. This means that organizational change to achieve gender-equitable leadership and governance is not a linear, straightforward process for the two organizations, but a complex process that requires transformational change of long-standing, deep-rooted organizational habitus that has historically been controlled by men of the dominant class.

All facts and figures presented were accurate at the time of research. Sport organizations are fluid and so there is always the potential for change during organizational research, which can present challenges. We provide an addendum at the end of the paper that demonstrates governance changes that have occurred within each organization since data collection took place.

England Golf

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 United Kingdom 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) that was established in 1893 (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).

The governance of English golf became increasingly complicated as more governing bodies began to emerge throughout the 20th century. 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 worked 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 English Ladies' Golf Association (ELGA) was formed in 1952 as a branch of the LGU, which later became the English Women's Golf Association (EWGA) in 2008. The ELGA, and later the EWGA, was 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 January 1, 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 organizations 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). Claimed benefits of the merger 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). We will provide further discussion and analysis on the consequences of this merger when presenting our research findings.

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, 2016). The voluntary governance structure

of England Golf is typical of an NGB and is formed of a board, council (called Voting Members), member county organizations, and club committees. Figure 1 displays the governance structure of England Golf and how it intersects with the ELT.

In terms of the decision-making relationship between the groups outlined in Figure 1, 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 organization (England Golf, 2012). England Golf has a permanent paid workforce of 86 employees.

The Lawn Tennis Association

The first governing body of tennis, the All England Croquet Club, was established in 1868. The All England Croquet Club changed its name to the All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club in 1877, and the All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club in 1899 (All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club, 2018). In 1888, the LTA was established as the British NGB for tennis, and the All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club abdicated its legislative responsibility while retaining complete administrative control over The Championships at Wimbledon (Walker, 1989). The LTA has always governed both women's and men's tennis in the United Kingdom, but control of the sport has historically been male dominated and has shown resistance to women accessing positions of power (White & Brackenridge, 1985).

At the end of 2016, the LTA had 727,664 registered tennis club members (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016a) and an income of £64,478,000, which is nearly eight times the income of England Golf (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016b). The discrepancy in income for the two NGBs is due to the large revenue that the LTA receives from the Wimbledon Championships (£37,719,000 in 2016) and its major events (£12,128,000 in 2016) (Lawn Tennis Association, 2016b). England Golf runs only amateur events that do not contribute to the NGB's income (England Golf, 2016).

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 voluntary governance structure of

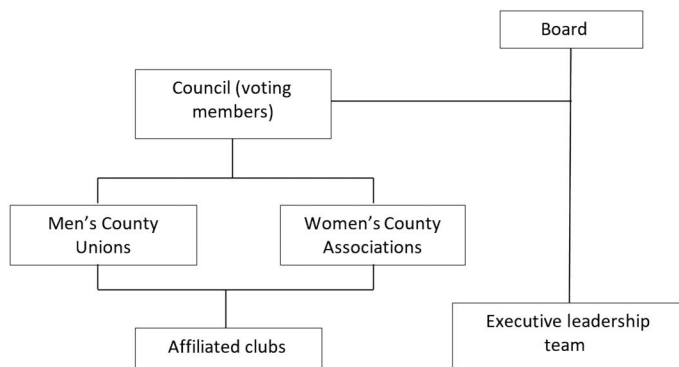


Figure 1 — The voluntary governance structure of England Golf (2012).

the LTA is similar to that of England Golf, with it being formed of a board, council, and member bodies (predominantly composed of county LTAs). This, and how it intersects with the ELT and leadership team, is displayed in Figure 2.

As with all NGBs, governance of the LTA is headed by the Board that consults with the Council on strategic matters (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015). Councilors are not split by gender and are nominated by the various member and player organizations, or the LTA Board (Lawn Tennis Association, 2015). The professional structure of the LTA is made up of 300 paid employees and is headed by the ELT and leadership team.

Methods

Data Collection

The findings presented in this article form part of a wider study that adopted an ethnographic approach to explore the complexity of gender equity within the leadership and governance of England Golf and the LTA through semistructured interviews and participant observation. Official documents from the two organizations were also drawn upon to add specific detail or fill information gaps during the collection, analysis, and write-up of data. This article focuses specifically on findings that have been thematically grouped as relating to formal organizational structures, rules, and processes. Although an ethnographic approach was adopted to reveal “unconscious actions that can inadvertently marginalise groups, or reveal how dominant agents wield strategies to maintain inequality” (Kitchin & Howe, 2013, p. 132), this research cannot be classed as a full organizational ethnography because it was not possible to have “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).

While we have drawn upon data from interviews and supporting documents throughout our discussion of findings, we have not drawn upon observations in this article. This is because formal administrative and governance structures and rules are, in their very nature, explicitly and consciously implemented, regulated, and monitored. This meant that the administrative and governance structures and rules of the two organizations were more easily understood and analyzed through in-depth interviews and official documents. Nevertheless, participant observation was paramount in the development of rapport with participants and created a snowball effect that resulted in more interview opportunities and the opportunity to access more documents. Additionally, it allowed

the accumulation of field-specific knowledge in the forms of jargon, people and roles, current organizational priorities, and current organizational challenges. This was instrumental in contextualizing the interviews and documentary evidence.

The research sites were the National Golf Centre in Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire (headquarters of England Golf) and the National Tennis Centre in Roehampton, London (headquarters of the LTA). Data collection took place during October 2016 at England Golf and between March and May 2017 at the LTA. Thirty-three semistructured interviews were conducted with female and male Board Members ($n = 13$), Executive Leaders ($n = 14$), individuals in middle-management positions ($n = 2$), and further employees of interest to the project ($n = 4$). These interviewees were identified as being those who could provide the greatest insight into the gendered experiences of current, past, and prospective leaders of the two organizations. The sample size was deemed 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.

The interviews lasted between 35 and 100 min and were conducted using interview guides that consisted of between 15 and 30 questions. Central interview themes included backgrounds/motivations for becoming a leader, recruitment processes, leadership experiences, organizational culture, barriers for women leaders in sport, and strategies to increase the number of women in sport leadership. The CEOs of both organizations agreed to their organizations being named in the research if individual participants remained anonymous. We have anonymized the positions of all LTA female leaders because there is only one female Executive Leader. Therefore, we have described all female Board Members and the Executive Leader as “LTA Leaders.”

Fourteen of the participants were female and 19 were male. All interviewees were White, middle-class and all but one was non-disabled. Female and male leaders were interviewed to investigate gendered governance structures and rules from both a privileged and subordinate perspective. This is often absent in feminist research but is important because “without males as allies in struggle [the] feminist movement will not progress” (hooks, 2000, p. 12). The lack of race and class diversity among participants demonstrates trends that privilege White, middle-class leaders. In their *2018/19 Annual Survey: Diversity in Sport Governance*, Sport England and UK Sport (2019) reported that only 5% of board members were of Black, Asian and minority ethnic representation, 5% of board members declared or considered themselves to have a disability, and 3% of board members identified as being openly LGBT+. With no working class or minority ethnic representation among our interviewees, it would also suggest that class and race are bigger barriers in obtaining leadership positions than gender.

While we acknowledge that an intersectional approach to research on gender equity in sport governance is important, including analyzing the practice of whiteness among all-White leadership teams like those of England Golf and the LTA, the focus of this research was primarily on gendered governance practices to enable us the scope to conduct in-depth gendered analyses of the two organizations. We hope that future research in this field adopts an intersectional lens and fills some of the knowledge gaps on the intersectional experiences of women in sport governance that we do not address in this paper.

Official documents were obtained before, during, and after data collection from several sources, including the websites of the

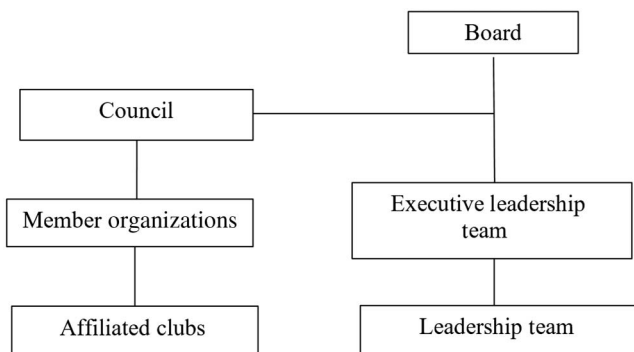


Figure 2 — The voluntary governance structure of the Lawn Tennis Association (2015).

NGBs, the archive of England Golf, and via a memory stick or e-mails from organizational 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. Several factors were considered 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 ensured that the documents were utilized authentically when supporting other data collected within the research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Data Analysis

All interview data was manually analyzed using thematic analysis. Supporting documents were not formally analyzed as they supported, informed, and contextualized the primary data collected through observations and interviews rather than forming a separate data set. Braun, Clarke, and Terry's (2012) "six phase approach to thematic analysis" was drawn upon as an analytic framework: (1) familiarizing yourself with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing potential themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) writing the report. We drew upon this analytic approach because of its strong focus on familiarity with the data, its thoroughness, and its methodical and easy-to-follow structure. Data were analyzed separately for each organization and subsequently brought together during the write-up phase as similar themes were drawn from each organization.

Findings and Discussion

Within this section, we present our findings on the influence of the formal administrative and governance structures and processes of England Golf and the LTA in conserving and/or resisting inequitable leadership opportunities for female and male leaders. We present our findings across two broad subsections that are broken down into several subthemes: (a) organizational gender segregation and (b) gendered administrative and governance structures, rules, and processes.¹

Organizational Gender Segregation

English NGBs are gendered organizational subfields that continue to preserve male dominance numerically, structurally, culturally and agentially (Piggott, 2019). Within this subsection, we will discuss three forms of gender segregation that were evident within the two organizations: vertical gender segregation, the exclusion of women from the highest leadership positions, and the gendered distribution of tasks.

Vertical gender segregation. Vertical gender segregation refers to the dominance of one gender over others in the most senior positions of an organization (Bloksgaard, 2011). Tables 1 and 2 display the prevalence of vertical gender segregation at the time of research within the two hierarchies of England Golf and the LTA: the voluntary governance hierarchy and the paid administrative hierarchy, respectively.

Both England Golf and the LTA had gender-tilted boards (31% and 30% female representation, respectively) and gender-skewed ELTs (0% and 13% female representation, respectively). The LTA also had a gender-tilted Council (26% female representation), whereas England Golf's Council was gender-balanced (51% female representation) due to the split of member counties and their voting members by gender.

At the LTA, a key outcome of vertical gender segregation across the paid administrative hierarchy is that women earn, on average, 31% less than their male counterparts across the organization (Lawn Tennis Association, 2018). Since April 2017, organizations with more than 250 staff have been required by British law to publish annual figures on the gender pay and bonus gap within their organization (Government Equalities Office, 2017). This means that the LTA is required to publish these figures, but England Golf is not. England Golf did not have any data on their gender pay and bonus gap. Figure 3 demonstrates more specifically how vertical gender segregation across the paid workforce impacts upon the earnings of male and female employees within the LTA. Within this figure, salaries across the organization are split into four quartiles, and the proportion of men and women within each quartile are highlighted.

Figure 3 shows that, 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

Table 1 Female Representation Within the Voluntary Governance Hierarchies of England Golf and the LTA

| NGB | Board | | 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%) |

Note. LTA = Lawn Tennis Association; NGB = national governing body.

Table 2 Female Representation Within the Paid Administrative Hierarchies of England Golf and the LTA

| NGB | 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%) |

Note. LTA = Lawn Tennis Association; ELT = executive leadership team; N/A = not applicable; NGB = national governing body.

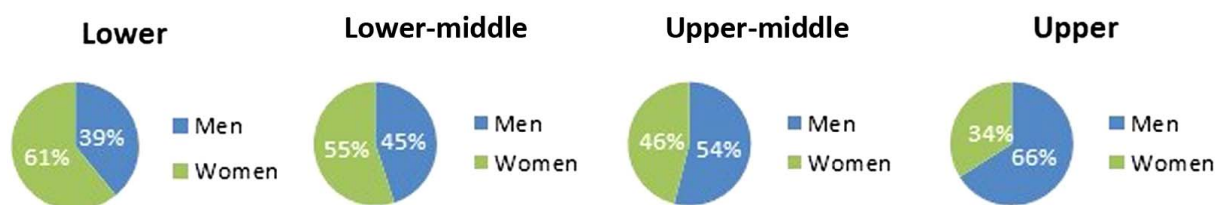


Figure 3 — Gender split of pay quartiles at the Lawn Tennis Association (2018).

how women accumulate significantly less economic capital than their male counterparts within the LTA, a result of men holding the most powerful and lucrative positions within the organizational subfield. In their own analysis, the LTA (2018) suggested that the gender pay gap could be attributed to more men than women in senior roles, men outnumbering women in high-performance roles that can receive large bonuses, and more women in part-time roles. These suggestions focused only on the demography of the organization rather than attempting to understand the reasons for the pay gap, however.

The exclusion of women from the highest leadership positions. It was evident within the two organizations that a “glass ceiling” existed within certain leadership positions, with a distinct lack of women occupying the most senior positions (Kanter, 1987). For example, neither organization has ever had a female CEO nor chair, and in its 129-year history, the LTA has only had one female president who was not appointed until 2014. Interviewees at the LTA discussed the role of the president and the continued trend of male dominance within the esteemed position. Joyce (former LTA leader) 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.

The decision-making power of the LTA president has been reduced since the appointment of an independent chair. Appointing an independent chair (and independent directors) is an important step in NGBs creating social change as it disrupts the prevalence and power of field-specific dominant male habitus (i.e., dispositions developed through involvement in tennis) on the board. Tension is created between the subfield and the habitus of those occupying it by appointing leaders whose habitus has developed outside of the subfield of tennis and the wider field of sport (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Despite the appointment of an independent chair reducing the decision-making power of the LTA president, the president does still hold significant symbolic capital as the figure-head of the organization. For example, it is the president who represents the LTA at the prize-giving 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.

Bourdieu (1993) stressed that, in order to compete for dominant positions within a field, an individual has to accumulate the forms of capital that are most highly valued within that field. The president of the LTA is elected from within the (male-dominated) Council, and Jill (LTA leader) suggested that a key factor in the president being such a consistently male-dominated role is because more male councilors 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. In this case, cultural capital in the forms of work

experience and qualifications in traditionally male-dominated sectors were reported to be a particularly convertible form of capital in councilors being legitimized and elected as president. This is an example of a conservation strategy that allows male councilors to retain their position at the top of the organizational field. With a decrease in gender segregation in the upper occupational orders of professional and managerial occupations in the United Kingdom (Wright, 2016), it would be expected that there would be an increase in women viewed as eligible for the most senior positions in voluntary sport governance, and subsequently an increase in female representation within these positions. However, organizational change is not a straightforward, linear process and the capital accumulation of women leaders is one of many factors at the structural, cultural, and individual levels that influence gender-balanced and gender-equitable sport governance.

England Golf was preemptively 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 (England Golf executive) 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 is an example of a strategy implemented at the organizational level to improve the representation of (dominated) women within one of the most high-profile positions within the organization. This is not an example of a transformative strategy, however, as the England Golf board and the key decision-making positions (chair and CEO) remained male dominated.

The gendered distribution of tasks. Female leaders within both organizations explained how certain tasks are perceived as “female issues” that are assigned only to women leaders. Charlotte (LTA leader) explained that throughout her working life, she has found that “there are certain agendas that are women’s agendas which really upsets me.” Sally (England Golf board member) 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. Gendered task segregation is a conservation strategy that preserves the power of men and is problematic for three key reasons. First, women’s sport has historically been undervalued compared with men’s sport (Francombe-Webb & Toffoletti, 2018), and so these tasks assigned to women likely hold less symbolic capital within the organization. Second, ghettoizing “women’s issues” implies that only women can bring about change toward gender equity. And third, women are challenged to bring about change while working within existing and constraining male-dominated sport cultures, which makes achieving change particularly challenging (Squires, 2007). 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 organization, develop greater understanding across the organization of the issues and challenges that women face in sport, and start to move away from binary conceptualizations of gender-appropriate tasks and gendered organizational habitus within sport organizations.

Gendered Administrative and Governance Structures, Rules, and Processes

This subsection will outline how administrative and governance structures, rules, and processes of England Golf and the LTA impact upon gender segregation and male dominance within their leadership and governance. The voluntary governance hierarchies and the paid administrative hierarchies are two different but interlinked hierarchies within NGBs, so we will discuss these separately within this subsection.

Voluntary sport governance hierarchies. English NGBs have traditionally developed with a representative voluntary governance structure where the board is oriented toward member representation rather than being commercially oriented (Taylor & O'Sullivan, 2009). This is because NGBs are not-for-profit organizations, 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, Shilbury, & McDonald, 2009, p. 247). England Golf and the LTA have some commonalities in their voluntary governance hierarchies, such as having a board, a council, and county or member organizations largely made up of individuals who have developed through the sport. Simultaneously, they have unique rules and structures that are influenced by their history, size, wealth, and demography of members, among other factors.

One unique governance rule that England Golf implemented following the merger in 2012 is that, of the 10 directors who are elected from the voting members to the board, 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). In other words, 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 premise for the rule was that the uneven gender split of elected directors on the board represents the (men's) EGU having significantly more members than the EWGA before the two organizations merged to form England Golf in 2012 (interview with James, England Golf board member).

Clive (England Golf executive) 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 position of women on board subcommittees to ensure there is always a minimum of two men and two women on every subcommittee (interview with James, England Golf board member). While both of these rules are positive in ensuring female representation on the board and its subcommittees, they still form conservation strategies that give more voting influence to male board 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. While it is positive that the representation of one female elected director is protected here, the formal governance rules of England Golf create a field of struggles that conserves male power by providing a greater opportunity for men to make more important organizational decisions than women.

There were differing opinions from interviewees as to whether the "six to four rule" is fair and effective. For example, Michael (England Golf executive) 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." Sarah (England Golf board member) questioned the central positioning of gender in the rule and argued that appointments to the board "should be on their ability" rather than gender. 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 (England Golf board member) saw a particular positive of the rule being that a female "presence is protected" and Clive (England Golf executive) 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." Michael (England Golf executive) suggested that an organizational strategy to make this governance rule gender-equitable while still maintaining a minimum female representation 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."

While the "six to four rule" directly impacts upon gender balance within the voluntary governance hierarchy of England Golf, it also has cultural implications due to the large proportion of elected directors who sit on the board as a result. Within *A Code for Sports Governance*, Sport England and UK Sport (2016) recommend that no more than a third of sport boards should be made up of elected directors to avoid governance structures safeguarding the positions of "insiders" and to "ensure better informed and more rounded decisions" (Sport England & UK Sport, 2016, p. 33). At England Golf, 10 out of a total 13 board members (77%) are elected directors. Such a high proportion of elected directors is particularly problematic for England Golf because golf has a history of sexism and male dominance at all levels of the game (Hargreaves, 1994). This means that the gendered habitus of individuals and groups of individuals that have developed from within the game can penetrate the boardroom and influence organizational habitus, resulting in the conservation of male power on the board.

Several interviewees spoke of the sexist and old-fashioned behaviors of male voting members and board members. Sally (England Golf board member) explained how "there's many who would prefer us to be in the kitchen washing up or doing the ironing. And certainly not on the golf course *laughs*. And certainly not around the board table." Additionally, Mary (England Golf board member) described how most of the male board members are "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 for Sports Governance* to “offer the potential to have a more detached, objective view” (Sport England & UK Sport, 2016, p. 37). As aforementioned, the appointment of an independent chair is an important step in disrupting the (male-dominated) logic of the field because the habitus of those occupying powerful board positions has been developed outside of the organizational subfield (England Golf; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Although many external fields are also male dominated, resulting in an underrepresentation of women on boards across the profit and not-for-profit sectors, the appointment of independent directors disrupts long-standing, traditional ways of working in sport governance. Therefore, overrepresented elected male board members blocking progressive measures like the appointment of independent directors is an example of a conservation strategy to maintain their position and power.

Paid administrative hierarchies. As part of a process of modernization over the past two decades, NGBs in England have been encouraged to professionalize 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 impacts upon both its structure and the resources it has available. We will discuss two key issues relating to the administrative structures and practices of the paid workforces of the two NGBs that were reported within interviews: a lack of opportunity for internal progression and the England Golf merger.

Interviewees at both England Golf and the LTA spoke of senior leaders staying in their positions for long periods of time, resulting in a lack of opportunity for individuals, and especially women, to access dominant positions and compete for power (Bourdieu, 1993). Clive (England Golf board member) explained that, once an individual has made it onto the ELT, there are few options to progress within the wider world of golf administration. This is because England Golf is one of the biggest golf organizations in the world. 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 employ succession strategies and be promoted (interview with Clive).

Organizational scholars have argued that flat organizational structures empower underrepresented groups and reduce the degree of organizational inequality, but only when most responsibility and decision-making authority is distributed across the organization (Acker, 2006; Kanter, 1976, 1993). Both England Golf and the LTA have relatively flat organizational structures, with England Golf having one level of leadership and the LTA having two, but it became clear that responsibility and decision-making authority was largely limited to the relatively few senior leadership positions within the two organizations. Therefore, in order to progress, women at colleague or middle-management levels felt that they had to leave the organization in order to progress their careers, resulting in a lack of improvement in female representation across

executive leadership positions. For example, Tracey (England Golf middle manager) spoke of how “the obvious next step for me would be to leave England Golf, and I’m quite open with them about that.” Additionally, Fiona (LTA middle manager) spoke of “boomerang employees” who leave the LTA once there are no more development options for them, “go and learn something,” and then return to the organization once they have developed the skills to be considered for more senior positions.

Another key structural factor that influenced gender balance on the ELT of England Golf was 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 regard 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 the EWGA’s former head office which meant that any EWGA employees who wished to transfer their employment to England Golf had to move closer to Lincolnshire.

The reason for the merged body being located at Woodhall Spa, despite it being “a bit of an outpost” 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, England Golf board member). 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 organizational subfield (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. (Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire, UK) 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” that displays how the EGU were the more financially successful organization in the merger and therefore is a conservation strategy that safeguards their dominant position within the newly merged organizational field (Bourdieu, 1993).

In addition to logistical challenges around the merger, there were also some cultural challenges that were discussed in bringing the two organizations together. For example, Clive (England Golf board member) 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 (England Golf Colleague) 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 so 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.

Ruth is describing a form of symbolic violence, where the symbolic and cultural systems of the dominant group (the EGU) became normalized 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 organization became peripheralized and lost autonomy as a result. Therefore, while the structure of the EGU changed to incorporate the EWGA, the (male-dominated) ideological and cultural systems were largely conserved and maintained.

Career advancement planning was identified by leaders within both organizations as a strategy that can help to overcome the challenges of promoting more women into a limited number of leadership positions. At England Golf, Michael (England Golf executive) explained that a key part of improving women's chances of gaining dominant positions within the organization 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 a more senior position becomes available. He felt that "because we have pretty good [female] representation at all other levels of the organization, apart from that management team, you'd like to think that [career advancement planning] would help tackle that problem" (interview with Michael). At the LTA, Fiona (LTA middle manager) described a similar program in the form of a People Strategy that has been in place since 2016. The program aims to work with the ELT to understand the needs of their teams against the organization's strategy and the skill sets of the employees within those teams. This includes discussions with employees about their personal development and training needs that are informed by the identification of potential vacancies in the future (interview with Fiona). Career advancement planning is an example of an agency-focused organizational strategy that aims to increase the institutionalized cultural capital of individual women leaders by supporting them to meet the entry requirements for dominant positions within the organizational field.

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the extent to which the administrative and governance hierarchies, rules, and processes of England Golf and the LTA reproduce or resist gender segregation and male dominance within their leadership and governance. Previous research in the field has largely focused on organizational hierarchies, processes, and practices either preventing women from accessing leadership positions (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Hovden, 2000; Pfister & Radtke, 2009), peripheralizing women who obtain leadership roles (Shaw, 2006a; Sibson, 2010; Velija et al., 2014), or reducing the autonomy and control that women

have over their sport (Hargreaves, 1994; Liston, 2006; Velija et al., 2014; Whisenant et al., 2002).

Some of our findings aligned with this existing scholarship. This included the prevalence of organizational gender segregation through male-dominated leadership teams and conservation strategies leading to the exclusion of women from the highest leadership positions and the gendered distribution of tasks. We found that gendered administrative and governance structures, rules, and processes contributed to existing gender segregation and the conservation of male dominance within the two organizations. Within England Golf, there were examples of very clear and direct conservation strategies within both the voluntary governance hierarchy (such as the "six to four rule") and the paid administrative hierarchy (such as the terms of the merger). At the LTA, conservation strategies were more subtle and indirect within both the voluntary governance hierarchy and the paid administrative hierarchy. This included the high valuing of work experience and qualifications of those from traditionally male-dominated professions when appointing the president, and the impact of (mostly male) executives staying in their positions for long periods of time. These findings contribute new knowledge on the workings of structural barriers and conservation strategies that continue to directly and indirectly prevent women from accessing both paid and voluntary sport leadership positions (Bourdieu, 1993).

While there was evidence of the conservation of male dominance within England Golf and the LTA, it became clear that gender power relations in sport organizations are not uniform, and organizational change toward gender-equitable sport leadership and governance is not a linear process. This study goes beyond existing research in the field to demonstrate that English NGBs are fields of struggles that simultaneously conserve and resist male-dominated gender power relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The governance of the sector has seen fast-paced change over the past 5 years, with the introduction of strategies to increase female representation across English sport governance (Bourdieu, 1993). This includes the introduction of a national sport governance code with gender targets for sport boards attached to funding requirements (Sport England & UK Sport, 2016) and changes to organizational structure, policy, and practice.

With both England Golf and the LTA meeting the gender representation target set out in Sport England and UK Sport's (2016) *A Code for Sports Governance*, this study provided an opportunity to assess the extent to which this national governance policy has resulted in transformational organizational change. It was clear from the findings that there were direct attempts by both organizations to increase female representation within their leadership and governance, including the introduction of career advancement planning within the administration of the two organizations and new governance rules to ensure minimum female representation on the board. However, these were examples of regulated liberties: small exercises of power that arise within the context of the existing social order (Bourdieu, 1991). Organizational change was not transformative of the two NGBs' (male dominated) gendered logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1992; Pape, 2020).

Key indicators of a lack of transformative change included continued male dominance in the most senior positions across the governance and administrative hierarchies of the two organizations (CEO, chair, and president), and the stark underrepresentation of women on both ELTs. Both of these forms of gender

segregation sit outside of the governance requirements set out in the national sport governance code. This demonstrates that top-down governance requirements tied to funding that only target the voluntary governance hierarchies of sport organizations do not go far enough in transforming the deep-rooted organizational habitus of NGBs and particularly within long-standing organizations such as England Golf and the LTA that have historically seen resistance to any change that threatens the power of men of the dominant class.

A Bourdieusian theoretical lens was central to this study revealing the complex, multifaceted, and nonlinear nature of gender power relations across the various layers of sport organizations. Bourdieu's theory of practice enabled the development of a greater understanding of the interrelation between the structures of organizational subfields, gendered organizational habitus, and the impact of gender on the resources (capital) available to individual sport leaders to progress within organizational hierarchies. Through this heightened understanding of the interrelated nature of gender power relations in the governance of sport organizations, it became clear that structural, top-down efforts to create organizational change need to be combined with organizational cultural change and increased support for individual women leaders to work toward genuine and sustainable organizational change. This is because top-down interventions that do not transform organizational habitus become absorbed into the (male-dominated) internal logic of the subfield (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

A limitation of Bourdieu's theoretical lens is that it is deterministic and lacks in-depth theorizing about strategies for change to transform hierarchies of dominance. Similarly, gender organizational theorists (such as Acker and Kanter) have tended to focus more on demonstrating the existence of gendered organizations rather than theorizing about organizational change to advance gender equity (Lewis & Simpson, 2012; Nkomo & Rodriguez, 2019). Some sport sociologists have examined *existing* strategies for change in sport governance, with a primary focus on the effectiveness of affirmative action policies (e.g., Skirstad, 2009). There are also isolated cases of sport organizational researchers developing practical implications and recommendations from their work, with a focus on shifting from gender equality strategies (e.g., affirmative action) to gender equity strategies (e.g., policies and processes to ensure fairness to meet the possible different needs of women and men; Sotiriadou & de Haan, 2019). As sport governance continues to change and develop, more scholarship is required globally across a diversity of organizations to explore the continued structural challenges facing organizations, the adequacy of top-down policy and bottom-up organizational interventions, and ultimately understand what is required to achieve transformative change in the gendered logic of sport leadership and governance.

Addendum

Tables 3 and 4 provide timelines of key events postdata collection within England Golf and the LTA that impact upon the gender balance of their senior leadership teams. The information presented has been drawn from the websites of the two organizations. These changes, most of which are positive changes toward more gender-equitable governance, demonstrate the fast pace that English sport leadership and governance changes and develops.

Table 3 Relevant Postdata Collection Key Events at England Golf

| Date | Event | Specific changes or further comments |
|---------------|---|--|
| November 2016 | The Articles of Association were amended. | An independent chair will be appointed through a competency-based formal and transparent selection process. |
| January 2017 | A (female) marketing and communications director was appointed. | This increased female representation on the ELT to one out of seven executives (14%). |
| March 2017 | A (male) finance director was appointed. | This maintained the same level of female representation on the ELT with two out of seven executives being women (29%). |
| April 2017 | Appointed its first (male) independent chair. | |
| April 2017 | A (male) president was appointed. | |
| August 2017 | Two independent directors appointed. | One of these independent directors is female and one is male. |
| November 2017 | The Articles of Association were amended. | The board will be composed of not less than 30% male representation and not less than 30% female representation. |
| November 2017 | Voting members voted to streamline the board from 15 to 12 members. | This change resulted in a higher proportional female representation on the board (33%). |
| April 2018 | A (male) president was appointed. | |
| Late 2018 | A (female) head of legal was appointed. | Increased female representation on the ELT to two out of seven executives (29%). |
| Aug 2018 | A (male) president elect was appointed with a view to becoming president in 2020. | |
| April 2019 | A (female) president was appointed. | |
| June 2019 | Head of HR was made an executive position. | This increased female representation on the ELT to three out of eight executives (38%). |
| July 2019 | A (male) president elect was appointed with a view to becoming president in 2021. | |
| December 2019 | A (male) chief executive officer was appointed. | This maintained the same level of female representation with two out of seven executives being women (29%). |

Note. ELT = executive leadership team.

Table 4 Relevant Postdata Collection Key Events at the LTA

| Date | Event | Specific changes or further comments |
|----------------|---|---|
| June 2017 | A (male) chief executive officer was appointed. | He formally took up the position in January 2018. |
| May 2018 | A (male) chairman was appointed. | |
| May 2018 | A (female) chief operations officer was appointed. | This increased female representation to two out of seven executives (29%; with one vacancy) on the ELT. |
| June 2018 | A (female) independent director was appointed to the board. | |
| August 2018 | A (male) independent director was appointed to the board. | |
| September 2018 | A (male) independent chair and (female) independent director were appointed to the board. | Female representation on the board is now four out of 10 directors (40%). |

Note. LTA = Lawn Tennis Association; ELT = executive leadership team.

Note

1. All rules and statistics outlined were accurate at the time of research within each organization.

References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*(2), 139–158. doi:10.1177/089124390004002002
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender and Society, 20*(4), 441–464. doi:10.1177/0891243206289499
- Acosta, R.V., & Carpenter, L.J. (2014). Women in intercollegiate sport: A longitudinal study thirty-seven year update. Retrieved from <http://acostacarpenter.org/2014%20Status%20of%20Women%20in%20Intercollegiate%20Sport%20-37%20Year%20Update%20-%201977-2014%20.pdf>
- Adriaanse, J., & Claringbould, I. (2016). Gender equality in sport leadership: From the Brighton declaration to the Sydney scoreboard. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 51*(5), 547–566. doi:10.1177/1012690214548493
- Adriaanse, J., & Schofield, T. (2013). Analysing gender dynamics in sport governance: A new regimes-based approach. *Sport Management Review, 16*(4), 498–513. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2013.01.006
- Adriaanse, J., & Schofield, T. (2014). The impact of gender quotas on gender equality in sport governance. *Journal of Sport Management, 28*(5), 485–497. doi:10.1123/jsm.2013-0108
- All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club. (2018). About the AELTC. Retrieved from http://www.wimbledon.com/en_GB/atoz/about_aeltc.html
- Bloksgaard, L. (2011). Masculinities, femininities and work—The horizontal gender segregation in the Danish labour market. *Nordic Journal of Working Life Studies, 1*(2), 5–21. doi:10.19154/njwls.v1i2.2342
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1978). Sport and social class. *Social Science Information, 17*(6), 819–840. doi:10.1177/053901847801700603
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology* (M. Adamson, Trans.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1992). *The logic of practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Terry, G. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper (Ed.), *The APA handbook of research methods in psychology* (pp. 57–71). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Browning, R. (1990). *A history of golf: The royal and ancient game*. London: A & C Black.
- Burton, L. (2015). Underrepresentation of women in sport leadership: A review of research. *Sport Management Review, 18*(2), 155–165. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2014.02.004
- Burton, L., Grappendorf, H., & Henderson, A. (2011). Perceptions of gender in athletic administration: Utilizing role congruity to examine (potential) prejudice against women. *Journal of Sport Management, 25*(1), 36–45. doi:10.1123/jsm.25.1.36
- Ceron-Anaya, H. (2010). An approach to the history of golf: Business, symbolic capital, and technologies of the self. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 34*(3), 339–358. doi:10.1177/0193723510377317
- Claringbould, I., & Knoppers, A. (2007). Finding a ‘normal’ woman: Selection processes for board membership. *Sex Roles, 56*(7–8), 495–507. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9188-2
- Claringbould, I., & Knoppers, A. (2008). Doing and undoing gender in sport governance. *Sex Roles, 58*(1–2), 81–92. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9351-9
- Claringbould, I., & Knoppers, A. (2012). Paradoxical practices of gender in sport-related organizations. *Journal of Sport Management, 26*(5), 404–416. doi:10.1123/jsm.26.5.404
- Daulay, H., & Sabri, R. (2018). Meritocracy and analysis of Pierre Bourdieu in the recruitment of female legislators in Medan and Deli Serdang. *International Journal of Management Sciences and Business Administration, 4*(2), 39–48. doi:10.18775/ijmsba.1849-5664-5419.2014.42.1005
- Desvaux, G., Devillard, S., & Sancier-Sultan, S. (2009). Women leaders, a competitive edge in and after the crisis. Retrieved from https://www.mckinsey.com/~media/McKinsey/Business%20Functions/Organization/Our%20Insights/Women%20matter/Women_matter_dec2009_english.ashx
- Eagly, A., Johannesen-Schmidt, M., & van Engen, M. (2003). Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*(4), 569–591. PubMed ID: 12848221 doi:10.1037/0033-2909.129.4.569
- Elling, A., Hovden, J., & Knoppers, A. (Eds.). (2019). *Gender diversity in European sport governance*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Elling, A., Knoppers, A., & Hovden, J. (2019). Meta-analysis: Data and methodologies. In A. Elling, J. Hovden, & A. Knoppers (Eds.), *Gender diversity in European Sport governance* (pp. 179–191). Oxon, UK: Routledge.

- England Golf. (2012). *Rules of England golf*. Woodhall Spa, UK: England Golf.
- England Golf. (2016). *A year of golf in England: Annual review 2016*. Retrieved from <https://www.englishgolf.org/shared/get-file.ashx?id=32009&itemtype=document>
- English Golf Union, & English Women's Golf Association. (2011). *Golf merger proposal*. Woodhall Spa and Birmingham: Author.
- English Women's Golf Association. (2009). [ARCHIVED] English Women's Golf Association about the English Women's Golf Association. Retrieved from <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20100622073458/http://www.englishwomensgolf.org/page.asp?id=325>
- Everett, J. (2002). Organizational research and the praxeology of Pierre Bourdieu. *Organizational Research Methods*, 5(1), 56–80. doi:10.1177/1094428102051005
- Ferkins, L., Shilbury, D., & McDonald, G. (2009). Board involvement in strategy: Advancing the governance of sports organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, 23(3), 245–277. doi:10.1123/jsm.23.3.245
- Francombe-Webb, J., & Toffoletti, K. (2018). Sporting females: Power, diversity and the body. In L. Mansfield, J. Caudwell, B. Wheaton, & B. Watson (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of sport, leisure and physical education* (pp. 43–56). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Government Equalities Office. (2017). Gender pay gap reporting. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/gender-pay-gap-reporting>
- Hargreaves, J. (1994). *Sporting females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports*. London, UK: Routledge.
- hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. London, UK: Pluto Press.
- Houlihan, B., & Green, M. (2009). Modernization and sport: The reform of sport England and UK sport. *Public Administration*, 87(3), 678–698. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.01733.x
- Hovden, J. (2000). “Heavyweight” men and younger women? The gendering of selection processes in Norwegian sport organizations. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, 8(1), 17–32.
- Kanter, R. (1976). The impact of hierarchical structures on the work behavior of women and men. *Social Problems*, 23(4), 415–430. doi:10.2307/799852
- Kanter, R. (1977). Some effects of proportions in group life: Skewed sex ration and responses to token women. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(5), 965–990. doi:10.1086/226425
- Kanter, R. (1987). Men and women of the corporation revisited. *Management Review*, 76(3), 14–16.
- Kanter, R. (1993). *Men and women of the corporation* (2nd ed.). New York: Basic Books.
- Kitchin, P.J., & Howe, P.D. (2013). How can the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu assist sport management research? *Sport Management Review*, 16(2), 123–134. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2012.09.003
- Krishnan, H.A., & Park, D. (2005). A few good women—On top management teams. *Journal of Business Research*, 58(12), 1712–1720. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2004.09.003
- Lake, R. (2012). Gender and etiquette in British lawn tennis 1870–1939: A case study of ‘mixed doubles’. *The International Journal of History of Sport*, 29(5), 691–710. doi:10.1080/09523367.2012.675203
- Lake, R. (2015b). *A social history of tennis in Britain*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Lake, R. (2015a). The “bad boys” of tennis: Shifting gender and social class relations in the era of Nastase, Connors, and McEnroe. *Journal of Sport History*, 42(2), 179–199.
- Lawn Tennis Association. (2015). *Lawn tennis association limited governance structure*. London, UK: Author.
- Lawn Tennis Association. (2016a). *Annual review 2016*. London, UK: Author.
- Lawn Tennis Association. (2016b). LTA finance and governance report. Retrieved from <https://www.lta.org.uk/globalassets/about-lta/annual-reports/finance--governance-report.pdf>
- Lawn Tennis Association. (2018). LTA gender pay gap report 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.lta.org.uk/globalassets/about-lta/annual-reports/lta-gender-pay-gap-report-2017.pdf>
- Lewis, P., & Simpson, R. (2012). Kanter revisited: Gender, power and (in) visibility. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14(2), 141–158. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2370.2011.00327.x
- Liston, K. (2006). Women's soccer in the Republic of Ireland: Some preliminary sociological comments. *Soccer and Society*, 7(2–3), 364–384. doi:10.1080/14660970600615450
- Merriam, S., & Tisdell, E. (2016). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation* (4th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Nkomo, S.M., & Rodriguez, J. K. (2019). Joan Acker's influence on management and organization studies: Review, analysis and directions for the future. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 26(12), 1730–1748. doi:10.1111/gwao.12237
- O'Reilly, K. (2012). *Ethnographic methods* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Ozbilgin, M., & Tatli, A. (2005). Understanding Bourdieu's contribution to organization and management studies. *Academy of Management Review*, 30(4), 855–877.
- Pape, M. (2020). Gender segregation and trajectories of organisational change: the underrepresentation of women in sports leadership. *Gender & Society*, 34(1), 81–105. doi:10.1177/0891243219867914
- Pfister, G. (2010). Are the women or the organisations to blame? Gender hierarchies in Danish sports organisations. *International Journal of Sport Policy*, 2(1), 1–23. doi:10.1080/19406941003634008
- Pfister, G., & Radtke, S. (2009). Sport, women, and leadership: Results of a project on executives in German sports organizations. *European Journal of Sport Science*, 9(4), 229–243. doi:10.1080/17461390902818286
- Piggott, L. (2019). *Gender, leadership, and organisational change in English sport governance*. [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. University of Chichester, Chichester, UK. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.24311.57760
- Piggott, L., & Pike, E. (2019). ‘CEO equals man’: Gender and informal organisational practices in English sport governance. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. doi:10.1177/1012690219865980
- R&A. (2018). The Ladies' Golf Union and the R&A complete merger. Retrieved from <https://www.randa.org/News/2016/12/Ladies-Golf-Union-and-The-Randa-complete-merger>
- Setó-Pamies, D. (2013). The relationship between women directors and corporate social responsibility. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, 22(6), 334–345.
- Shaw, S. (2001). *The construction of gender relations in sport organisations* (Doctoral Thesis). De Montford University, Leicester, UK.
- Shaw, S. (2006a). Gender suppression in New Zealand regional sports trusts. *Women in Management Review*, 21(7), 554–566. doi:10.1108/09649420610692507
- Shaw, S. (2006b). Scratching the back of “Mr X”: Analyzing gendered social processes in sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, 20(4), 510–534. doi:10.1123/jsm.20.4.510
- Shaw, S., & Hoerber, L. (2003). “A strong man is direct and a direct woman is a bitch”: Analyzing discourses of masculinity and femininity and their impact on employment roles in sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, 17(4), 347–375. doi:10.1123/jsm.17.4.347
- Shaw, S., & Slack, T. (2002). ‘It's been like that for donkey's years’: The construction of gender relations and the cultures of sports organizations. *Sport in Society*, 5(1), 86–106.

- Sibson, R. (2010). "I was banging my head against a brick wall": Exclusionary power and the gendering of sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, 24(4), 379–399. doi:10.1123/jsm.24.4.379
- Skirstad, B. (2009). Gender policy and organizational change: A contextual approach. *Sport Management Review*, 12(4), 202–216. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2009.03.003
- Sotiriadou, P., & de Haan, D. (2019). Women and leadership: advancing gender equity policies in sport leadership through sport governance. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 11(3), 365–383. doi:10.1080/19406940.2019.1577902
- Sport England, & UK Sport. (2016). *A code for sports governance*. Retrieved from https://sportengland-production-files.s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/a_code_for_sports_governance.pdf?qKUYxlN.mAu2ZOBcGifxGGxy54PxZ8oI.
- Sport England, & UK Sport. (2019). *Annual survey 2018/19: Diversity in sport governance*. Retrieved from <https://www.uk sport.gov.uk/-/media/files/resources/executive-summary---diversity-in-sport-governance-report-final.ashx>
- Squires, J. (2007). *The new politics of gender equality*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Tatli, A. (2010). *Towards an integrated relational theory of diversity management*. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada.
- Taylor, M., & O'Sullivan, N. (2009). How should national governing bodies of sport be governed in the UK? An exploratory study of board structure. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, 17(6), 681–693. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8683.2009.00767.x
- The Royal and Ancient Golf Club. (2018). The royal and ancient golf club. Retrieved from <https://www.randa.org/Heritage/The-Royal-Ancient/The-Royal-Ancient-Golf-Club>
- Titus, S. (2011). Female sport administrators' experiences of organizational fit in the workplace. *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 17(3), 123–133.
- Velija, P., Ratna, A., & Flintoff, A. (2014). Exclusionary power in sports organisations: The merger between the Women's Cricket Association and the England and Wales Cricket Board. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 49(2), 211–226. doi:10.1177/1012690212455962
- Walker, H. (1989). Tennis. In T. Mason (Ed.), *Sport in Britain: A social history* (pp. 245–275). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Walters, G., Tacon, R., & Trenberth, L. (2011). *The role of the board in UK national governing bodies of sport*. London, UK: Birkbeck Sport Business Centre.
- Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, G. (2002). *Understanding Bourdieu*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Whisenant, W.A., Pedersen, P.M., & Obenour, B.L. (2002). Success and gender: Determining the rate of advancement for intercollegiate athletic directors. *Sex Roles*, 47(9–10), 485–491. doi:10.1023/A:1021656628604
- White, A., & Brackenridge, C. (1985). Who rules sport? Gender divisions in the power structure of British sports organisations from 1960. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 20(1–2), 95–107. doi:10.1177/101269028502000109
- Women in Sport. (2017). *Beyond 30%: Female leadership in sport*. London, UK: Author.
- Women in Sport. (2018). *Beyond 30%: Workplace culture in sport*. London, UK: Author.
- Woodhall Spa Golf Club. (2018). England golf at Woodhall Spa. Retrieved from https://www.woodhallspagolf.com/english_golf_union
- Wright, T. (2016). *Gender and sexuality in male-dominated occupations*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.