

Gender Policy and Organizational Change: A Contextual Approach

The purpose of this article is to draw upon Pettigrew's contextualist approach to organizational change to examine the implications of gender policy on the imbalance between female and male board members in sport organizations. The paper is based on a case-study of the General Assembly of Sports (GA) in Norway over more than three decades. The central focus is on the evolution of gender equality as expressed in changes in the relevant statutes of the sport organization, the preparatory work for the changes, the environment in which the changes have occurred, and the process itself with its critical incidents and the behaviour of key actors. The period of study is divided into three according to which approach was mainly used for promoting equality: equal rights (1971–1984), positive action (1984-1994), and gender mainstreaming (1994-2007). The study facilitates an understanding of how change has been achieved. Evolutionary or incremental change has impacted organized sport resulting in a more equal gender balance, with the proportion of women delegates increasing from 8% to 39 % in the General Assembly of Sports. Despite this considerable development, a proposal for a 40 % quota of women in all sport organizations was turned down by the Executive Board and not put before the General Assembly in 2007. It is suggested that Pettigrew's contextualistic approach helps in seeing the processes of change more clearly, and who are the key-persons and incidents involved in the process.

Introduction

Why should organizations concern themselves with gender diversity? Questions relating to leadership and gender in sport have been a growing concern lately and there has also been increasing debate about the use of quotas to achieve gender equity. Scholars from many countries have reported female under-representation in sport (Aitchinson, 2005, Hall, 1987, 1996; Hartman-Tews & Combrink, 2005; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003; Hoerber & Frisby, 2001; McKay, 1997; Satore & Cunningham, 2007; Shaw & Hoerber, 2003; Shaw, 2006; Shaw & Slack, 2002; White & Brackenridge, 2005; White and Kay, 2006). Few researchers have examined gender equity policies, but Shaw & Penney (2003) described the development of gender equity policies in three national governing bodies in English sport, and concluded by recommending greater organizational reflexivity and deep structure analysis.

In Scandinavia there has for some time been a strong institutionalisation of gender equity policy (Skjeie 1997), with women participating to a high degree in the work force

(Ellingsæter, 2000) as well as participating in politics on equal terms with men (Raaum, 1999). However, they do not occupy many leadership positions in either work organizations (Kvande, 1999) or sport. The political scientists Karvonen and Selle (1995) have argued that the most important single change in Scandinavian social life since World War II has concerned the political representation of women. In recent years women's under-representation in politics has become an issue all over the world (Dahlerup, 2006). The breakthrough in women's representation in politics in Norway came during the 1970s, when female representation in national government moved from less than 10 percent to between 20 and 25 percent (Skjeie, 1992). In sport the same phenomenon happened ten years later.

The object of this paper is to examine gender equality in sport organizations, with a particular focus on changes in the relevant statutes of the organizations and how these have influenced gender representation in Norwegian sport. The General Assembly of Sports (GA) is a legislative body and the highest decision-making forum in sport in Norway. Key policy decisions – including changes in statutes relating to gender - are made in this forum following debates and voting by all the volunteer representatives of the organization.

This article focuses on the changes in gender policy and how these changes affected gender representation in the GA of Sports in Norway. The Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NOC)¹ is the supreme governing body for all sport (mass and elite sport). NOC unites all 56 national sport federations and 19 regional sporting bodies which correspond to the politically defined public regions of Norway. This makes NOC a mega-organization consisting of many other member organizations in sport. Since 1978, the sport federations altogether have had the same number of votes as the regional sporting bodies within the General Assembly of NOC². The executive board of NOC is also part of the GA and their votes count in addition to those of the federations and the regional sporting bodies.

Sport in Norway is built on the amateur ethos and sport clubs are democratically organized. The values of voluntarism, democracy, loyalty and equality are central (NOC, 2007). A key characteristic of the Norwegian Sport Model, as well as the European model, is a system of national federations, which are linked together in European and international federations. Another characteristic is the pyramid structure which implies interdependence between all levels. The basis of the pyramid is a club structure. Altogether there are 12 500 sport clubs with 2.1 million memberships³. Women made up approximately 40 % of the members in 2007 compared to 28% in 1974.

General Assemblies for Sport have existed in Norway from after the Second World War. Kikulis (2000) identified the general assembly as a key power base, when she examined continuity and change in Canadian Sport Organizations from an institutional perspective. As we have seen, the GA operates as a meeting point for many stakeholders in sport. Leading employees in sport organizations are present and observe at the GA and are also able to influence the sport policy by lobbying. The event is closely followed by the media.

Equality in organizations was not a topic of much concern until the 1990s, and sport organizations were no exception. A breakthrough came with the work of Acker (1990), who emphasized that organizational structures and theory were not gender neutral; rather, organizational theory and its concepts, models and statements of problems were based on the problems and demands of men in dominant positions of power. Male domination had rarely been analyzed and explained, with organizations being seen as gender blind (Wilson, 1996). This phase of gender blindness has long since passed. Thus, three key questions emerged when considering the imbalance between female and male board members in sport organizations in Norway over the past three decades (Fasting, 2005; Hovden, 2000, 2005, 2006; Skirstad, 1982, 1992, 2000): When does the gender policy start to develop in Norwegian sport? How were changes in gender policy achieved and how has gender policy in sport influenced gender representation in the GA?

The following sections describe (a) the theoretical framework for the study, the contextualist approach to change; (b) the methods employed, and (c) the content of change in Norwegian gender policy in sport over time in its broader outer and inner social context. This is followed by a discussion of the change process and some concluding comments.

Theoretical framework

Pettigrew's contextualist approach to organizational change includes the "what", "why" and "how" of change. It involves "questions about the content, context, and process of change, together with the inter-connections between those three broad analytical categories" (Pettigrew 1987, p.657). The challenge in the study of organizational change is to explain the type of change and at the same time incorporate the history, the processes, and the actions associated with such changes or lack of change (Pettigrew, Woodman, & Cameron, 2001). In Norway, changes in the statutes related to equality within sport have emerged over time and thus have a history that is important to consider, as well as the contextual factors influencing the changes. It is this long-term process which is the central focus of this study of the gender distribution in the GA of the umbrella organization of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of sport (NOC) from 1971⁴ until 2007.

Pettigrew's notion of context is not mere 'description or an eclectic list of antecedents that somehow shape the process' (Pettigrew, 1987, p. 656). He argues that any new strategy starts with formulating the content of change which inevitably entails managing its context and process. In his contextualist approach the context of change refers to the environment in which the changes have occurred. The outer context includes the wider political, social, and economic environments of the NOC. The inner context is within the sport organization, its structure, political and cultural set up. In order to examine the relationship between multiple levels of context in the interaction field it is necessary to have a satisfactorily long time period to demonstrate how specific sport organizations, the sport sector and wider political and economic levels of context interact to facilitate change processes.

The content of change refers to an area of transformation under study, here the sport statutes on gender distribution in the umbrella organization of sports in Norway, NOC, and its associated bodies including regional sporting bodies, the sport federations, sport councils⁵, and sport clubs. Why the change has occurred refers to the context both inside of the sport organization and outside in society at large, that is the environment in which the changes occurred. These contexts have rarely been examined in detail in the existing literature (Slack & Parent 2006).

With regard to the process, Pettigrew's focus is on changing rather than on change. The change process is seen as continuous, as opposed to changes conceptualized as movements from one state to another. Change is thus not only chronology, but has to be understood in the context of local time cycles (Pettigrew et al., 2001). The challenge is dual: 1) the attempt is to catch reality 'in flight' and 2) to study long-term processes in their contexts in order to elevate embeddedness to a principle of method (Pettigrew et al. 2001, p. 698). There are pressures both from inside and outside sport which are essential to analyze for an understanding of the change process with its critical incidents, and the behaviours of the key actors. The power of context analysis is limited if the changes over time are not included. The external pressures may have an influence on the inner changes. The process of change refers to the various negotiations of the actors involved in the proposals for change. According to Pettigrew et al. (2001) "process questioning involves the interrogation of phenomena over time using the language of what, where, why, when and how" (p. 700). The process is often not researched, but it is necessary to do so in order to understand how the change was achieved. "Biases existing in structure and culture can protect dominant groups" (Pettigrew, 1987, p. 659). Change can be a long and difficult process, for it may involve a "challenge to the dominant ideology, cultures, system of meaning and power relationships in the

organization” (Pettigrew, 1987, pp.659-660). Pettigrew’s framework helps in understanding the changes and how they occurred, what accelerated them, and the complexity of the process. Figure 1 shows how the framework is used in this research.

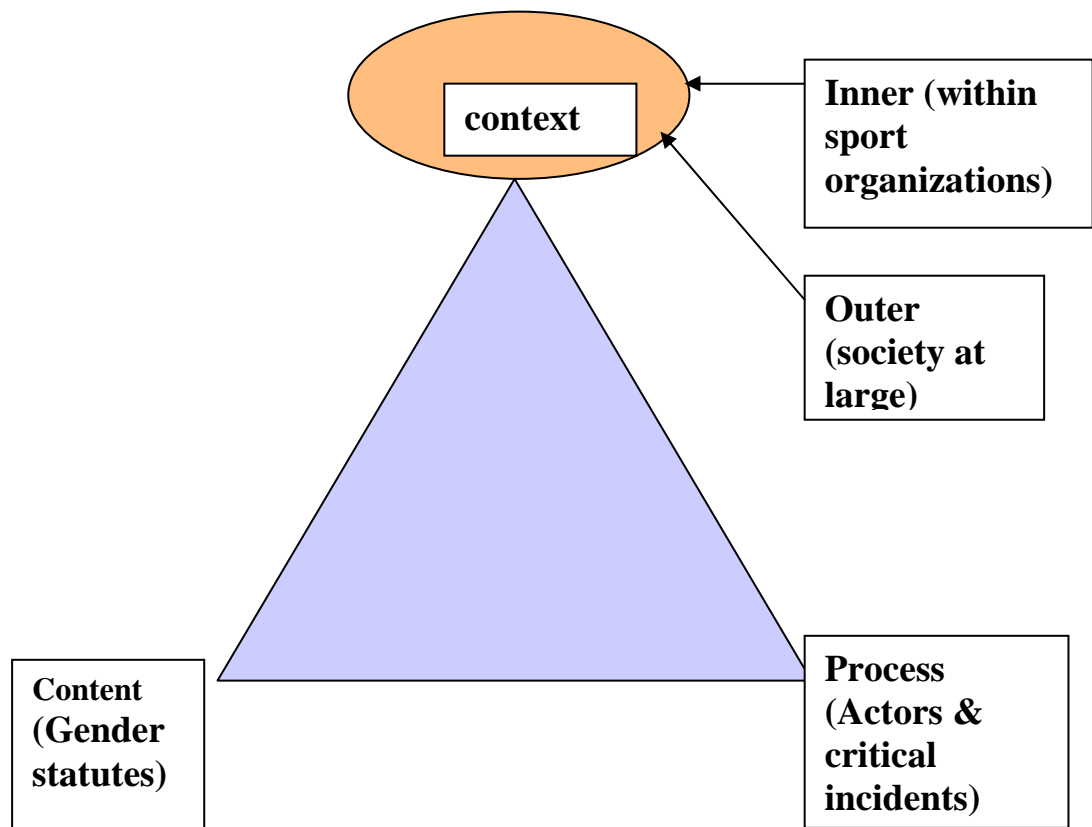


Figure 1: The broad framework guiding the research (adapted from Pettigrew 1987, p.657)

Changes are seen as continuous processes and not just detached episodes. This approach also treats theory and practice as tightly linked. Pettigrew explained change in the British health care system using this framework. Four recent studies in sport management (Caza, 2000; Cousens, Babiak, & Slack 2001; Thibault & Babiak, 2005, and Girginov & Sandanski, 2008) show that Pettigrew’s approach has transferred well to the analysis of Canadian amateur sport and the changing nature of sport organizations in transforming societies in Bulgaria. Each of these studies gives useful insights even though they have interpreted the contextualist approach differently. Caza (2000) applied one element of Pettigrew, Ferlie and McKee’s metaphor on context receptivity, which is a process-oriented perspective, to examine how willing a given organization was to change behaviour. He used it to study the Amateur Boxing Association (ABA), which is a Canadian provincial sport organization. The research focused on two innovations in the ABA and their implementation,

and this part of Pettigrew's framework was effective in revealing why one innovation failed and the other succeeded. He used an eight-factor framework for describing context receptivity. The eight factors were: quality and coherence of policy, availability of key people leading change, long-term environmental pressure, supportive organizational culture, effective managerial-clinical relations, co-operative inter-organizational networks, simplicity and clarity of goals and priorities and fit between the district's change agenda and its locale. All these eight factors seem also relevant for the present study. For sport managers the context receptivity offers important lessons for how to facilitate change. Cousins et al (2001) used the framework to analyze changes in the National Basketball Association (NBA) in Canada, focusing on changes in the environment of the league and the NBA. Thibault & Babiak (2005) used it to study organizational changes in Canada's Elite Sport System, from a bureaucratic towards a more athlete-centred approach. Girginov and Sandanski (2008) looked upon the changing nature of sports organizations as the country (Bulgaria) moved from state socialism until democratisation.

Pettigrew's definition of "process on change refers to sequences of individual and collective events, actions and activities unfolding over time in context" (Pettigrew et al 2001, p. 700). It is important for one's ideas, actions and demands to be regarded as legitimate and, at the same time, to de-legitimize your opponents. Power and control are important elements in the process. The content of strategic change is therefore a product of a legitimating process shaped by political and cultural considerations. "Mobilizing the outer content to provide the legitimacy and justification for change was a critical part of learning process of change" (Pettigrew 1987, p.665).

In the present study, the contextual approach is used to examine how gender statutes were passed in the General Assembly of Sports in Norway. How these statutes changed the gender representation in the organization, even when some of the changes were incremental. In addition, key actors and critical incidents from internal and external environments of sports GA are documented over time to demonstrate the change process that took place. The process refers to the actions, reactions, interactions of various stakeholders and their negotiations around the proposals of change.

Research Methods

This longitudinal case study focuses on an analysis of the policies used to increase the proportion of female representatives in the GA of sport. The study explains the change processes in their context, and identifies the causes, the outer and inner pressures, key actors

and critical incidents which have formed the present gender equity policy in sport. According to Pettigrew et al (1992) a contextualistic methodology naturally recommends analysis based on a rigorous case study. This case study does not utilize a “single snapshot technique”, but focuses on the flow of events through time. As a starting point 1971 was chosen because of increasing external pressures arising from the ‘women’s coup’ in the municipal elections that year (which saw a great increase in the number of women elected in local government) and the demand for greater female representation in sport from the same period. There are three broad approaches in promoting gender equality (Rees, 2002): equality treatment, positive actions and gender mainstreaming which correspond to three investigated periods, when each of these approaches was central: equal rights (1971-1984), positive action (1984-1994) and gender mainstreaming (1994-2007). This section on methods has been divided into data collection (observations, document analysis, and supplementary data from two surveys and eight interviews) and analysis, reliability and credibility, reflexivity and limitations.

Data collection and analysis

The different sources of the data collection, the year, the size of the sample, the response rate, and the type of analysis are shown in table 1.

Table 1 insert

Observations and document analysis

The main data sources were systematic observations and recording of field notes during the 11GAs in the period from 1980 to 2007 (altogether 33 days of observations) and document analysis of the protocols from the corresponding GAs and the previous GAs from 1945-71, and the annual reports from the NOC (a total of 63 annual reports, 15 GA protocols and the documents distributed to each GA from 1980 until 2007). The value of the observations is that they cover events in real time and the context of the observed change (Yin 2009). For the recording of the GAs two people coded the actions taking place (the author and a masters student or assistant) in order to secure internal consistency. The two members of the team made separate observations. This involved recording all that was said by anyone who took the floor during a GA on equality, and the results were later compared and then discussed until the observers agreed. Another advantage of having more than one observer has been to discuss the topic with people with perhaps different value perspectives. The field notes were also compared with the text in the protocols from the GAs afterwards. Between the GAs, a period which varied from two to four years, additional updated information about gender equality in the NOC was acquired. The findings were grouped according to whether

they related to equal rights, positive action or gender mainstreaming. The meaning was coded according to the focus of the different tasks for gender equality and Pettigrew's contextual framework.

Supplementary data

In order to better understand the process of the proposed changes supplementary data on attitudes to gender equality were used from: 1) a quantitative leadership study in 2004 (Ottesen et al 2009), 2) questionnaires sent out by NOC in 2006 seeking views upon the Long Term Plan for NOC 2007-2011, and 3) eight interviews conducted by the author in 2007 with important decision-makers in NOC in connection with the proposal for 40 % quotas in sport.

The leadership study using Questback was sent by e-mail to all the voluntary sport leaders on the executive boards in the 55⁶ sport federations and the 19 regional sports bodies in 2004. The response rate was 62% (N= 385). The target group of the questionnaires in 2006 was the same as the earlier leadership study, except that the latter had just asked the president of the sport organizations and, in a few instances, some administrators and a few of the approximately 380 sport councils. One advantage with the questionnaires was that they made it possible to detect 'silent resistance' to equality policies by asking if the respondents thought it would be right to invest money in the equality schemes.

The interviews were based on document analysis of minutes from the NOC from January to April 2007, the responses of the Legal Committee to this specific 40 % quota, and the answers from the last survey by the NOC. The interviewed persons were the initiator of the proposal of the 40% quota, the President's council (President and the two vice-presidents), the spokesman for the regional sporting bodies, a representative of the sport federations, and an unsuccessful candidate for presidency and the leader of the nomination committee (altogether eight people). Interviews were open-ended to allow for the expression of personal opinions and were sufficiently flexible to allow for new issues to be brought up based on interviewees' responses. The format for the interviews was semi-structured, with the interviewer having prepared a set of themes on equality to be explored in the interview. The focus was the statutes of gender equality, which defined the territory of the study (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985) and the respondents' attitudes towards equality in the sport organization. Interviews were tape-recorded and fully transcribed and returned to the interviewee in order to be corrected if necessary. The findings from these three last studies are especially helpful in understanding the development of female governance in sport, attitudes towards gender equality, and how the policy has been implemented.

Reliability and credibility

The reliability of the findings was improved by use of a triangulated method which involved documentary and archive data, observations, eight interviews and two surveys. Two independent observers were used in order to create internal reliability (Thomas & Nelson, 1996). As a field worker the author also attended the informal meetings which the female representatives had prior to the discussions in the GAs from 1980-1999. According to Lincoln & Guba (1985, p. 301) there are three activities that increase the probability that credible findings will be produced: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. This research fulfils all these requirements. The author has throughout the whole period been an accepted person in the milieu and has long been trusted because of her prolonged engagement in sport and gender issues. The researcher must have a firm grasp of the issue being studied but also be able to develop and maintain credibility with a wide range of respondents from different levels of the organization.

Reflexivity and limitations

There is, too, the question of involvement and detachment in the study of these processes, to which Elias has drawn attention (Elias, 1987). The more involved the researcher is, the less chance there is to develop the kind of relatively detached understanding of the situation which will provide a more adequate basis for policy formation. "This detachedness, however, is not a requirement for getting to the true nature of the object, but is a necessary condition for seeing more clearly, more precisely, than before" (Antonacopoulou & Tsoukas, 2002, pp. 860-861). I have tried to reflect on my own involvement in sport and the women's movement more generally, and its implications for the findings. Being a young woman in the late 1960s I identified with the demand for equal treatment and the right to education, to independence and personal autonomy. Most of my adult life I have been involved in organizing sport at one level or another. Being so involved in an area can be of advantage because one has insider knowledge of the organizations involved, but it may also make it more difficult to adopt an appropriately detached view in trying to analyse the situation. My involvement in sport has also given me the credibility needed to approach persons in sport organizations without any problems or barriers. I have tried to be reflexive upon these points and to evaluate my own understanding and analysis of the situation, and not to impose my own views of how I think sport should operate. Rather, I have tried to develop a relatively detached analysis of the existing policy in relation to equality in sport in Norway. A complicating fact has been that my husband was the Track and Field President, who suggested the first quota proposal. He was also the NOC's President in the period that the women's Committee was established and also the Director General in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs

responsible for sport at the time they started to earmark money for women in sport and the Women project from 1995-2000. This position has also given me insight and possibilities of influence which I would otherwise not have had. These personal circumstances may have imposed some limitations, but they have also offered considerable advantages in the research process.

Finally one other limitation should be mentioned. The questionnaire sent out in 2006 by the NOC for the consultation had a low response-rate from the sport federations, but a sufficient response rate by the regional bodies (see table 1).

In the following section the results will be presented according to the framework, first on the content divided in the three periods of gender equality, then the context divided into an outer and inner context, and finally the process of change with its key actors and what critical incidents happened, and the reasons behind these processes.

Content of Change (Results)

Pettigrew's approach suggests the first question is: "What has changed in gender equality?" Several changes indicate a shift to more equal representation. Although the changes may be incremental, the implementation of policy changes has resulted in increased female representation. The content of change will be described in three different time periods, with a focus on changes in representation in the decision-making fora. Other key factors for change have been funding, the creation of a Central Woman's Committee and committees in the federations and the regional sporting bodies, and the networking of women. It is not always easy to separate content and the process, because sometimes the result of the process becomes content. The key changes are outlined in table 2.

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The equal rights period from 1971 to 1984

The original Program for Norwegian Sport 1971-73 did not contain anything about women when it was first presented to the General Assembly. The President of the Norwegian Orienteering Federation insisted that "both genders in a goal-oriented cooperation" should be included (NOC, 1971, p.20). In the discussion, 25 men and one woman took part. The importance of getting more women actively involved in sport work was stressed by the editorial commission, who summed up the discussion and forwarded it to the executive board (NOC, 1971). In 1971, when females made up just 8 % of the representatives at the G.A, the constitution of the GA was an item for debate on the agenda, but there was no discussion of gender. A female vice-president was elected, along with two other females in the executive

board of the umbrella organization. The process in the outer context started in the municipalities in 1971, and the years prior to 1980 were used to try to establish an equivalent breakthrough for a minimum gender representation in sport, even if it failed when first proposed in 1980.

This first period was built upon the idea of achieving equal rights, and on the assumption that women and men should be treated the same. This corresponds to a “discrimination-and-fairness paradigm” used by Thomas & Ely (1996, p.80). The central ideas were those of gender balance, democratic equality, fairness and justice and the fight against discrimination. It is, of course, a principle of anti-discrimination that everyone shall be treated equally, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, class, age etc. This is a liberal principle used in the national constitutions of many countries based on the idea that women should be dealt with in the same way as men (Teigen, 2002). In other words, the way men were treated was seen as the norm.

The Track and Field Federation had adopted statutes on female representation in 1979 at their general assembly, and proposed similar statutes to the GA of all sports in 1980: “Each district association had to have representatives of both genders and the same for the sport federations with more than one representative” (NOC, 1980, p.76). Because this proposal was to be incorporated in the statutes, a two-thirds majority was needed for acceptance. This proposal was supported by the NOC President but failed by 58 votes to 54 (NOC, 1980). The executive board of the Norwegian Confederation of Sports, by seven votes to four, decided not to recommend this proposal to the GA. They did however agree that more women were needed in decision-making bodies, and that progress in this respect had been slow. However, it was recorded that to set a quota of female representatives could have an adverse impact in certain federations, but the arguments used were never spelled out (NOC, 1980, p.76). The following proposal, which was not supposed to be a statutory proposal, but which had the same intent as the above proposal from the Track and Field Federation, came from the Fencing Federation:

The general assembly of sports considers that women’s participation in the decision-making fora in sport shall represent their proportion of their membership in the different organizational units. This ought to be a result of a natural process where qualifications contribute to decisive power. For females and males to be able to compete on equal terms, it seems necessary for a limited period, to install special measures to give more females increased experiences.

Because of this the general assembly of sports asks each sport club/federation which has sport for both genders on their program and which are allowed to meet with more than one representative, to be represented by both genders at the general assembly of sport on the central level and in the districts. The district associations should be represented by both genders at the general assembly for sports. The general assembly of sports asks for these actions to be installed for a period of 5 years (NOC, 1980, p. 77)⁷.

Often the under-representation of women was explained as an effect of women's lack of education or experience, and this proposal was thought of as a means of helping out in this respect. The proposal was accepted by 94 votes to 18. A woman from one of the regional sport bodies proposed an amendment, which was passed, to the effect that this period of five years should be actively used to educate women through the education system within sport (NOC, 1980). Searching the documents there is no evidence of any teaching activities for women in the first four years.

Positive actions: 1984 to 1994

A weakness of the policy of 'equal treatment' used in the period 1971-1984 is that it does not lead to equality of outcomes. Treating women and men in the same way does not give them equal opportunities because they start from different points and it has been argued that to achieve equality of outcomes – for example in terms of gender representation - men and women have to be treated *differently* (Fraser, 1997). In other words, it is not enough to let them start at the same starting line; rather, by providing education and other positive measures, it is possible to help them arrive at the finishing line at the same time as men.

In 1984 the former Track and Field President became the NOC President and this marked a change of policy. During this period, a policy of positive action was introduced to redress the existing disadvantages between the genders. What is meant by positive or affirmative action varies, although it is generally agreed that positive action uses differential treatment procedures to achieve a more equal gender balance. Developments in Europe and America have gone in opposite directions in this regard. In the United States, there is great concern about the use of positive action, but in parts of Europe this has been at the centre of policies targeted at achieving equality (Teigen, 2000). One aspect of positive action has involved quotas. A quota system, as it relates to gender, can be defined as 'positive special treatment because of gender'. Three different kinds of allocation of quotas have been identified: moderate, radical and earmarking (Borchost, 1999, 194). Moderate allocation of

quotas means that the underrepresented gender will be preferred when two candidates have the same qualifications. When using radical allocation of quotas, the underrepresented gender will be preferred even if the person is not the best qualified as long as the person meets the minimum requirements for qualification. By earmarking, a certain number of jobs or positions are reserved for the one gender, if the applicants meet the quality requirements.

At the General Assembly for Sports in 1987, the executive board proposed the introduction of moderate gender statutes, the contents of which were identical with those suggested by the Track and Field Federation in 1980. The original text referred to “the election or appointment of representatives to general assemblies, boards, councils and committees within the Norwegian Confederation of Sports” (NOC 1987, p 19), which would have included all aspects of the organization for sport, including the sport clubs. But a regional female representative proposed an amendment to the effect that the statutes should apply only to the umbrella organization and to the elections in the regional sporting bodies and the sport federations (NOC 1987, p. 20). This was done because it was feared that the proposal would otherwise not have been accepted. The amended resolution was then passed by 97 votes. The paragraph on quotas was as follows:

When electing or appointing representatives to councils, as well as members of boards, and committees in the NOC, the regional sporting bodies and sport federations, both sexes must be represented. The ratio of male to female members in the individual parts of the organization shall be used as guidelines for composition. Parts of the organization which do not have members of both sexes are not obliged to comply with the provisions of this first paragraph. (NOC, 1987, p.19; NOC, 1988, p. 2, §7)

This was a moderate quota regulation. The argument used in favour of the resolution was that female leaders could more easily address the challenges and problems of female athletes and coaches because of their common background and experiences. It was argued that more females on boards, committees etc. would create more role models for women and could inspire and motivate others. More female leaders, it was argued, would also better protect the interests of female sport.

The General Assembly of Sports changed the quota rules in 1990. Three changes were introduced. The first change extended the rule to include all the organizational units of the NOC, which meant the sport clubs in addition to the regional sporting bodies and the sport federations. The second change weakened the rule by suggesting that the requirements for gender equity would be met by the nomination of female candidates, even if they were not

elected. In a meeting held before the GA, the women agreed to accept the wording of 'candidates/representatives' instead of only 'representatives' because they thought this would increase the chances of the statute being passed. The third change strengthened the rule by requiring a minimum of two representatives of each sex in order to avoid a single female representative being seen as a 'lonely hostage'. An exception was made for boards and committees of three and fewer members and NOC was given permission to give exceptions under special circumstances (NOC 1990, p.8 §2-4). The 1990 gender statutes were more radical than the 1987 statutes, since they required a minimum of two members of the underrepresented gender. In the period from 1991 to 1994, the NOC clarified the procedure for elections and for the imposition of sanctions where the required equity procedures were not implemented.

Gender mainstreaming: 1994 to 2007

The third period, which was characterised by gender mainstreaming, dates from 1994, and again coincided with the election of a new President. In this period, the focus moved away from the individual and individual rights and towards the systems and structures that generated the pattern of gender inequality (Rees, 2002). Gender equality issues are now seen as a task to be addressed by both men and women in the organization.

According to Rees (2002, p.29) gender mainstreaming is:

The systematic integration of gender equality into all systems and structures; policies, programs, processes and projects; into cultures and their organizations, into ways of seeing and doing.

This shift was not the outcome of a serious debate; indeed, it took place without much overt discussion and almost without a conscious change of strategy, and it is important to note that aspects of policies from the earlier stages continued into this stage. The gender mainstreaming strategy can be seen as a process of creating equality among women and men. A mainstreaming process involves partly an analysis and a documentation process and partly a political changing process. The object of analysis is to document whether inequality exists within the field where one wants to gender mainstream. This involves a shift of perspective with a move away from a focus on those seeking equality to a focus on those who implement politics. It should also be noted that the Women's Committee was abolished in 1994 as a result of a decision of the executive board.

In 1996 the Norwegian Confederation of Sports and the Norwegian Olympic Committee merged, and the two newly merged organizations adopted a common constitution. The executive board had suggested that male and female candidates should be elected separately and that the quotas related to elected members and that it was not enough to have a balanced list of candidates for election. (NOC, 1996, p. 85)⁸. An amendment to the proposal explained this new statute for the merged organization. A further amendment to the amendment provided justification, proposals and clarifications. A female representative from the Oslo region proposed an exemption for the sport clubs, and this paragraph was passed with the modification that it would be sufficient to have candidates of each gender for sport clubs (NOC, 1996, p. 16-17; NOC, 1997, p. 45)⁹. The executive board proposed to the GA in 1999 a change in the wording of its statutes in order to stress that all units in the national sport organization, including the sport clubs, would have to abide by the gender statutes. This was accepted without discussion, with only three votes against the proposal (NOC 1999, p.44). The main principle was that the gender ratio in each sport federation should reflect the gender member representation in the organization.

The changes in the statutes are what the researchers have labelled evolutionary, representing slow and steady transformations within the organization (Miller & Friesen, 1984). Evolutionary change of this kind has been discussed by scholars from the population ecology school (Hannan & Freeman, 1977), by institutional theorists such as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and by those using Pettigrew's (1987) framework of change and continuity. Scholars have looked into change in amateur sport organizations at the national level during the past two decades (Amis, Slack, & Hinings, 2004; Kikulis, 2000; Kikulis, Slack, & Hinings, 1992; O'Brien & Slack, 2004; Ski8nner, Stewart & Edwards, 1999; Slack & Hinings, 1992). They were greatly influenced by the writings of Greenwood and Hinings (1988a, 1988b, 1993, 1996) on institutional theory.

At the GA in 2003, a male from the Youth Organization (NUK) suggested increasing the female representation to 30 % in all committees by the next general assembly in 2007 and a female President of a district association supported the proposal. As a result, a new Women's Committee was set up, headed by the female vice-president of the NOC, who was also a Labour Member of Parliament. Two men were also included in the committee, the President of NOC, and a businessman. But the President resigned in February 2004 because of a large financial deficit and the female vice-president became the acting President until the extraordinary GA in April 2004, when the presidency reverted to a male. The Women's

Committee continued, but without any available funding and nothing was done to try to implement the 30% proposal. Four years later, a more radical change was suggested in relation to the public sphere in general when it was proposed to have 40 % female representation in 2007 in all sport organizations. This proposal was made by the same female representative who had earlier supported the 30 % representation, but now she had been elected 2nd vice-president. This more radical proposal never made it to the GA.

Electoral quotas represent what Dahlerup (2006) calls ‘fast track’ which is a different type of equality policy, and also at a different speed. Gender quotas represent a shift from ‘equal opportunity’ to ‘equality of outcome’ (Dahlerup, 2006, p. 9). Quotas are used as a measure to increase the representation of historically excluded or under represented groups. In Norway we have had a form of voluntary party quotas, all except the right wing Progress Party and the Conservative Party.

After having discussed the content – that is, the changes in the gender statutes – the next step is to understand the context of these changes both in the outer society and within the sport organization. These changes resulted in an increased female representation from 8% to 39 % in the GA, while the different units had different results.

Outer context

According to Pettigrew context is divided into two categories: outer and inner. The starting point for analysis is the key aspects of the outer context, which refer to the pressures and forces from outside of the sport system; in this regard, it is important that the analysis is not limited merely to changes within the structure of sport, but that it is also linked to wider social processes. In particular, the acceptance of equality in everyday life provides an essential part of the context for understanding the phenomenon in sport. Four changes of critical importance related to politics, the government White papers on Sports, the media and the equality Ombud.

Equal rights 1971 - 84

The women’s coup in municipality elections in 1971 constituted the first real pressure from the outer context. One outcome of this renewed emphasis on women in politics was the Gender Equality Act of 1978¹⁰. An Equality Committee was also established. In 1981 a gender quota was enacted under the Gender Equality Act whereby at least two members of each gender must be elected to committees of more than four people.

Positive actions 1984-94.

In 1984 the Norwegian Equality Status Council organized a hearing on women and sport, in which the newly elected NOC President took part. This commitment to gender equity was supported from the top by Gro Harlem Brundtland as prime minister of Norway in 1986, whose cabinet consisted of 40% female ministers. This was also an inspiration for those involved in sport. In 1988 the law was changed to ensure a minimum of 40 % representation of each gender in appointing boards, councils and executive committees by public authorities. Most of the political parties promptly adopted this legislation. The development of quota regulations has led to a rising awareness of gender issues in society in general. The first White paper specifically on sport was released in 1992.

Gender mainstreaming 1995 - 2007

In 2000, Norway had a higher percentage of female leaders in politics (38.4%) than any other nation. One has to remember that the 40% quota rule only applied to appointments by public authorities and not to elections. Every third municipality had a female leader, while every fourth committee chairperson and every sixth lord mayor was a woman. (SSB, 2001). The Ministry of Culture earmarked money for women in connection with their Big City project and also a Women Project with the aim of having more female leaders and coaches in elite sport.

Strong outer pressure came from the Minister of Industry, which threatened to introduce a 40 % quota for state-owned and public companies if the percentage of female board members did not increase. The media covered the issue for some time in February and just before the GA in May 2007. As a result of this the Equality Ombud publicly criticized the NOC for the under-representation of women in the executive boards. And international pressure for equality between women and men also came from the European Union, which in 2007 celebrated the 50th anniversary of European gender equality policy.

Inner context

Inner context refers to the internal environment, that is the structure, culture, strategy and management of organizations involved in sport such as the NOC, their GA, the regional sport bodies, the federations, the sport councils and the sport clubs. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is perhaps on the borderline between outer and inner context. IOC decided at their centenary congress in 1996 to increase participation rates of women in decision-making positions in national and international sport organizations to 10 % in 2000 and 20 % by 2005. The IOC claims that more than 30 % of the NOCs and 29 % of the international

federations have achieved the 2005 target¹¹. In Norway strategic plans, changes of President, the women's committee and women's consultant, and the Women project 1995-2000 all created an inner context receptive to change.

Equal rights: 1971 -84

Several sports were not open to females in 1970s but more women became members of the NOC, and also more activities opened up for them. The women prepared their tactics for the GA in 1980. They organized separate meetings for women representatives the evening before the gender statutes were to be considered. The Track and Field Federation led the campaign for women's rights in decision-making fora. Their allies were the women and the President of the NOC. The rules for more balanced representation were passed in the Track and Field Federation but not, in the first instance, in the NOC. The Track and Field President also pushed this further in the next GA of the NOC by asking about how the voluntary organizations would respond to the Gender Equality Act passed by the Government.

In this first period of equal opportunities in sport it was formal equity, as expressed by formal access and participation, which was central. At that time there was a separate Norwegian Olympic Committee, on which there were no women representatives. In 1975 the largest relay in track and field 'Holmenkoll-stafetten', with 15 legs, was opened to women after two females ran disguised as men three years before. The NOC President was sympathetic to female participation. In 1977, the NOC ran a project on 'More sport activities for more women'.

Positive actions 1984 - 94

In 1984 the Track and Field President became NOC President, and a Women's Committee¹² was appointed by the end of the year after the preparatory work of a committee to look at "women and sport". This resulted in the development of a strategic plan, the employment of a women's consultant in 1985 and the securing of finance (US \$ 21 739)¹³. The main daily newspaper said that the first step had been taken by a "modern and far-sighted executive board of the NOC" (Løchen 1984, p.14). The President was asked by the journalist if the attitude of his board was representative of the sport movement in general; he answered he did not think so and nobody contradicted him at the press conference. A little more than half of the sport federations (26 out of 45) and regional sporting bodies (11 out of 19) established women's committees. Half of the sport federations did not have any women in the

executive board (NOC, 1987). In 1988 a Nordic Female Conference was organized. Empowerment courses “Women Can – dare and will” were run and evaluated.

Gender mainstreaming 1994 -2007

Following another change of Presidency, the Women’s Committee, established ten years previously, was abolished in 1994. The suggested exemption from the gender equity requirements of the sport clubs was proposed in 1996 by a female representative from the regional sport body, who feared that if the exemption was not included the proposal would not get through.

In this period one positive action project was accomplished in top level sport. The aim was to increase the involvement of females, both in the organization and as medal winners. The women’s project from 1995 to 2000 started as a reaction to the fact that the successes during the Lillehammer Winter Olympic Games in 1994 were mainly achieved by men, whether as athletes, leaders, coaches or other support personnel. The leader of Olympiatoppen, the division for top sport in the NOC, and the NOC-President initiated this project and persuaded the Norwegian Ministry of Cultural Affairs to contribute 2 million NOK each year for 5 years. During the first two years the Employers’ Organization (NHO) also sponsored the project with half a million NOK. The NOC contributed half a million NOK for the two first years, and thereafter one million NOK per year. The total cost of the project was 15 million NOK. As measured in terms of outcomes, the project was very successful. Women made up 21% of the support team for the Olympic Winter Games in Nagano and 22% for the Sydney Olympics. In addition, 11 medals were won by women at these two Games.

A strategic plan for NOC 2007-2011 was sent out for consultation. Included in this were some questions about members’ attitudes towards equality. Forty-two percent of the federations and 67 % of the regional sporting bodies supported the plan in principle, but 38 % and 20% respectively did not have any comments. Fifty-two percent of the sport federations and 47 % of the regional sporting bodies were opposed to spending money on the project.

The initiator of the 40 % quota proposal, the second vice-president of NOC, argued that this change should be achieved by the GA by 2011. In 2003, as the President in a regional sport body, she proposed to the GA an increase in female representation to 30 % in connection with the long-term plan. At the next extraordinary GA¹⁴ she was elected second vice-president of the NOC executive board. During the three last years she has led a

‘Women’s network’. The network met twice a year, for the first two years without any financial support from the NOC. The second vice-president commented:

Because they did not demand money in the first period, it was no problem. Then one could do one’s own business, if you understand. It was a little more challenging when they were included in the budget (interviewed August 2007)

She continued arguing for quotas instead of motivating women to take on positions and greater leadership tasks:

I thought for long that it was enough to create a women’s network, and work with educating and build up women in that way, but I have reached the conclusion that it does not give the desired results. Remember those who sit in positions to elect often are men, and they search for special types who can be on the board. It is usually someone who resembles themselves as we know from business. But initiatives have been taken in business and politics which shall give both genders better opportunities (interview in the main daily paper February 2007, Bugge).

The proposal for a 40 % quota was discussed in the President’s council before she went to the media. The General Secretary in NOC supported the proposal according to the initiator, the second Vice-president, who said:

I want to attack the ‘anti-culture’ (‘unsupportive culture’) and ‘sacrifice my head in
The President supported her proposal. The first vice-president said: “I am in principle against it, but I will not vote against it (the proposal)”. He agreed to go forward with the proposal. So the recommendation from the President’s council was not very strong in that the 2nd vice-president of the NOC was the only active supporter even if the President supported it passively. After she launched the idea in the media in February 2007, there were discussions in the period leading up to the GA. The President’s council had developed a media strategy and for one week the major newspaper in Oslo ran a series on female sport leaders on different levels. One of the comments among the members was that the proposal would probably be easy to get through in the federations and in the regional sporting bodies, but it would be more difficult in the clubs. When it was discussed in the executive board of the NOC, there was a narrow majority in favour.

One of the reasons why they supported the proposal was because it had already reached the media. The board members knew what was ‘politically correct’ to do in the

opinion of the Norwegian population. But with only a small majority, there was silent resistance as expressed by the representative of the district associations in the following way:

I do not think it is a climate to go that far at the moment. Perhaps it will come later, but I do not think that the gender perspective will rule that, I doubt there will be an atmosphere for that. ... the gender quota was a little aside from the important matters.

The second vice-president and initiator stressed that ‘opportunities should be the same for women and men as leaders in decision-making boards’ and she focused on diversity, and that they (an informal net-work of females) wanted the best team. But after some time she stated:

I received a signal from the chair of the Legal Committee (a female, former board member) that if we messed too much with the present text she would be anxious. Because in her time she had difficulty in achieving what is there at present, and she was afraid that could be lost. It was rather radical if we look at it. We had a good dialogue because I listened to her wise words and experience. I had already experienced the opposition you see, quite harsh, because it is a rough organization to deal with which does not essentially want equality (Interview in June 2007 with former second vice-president).

The proposer concluded:

I believe after all that it was a good result of this process, and the discussion in the board had been good.

According to Hovden (2005), a more radical gender quota bye-law was one of the solutions to increasing female representation which was mentioned by the majority of interviewed board members from the eight largest sport federations. The second suggestion which came forward from Hovden’s study was to recreate a renewed focus on equity policy in order to bring about political changes.

The leader study from 2004 (Ottesen et al 2009) emphasised that equality was seen as important for sport as a whole with significant gender differences; 89 % of females and 73 % of males held that equality was important for sport. Concerning their own organization, 77 % of females and 65 % of males held that equality was important. There was a general increase in support with age for both genders, though there was a drop in support among females in the 30 – 45 age category.

Twenty-six percent of females and 45 % of males think Norwegian Sport has a good gender distribution, and 62 % of females and 42 % of males want to see changes (Ottesen et al 2009). It was obvious from the consultation that some thought gender equality had gone far enough, with some respondents stating that they were in favour of more female leaders and coaches, but were unwilling to make concrete targets for a specified percentage or to use lottery money for that purpose. One representative of a regional organization phrased it like this:

If the organization shall keep the statutes, they must be followed up. Targeted recruitment is a solution, not a punishment to point out short-comings. Contributions and rewards are a more positive way to attack the problem (interview August 2007).

Resistance against further radical actions for equality was voiced by 73 % of the regional organizations and 19 % of the federations, but almost half of them did not have any comments. To a much higher degree there was silent resistance in the federations than in the regional sporting bodies.

Process of change

This study is unusual in that the change process was followed during 11 GAs over 27 years of real time and nine years of retrospective time. There are several key-persons who were instrumental in the implementation of change of the gender statutes. One person in particular played an important role, and he used his power to influence change in several different positions. Table 3 shows the change process and the key-actors.

Table 3 in here

Equal rights: 1971 - 84

A key actor was the President of the Track and Field Federation (1976-83), who made proposals about gender representation both to his own GA (1979) and the NOC GA (1980). The process was successful in the federation, but not in NOC. He had legitimate power in the organization where he was the President, but not equivalent in the GA. As mentioned earlier, the executive board in NOC did not support this proposal that came from one of its member organizations. The interesting point is that the NOC board did not support this proposal which was in accordance with the Equality Act in society at large.

Positive actions: 1984 - 94

The Track and Field President became the President of the NOC in 1984, defeating by just one vote a female candidate who had been proposed by the election committee. Women judged his election speech to be sympathetic to greater female representation (Fasting 2005). His election as President gave him greater power to enforce the gender statutes and the

statutes were implemented at the next GA in 1987. As can be seen in table 1, the gender question was emphasized in 1984, funding was made available and a task force 'Women's Committee' was established. Empowerment courses were run and evaluated. The system was also introduced at the lower levels of regional sporting bodies and the federations under the umbrella of the NOC. This key actor stayed as President until 1990, entering the Ministry of Culture as Director General in 1991. Then he initiated earmarked money for more females to become leaders and coaches in sport (St. meld. 41, 1991-92).

Gender mainstreaming 1995-2007

The second white paper on sport was published in 2000 (St. melding 14, 1999-2000). The female mover of the proposal for 30 % female representation in 2003 and the 40 % quota in 2007 failed in both attempts to change the statutes. A problem was that the second vice-President of the NOC did not have the legitimate power to challenge the established power base because equality was the only case she voiced in her role as a sport politician. Crisis conditions tend to generate radical change, for a crisis helps to break through the inertia in the organization. However at this time there was no critical incident in the organization that might have precipitated change.

Concluding comments

The paper has shown how the implementation of the gender statutes has changed the organization in respect to gender representation and the application of Pettigrew's contextualist approach helps us to better understand this process. The female representation in the GA has increased from 8 to 39 % in the 37 years under investigation. The time frame sets a reference to what changes have been identified and how they are explained. One can ask why did the change start in the GA. Obviously, one reason was its position as the highest decision-making forum in sport and therefore it would have the most effect. Since the change has been going on for a long time one can ask how the change agents kept the momentum for change over time.

The contextualist approach is a viable method for enhancing our understanding of sport organizations because of the richness of the data. As we have seen, the political process may not only require changes to the structure of a sport organization, but also to the dominant values and attitudes expressed by its members. By understanding the process one can learn how change was achieved, and this is necessary if one wants to learn from the process. The ability to understand the process of change is a special skill which will be very helpful for sport managers.

Paradoxically, the most radical proposal for a 40 % quota was too radical even for the Norwegian sport movement. One could imagine that the outer pressure of the implementation of 40 % female representation in company boards would have the effect that the sport movement would adopt it in order to be sure to maintain its legitimacy in public opinion. Obviously the leaders did not think that was necessary since they did not bring the topic forward, or perhaps they were afraid of the real attitudes in the sport population that were shown in the leadership study as well as in the consultation in 2006-07. The results of this consultation for the Strategic Plan 2007-2011 was that people agreed with the general policy statement to increase the number of female leaders and coaches, but not to the implementation of targets for the number of females in the organization. Opinions were much more divided concerning the more effective use of the gender statutes, fewer exemptions and the use of the lottery funds for improving the gender balance. To sum up, the proposal of a 40 % quota did not get support from the consultation process. The same was the case in the leadership investigation (Ottesen et al 2009), where only a fourth of the female leaders and almost half of the men were satisfied with the situation as it was, even though 73 % of the men and 89% of the women expressed the view that the gender distribution was important for sport as a whole.

The explanation of how the gender statutes were changed has benefited by the use of Pettigrew's contextualistic approach, where the outer and the inner context as well as the process of change were examined. Over the whole period the change process of the gender statutes has been incremental and not radical. Women have at times been their own worst enemies in the way that they were very sceptical and reluctant to take chances, so they selected the safe option as, for example, when they decided to accept the wording of "candidates/representatives" in 1990 and when they wanted to exclude the sport clubs from the statutes both in 1987 and in 1996.. In 1980 the proposal of the Track and Field Federation was probably too much ahead of a conservative sport movement and in 2007 the initiators of the change lacked legitimacy and authority in the organization. The preparatory work was also not good enough, so the proposals failed. The lobbying by women outside the board in 1980 was not effective because they concentrated too much upon the women and did not include the male representatives. The same was the case in 2007 of the actions by the second vice-president in NOC who was advised by an experienced female in the organization to stop the action. In the beginning the executive board showed political correctness in supporting the change. However, the proposal did not have enough organized support in the sport community.

One conclusion is that women need to network more with men, especially important male allies in order to achieve their goals. However, this kind of proposal can only be successful with strong and persistent support from people with power. The changes so far have been made by men, because the leadership needed a combination of planning and the right timing.

Pettigrew's approach helps to uncover how contextual pressures outside of and within the sport organization, the key actors, their values and legitimacy, and the structures and the strategies of the organization had an impact on change (or lack of change) and provides us with a better understanding of the changing process. From a practitioner's point of view, Pettigrew's framework underscores the importance of what leaders can do to manage change. It may be argued that the way forward is to focus on better collaboration with powerful people in the organization and do the strategic planning more thoroughly before one tries to change the statutes.

Even though the changes in the gender statutes have been favourable, to call NOC's gender statutes adequate or sufficient would be misleading. The gender balance is improved even when women remain underrepresented. Moreover, the silent resistance exemplified by the sport federations in the questionnaires sent out in 2007, indicates that the struggle for gender equality has not yet been won.

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Table 1: Type of investigation, year, sample size, response rate and data analysis

Type of data	Year	Sample	Data analysis
Archive studies	1945 -2007	Annual reports	Women in sport leadership, statutes, grouped according to whether the main message was on equality, positive action or gender mainstreaming
Archive studies	1980- 2007	Protocols from GAs and Documents to GAs	
Observation	1980-2007	1980, 1982, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2003, 2004, and 2007, 11 GAs	Field-notes and protocol from GA on equality, positive action and gender-mainstreaming
Leadership study (Ottesen et al. 2009) Questionnaire sent electronically	November 2004	N=385, Response-rate 62	Quest-back electronically transformed into SPSS Quantitative data Only used data on gender attitudes in this connection
NOC questionnaire	November 2006 – February 2007	N= 57 Response rate 79% of regional sporting bodies and 38 % of the sport	Quantitative data Paper version of questions targeting equality and attitudes towards it, which the author has systemized

		federations	
Interviews with key persons in the election process 2007	June - August 2007	N=8	Tape-recorded and fully transcribed, and checked by respondents on the 40 % proposal and the attitudes towards equality

Table 2: Organizational changes in Gender Policy 1971 - 2007, an overview of content, outer and inner context

Timeframe	1971 to 1984	1984 to 1994	1994 to 2007		
Periods	Equal rights	Positive actions	Gender mainstreaming		
Content	1980 1984	Proposal for gender statutes NOC ran courses	1987 1990 1996 1999 2007	Gender statutes enacted Changes in statutes, at least two candidates	At least two representatives, sport clubs exempted Sport Club included Committees with three and fewer included
Outer context	1971 1973-77 1975 1978	Women's coup 15% women as member in Parliament International Year of Women Gender Equality Act Equality Committee Gender quotas	1985 1986 1991-92	Norwegian Equality Status Council organized a consultation on women in sport 40% women in Cabinet White paper on sport	2000 2002 2007 White paper Minister of Industry proposed 40 % quotas Media & Equality Ombud
Inner context	1974 1979 1982	More activities for women Gender statutes passed in Track and Field Federation Track and Field Federation asked to know NOC's view on the impact of Gender Equality Act on voluntary organizations	1984 1988	New NOC President Women Committee Women consultant Finances Networking Nordic Female Conference Task-forces and forums for women Evaluation	1994 1995-2000 2003 2006 Nov 2007 Feb 2007 April Women's Committee abolished Women Project for Leaders for Elite Athletes Increase female representation to 30% Strategic plan sent on consultation President's council in favour of 40 % Executive board did not forward the proposal to GA

				report		
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Table 3: Organizational change processes in Gender Policy and key actors 1971-2007

Timeframe periods	Equal rights 1971 to 1984	Positive actions 1984 to 1994	Gender mainstreaming 1995 to 2007
Process	President of Track and Field Federation (key-actor) Education for female representatives (proposal from Fencing Federation) Increased female representation from 8 % to 25 %.	Support from NOC President Female leader of Legal Committee Empowerment courses First White Paper on Sport Increased female representation from 25 % to 34%	Support from Director General in the Ministry of Culture, responsible for sport Leader of Elite Sport in Olympiatoppen White paper on Sport Increased female representation from 34 -39 %

¹ Originally from 1945 the name was Norwegian Confederation of Sports until 1996 when it merged with the - Norwegian Olympic Committee, and at the GA in 2007 Paralympics was added to the name. In the text I will use NOC as the abbreviation for the umbrella organization.

² 75 votes for the federations, varying from 4 votes for the Norwegian Football Association (biggest federation) to one vote for the Tobogganing Federation (the smallest) and 75 votes for the regions altogether, 5 for the biggest and three for the smallest.

³ Memberships are used because there can be members who are counted multiple times due to membership in more than one organization.

⁴ Already in a statement from the GA in 1969 "One has to work for getting women engaged both as athletes and leaders" (NOC 1969, p. 84, point 4).

⁵ A sport council is established where more than four sport clubs exist in a municipality, in order that they coordinate applications for money for sport facilities.

⁶ In 2004 the number of sport federations was 55, and one more federation was adopted in 2007

⁷ translated by the author

⁸ It did not reach 2/3 of the votes with 62 for and 56 against (NOC, 1996, p.16)

⁹ Eight females and two males took part in the discussion. (field notes 1996).

¹⁰ The Act went into force in 1979, and the purpose was to promote gender equality and aims in particular at improving the position of women in education, employment and cultural and professional advancement §1. The Gender Equality Ombud was established simultaneously in order to enforce the Act.

¹¹ IOC: Promotion of women sports leaders. Retrieved May 13th, 2008 from http://www.olympic.org/uk/organisation/missions/women/activities/leaders_uk.asp

¹² The old Central Women's Committee, which was a follow up from the Labour Sport Organization, was abolished more than 30 years ago in 1953 at the general assembly of sports (NOC, 1985).

¹³ Exchange rate 100 NOK = 14.49 USD

¹⁴ The G.A. was called extraordinary because the president and the General Secretary had resigned because of a huge deficit in 2003.