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Experiences of Women Leaders in the African Union Sports Council Region 5

by

Lombe Annie Mwambwa

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Sport Science/Physical Education

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ABSTRACT

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EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN LEADERS IN THE AFRICAN UNION SPORTS COUNCIL REGION 5

Lombe Annie Mwambwa

This study examined the experiences of 22 women sport leaders in high-level policy positions within the African Union Sports Council Region 5 (AUSC5). The study aimed to understand how these women negotiate their identities and navigate leadership barriers within a context where women leaders are underrepresented. By 2015 the AUSC5, the multilevel regional sport body in Southern Africa, had developed policies and action plans setting targets for ratios of women leaders (aiming at 50% representation) and leadership development (African Union, 2013). However, women sport leaders comprise an average of between 19% and 28% of boards of national sport organisations (Fasting et al., 2014). In sociology of sport literature, experiences of women in sport leadership are explored extensively, including recruitment into leadership, barriers to advancement into senior positions, media coverage, and power and agency to achieve change (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013; Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008; Hovden, 2013; Pfister & Radtke, 2009; Schull et al., 2013). There is however limited research available that explores the experiences of negotiating multiple identities of women sport leaders who are currently in high-level positions (Burton & Leberman, 2017; McDowell & Cunningham, 2009). Further, there is limited exploration of the experiences of women sport leaders in the AUSC5 region.

In this study, an interpretivist perspective was adopted and used Goffman's (1959, 1963) perspectives of interaction and identity negotiation sensitised by the concept of Ubuntu. I link this with intersectionality theory to enable an exploration of the women's multiple identities as simultaneous and interactive (Collins, 2000). The data were generated through semi-structured interviews that explored themes of personal beliefs, identities, experiences of barriers and opportunities as sport leaders and views on social change to address underrepresentation of women in sport leadership. The three broad questions that guided this study are: What are the barriers that women sport leaders in

policy-level sport organisations of the AUSC5 encounter? How do women sport leaders in policy-level sport organisations of the AUSC5 negotiate their identities? How does the identity negotiation of women sport leaders in policy-level sport organisations of the AUSC5 relate to their navigation of barriers? The findings of this research contribute to an understanding of the complexities of negotiating multiple identities in Southern Africa and has implications for adjustments in the content of leadership development programmes, organisational development approaches, and accountability for fairness in leadership opportunities and practices.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Lombe Annie Mwambwa

declare that the thesis entitled:

Experiences of Women Leaders in the African Union Sports Council Region 5

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

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

- none of this work has been published before submission

Signed: ……………………………………………

Date: 11.01.21
……………………………………………………

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"We are each other's harvest, we are each other's business, we are each other's magnitude and bond" Gwendolyn Brooks

Acronyms

AU	**African Union**
AUSC5	**African Union Sports Council Region 5**
CEDAW	**Convention on the Elimination of All of Discrimination Against Women**
NOC	**National Olympic Committee**
NPC	**National Paralympic Committee**
NSC	**National Sports Council**
SCSA	**Supreme Council of Sport in Africa**
SADC	**Southern Africa Development Community**
SDGs	**Sustainable Development Goals**
WSAN	**Women Sport Africa Network**

1. Introduction

This thesis aims to explore the identity negotiation experiences of women leaders in high-level leadership positions of sport organisations within the African Union Sports Council Region 5 (AUSC5). The AUSC 5 is an intergovernmental network of sport bodies responsible for the coordination of regional policies and programmes on sport in Southern Africa. In this introduction, I briefly outline some of the key issues raised in the leadership literature in the sociology of sport, organisational studies, development, and gender studies. The major arguments are that women in high-level policy positions of sport organisations are underrepresented and their experiences should therefore be explored within that context (Hovden 2013, Adriaanse and Schofield 2013a). The challenges that are associated with underrepresentation of women in leadership are extensively documented in both theoretical and empirical literature (Kanter 1977, Yoder 1991, Avtar 1996, Nkomo 2011).

It is well established that proportions of people in groups with different identities, such as gender, affect how they interact with each other and in relation to the organisation. In particular, the history of how the different categories and identities of groups have interacted, such as gender, race, or class is important to the experiences that underrepresented groups have within organisations (Kanter 1977). Numerical underrepresentation is not inherently problematic, but rather the resulting processes of how underrepresented groups are treated is a problem. Women sport leaders face the challenges of intersecting subordinating impact of gender, numerical underrepresentation, and low influence which affects their ability to bring about change in their sport organisations (Hovden 2013). The experiences of women sport leaders working in such contexts, like the women sport leaders in the AUSC5, are interesting for research especially at present when participation and development of women in sport leadership has gained importance in sports governance (Adriaanse and Schofield 2013a, Adriaanse and Claringbould 2014, Fasting 2014, Goslin and Kluka 2006).

The representation of women sports leaders within the AUSC5 sport organisations remained below the targeted minimum of 30%, in the period 2013-2016, which is lower than recommended by regional governing bodies (African Union 2008, Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance 2015). In five of the ten member countries of the AUSC5, women sport leaders on boards of national sport organisations make up between 19% and 28% of board composition (Fasting et al., 2014). In view of this, the AUSC5 has developed policies and action plans between 2010 and 2015 and taken actions including agreeing targets for ratios of women leaders (aiming at 50% representation), leadership development, and an agreement by all member states to adopt adequate sport policies (African Union 2013). However, the

experiences of the women sport leaders who are currently in these high-level positions of sport organisations in the AUSC5 remain underrepresented in organisational research.

The AUSC5 has it secretariat in Botswana and is the Southern African region of the sport structures within the African Union Sport Council (AUSC). The African Union (AU) is a geo-political collective of fifty-four African countries and the disputed territory of Western Sahara. The AUSC5 organisation and background is discussed in detail in section 2.5. Figure 1 below illustrates the sport bodies within which the women sport leaders in this study are located.

Figure 1: Sport Structures in the AUSC5
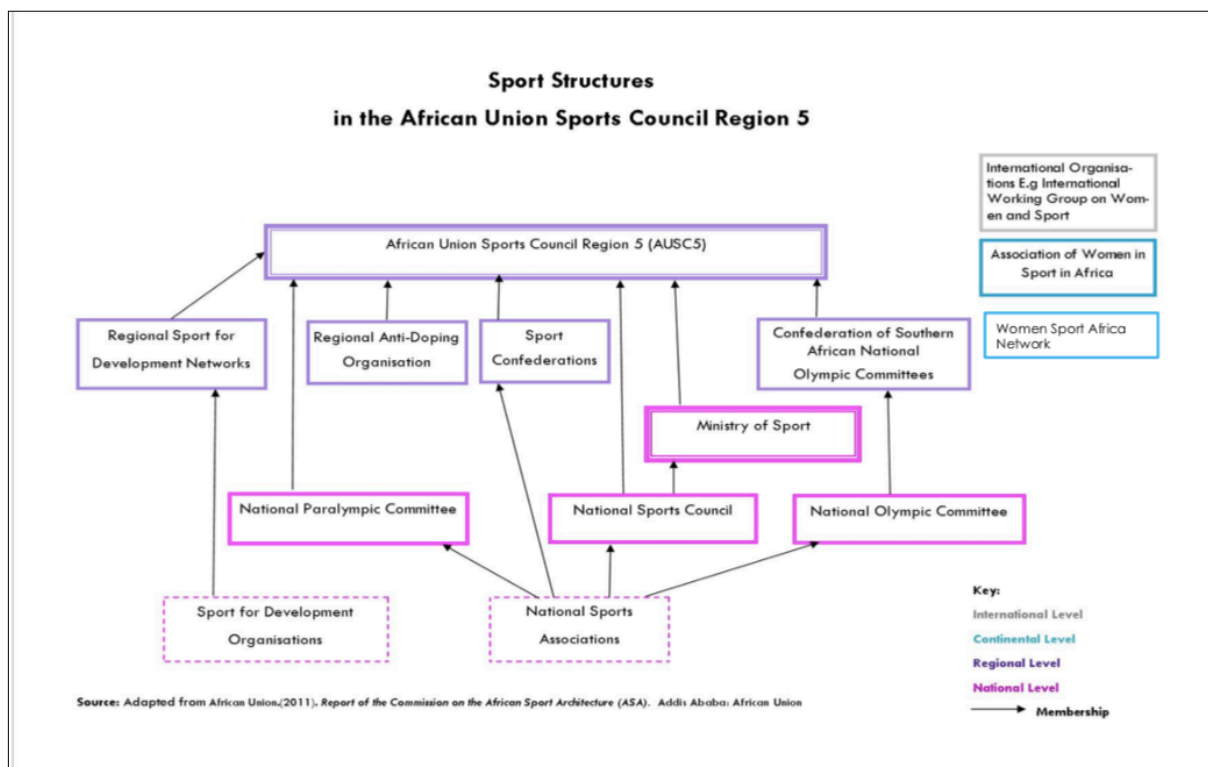
Although there is an increase in participation of women in sport, there are still relatively few sociological analyses on the experiences of women in high-level positions of sport organisations (Hovden 2013). Much of the research on women in high-level sport leadership explores their experiences of the interaction between gender and leadership in particular contexts including recruitment into leadership, barriers to advancement into higher positions, media coverage, and power and agency to achieve change (Adriaanse and Schofield 2013a, Claringbould and Knoppers 2008, Hovden 2013, Pfister and Radtke 2009, Schull, Shaw, and Kihl 2013).

Another insightful area of study in the literature on organizations, gender, and leadership focuses on the leadership styles of women. This is in regard to the ways women's leadership styles are similar or

different from men and which styles women find effective in particular contexts (Eagly, 2003; Ely, Ibarra, & Kolb, 2011; Haslam, 2011; Vinkenburg, van Engen, Eagly, & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2011). Although leadership styles are important, they are not the focus in this study. Instead, leadership styles are discussed as a process in which identity negotiation occurs. The emphasis is placed on how power relations inform actions that are categorized as leadership styles and how these styles are used as a strategy of identity negotiation to navigate discrimination and related challenges.

There are few studies that have focused on the identities of women sport leaders. Identities are meanings that individuals associate with themselves relative to their personal beliefs and perceptions, roles, and to their relationships with other individuals and groups (Collinson 2003, Kanneh 1998, Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003). Identities are multiple in nature and are affected by interaction situations, history, motivation, and several other factors (Goffman 1959, Swann Jr and Bosson 2008). Leadership identities are considered important to successful leadership and research shows how women's gender identities have been negatively associated with leadership in particular contexts resulting in disadvantages and constraints for women (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Kanter, 1977; Klenke, 2004).

Within sport research, identity negotiation is explored in research examining participation and identities of individuals and communities that intersect with the structure of sport such as religious identities (Kay 2006, Walseth 2006), motherhood (Palmer and Leberman 2009), and racial identities (McDowell 2008). Some of the studies have investigated the influences that impact on identity negotiation of women sport leaders including gender, race, and class (McDowell 2008, McDowell and Cunningham 2009) and ethnicity and gender (Palmer and Masters 2010). The research on experiences of women sport leaders in the AUSC5 region and the broader Sub-Saharan Africa region has not had a significant focus on identity negotiation. There is however research emerging on women leaders in other fields such as business and education. Carrim (2012) explores the identity negotiation of Asian women in business management in South Africa with a focus on their gender and racial identities to understand how they develop their identities. Within the sociology of African sport, Massao and Fasting (2003) identify various identity influences, including motherhood, ethnicity, religion, class, and gender, that women sport leaders negotiate in their roles in sport organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Most studies on identities and leadership focus on broad identities such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, and class (Alvesson, Ashcraft, and Thomas 2008). However, there are various other identities that may be important to the women sports leaders besides these ones (for example, religion and motherhood). Since identity negotiation is affected by various factors and influences at

micro, meso, and macro levels, some identities are more salient for some women than others (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003, McDowell and Cunningham 2009, Bell and Nkomo 2003, Carrim 2012). Identity negotiation is also directly linked to role negotiation by women sport leaders as identities are partly derived from social roles (Ashforth and Mael 1989, Goffman 1959, Swann Jr and Bosson 2008). Some roles have been highlighted in women sport leadership research as influencing or constraining and therefore requiring navigation (M'mbaha 2012). The roles women sport leaders play within the organisation and outside it influence their identities and what they experience as sport leaders in organizations where they are underrepresented. The interaction of multiple identities and leadership is recognized and recommended for further research by various scholars within organizational leadership studies and sport leadership studies (see, for example, Alvesson, Ashcraft, and Thomas 2008, Nkomo and Ngambi 2009, Sinclair 2010, Welty-Peachey et al. 2015).

In response, the overall aim of this study was to contribute to an understanding of how women sport leaders in the AUSC5 negotiate their identities and how this relates to the way they navigate leadership barriers. To facilitate this, the study was guided by three main questions:

1. What are the barriers encountered by women sport leaders on boards of sport organisations of the AUSC5?

2. How do women sport leaders on boards of sport organisations in the AUSC5 negotiate their identities?

3. How does the identity negotiation of women sport leaders on boards of sport organizations of the AUSC5 relate to their navigation of barriers?

In order to explore these questions, this study was informed by an interactionist theoretical framework. The framework facilitates a micro-sociological approach to examine individual experiences and relationships within macro-social structures and contexts. In particular, the thesis draws on Goffman's work on interaction, stigma, and identity negotiation (Goffman 1959, 1963). Identity negotiation enables the interrogation of the experiences women have in the context of underrepresentation, the strategies of identity negotiation they use such as identity affirmation or negation, resistance, and social change activism. The thesis also draws on intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989, Collins 2000, Dhamoon 2011) to enable this study to consider the women sport leaders in the AUSC5 not only as a collective with shared experiences but also to attend to the differences in perspectives of their individual experiences as leaders. In recognition of the tenets of intersectionality theory, this thesis engages with Ubuntu as a sensitizing concept (Blumer, 1954; Liu, 2004). Ubuntu is a philosophical concept based on the African worldview that one's identity is rooted

in their social relationships and context. The idea of Ubuntu is conceptualized in the phrase 'I am because we are' (Louw, 2001; Tutu). In this thesis, this concept contributes to sensitizing the inquiry to the context of the women sport leaders and therefore strengthening the theoretical framework which is elaborated in chapter 3.

In this qualitative study, I drew on the experiences of 22 women leaders located in four countries within the AUSC5. These women were purposively selected based on their roles as leaders currently serving in high-level policy positions of sport organizations within the AUSC5. The women were identified through the organizational data on board representation obtained from organizational websites and personal contacts and networks. I used semi-structured interviews conducted over the telephone and face-to-face. Interviewing women about identity negotiation and their experiences centers the study on women and what may be considered the personal spheres of women's lives. This is important to feminist approaches to sociological inquiry since women's experiences have historically not been fully represented in literature (Oakley and Roberts 1981, Cook and Fonow 1986). Since personal experiences are connected to structural contexts, feminists have argued for the consideration of the multiple levels, dimensions, and pressures of inequalities that are oppressive to women by approaching studies of women's experiences with an intersectional perspective (Winker and Degele 2011, Crenshaw 1989). In this way, my study explores the micro level process of identity negotiation and the structural level processes of navigating organizational socio-cultural constraints, as these are interdependent.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to elaborating on the quantitative data available on how women are underrepresented in sport leadership (Fasting 2014). Research indicates the disproportionate representation and the constraints that women sport leaders encounter. My study facilitates a closer examination of women's experiences from an identity perspective. Further, this study adds to broadening the understanding of the lived realities of women in these underrepresented contexts of organizational leadership (Avtar, 1996; Hovden, 2013; Kanter, 1977). The results support further exploration and questioning of feminist and policy expectations of what women in sport leadership can do towards getting more women into leadership and creating organizational change by providing insight into the identity work that women sport leaders perform to navigate barriers (Alvesson et al., 2008; Mwambwa & Pike, 2021).

The research process of this thesis is undertaken within an interpretivist paradigm of inquiry which means a consideration for subjectivity. Subjectivity refers to the understanding of reality as intertwined with and in relation between the knower and what is being known (Faust & Denzin, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1995). Part of my work within the sport sector is with organizations that campaign for

gender equity in sport leadership as well as in leadership of sport organizations. I therefore have a stake in the results of the research and in the outcomes and possibilities that the results will contribute to.

I developed this study at a time I had been working through my own leadership role in the board of a sport organisation and the interactions I was navigating that were related to my identity. As a Black and relatively young woman I have had to negotiate my location within sport organization leadership in a post-colonial, post -apartheid regional context. Having grown up in Zambia, within the AUSC5, the social, historical background of this region is not just the context of the research participants, it is my background too. I was born in the early eighties and I have been a witness and subject of the conditions and progress that have taken place over the last three decades. There are two main narratives circulated through media, schools, and government policy among others that have endured for a large part of my life. The first is narratives of restrictive austerity conditions through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) fostered by neoliberal policy institutions and adopted by governments in the 1980s through the 1990s. These effects have endured into the present. Second, narratives of aspirations and expansion of women's rights and freedoms promoted by women's movements in the context of the Beijing Platform of Action in 1995 and the regional campaigns and advocacy that has since followed.

Several of the women in this thesis are among the first few women to hold the position that they have served in within the history of their organizations. There is still therefore a sense of being pioneers, being among the women who have pushed the boundaries to expand the space of possibilities for women. Women in leadership who are in male dominated spaces such as sport organizations are lauded as role models who have overcome much to be who they are. These generations of women are the role models to the generation of women I am a part of. Since my being and the possibilities of my becoming are connected to theirs, I am invested in understanding their experiences. These women make up the numbers that are presented to signify progress or mark lack of progress, the 30%, the 10% and the progress towards 50% (chapter 4). My interest in this study is therefore from a deeply personal level. As part of a community, I ground my motivations and mission for my inquiry in 'the imperative of making the world in which we live intelligible to ourselves and to each other – in other words, teaching ourselves' (Alexander, 2005, p. 7). While organizations and governments present narratives of progress, lack of progress, and concessions, I am interested in the narrative of the women themselves. These narratives are still underrepresented in the literature and public media. Therefore, this thesis examines women leaders' micro-level narratives and the meanings they make of their experiences in sport organisations.

I came to sport through sport for development projects and have worked in policy and service delivery organizations and networks. I have served on boards of several sport organizations at local and international level. I associate with a relational ontology. I see myself as part of a broad network of women in sport in Zambia and around the world. In the frame of ubuntu, my being is in relation to the being of others (Louw, 2001; Tutu). Ubuntu acknowledges the development of one's being as progressive and taking place over time and in relation with others (Mukuka, 2013). As a researcher, I am still becoming. This was important for me to be aware of as it contributed to how I engaged with the research participants. In our interviews, I was not the all-knowing researcher, but rather a co-inquirer, sharing my experiences as they allowed and hearing their experiences (Mwambwa & Pike, 2021). Although my experience within the sports sector and region positioned me as an insider, I was an outsider at the same time (Collins & Bilge, 2016). From this positionality and background, I understand this research as part of how I become more embedded within the women and sport community and contribute to advancing understanding of women in sport.

Following this introduction, Chapter two is an overview of the social political context of the AUSC5. This overview is important to understanding the experiences and identities of women sport leaders because their lives are located in particular social-historical contexts (Zarai, 2000). Chapter three is an outline of the theories used to frame this research. Chapter four discusses organizational and sport leadership. Chapter five presents a discussion of the research methodology, describing the research participants, location, and methods used in the study process. Chapters six to nine discuss the results of the study. Chapter ten presents the conclusions drawn from the study, reflects on the research process, contribution to knowledge, and suggests ideas for future research.

The following chapter presents a contextual background of this study arguing that women's experiences of underrepresentation are structured and situated in the organizations' social, political, and historical realities of inequality (Collins, 2000).

2. About the AUSC5 Countries

2.1 Introduction

In order to locate the experiences of women sport leaders in the AUSC5, this chapter presents an overview of the political and social influences that have shaped the development of the AUSC5 region. The AUSC5 countries have some shared historical, cultural and political experiences that have contributed to the organic and deliberate development of the AUSC5 as a distinct socio-political region. It is necessary to go back to recorded history to understand both the shared and disparate development that has led to the current political and economic contexts. To achieve this, the chapter takes an intersectional view of some globalisation processes that have affected Africa. Globalisation refers to 'the rapidly accelerating integration of mainly local and national economies into a single global market … and to the political and cultural corollaries of this process' (Jagger, 2001, p. 298). Globalisation is not a new phenomenon and has been in progress for many centuries with trade, war, religious conquests, and settler colonisation as just some of the principle events that have facilitated it.

The political economic motive of globalisation is encapsulated in neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is the ideological thought that individual freedoms, choice, and economic progress can be achieved through unregulated capitalist economic structures and activities (Jagger, 2001). Neoliberal globalisation is therefore conceptualised as the process of socio-cultural, political, and economic integration. For example, the development of global sport organisations, sport ideology and sport business models linked to capitalism. An intersectionality view on neoliberal globalisation is grounded in the principle that women around the world experience the influences and processes of globalisation differently (Yuval-Davis, 2004). Therefore, based on their social locations, women sport leaders across the AUSC5 experience 'multiple and also particular distinct forms of inequalities' (Anthias, 2014, 163).

To explore the material and cultural processes leading up to and supporting these disadvantages, it is important to view globalisation with a temporal and contextual perspective (Anthias, 2014). This chapter aims to do that. Section 2.2 outlines the geographic and political membership of the AUSC5 and provides a brief overview of the indigenous people in the region and highlights their worldview of Ubuntu (Louw, 2001; Tutu, 1999). The section includes a discussion of the colonisation of the region (see 2.2.3), as this is a significant social, political, and economic process that has shaped the gender identities and political organisations in the region that affect women's leadership (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Connell, 2014b; Lugones, 2008). Section 2.3 presents occurrences over the last two decades to

highlight the current social, cultural and economic developments including relationships with the global community through membership in the United Nations (UN). Section 2.4 discusses the AU's ambitions for leading an African Renaissance that draws on African cultures and global influences to construct the future (Jonas, 2012; Muchie et al., 2013). Section 2.5 outlines the organisational arrangements of the sports bodies within the AUSC5 and provides an overview of the gender distribution in the leadership positions that are the focus of this study. By outlining these historical, current, and planned developments, this chapter highlights the transitional social-political state of the African continent in which women sport leaders are located and the context of the multiple influences upon their identity negotiation and how they navigate leadership barriers.

2.2. Social, Political and Economic History of the AUSC5

2.2.1 The AUSC 5 Geographic Region

The African Union is the collective of fifty-five African countries and territories. It is an intergovernmental organisation established in 2000 to promote the Pan-African socio-political integration of the African states. In 2013 the African Union (AU) launched its fifty-year development plan called Agenda 2063, a broad plan for the social, economic and political transformation of the continent of Africa. This plan was developed to contribute to the African Union's vision for 'an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena' (African Union Commission, 2014, p. 1). The African Union manages its sports programmes through the African Union Sports Council (AUSC), a structure within the AU Commission on Social Affairs. The AUSC is divided into six regions for administrative convenience and in alignment with regional integration organisations such as the Southern African Development Community. Southern Africa is categorised as the AUSC region five (AUSC5) and is comprised of ten member Countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The next section discusses the peoples of the region.

2.2.2 The Peoples

The earliest inhabitants of the region are the Khoisan people, currently found in parts of South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. They were displaced by the Bantu speaking people who migrated from the Luba Lunda Kingdom in the Congo around the Iron Age (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Huffman, 1970; Kula & Marten, 2008). These Bantu groups include the Zulu, who are in South Africa, Ndebele in Zimbabwe, Chewa in Malawi and the Bembas in Zambia among others (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Kula & Marten, 2008). One of the main features that separate the Bantu people from other peoples is their worldview, known as Ubuntu. The word Ubuntu and its equivalents are found in various Bantu languages in Sub-

Saharan Africa. In these languages the root '-ntu' means human and is used in various combinations to produce related words (Makuvaza, 2008; Weire, 2007). For example, in the iciBemba language of the Bemba people in Zambia, related words with the root '-ntu' include Ubuntu - humaneness, *Umuntu* - a person, Abantu – People, and various alternatives in specific languages. Several scholars ascribe the word as translated from Zulu, Xhosa and Ndebele languages of South Africa even though it has a longer and more diverse historical origin and development (Louw, 2001; Sigger, 2010; Tutu, 1999).

As a worldview, some functional aspects of Ubuntu include the identity and moral beliefs or boundaries of the Bantu people (Mukuka, 2013; van Binsbergen, 2001). The first functional use of the concept of Ubuntu is that of identity. Ubuntu is used to differentiate between a Bantu person (*Umuntu*) and a non-bantu person. Ubuntu defines people within their own location and against the 'other' who is foreign. This provides an ontological boundary, firstly, at the physical level, the human from the nonhuman such as animals, vegetation, spiritual beings and the inanimate. The second boundary is to categorise among humans, it is a way of differentiating the *Umuntu* from the other who is foreign in view of location, culture or worldview (Louw, 2001; van Binsbergen, 2001). Among the Bemba people for example, a South Asian person, especially of Indian origin is 'Mwenye', a white person or European is not *Umuntu*, they are 'Umusungu'; they are recognised as humans with a different worldview and way of life. The second function of Ubuntu as a defining concept is about prescribing standards of authentic humanity through the expectations of moral behaviour. Ubuntu is a state of being; it is achieved through a process of becoming. This means that one can be *Umuntu*, but if they do not achieve or perform the expected morality and attitudes they do not have Ubuntu (Mukuka, 2013; Tutu, 1999; van Binsbergen, 2001). These attitudes of Ubuntu are articulated in the idea of 'I am because we are' through values of respect, generosity, collective interest and respect for one's cosmological position (Tutu, 1999; van Binsbergen, 2001). This concept of Ubuntu is further developed within the analysis of the women sport leaders' experiences in this thesis.

Despite a shared worldview, the peoples in the AUSC region still had disputes and economic pressures that resulted in major migration. For example, the Ndebele people left South Africa and migrated northwards into present day Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. This dispersal resulted in significant cultural and linguistic similarities as the descendants of these various ethnic groups are spread across the AUSC5 region. The next section highlights the colonial events and processes that impacted on the current location and make-up of the regional population, on the worldviews and kinship arrangements of the people in AUSC5.

2.2.3 European Settlement and Colonisation

The 1600s were a significant time for European entry into African regions south of the equator. This was spurred by European technological advances in marine transport and economic interests in commodities such as gold and slave labour for the plantations in the Americas (Rodney, 1972). Initially, the Dutch traders set up resupply posts in the ports in current South Africa, while the Portuguese contested the coasts on the east, including Mozambique, which was already dominated by Arabs and the British came to the mainland (Keegan, 1996). This opened up the AUSC5 region to religious evangelism, economic trade and subsequently slave trade with routes through the region leading to the ports in Angola in the west and Mozambique in the east (Bauer & Taylor, 2005). By the late 1800s, religious missionaries had settled in the region among the local peoples with the aim of converting the locals to the Christian faith (Amadiume, 1987; Oyěwùmí, 1997). A major influence of the missionary groups was the development of written equivalents of the oral languages of the local peoples (Amadiume, 1987). This enabled documentation, which was critical to communication and teaching for evangelical purposes as the missionaries trained local males to read and write in order to be evangelists to reach more people. Most important, however, was literacy to ease the bureaucratic functions of the subsequent colonial governance systems (Oyěwùmí, 1997). The disproportionate access to this form of literacy development also influenced the involvement and leadership of men and women within the AU anti-colonial struggle.

Colonisation was a long and contested process; the locals in Southern Africa resisted European colonial domination through several major wars including the Zulu war (1870), Ndebele War (1888), and the Boer War in 1899 (Keegan, 1996). Despite this resistance, by the following century most of the region was under European imperial control and was demarcated into colonial territories formally agreed by colonisers at the Berlin Conference of 1884. Portugal controlled Angola and Mozambique. Britain controlled Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana as well as Namibia and South Africa, which Britain ceded to the Dutch settler population (Bauer & Taylor, 2005). While this colonisation process was underway, international sport organisations were being established including the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894 (Nixon & Frey, 1996). This development laid the foundation for internationalisation of Eurocentric sport organisations that have been exported through colonisation and later cooperation and interconnections of sport organisations across the world (Maguire, 1993, 2008).

By the mid-1900s, the African anti-colonial movement had been successful in influencing the handover of state control to local people to self-govern in Zambia (1964), Malawi (1964), Botswana (1967),

Lesotho (1966) and Swaziland (1968) (African Union, 2013; Bauer & Taylor, 2005). Other countries in the region were colonised for longer and had more militant liberation campaigns for their independence. These are Angola (1975), Mozambique (1975), Zimbabwe (1981), and Namibia (1990), while the apartheid regime remained in South Africa until 1994. In view of this, from the 1960s, the independent countries in the region participated with the Non-Aligned Movement, a group comprised of Asian and African countries opposed to colonialism and domination of the west, in support of the liberation struggle that resulted in the end of colonial rule and apartheid (Bauer & Taylor, 2005). In 1963, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established to advance cooperation towards the liberation of all African countries. The Supreme Council of Sport in Africa (SCSA) was formed within the OAU in 1967 in order to use sport to mobilise against colonisation and apartheid (African Union, 2013; Booth, 2003; Hain, 2014; Kidd, 1988). The SCSA was renamed as AUSC and continues to coordinate sport governance across Africa and to promote the use of sport to address social, political and economic development following the end of colonisation. The next section describes leadership during the colonial and post-independence periods.

2.2.4 Leadership Inequality in pre- and post-Independence AUSC5

This section describes the leadership in the region in the period before and after independence. The section highlights the persistent inequality and suppression of women's leadership at various stages in history and current times (Geisler, 2004; Oyěwùmí, 1997). Throughout the history of the region, women have been involved with leadership in various aspects of their societies including economic, religious, political, and military leadership (Sheldon, 2016). Examples of women leaders throughout history in various roles within Southern Africa include; Nzinga who ruled Matamba, in Angola (1630), Vundlazi ruler in Natal region in South Africa (1838 – 1880), Mamochisane ruled the Kololo Kingdom in Zambia (1851), Charwe leader in the first Chimurenga war, Zimbabwe (1896), Gagoangwe ruled the Kwena in Botswana and Kanuni the Kwangali in Namibia (1923), Alice Lenshina founded the Lumpa Church in Zambia (1953) (Sheldon, 2016). However, the leadership roles and organisations filled by women were lost during the colonial times. In the colonisation process, the European settlers established the political and administrative systems based on the Eurocentric models and colonial interests with limited appreciation of the local culture and women's lives resulting in the undermining of pre-colonial institutions and ideologies (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Berger, 2003).

Oyewumi (1997) and Lugones (2010) argue that the gender dichotomy of male and female socio-political positions and subjectivity are a product of the colonisation process, which advanced race,

class, and gender systems in the interest of economic benefits for the colonisers. The reorganisation of local social relations was particularly visible in urban areas which had a larger population of men who had migrated to work in the mines and industries established by the colonialists while most of the women remained in the villages (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Morgen, 1989). The women staying back in the villages were influenced by practical needs to ensure farming continued in order to sustain the livelihoods of the families. The movement of local populations was controlled through the legal limitations on travel and residency in urban areas imposed by colonialists who implemented a pass system and taxes to limit population growth in the urban colonial administrative settlements. Subsequent implications of this are that training and education and participation in formal organisational processes, including social services and sport organisations, established through colonialists became dominated by men and resulted in the exclusion of women and perpetuated a class system (Amadiume, 2000; Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Oyĕwùmí, 1997).

It is further argued that this disruption was sustained with the complicity of indigenous men during colonial periods who benefited from the new class structure that was created comprised of colonialists as the higher class and the men with official positions in the middle and those without formal power including women (Geisler, 2004; Oyĕwùmí, 1997). This situation was not changed during the anti-colonial independence struggle in which women continued to be seen as mothers to be protected and to be subservient to the men who were heads of the household and the nation, ideologies that were reinforced by Christianity and decades of a political system that was mirroring Victorian ideas. However, scholars have pointed out how nationalisation does not always consider gender and women's issues as a priority (Bauer, 2004; Seidman, 1993; Yuval-Davis, 2004).

Nhongo-Simbanegavi, cited in (Berger, 2003), highlights the roles that women played in the independence struggle in Zimbabwe such as mobilisation of protests and advocacy for sovereignty yet the resulting post-independence nation building processes did not demonstrate that the new governments had women's emancipation on the agenda nor did they consider it a critical component of democratisation. This is an example of the limited consideration for the intersectionality of oppressive structures of racial, economic, and social systems. Similar arguments are made about the limited inclusion of women and the low investment in redressing the gender imbalance in post-independence leadership (Bauer, 2004; Geisler, 2004). The post-independence period, after 1960, in the AUSC5 was for most countries a time of political liberation from colonisation (Kandunza, 1986). It was characterised by leaders who were charismatic and considered revolutionary and representative of the national ideals. In that period, most countries had established multiparty democracy forms of

government, however most countries soon regressed into one party states (Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Angola) while Lesotho and Swaziland turned into monarchies (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Soko, 2007).

At this time, dominant academic leadership literature on post-independence countries, was mainly that produced and circulated by western scholars and focused on western leadership contexts (Fourie et al., 2015). Mazrui's (1970) study, although dated and positions men as leaders in the analogies, provides insight into the leadership approaches of various African national leaders in the 1960s when many African countries were emerging from colonialism (Fourie et al., 2015). The study identified four types of leaders; intimidator, patriarchal, reconciliatory and leaders of mobilisation (Mazrui, 1970). Mazrui asserted that intimidators depend on fear and on coercion to assert their authority, a characteristic of leadership that leads to dictatorial tendencies and abuse of power. Mazrui (1970) proposed that the leader of reconciliation is the kind who relies on tactical accommodation and seeks out spheres of compromise between divergent viewpoints. He identified the leader of mobilisation as one who is more charismatic and invested in catalysing the masses and is himself (sic) activated by ideological factors.

The patriarchal leader is described as a father figure who may be permissive or interventionist. He argues that this kind of leadership can be African to the extent that it is linked with African reverence for age and wisdom (Mazrui, 1970). It can be argued that this form of leadership leads to occurrences of undemocratic organisational leadership as elderly leaders may exercise undue influence based on a combination of their position and age. In this study I explore how women sport leaders negotiate their identities in relation to diverse leadership identities such as these. Mangu's (2008) study argues that there is an absence of legitimate democratically elected leaders. The rule of law does not prevail (Fourie et al., 2015). At organisation level this can be translated into leadership that is not compliant to rules and procedures that safeguard the interests of the organisation and followers including diverse and fair representation. The next section highlights the political and economic changes that were made in the post-independence period and how these contributed to the state and pace of organisational leadership development in the region.

2.2.5 Post-Independence Political and Economic Reforms

In the wake of political independence in the 1960s and 1970s, the newly free African states began to undertake social-economic reforms. These post-independence reforms were based on development ideologies that sought to be different from the ideologies of the colonial countries (Ivanska, 2011; wa

Thion'go, 1986). Most states took on largely socialist programmes influenced by associations with the countries in the Non-Aligned Movement with priorities on education and health care and development of infrastructure to facilitate service provision (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; wa Thion'go, 1986). This form of governance meant state control of organisations and limited exposure to capitalist business models as a context for leadership development. This however changed rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s as countries were compelled to change from socialist to capitalist economic frameworks in response to international financial and political crises (Bauer & Taylor, 2005; Soko, 2007). The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), as leaders of this process, prescribed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which were implemented in the late 1980s and 1990s by all the countries in the whole region except for South Africa, Namibia and Botswana (Heidhues & Obare, 2011). State owned industries were privatised in line with free market economics. Since the local people did not have the capacity to buy and lead the companies themselves, most of the companies were sold to foreign investors mainly from western countries (Heidhues & Obare, 2011). This means that the local people have had a relatively short time within which they have been in organisational leadership. This limited experience has affected the level of development of their capacity and the extent to which their experiences have been documented in international literature on leadership. The next section describes the current context in the AUSC5 which is in part a result of the historical processes discussed so far and the on-going influences of globalisation.

2.3 Current Social, Political and Economic Situation

The AUSC5 region has had major social, political and economic changes and at present is characterised as a region in transition due to the relatively new political systems, developing economies and social organisations that are both resilient and responsive to changes (Evans, 2014; Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). Currently, the AUSC5 countries have relatively stable economies based on agricultural and extractive industries, growing at an average rate of 4% per annum (African Development Bank, 2013). The region has had increased trade and investments from eastern countries especially China, Japan and Malaysia among others contributing to the context of a multicultural organisational and national leadership context.

The countries in the region are rapidly urbanising, with about 30-40% of the population now living in urban areas and literacy levels range from 55-70% among the population above 15 years old (African Development Bank, 2015). The population have access to communication technology including mobile phones, there are over 400 subscribers per 1000 inhabitants, about 5% of the population and internet is accessible to about 18% of the population, increasing the connectivity within the region and to the

rest of the international community (African Development Bank, 2015). This has influenced cultural beliefs, lifestyles and consumption patterns and participation in local, national, and international cultures (Evans, 2014).

Other influences that have affected the social, cultural situation are shocks to the population such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which have affected kinship structures and has resulted in changes in the population distribution (Evans, 2014; Kalipeni, 2000). A persistent, though shifting feature of the region is gender inequality in social, political and economic resources, and opportunities that disadvantage women and girls (Longwe, 2000; Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). Some households that previously relied on male members for income now rely on women, as some of the males are no longer able to fulfil that role due to illness or mortality (Kalipeni, 2000). Economic challenges in the formal economy places a limit on the types of jobs available, but the demand for income raises opportunities for what roles and type of work is acceptable for women to do (Evans, 2014). A combination of rights advocacy by women's organisations and demand for resources has increased access to education for girls and women and facilitated progression in public leadership organisations (Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011).

Current social factors in the region that demonstrate the integration of traditional and imported cultures include religious practice. Religion in African culture has persevered and has been reconfigured in its interaction with modernity (Ellis & ter Haar, 2004). Following the adoption of Eurocentric lifestyles and Christianity, some people practice a multiplicity of religious activities including consultation of priests and prophets as well as traditional spirit mediums for success in ventures such as public office elections, spiritual healing and cleansing in times of misfortune such as illness or death (Ellis & ter Haar, 2004; Olupona & Nyang, 1993). However, some may not do this openly in order to avoid being perceived as backwards because practice of other spiritual beliefs and rituals is contrary to Christianity which is the dominating religious influence and is associated with modernity (Ellis, 1998; Olupona & Nyang, 1993). The beliefs are that just as people look up to the leader, the leader looks up to a higher being or authority (Setiloane, 1993).

In public life, this can be seen in the actions such as declarations of countries as Christian nations, such as Zambia (1991) and saying of prayers before official meetings (Miller & Aucoin, 2010). Religious prayers or rituals are also visible in swearing in ceremonies and oaths in politics, judicial systems and rituals such as burials (Ellis & ter Haar, 2004). Political leaders who display their religion are seen as more trustworthy and are likely to be followed (Gifford, 1998). Within the non-African traditional religions such as Christianity and Islam, the leadership of religious institutions was primarily comprised

of men and women only played supporting roles. This is still the prevailing set up in most denominations; however, some changes have happened such as the revision of regulations and change in beliefs about who can be a leader. Women are therefore rising into leadership positions of organisations that they were not allowed to be a part of in colonial and immediate post-independence periods due to prevailing interpretation of religious texts, and through limitations such as illiteracy (Ellis & ter Haar, 2004; Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Some of the current formal and informal structures and practices that affect everyday life of women and men in the AUSC5 are based on the legacies of colonialism and post-independence reforms. These include plural legal systems, the application of both received legal systems such as Roman or Dutch law and traditional laws and customs (Hellum et al., 2007). In many cases, these are integrated or where the traditional laws do not conflict with the Dutch law, they are sustained. For example, the system of contracting a marriage and the rights that one will have within it and upon its dissolution if necessary. This also affects property distribution as land is vested in traditional kings or chiefs for communal use and other land is statutory administered by the government. Further, resolution of conflicts is possible in traditional resolution organisations and practices or through the statutory laws (Hellum et al., 2007). The African Charter on Human and People's Rights particularly protects traditional and cultural practices and commits member states to uphold them (African Union, 2008). This integration and at times contradiction of these mixed influences indicates that the realities of women leaders in the AUSC5 will vary depending on which influences impact them the most. For example, the generational differences, geographic, class, race, and ethnic differences among women sport leaders means variable impact of these influences on their lives and their identities as leaders. The formal protection of traditional and cultural practices provides both an opportunity and a challenge for women sport leaders as some may promote or constrain leadership (Kuada, 2010).

Political action to support these changes has been in the form of policies and legislation. A prominent regional policy is the Protocol on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (SADC Gender Protocol), in which one of the targets is fifty per cent participation of women in leadership of public institutions (Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). This protocol is overseen by the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC is a political organisation linked to the AUSC5 sport structure through the Council of Sport Ministers. In relation to political governance, there have been no successful coups in this region unlike other parts of Africa. All the countries in the region have governments that are constituted through constitutional participatory democracy although they are at varying stages of development ranging from contested situations such as Zimbabwe, to progressive constitutional systems such as South Africa (Bauer & Taylor, 2005). In government organisations such

as parliaments and institutions of higher learning, women leaders comprise less than 30%, which is still below the target of 50% (Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). This is similar to the state of sport organisations that have generally democratic organisations and aims but have underdeveloped organisational structures (sport leadership proportions are discussed in section 2.5.2). The pathways for leadership progression and development are limited for women and social barriers such as gender stereotypes are unaddressed as there is an appearance of democracy but insufficient implementation. For this study, how women leaders negotiate their identities contributes to understanding how women navigate these barriers.

A structural and policy connection that the countries in the region have to the international community is through membership to the UN and by assent to fundamental UN instruments including the Charter on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UNCESCR) which stipulate equality of rights for all in all areas of social and public life (United Nations, 2015). Specific to sport, sport organisations within the AUSC5 are members of International Sport Federations, the International Paralympic Committee and the International Olympic Committee. This influences the legal and cultural boundaries that citizens have, for example, to equal opportunities to leadership within organisations and government organisations. AUSC5 countries participate in international policymaking including the Millennium Development Goals and the current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through the AU and the UN. These Goals include commitments to gender equality and social economic development. The countries have signed to apply these policies locally (African Union Commission, 2014). Through actions taken by women's rights non-governmental organisations (NGOs), government gender ministries and parliamentary organisations have facilitated review of the regional policies to align to the international UN policies (Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). These policies include attention to women's decision-making and leadership as outlined in the overarching 50-year plan Agenda 2063. The next section discusses the background of this plan.

2.4 Africa's Social, Political and Economic Agenda

The purpose of this section is to outline the concept of an African renaissance, which is the ideological foundation of the African Union Agenda 2063, the new framework for Africa's progress. Some of the priorities of this framework are gender equality and leadership development. Although it uses current development and political language and is aligned to current international frameworks such as the UN SDGs, it is acknowledged that it is not a new agenda but a renewed effort towards an African

renaissance (African Union Commission, 2014). The AUSC5, as a structure of the AU, is aligned to this mission and its implementation.

The term African renaissance is used to describe the waves of a movement to liberate and develop the African continent and its people and to adjust Africa's position in the global community and economy (Jonas, 2012; wa Thion'go, 1986). This is important at two levels; firstly, as a framework, it prescribes the societal ambitions, which in this case include gender equality in leadership and women's empowerment. Secondly, this renaissance is about nation (and at a larger scale regional community) building, which is not free of inequality in leadership opportunities during the process and in the outcomes (Geisler, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2004). The concept of an African renaissance is rooted in Pan-Africanism, a movement that was founded with the purpose of engaging Africans in the diaspora and those resident in Africa towards the emancipation of Africans from slavery, colonisation, and other forms of oppression.

The Pan-African movement has mobilised through various events coordinated by Africans on the continent and those abroad, including the first pan-African Congress in 1919 and subsequent congresses in 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945 (Adi & Sherwood, 2003). The Pan-African movement recognised the interconnected nature of racism, colonisation, and neo-imperialism (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Zerai, 2000). These multiple oppressive structures have had a significant influence on the geopolitical and socio-cultural development of African peoples and so the idea of an African renaissance is aimed at visualising and achieving a new way of life for Africans free from domination. This early movement contributed to the anti-colonial activism that occurred within particular nations and regions within Africa and in the diaspora, which lead to the end of colonial rule for many African countries around the 1950s and 1960s. This period is considered the first wave towards renaissance (Cossa, 2009). Although there were several women involved in leadership of this movement, the Post-Independence period did not result in structural and legislative frameworks that enabled continued participation of women in leadership of the newly independent countries (Frank, 2000; Geisler, 2004).

Reenergised efforts towards a renaissance is seen for the second time during the period immediately after political independence from colonisation from the late 1950s into the four decades leading up to the end of the millennium. This was characterised by active pursuit of nationalist economic systems as a way of enforcing a new African identity that is in contrast to that of colonial forces (Ajulu, 2001; Cossa, 2009). Ironically, this new African identity did not include equal value and recognition of women as leaders. The format that the new Africa should take and defining what a new African identity is remain contested issues. (Ajulu, 2001) highlights the differences in the ideological positions that the

leaders of the new nations, who were also key leaders in the Pan African Movement, took in interpreting the idea of a new Africa. One of the major themes in their politics was the question of identities and its related aspects of language, dress, and cultural practices and expressions. Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, was concerned about addressing the economic and political development and the risks of neo-colonialism. Regarding cultural identity, he advanced the idea of a common language, not one of the colonially imposed ones, but promoted the development of the Swahili language for formal use in education and business in East Africa (Ivanska, 2011). Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, and part of the Pan-African movement, advanced the idea of authenticity, which was about reviving the moral, cultural and philosophical values of the local people including concerns for local names and dress (Ajulu, 2001). Similarly, Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Hastings Banda of Malawi, drew attention to the importance of cultural strength and definition in the process of decolonisation (Ivanska, 2011). These themes have continued to be institutionalised through the adoption of continental policies such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted in 1985.

The third distinct wave of the renaissance project is associated with former President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki. He took forward Nkuruma and Nyerere's ideas of African philosophical values and an African identity (Jonas, 2012; Mbeki, 1996). His most notable moment in calling for a reawakening was at the adoption of a new South African constitution in 1996 at which he presented his 'I am an African' speech. In this speech, he does not explicitly use the word Ubuntu, but he invokes the ethos of Ubuntu which is 'I am, because of who we are' to justify pan-African cooperation (Mbeki, 1996). This cooperation is reflected in the sustained interest of the countries in the AUSC5 to operate as a region, for example through the cooperation of the regional organisations that form the organisations of the AUSC5 in which the women sport leaders in this study are employed. Thabo Mbeki situates Africa's new identity as related to the past and the future, to the local and the global a reflection of the concept of Ubuntu and an acknowledgment of the inevitability of globalisation processes without explicitly mentioning these terms (Mbeki, 1996). By doing this, Mbeki reinforced the agenda of Africa's renaissance aims as one of being authentic and being an equal player in the global political economy. This resulted in consensus among African states to establish a shared plan of action, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), aimed at social, political and cultural development within the African Union. The overall agenda is about reinstating the human dignity of Africans as equal humans and positioning Africa to participate equally at the global cultural, economic and political stage (Dalamba, 2000). One of the key themes of NEPAD, and of the renaissance, is about addressing the unequal relationships between Africa and the western world, resolving racial and gender inequality and developing good governance and leadership (African Union Commission, 2014;

Jonas, 2012; Mbeki, 2015). The NEPAD serves as a policy foundation on which the African Union Agenda 2063 is built. The African Union Agenda 2063 is articulated as a fifty-year plan towards Africa's renaissance.

The African Union's new agenda is in essence an updated plan that is aimed towards the ideals of Pan-Africanism and Africa's renaissance. The efforts of constructing an African identity and of particular interest, African women leader's identities are on-going and incorporate both traditional and modern social practices and beliefs. Africa has only had about fifty years of self-governance within which to develop democratic models of leadership and organisational practices. This is a relatively short period within which leadership cultures and practices have been developing, and even shorter period for the application of Ubuntu in leadership, and identity construction. Fourie et al. (2015) notes that around the early 2000s there was an increase in production of leadership literature by African scholars on the subject of authenticity related to 'reclamation and application of African values such as Ubuntu'. Leading scholars that are highlighted include (Mangaliso, 2001) and (van der Colff, 2003) whose scholarship articulates the concept of Ubuntu and how leadership can benefit from a philosophy that is rooted in local values and history to make the African renaissance possible (Fourie et al., 2015).

However, there are some unresolved aspects of the African renaissance concept. One criticism is the lack of specification of which part of Africa's past the project aims to reclaim. This is in view of the extensive historic period that the African peoples' lives extends to and that Africa with its current boundaries is a recent development majorly influenced by globalisation processes such as colonisation and neo-capitalism (Ajulu, 2001; Cossa, 2009). In her work on nationalism, (Yuval-Davis, 2004) discussed the construction of multi-cultural collectivities such as nations and communities. Her perspective applies to the African renaissance project. In particular, she draws attention to the importance of women's role as generational transmitters of cultural traditions and to signify ethnic and cultural boundaries through 'appropriate behaviour' (Yuval-Davis, 2004). This has to be considered, as it can be either an opportunity for progress towards women's equality in leadership or a hindrance (Kuada, 2010). It can be a hindrance if the appropriate behaviours that are reinforced and passed on are negative and sustain stereotypes or sexism that affects women sport leaders for example.

Africa is made up of various peoples with different cultures. The prospect of amalgamating or distilling these to establish the essence of what is African risks treating diverse peoples as the same and assuming that these members are equally committed to the particular culture (Yuval-Davis, 2004). Although the renaissance idea is about both the past and the future, it treats the shifts in social,

cultural and political spheres too simply and assumes benefit for everyone and yet there are inequalities that would not guarantee equal leadership for women. The next section now outlines the organisational arrangements of the sport bodies within the AUSC5.

2.5 Sport Bodies Within the AUSC5

2.5.1 Coordination and Functions

This section outlines the structure of the AUSC5 and its location in the overall structure of the AU and the tiers of organisations of which it is comprised. The African Union Commission on Social Development Affairs created a Division of Sport and African Sport Architecture (DOS/ASA) to enhance sport development on the continent. The DOS/ASA structure succeeds the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa (SCSA), which played the same role as part of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In line with the transformation of the OAU into the AU, the SCSA was dissolved and the DOS/ASA was established in 2011 and the AUSC as a part of it. For ease of coordination and to facilitate alignment to regional social development organisations, Africa is divided into five sections called Africa Union Sport Council Regions (AUSC). Southern Africa is AUSC5 and is coordinated by a Secretariat based in Botswana. The AUSC5 has a diversity of sport organisations including a state organisation and non-state organisations. Non-state organisations include national and regional level organisations of international NGOs such as Federations, Olympic and Paralympic Committees as well as Sport for Development Organisations as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 Summary of the Sport Bodies in AUSC5

Table 1: Summary of the Sport Bodies in AUSC5				
Level	**Structure**	**Category**	**Role**	**Connection to AUSC5**
Continental AUSC	African Union Sports Council	Political Managerial Technical	Regional coordination of African Union sport policy development and implementation.	Part of African Union Architecture on Sport in Africa (ASA) in Commission on Social and Cultural Affairs
AUSC5 Region	African Union Sports Council Region 5	Political Managerial Technical	Regional coordination of African Union sport policy development and implementation.	
	Regional Sport for Development Networks	Managerial	Support and promotion of membership Sport for Development Organisations	Represented in the Technical Committee on Sport for Development of the AUSC5
	Regional Anti-Doping	Regulatory	Regional implementing	Represented on the Technical Committee and involved in

	Organisation		structure of the World Anti-Doping Agency	Regional games run by the AUSC5.
	Sport Confederations	Technical	Coordination and support to member national Associations and hosting of Games	Member of Technical Committee of AUSC5
	Confederation of National Olympic Committees	Technical	Coordination and support to National Olympic Committees in the region. Promotion of sport development and competition in the region.	COSANOC is a member of the Technical Committee of AUSC5.
National (In every AUSC5 country)	Ministry responsible for Sport	Political	Political and Administrative development and oversight of sport policy and services in the Country.	Ministers responsible for Sport Constitute the Executive Conference of Ministers of the AUSC5. Directors of Sport Form part of the AUCS5 Commission.
	National Sports Council (NSC)	Managerial	Implementation of National Sports Policy, Regulation of National Sport Associations.	Chairpersons of NSCs are part of the AUSC5 Commission.
	National Olympic Committee	Managerial	Facilitating national preparation and participation in Olympic Events.	Executive Members can be part of COSANOC which is a part of a AUSC5 Technical Committee.
	National Paralympic Committee	Managerial	Facilitating national preparation and participation in Paralympic Events.	Represented on the Technical Committee of the AUSC5.
	Sport for Development Non-Governmental Organisations	Developmental	Development of sport and delivery development aims using sport.	Cooperates with National level structures to develop sport and participate in running of AUSC5 Regional Games in host nations.
	National Sport Associations	Developmental	Develop and deliver code specific or approved multiple sport (e.g School Sport Associations) in the Country.	Can be members of the National and Paralympic Committees if meets criteria. Members of Sport Specific Regional Confederation.
Source: Adapted from African Union. (2011). Report of the Commission on the African Sport Architecture (ASA). Addis Ababa: African Union				

The sport organisations within the region can be categorised into five broad functional areas; Developmental, Political, Technical, Managerial, and Regulatory. Firstly, the developmental

organisations are comprised of National Sport Associations and Sport for Development NGOs. These have the mandate of delivery of sport services and provision of organisations for participation and competition within the sport code. These are mostly at National level and are affiliated to National Olympic Committees, Paralympic Committees and National Sports Councils. They are also affiliated to regional organisations including Confederations and international federations. The second category is political organisations; they have the main purpose of legal and policy development. These are comprised of political organisations or representatives and have intentions to enforce or influence policy. There are two types of political organisations; the state organisations including Ministries, Sports Councils, the AUSC5 and the non-state organisations such as the International Working Group on Women and Sport (2014- 2018), Association of Women in Sport in Africa, and Women Sport Africa Network (WSAN) (see Figure 1) that target their advocacy and policy engagement at the state organisations.

The third category of organisations are technical, concerned with the practicalities of sport, the implementation of guidelines on development and delivery of sport. The Technical Committees and Commissions fall into this category. The fourth category is managerial organisations; they are focused on coordination of sport actors and organisations, to cooperate for mutual progress through competitions and capacity development as well as participation in higher-level organisations at continental and international levels. Confederations of Sport Associations, Olympic Committees, and of universities and college Sport are in this category.

Lastly, the organisations that are categorised as regulatory are responsible for upholding standards on sport-connected issues. They are concerned with issues including the right measurements of pitches and quality of equipment, certification of infrastructure, participation, and integrity issues. The Regional Anti-Doping Organisation is an international NGO with regional chapters and operates in cooperation with government sport organisations and federations. National Sports Councils also have a regulatory function in most countries and are the government structure responsible for overseeing compliance to legislation on sport and have authority to sanction deviance.

The organisations in Table 1, from which the women in this study are drawn, are important to understanding leadership in the AUSC5 in three ways. Firstly, the organisations provide the political platform for leadership selection through various criteria and processes including government appointments and elections by members. Secondly, the organisations are the implementation framework for policy on sport and leadership in the region. This includes policies that are developed

locally through the individual organisations and policies that are received from international organisations such as the IOC, international federations the AUSC5, and the AU. Thirdly, the organisations provide a map for identifying the levels and nature of influence that can be expected of the women sport leaders according to the organisations they work in and relate to. The next section outlines the gender distribution of participants and leadership within these organisations and some of the social cultural challenges they encounter.

2.5.2 Gender Distribution of Participants

This section presents the gender distribution of participants and leaders in the AUSC5 based on a study by Fasting et al., (2013) conducted with the support of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sport (NIF) as part of the cooperation with the AUSC5 secretariat. The study is one of the few conducted in this region and is significant to the exploration of women's experiences. It was conducted in order to establish a baseline to facilitate implementation of sport policies in the region. The study sample was five countries; Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, and included forty-eight (48) organisations within the AUSC5 organisations (Fasting et al., 2013).

The study is based on a sample of sports that are prioritised within the region for resource investment and promotion for participation of both females and males by the AUSC5 member states. The limitation with this sample is that it misses out on highlighting how gender inequality persists even in predominantly female sports such as Netball. This study however remains important as it provides a regional picture that has not been available so far. The study found that there are generally lower numbers of female representation in participation as athletes and almost similar levels to those educated as coaches and in positions of refereeing as illustrated in the Table 2 below. The highest ratio of female participants was in Judo with 38% and the lowest was football with a rate of 10%. The ratio of coaches who had received coach education was lowest in football at 7% while the highest was in basketball with 34% (Fasting et al., 2013).

Table 2 Gender Distribution of Athletes and Non-Policy Leaders in Selected Sport

Table 2: Gender Distribution of Athletes and Non-Policy Leaders in Selected Sport					
Sport	**Coaches with Coach Education**		**Referees, Judges and Umpires**		**Registered Athletes**	
	% Female	% Male	% Female	% Male	% Female	% Male
Athletics	31	69	46	54	33	67
Basketball	34	66	20	80	35	65
Boxing	28	72	22	79	17	83
Football	7	93	12	87	10	90

Judo	30	70	20	80	38	62

Source: Adapted from Fasting et al., 2013

The distribution ratios at the national level of policy-making organisations is almost the same level as that at participation. This pattern remains consistent at national sport organisation level as well as in multi-organisation bodies such as NOCs and NPCs in which the females represent 19% - 28% of the Board members shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Board Members of AUSC5 Sport Governing Bodies in 2013

Table 3: Board Members of Sport Governing Bodies in 2013					
Board Members	NSCs %	NOCs %	NPC%	School Sport Organisations %	Sport Associations
Female	22	24	28	19	21
Male	78	76	73	81	79
Source: Adapted from Fasting et al., 2013					

These differences that occur at the level of practice reveal that positions are not the only important thing to observe but also how participation occurs for those holding positions (Fasting et al., 2013). The skewed gender distribution in sport leadership within the AUSC5 is in line with the proportions of gender distribution at regional and national levels in other sectors including judicial, education, parliamentary and local government organisations which is also around 18% – 35% on average (SARDC SADC, 2013; Kotecha et al., 2012). Further, the underrepresentation of women in sport leadership positions is not unique to the AUSC5 as this is also the case in other regions of the world (Fasting, Sand, et al., 2014).

There are various pathways for being selected into and progressing through leadership positions. These processes include appointment, elections and in some cases employment (discussed further in chapter 4). Since the regional organisations are comprised of other organisations that operate at national and regional levels, the gender distribution across the various levels is interdependent. For example, the Confederation of Sport is comprised of national associations while the continental organisations are made up of a blend of national and regional organisations. Further, the linkages of national and regional organisations to international organisations also influence processes and opportunities for leadership selection and progression.

2.5.3 AUSC5 Sport Leadership and Ubuntu

The understanding of the structure of AUSC5 sporting bodies, and the opportunities and experiences of women leaders within these organisations, may be informed by Ubuntu. As illustrated in Tables 2 and 3 in section 2.5.2, the gender distribution of leadership roles is skewed towards men. The discussions of Ubuntu in leadership scholarship are motivated by the drive of a renaissance, for Africa to renew itself, and also as resistance and alternative to a pervasive western culture and thinking (Akena-Adoko, 2003). Pan-African motivations of regional integration are made operational through institutions such as the AUSC5. Ubuntu challenges the formal organisational arrangements of the AUSC5 by drawing attention to the values that are applied in the policy rhetoric despite limited changes in inequality and discrimination.

As discussed earlier, the dominant notions of leadership and bureaucracy are drawn from western cultures through various processes including colonisation and imperialism (see 2.2 and 2.3). An important influence is neoliberal cultures of individuality and competition which normalise inequality (see 2.1 and 4.3). Hence the limited extent to which these leadership practices can be suitable to the African context (Bolden and Kirk, 2009). Therefore, we can consider the application of Ubuntu as a way to assess or inform the alignment of contemporary organisational life with African cultural experience through, for example, reviewing how inclusive organisation structures are of the diverse members of society (Mangaliso, 2001; Iwowo, 2015). By applying Ubuntu values of participatory and inclusive decision making, the AUSC5 organisations can create a leadership culture that is not disparate from the social culture of the people and results in equitable gender distribution and participation.

2.6 Summary

This chapter demonstrates that the current social political context of AUSC5 region has developed through interaction of various historical and contemporary influences. The region has evolved a diversity of hybrid cultures that incorporate traditional and western cultures influenced by the motive to develop an African identity. The current context is one of a blend of continuing historical factors and emerging elements of social, cultural, political elements that categorise post-colonial characteristics of post-independence societies. The region's connections with international policies and organisations of women's rights and sport provide a channel of influence and leadership progression. This chapter has also outlined the male domination of leadership in nation building before and after independence and the continued domination of political level leadership through projects such as the African renaissance being promoted by the African Union. The African renaissance

is a continuation of post-independence aims but has limitations that need to be considered in the study of women's leadership. This ideological position contributes to the context within which women sport leaders in Africa operate and negotiate their identities. An outline of the organisational arrangements of the AUSC5 is provided. A statistical distribution of women sport leaders in the sport positions of interest to this study is given to demonstrate the underrepresentation of women sport leaders. Lastly, the chapter briefly notes the role of Ubuntu in contextualising the AUSC5 sport leadership. The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework of this study.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework that guides this study. This study uses interactionist theory as an overarching framework supported by identity negotiation theory and feminist intersectionality theory. Interactionism is based on the idea that broader macro-level processes and structures can be understood by examining the micro-level practices and experiences of individuals and groups (Carter & Fuller, 2016; Faust & Denzin, 2011). Symbolic interactionism is founded on the principle that people's actions happen within a structure and that although structures influence people's action, the structures are not fixed but can be altered through the actions that people take. The analysis approach of symbolic interactionism differs from other theoretical standpoints to the extent that:

> *'rather than addressing how common social institutions define and impact individuals, symbolic interactionists shift their attention to the interpretation of subjective viewpoints and how individuals make sense of their world from their unique perspective' (Carter & Fuller, 2016, p. 2).*

A symbolic interactionist approach places 'emphasises on learning the participant's subjective meanings and on stressing his or her actions' (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012, p. 351). Therefore, black feminist intersectionality and identity negotiation theories sensitised by the concept of Ubuntu provide the micro-level lens that facilitates this study's exploration of women sport leaders' experiences.

Although they do not address themselves as symbolic interactionists, Goffman (1959, 1963, 1977) and Collins' (2000, 2016) approaches align with a symbolic interactionist tradition. The choice of framework is based on the intention to undertake a study that contributes to the academic literature as well as to advocacy for improving women's experiences of leadership (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Zerai, 2000).

This chapter has five sections, including this introduction. Section 3.2 discusses identity negotiation theory highlighting identities as socially located and multiple in nature and influenced by interactions. An outline of the strategies of negotiating identities is also provided in this section. Section 3.3 presents intersectionality theory. The discussion outlines the feminist background of the theory and its main principles of multiple identities, structures of power, centring women's experiences, and social change aims. Section 3.4 briefly discussed how Ubuntu enhances identity negotiation and intersectionality and highlights how the theories together enable the understanding of multiple

identities while considering the complex socio-cultural influences on women sport leaders' lives. The chapter closes with a summary in section 3.5.

3.2 Identity Negotiation

3.2.1 Identities

Identity is the conception of who a person is. It is comprised of the thoughts and feelings about oneself regarding what makes them the same or different from others integrated by personal narratives (Swann Jr & Bosson, 2008, p. 448). Identity theories trace their origins in both sociology and social psychology disciplines, and there are two distinct areas of identity theory-based research that have emerged from this. Sociological research on identities prominently examines social organisations while social psychology identities research has focused more on individuals' internal processes of self-verification (Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identity theory is a micro-sociological theory that works to explain individuals' role-related behaviour based on the individual's multiple identities within their society (Hogg et al., 1995). The goal of identity theory is to 'explain how social organisations affect self and how self affects social behaviours' (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Sociological research on identities is linked to interactionism in the work of George H. Mead: *Mind, Self, Society* (1934). According to Mead (1934) the self is shaped by society and individual behaviour is in turn structured by the self. Therefore, the self and society are mutually influencing to each other, an important concept in identity theory (Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identity theory is not only based on the premise that society influences identities, but also acknowledges that society is not homogenous but is differentiated yet organised, a position that diverts from Mead's view (Stryker & Burke, 2000). In identity theory, the multiple facets of the self are referred to as identities, and are viewed as constantly in a dynamic process of establishment, evaluation, and reestablishment which this study explores through examining the strategies women sport leaders employ (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Mead (1934) asserts that the existence of a self means there is an existence of another to whom the self is communicated or presented. In Goffman (1959), this idea is developed further as discussed in section 3.2.2. The selves cannot be established in isolation but are achieved through interaction, such as those determined by roles (Goffman, 1959; Stryker & Burke, 2000). The identities that persons have are due to the different roles they have in society; these are referred to as role identities and are developed through self-definition and through group membership such as being part of an organisation's board (Stryker 1968 cited in Hogg et al., 1995). Role identities include occupational

identities, such as a coach, and relational identities, such as a sister or spouse. These identities are linked to the expected action or behaviours, the person's sense of self, and to how others respond to the person in view of their role identities (Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker & Burke, 2000). There are also identities that have a broader structural basis such as gender, race, and ethnicity that affect other identities and affect which roles one can hold (Collins, 2000; Goffman, 1959; Hogg et al., 1995). For women sport leaders, this multiplicity of identities means there is a difference among women based on their social-cultural and political location. For example, among women sport leaders in South Africa, race and ethnicity may interact more with their gender identities while social structures such as class may be more influential in other countries.

Multiple identities based on multiple roles do not all have equal significance at the same time. Some identities will be more relevant than others and this is referred to as identity salience (Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identity salience is the likelihood that an identity will be invoked in a given situation, for example a women sport leader presenting as an expert on financial matters and not just as a female (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identity salience is defined more as a behavioural concept than a psychological concept, meaning that identities with more salience are more closely linked to behaviour (Hogg et al., 1995). Hogg et al., (1995) cite the work of Nuttbrock and Freudiger (1991) to explain how some individuals may perform certain roles that may not be situation relevant such as parent role identities in a work environment (see chapter 4 for discussion). However, not all identities have equal likelihood of salience. Stryker (1980) argues that identity salience is dependent on commitment. The commitment to specific role identities is strong if the significant social relationships the individual holds are based on that role and on particular identities (Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker & Burke, 2000). An important indicator of commitment is whether the individual will lose a social network that is important to their idea of self and their self-esteem (Hoggs et al, 1995). This enables an accounting for how persons may behave in particular contexts in which their roles or identities are threatened.

This section has introduced the multiple and dynamic nature of identities and how they are socially derived based on the ideas and roles that society provides, and that some identities are more salient than others based on commitment and context. The next section discusses social interaction as a site of identity negotiation drawing on the work of Goffman (1959; 1963; 1967) and Deaux and Etheier (1998).

3.2.2 Interaction

Identity negotiation, in this study, is defined as 'processes through which people establish, maintain, and change their identity' (Swann Jr & Bosson, 2008, p. 465). In interaction literature, it is acknowledged that identity negotiation is one of the primary processes undertaken in order to establish how each actor shall be positioned and what persona they shall assume in the interaction (Goffman, 1959; Swann Jr & Bosson, 2008). According to (Goffman, 1959), an interaction is 'all the interaction which occurs throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in one another's continuous presence'. For this study, the organisations where the women sport leaders work are the location of interactions.

Goffman's ideas on social interaction are valuable to the understanding of identity negotiation as they contribute to making interaction observable by providing, firstly, a classification of interaction units and secondly, a classification of interaction actions (Goffman, 1959; 1967; 1983). Goffman (1983) posits that interaction situations can be classified into five types; the personal interactions between individuals; contact type of interaction such as face to face or absent communication; encounter type of interactions, these happen within small groups for a particular time frame; platform performances which involve a distinct audience, and lastly; celebrative social occasions. How the women sport leaders in this study behave in each situation is therefore potentially different as it is dependent on the aims of the interaction, the relationships that exist, and the various identities that are at stake.

The second classification is of interaction actions; that which individuals do or do not do during interaction situations in order to manage impressions to ensure the objectives of the interactions are achieved (Goffman, 1959). In his notion of a front stage and backstage, as with the theatre, women sport leaders perform in the presence of other people, called the front stage. They present themselves in a way that is based on their interests and motives as well as those of the audience. According to Goffman, presenting a front stage self is part of the process of impression management (Goffman, 1959; 1967). For women sport leaders with multiple identities, impression management implies presenting the appropriate aspect of the self in each context. For example, a woman sport leader who presents herself as a professional in a situation where their gender may be an identity that is disadvantaging due to related stereotypes. Goffman (1967, p. 91) argues that the self 'must be presented in a proper light to others. As a means through which this self is established, the individual acts with proper demeanour while in contact with others and is treated by others with deference'. When this happens, the individual's sense of self is sustained and reinforced. Identity negotiation therefore occurs when there is perceived social, psychological, or contextual demands. These

demands range from positive ones such as being held in high esteem by others to negative demands such as stereotypes (Goffman, 1959; Swann Jr & Bosson, 2008).

In view of the composite nature of identities, identity negotiation is conducted with respect to sustaining a balance of the aspects of the self or identity needs. There are three identity related needs that provide a motive for individuals and have significant roles in the identity negotiation process. These needs are; 'agency (which encompasses feelings of autonomy and competence), communion (which encompasses feelings of belonging and interpersonal connectedness), and psychological coherence (which encompasses feelings of regularity, predictability, and control)' (Swann Jr & Bosson, 2008, p. 452). As motivation for identity negotiation, continuing relational roles through actions such as maintaining group membership may facilitate communion. For example, a sport leadership role can be important to a woman's identity as it provides the belonging and connection that they consider significant to their sense of self while sustaining simultaneous identities such as a woman sport leader who is also a mother (Ting-Toomey, 2015). There are various strategies for undertaking identity negotiation that are proposed by (Goffman, 1963). In the next section I present these strategies as elaborated by Deaux and Etheier (1998).

3.2.2 Stigma

Erving Goffman, in his work *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963), provides a framework for understanding identities whose attributes are discrediting and result in disadvantaged treatment and perception by those without those attributes. This disadvantaged treatment is called stigma. He presented three categories of stigma; stigma based on traits such as age or stigma based on physical attributes such as deformities, and stigma based on social identities such as ethnicity, religion, and race (Goffman, 1963).

Goffman views stigma as a socially generated phenomenon that repositions a 'whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one' (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). This conceptualisation therefore provides room for other influences to reinforce or mitigate the stigma, therefore enabling the idea of stigma management through identity negotiation. A core feature of Goffman's stigma management is based on the understanding that social identities are constituted and reconstituted through interaction (Goffman, 1959). Interactions are the site of stigma and although it is possible for differently positioned persons to interact, Goffman advances the idea that stigma is not encountered or experienced in equal measure.

In line with the feminist position that everyone experiences similar social structures and systems differently, Goffman (1959) recognises that individuals bring their histories and positions into the interaction situations they encounter. For example, regarding stigma encountered by gendered and racialised groups, Goffman elaborates on the analytical implications:

'Sociologically, the central issue concerning these groups is their place in the social structure; the contingencies these persons encounter in face-to-face interaction is only part of the problem, and something that cannot itself be fully understood without reference to the history, the political development, and the current policies of the group' (Goffman, 1963, p. 127).

The consideration that Goffman argues for here is the need to locate the understanding of identity negotiation within a larger structural framework. In this thesis, it is achieved with the application of a Black feminist intersectional analysis to the narratives of the experiences of the women leaders.

Further, Goffman (1963) conceptualises stigma as a process that facilitates a structuring of groups into insiders and outsiders. This resonates with and enables an extension of the literature that accounts for underrepresentation of women in leadership due to unfair group formation and management processes (Acker, 2006; Kanter, 1977). This thesis engages with stigma as a characteristic that emanates from social-historical arrangements that have resulted in patriarchal domination of leadership in general and of leadership of sport in particular. Stigma in this case is navigated through identity negotiation strategies based on dramaturgical tools for impression management as proposed by Goffman are discussed in the next section.

3.2.3 Identity Negotiation Strategies

Based on the understanding that stigma is not located in individuals but is a socially generated phenomenon, Goffman (1963) proposes some strategies that can be employed by individuals with stigmatised identities to cope with their situations. These strategies include removal of the cause of the stigma, or separating themselves from other people, and accepting the cause of stigma and using it for gain and they may also come together with other people with stigmatised identities to support each other (Goffman, 1963). These are outlined below and inform the results chapters 6-9.

Deaux and Etheier (1998) elaborate on the strategies of identity negotiation introduced by (Goffman, 1963). They present two broad categories of strategies used in identity negotiation: identity negation and identity enhancement. The first category, identity negation, is aimed at eliminating particular identities; this is limited as it may not be possible to eliminate some markers of identities that are

visible. A method of elimination in this case is concealing identities and highlighting others in order to pass as not having the identity that is considered negative (Goffman, 1963). Another method of negation is denial of identity, which involves the individual not identifying with the stereotypes.

The second category of strategies posited by Deux and Etheier (1998) is referred to as identity enhancement and involves drawing focus on one's identities using three actions. Firstly, *reaffirming* one's identity is a strategy that involves asserting the identity that is perceived as problematic. It can be through presenting or highlighting the identity in a celebratory or positive way. Secondly, a strategy called *remooring* describes actions such as establishing contacts and association with other groups that are supportive of one's identities. This can be outside of the groups the individual is a member of and includes formal institutions and informal interactions. For women sport leaders, this can be seen through actions such as affiliation to organisations and groups such as women's networks or leaders' forums within and outside the sport sector.

Thirdly, *intensified group contact*, this strategy involves increasing the frequency and level of engagement with other group members within the individual's environment. This includes networking and communication to share experiences and reaffirmation of identities. These groups can be either formal or informal associations. This strategy is different from the remooring strategy because here, contact is increased with those of similar identity, while in remooring it includes contact with individuals of other identities. Lastly, the fourth strategy is *social change*, which is undertaken particularly to influence the behaviour of others. This includes changing perceptions of others in order to influence their behaviour towards less negative or threatening behaviours. This includes women leaders that engage in advocacy and lobbying for changes in practices within their sport organisations or in the broader sport community (IWG, 2014). Social change strategies also include forming groups of people with similar identities in order to cooperate on changing the situation to enable positive recognition of, for example, the diversity of sexual identities within sport (Pike & Matthews, 2014).

Identities serve important roles in self-esteem and understanding, therefore, negation of an identity that contributes to a particular function will raise the need for enhancement of other identities in order to meet the particular function. Negation and enhancement are also not particularly exclusive as it is possible to enhance an identity without negating another. For instance, being a women may be seen as disadvantageous in some situations, whereas an elderly woman may then emphasise her age and the positive values attached to age such as wisdom and motherliness (Kuada, 2010; Stryker &

Burke, 2000). The strategies that individuals can apply in given contexts depend on the social situation as well as the individual's capacity and other identities (Goffman, 1963; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

In examining these four strategies above, further elaboration of the actions that constitute these identity negotiation approaches is necessary. Elaborating on the concept of identity negotiation through impression management, Miller and Morgan (1993) propose some dramaturgical manoeuvres that are implemented in presenting a self that is suitable to the role. Miller and Morgan (1993) explore a process of story narration which forms a type of 'presentation of self'. Their writing is focused on the academic CV as a form of practice in which the writer addresses a particular audience with the intention of affirming their identity. Narrators in this instance use their accounts as a process of asserting their fit or how they meet the criteria for 'in group' status in their field. These actions illustrate the process of impression management. Below, I outline Goffman's (1959, 1963) manoeuvres used by Miller and Morgan (1993) and I illustrate how they may be apparent in the accounts of women leaders in this thesis:

- *Belief in the part one is playing:* women leaders demonstrate a recognition of the significance of the leadership position and their performance of the role identity. Belief in one's role is signalled by an awareness that failure to comply by a particular identity representation may result in negative consequences.
- *Front and back*: identity awareness or belief contributes to sustaining a front and back of identities. Women leaders demonstrate clarity on what aspects of their identities they believe should be less salient than others in a given situation.
- *Dramatic realisation*: Dramatic expressions that highlight or portray facts about the actor/role. For example, how women leaders dress, what language they use and how they perform their tasks that signals that they are leaders.
- *Idealisation*: This refers to what extent the leader perceives themselves as exemplifying the official values or culture of the organisation. For leaders it may include alignment of ones' spirituality or ethics to ideas of how the organisation is positioned.
- *Maintenance of expressive control*: expressive control is linked to the sustenance of the boundaries between what is considered a front or back aspect. Impression management includes women sport leaders expressing concern or sharing practices of how other areas of life are not allowed to intrude into the front stage of the on-going presentation. This is apparent in discussions around professionalism or proper conduct.
- *Mystification, reality and contrivance:* this are the themes of what leaders say about themselves that sets them apart from others as leaders. It includes aspects of their sense of

self such as their beliefs or values or self-perception as leaders who are inspiring or high achievers for example. This relates to the identity verification that is part of how identities are established and sustained as discussed in section 3.2.1. Impression management as Goffman proposes happens within interactions with the aim of establishing and sustaining identities in order to gain due recognition and appropriate treatment (1959, 1963).

Goffman's concepts of stigma and identity negotiation offer the means for a micro-level approach to examining experiences of women leaders that accounts for the idea that groups of women are not homogenous. By examining the minute practices and actions, we can see the impact of broad societal systems on the day to day realities of women leaders. To understand how this identity negotiation interacts with navigation of leadership barriers; identity negotiation theory is used together with feminist intersectionality theory in this study. Intersectionality theory declares that multiple influences do not have a summative outcome but interact to produce complex experiences for persons based on their multiple identities (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). The next section provides an overview of intersectionality theory and how it informs this study.

3.3 Intersectionality Theory

3.3.1 A feminist background to Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality is based on the understanding that people's lived identities are not singular but multiple and that they emerge from the interactions that people have within their social contexts (Collins, 2000; Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Intersectionality as a term was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw in the United States in her work on the experiences of black women's employment in 1991 and later at the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in South Africa (Verloo, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2006). The concept of intersectionality is rooted in a long history of critical race studies and developed from feminist stand-point theory which centred the importance of social positioning of the agent (Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005). A major critique of standpoint theory is that it essentialises womanhood or blackness by focusing on the argument that women suffer the triple oppression of being black, women, and working class (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Intersectionality articulates the recognition that multiple sources of discrimination or burdens rooted in patriarchy, class, racism, and other forms of oppressive systems interact and are experienced differently by subordinated groups (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Intersectionality theory extends feminist work on multiple oppressions such as the ideas of 'double jeopardy' (for example being a women and black) and 'interlocking oppressions' (such as class, gender,

race), which refer to the ideas that there are compounding results of multiple forms of oppression on women's lives (Combahee River Collective, 1982). Intersectionality constructs a frame for paying attention to how the differences in the social agents' situations affect and are affected by the socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Choo & Ferree, 2010). The main strength of intersectionality theory is that it provides an opportunity to examine multiple identities which avoids obscuring and oversimplifying identities and influences that may be significant to some women but unacknowledged in research so far (Acker, 2006). It is suggested that intersectionality theory is one of the most important theoretical contributions made to women's studies (McCall, 2005).

3.3.2 Intersectionality Theory as Critical Social Theory

Collins (2000) articulated intersectionality as critical social theory to address inequalities derived from multiple oppressions. There are four main tenets of intersectionality theory. The first tenet is centring the lived experiences of women of colour and other marginalised groups. From its roots in the United States, intersectionality explores the intertwined factors that affect race to create special forms of inequality for African American men and women and indigenous women (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Secondly, intersectionality highlights the different identities of individuals and of groups that are often unacknowledged. Thirdly, intersectionality unveils the ways in which connected domains of power work to structure and maintain oppression. Lastly, intersectionality promotes social justice and change through research and practice to eradicate disparities. Each are discussed further in the following sub-sections.

Intersectionality centres upon black and marginalised women

Intersectionality theory centres black and marginalised women through the deliberate focus of knowledge on the experiences of marginalised or previously marginalised women. Originally this was in the context of black, indigenous, and Latino/a women in the United States (Collins, 2000; Dill & Zambrana, 2009). It follows the post-modern feminist practice of acknowledging the differences among women and the importance of seeing beyond broad categories (Choo & Ferree, 2010). The focus is also on the opportunities and constraints that are encountered through inequality. The theory also enables an afro-centric view of women's lives exploring their practices of familial relationships and community building related to their work, religion, and families (Collins, 2000; Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Intersectionality as a theory has been prominently linked to post-colonial and post-modernist feminists and scholars in the United States of America. However, it has been accepted and elaborated upon by scholars with a focus on other themes that relate to identities (Davis, 2008). Davis (2008) also

argues that intersectional theory can be used by any scholar anywhere as it enables drawing from their own social location, making intersectionality theory applicable in most contexts of research addressing inequality.

Intersectionality acknowledges multiple identities

Feminists advancing intersectionality theory argue that identities are complex and are influenced and shaped by a combination of characteristics and not just their summative outcomes (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 2000). Further, 'identities exist within and draw from socially defined statuses some of which may be more salient than others depending on specific situations or specific historical moments' (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 4). Characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, physical disability, religion, age and others, on which women's identities may be based, each have their own privileges and vulnerabilities which affect how women navigate the barriers they encounter (Collins, 2000). Dhamoon (2011) argues that intersectional analysis is applicable at both societal and individual levels. At societal level, it reveals the way systems of power are implicated in development and maintenance of inequalities, while at individual level, intersectionality reveals the way multiple influences create a range of constraints and opportunities for expression and performance of individual identities (Collins, 2000; Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Using intersectionality theory for this current study enables exploration of the differences within a group of women who may seem the same since they hold similar sport leadership positions in the same region. By taking an intersectionality perspective, the study enabled the possibility of appreciating diverse experiences as the women interact differently with the power structures of inequality, which is the next tenet.

Intersectionality unveils power structures of inequality

Intersectionality theory considers power structures as interconnected and that they produce varying effects on individuals. Collins (2000) argues that individuals and groups experience inequality in ways that can be analysed through four different yet interlinked domains. The first, the structural domain, is comprised of organisations of the particular society such as government, education, economic and legal systems. This domain factors in historical and current policies and practices that reproduce inequality, for example laws and sport policies that do not take into account existing inequality. The second domain is the disciplinary domain, which is the practices and ideas that uphold and characterise bureaucratic hierarchies. The hegemonic domain is the third domain, and this is made up of the symbols, images, and ideologies that shape social consciousness. For example, this includes how women sport leaders are portrayed based on gender stereotypes and also the policies in place that affect how they experience inequality. The fourth domain of power is interpersonal domain,

comprised of patterns of interactions that take place between individuals and groups. This is the regularly repeated ways that people treat each other such as gender roles and behaviours. This affects what identities women will negotiate. For example, women leaders presenting masculine attributes in order to avoid negative treatment. In some cases, negative treatment may include sexism such as referring to women in sport as girls in media publications. Intersectionality theory enables the exploration of these four domains as interrelated and that they have complex impacts on individuals of diverse identities and social positions (Collins, 2000; Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Intersectionality promotes social justice and change

The fourth element of intersectionality theory is the focus on social justice and social change (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 2000). The theory raises questions about people's day to day experiences in order to examine their actions of resistance and social change that may go unnoticed. Intersectionality also promotes dialogue that increases critical awareness of the social situations that women are in so that ideas for change can be developed. This aspect of intersectionality theory aligns with the identity negotiation strategy of social change. Since identities are derived from membership in categories and groups and the attributes that are associated with them, examining the social change actions that women may take can reveal how they negotiate their identities (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality has been prominently included as an approach to policy and legal analysis towards women's rights as seen in the acknowledgement of the multiple influences on women's lives in UN Policy documents and Crenshaw was influential in the development of the Equality Clause in the South African Constitution (Holvino, 2010). Although intersectionality is useful in these four critical ways, there are some concerns regarding the theory's interpretation of identities as well as how many identities can be explored in one study. These are discussed in the next section.

3.3.3 Challenges of Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality is promoted by feminists working with post-colonial perspectives as 'both a theoretical framework and a strategy for change based on a multidimensional … understanding of identity' (Holvino, 2012, p. 170). However, there are two main concerns. Firstly, researchers question intersectionality theory about how to deal with the potential for too many identities to engage with in one study. A recommendation adopted in this study is the use of an analytical approach that focuses on the themes that are indicated as a priority by participants and the researcher in an inductive process (Cho et al., 2013; Collins, 2000). In this way, the researcher does not start by limiting possibilities of what women experience but can acknowledge the differences and expressions of identity negotiation (Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005).

The second concern is that the articulation of identities is seen as leaning too closely to the idea of fixed identities instead of dynamic identities from the way it is portrayed through its metaphor of overlapping circles. Holvino (2010) argues that at the centre of the overlapping circles is a core which is affected by the various factors, and this suggests a fixed identity which goes against the concept of identities as dynamic. However, whereas the metaphor has limitations, the articulation of the principles of intersectionality theory are clear about the dynamic and socially interactive nature of identities (Collins, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 2011a).

For this study, intersectionality theory is particularly appropriate as it enables the examination of multiple identities instead of focusing on one, such as gender, as this would result in missing out on the other identities that may get obscured by general categories (Acker, 2006; Choo & Ferree, 2010). Combining identity negotiation theory and intersectionality theory in this study enables a critical exploration of women's leadership experiences in a way that accounts for their diverse situations and the strategies they use to negotiate their identities. Unlike Collins (2000) who applies Foucault's perspective of discursive power in her understanding of intersectionality, I primarily engage with Goffman's interactionist perspective. This is appropriate because the intersectional concept of multiple influences simultaneously affecting identity negotiation aligns with Goffman's interactionist perspective. For example, Goffman (1983, p. 4) proposes that:

> '[e]ach participant enters a social situation carrying an already established biography of prior dealings with the other participants - or at least with participants of their kind; and enters also with a vast array of cultural assumptions presumed shared'.

This understanding of interaction brings together the principles of identity negotiation as interactive and identities as influenced by multiple power structures. For example, the 'established biographies' of the women sport leaders in this study are a result of the interaction of various factors including race, gender, ethnicity, and class. These factors influence how the women sport leaders come to see themselves and others. The interactions that women sport leaders engage in are therefore not neutral situations because each participant in the interaction is influenced not only by the context but also by their prior experiences.

3.4 Identity Negotiation, Intersectionality and Ubuntu

This study takes as its focus the experiences of women sport leaders within a particular region of sub-Saharan Africa, which requires a theoretical approach that is informed by, and informative of, this

cultural context. Much of the work of interactionist scholars has developed in the Global North, and sociologists have argued for a 'Southern Theory' to be sensitive to, and inclusive of, the world view from the Global South (Connell, 2014b). This study addresses this by combining the interactionist theoretical understanding of identity negotiation with intersectionality sensitised by the concept of Ubuntu.

The recognition of cultural relevance to leadership development and practice provides one of the justifications for inquiry towards a theoretical understanding of African leadership. Although there is a large body of research on leadership of sport organisations, it is criticised for its limitation in applicability to the African context because they are not grounded in the cultural realities of the African leaders' lives and organisations (Kuada, 2010, Mangaliso, 2001; Ncube, 2010). Ubuntu therefore provides an orientation to account for the worldview of the women sport leaders within the AUSC5 (Kuada,2010; Mangaliso, 2001; Ncube, 2010).

Narayan (2000) argues that a major limitation of viewing leadership through cultural frames is a 'Package picture of cultures'. A package picture of cultures, for example Hofstede's and Ubuntu models, conceptualises cultures as '… sealed off from each other, possessing sharply defined edges or contours, and having distinctive contents that differ from those of other "cultural packages"'(Narayan, 2000, p. 1084). This is problematic because it does not present a clear picture of the reality of a society considering cultures shift and are mutually influenced through globalisation and other influences of social change. Nkomo (2011, p. 278) builds on this argument when she raises a concern related to ambitions of developing a grand theory of leadership based on African culture.

> 'The notion of a homogenous 'African' leadership or management may be just as dangerous as the idea of a universal theory of leadership or management. Africa is a large continent with vast cultural diversity, which makes it difficult to propose a totalising conception of leadership and management'.

Therefore, there is a need for an intersectional understanding of culture as a phenomenon that is dynamic and interrelated to various structural systems and identities such as gender, race, and class, which also takes into account Ubuntu leadership. This study achieves this by incorporating the application of identity negotiation theory with feminist intersectionality and Ubuntu.

This approach was adopted in order to attend to the differences within the groups of African women sport leaders instead of treating them as the same just because they are all within one region. An additional advantage that this approach enables is alternative perspectives through a distinct non-western concept of Ubuntu. This strategy responds to critiques of western leadership literature that

call for the creation and recognition of mainstream knowledge that is creatively appropriated and grounded in the realities of African leaders and those who follow them (Iwowo, 2015). This approach takes into account both the concerns for the value of a culture-based approach (Malunga, 2006), and the limitations observed by Kuada (2010) and Nkomo and Ngambi (2011). It is proposed that the implications of this alternative imply the placing of equal emphasis on indigenous knowledge and what is emerging from dynamic modern African societies (Iwowo, 2015). This approach is well within the ethos of Ubuntu, which is cognisant of the past, present, and the future (Louw, 2001; Ncube, 2010).

Kuada (2010) raises caution about being overly optimistic about African cultures providing a basis for leadership theory development saying there are some practices and assumptions that have not been examined in this context that may be constraining to leadership. However, he also advises against an approach that is pessimistic about African culture as not all aspects act as constraints to leadership. Some scholars take a more critical approach and point to the assumptions on which Ubuntu leadership is based and its failure to account for the changing cultural values and contexts (Nkomo, 2011). They argue that 'there is a risk in all of this, of being seen to romanticise indigenous patterns of leadership' (Blunt & Jones, 1997, p. 20).

Specific caution is raised regarding the inherent weaknesses of a leadership theory based on Ubuntu philosophy. Walumbwa (2011) contends that Ubuntu philosophy is not a completely positive philosophical basis for African Management.

> '[I]ts defining attributes, such as compassion and connectedness, suggests that it may promote unsavoury behaviours, such as nepotism and patronage, that have blighted the exercise of leadership in many African countries and the resulting de-motivating effects it can have on individuals who feel excluded from the leader's circle' (Walumbwa, 2011, p. 434).

Walumbwa (2011) is arguing that the attributes that proponents of Ubuntu consider the strength of Ubuntu, are in essence the source of the weaknesses that are inherent in conceptualising an Ubuntu based leadership. The integrated theoretical approach in this thesis therefore addresses two key issues; the criticisms against Goffman's concepts as insufficiently considerate of women, and, further develops Ubuntu. This is achieved by ensuring the theory is grounded in current and lived realities that recognise the multiple influences on people's identities and experiences within their environment.

3.5 Summary

The section presented identity negotiation theory and intersectionality theory within an overarching interactionist perspective that incorporates Ubuntu as the theoretical framework for this study. This framework facilitates a micro-sociological approach to examine individual experiences and relationships. Identity negotiation enables the interrogation of the experiences women have in the context of gender inequality, the strategies of identity negotiation they use such as resistance and social change activism. Intersectionality theory enables this study to consider the women sport leaders in the AUSC5 not only as a collective with shared experiences but also to attend to the differences in perspectives of their individual experiences as leaders, whilst drawing on Ubuntu. The next chapter discusses literature on organisational leadership and women sport leaders.

4. Understanding Underrepresentation of Women Sport Leaders

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature on women sport leaders in Africa. Using an interactionist and intersectionality approach, the review outlines the identities that women sport leaders in Africa negotiate and how these identities are the basis of stereotypes and discrimination which are the main barriers that women face. Based on literature on women and sport leadership that covers countries in Southern and in Eastern Africa, the review demonstrates that women sport leaders in these regions have some shared identities, but that some identities are more important in some contexts than others. The section also highlights the ways in which the factors affecting women's experiences are highlighted as intersecting or not intersecting and how this presents the need for further research that examines how women negotiate these multiple identities. The discussion presents the identities discovered in the literature, and section discusses the barriers and lastly a summary of how these are related. To begin with, I now briefly discuss the challenge of western focused research and its limitations for the understanding of AUSC5 sport leadership context.

4.2 Coloniality of Research on Women Sport Leaders

The global sports sector is a configuration of organisational arrangements that exemplifies the globalisation of sport (Agergaard & Engh, 2017). Although comprised of national representation from both global north and south, the organisational structures, culture, and leadership remain Eurocentric. As a legacy of colonial and neoliberal structures, the collection of organisations reflects relations that sustain a centre (global north) - periphery (global south) power system (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b). This is visible through policies, programmes, and resource distribution in sport bodies such as international federations, the International Olympic Committee and Commonwealth Games Federation among others. Consequently, knowledge on the organisational operations and practices of the people in the global south, including on women sport leaders, is mostly generated through institutions and scholars in the global north and channelled to the organisations in the global south (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a).

While this knowledge may be applicable in the global south, how particular concepts and ideas carry into different context demands attention. For example, it is understood that gender discrimination shapes representation of women leaders in sport organisation leadership (Burton & Leberman, 2017;

McDowell & Cunningham, 2009; Palmer & Masters, 2010). While providing many insights that are significant to understanding women's experiences of sport leadership within the AUSC5, the applicability of this literature is limited. Since the literature is based on western experiences, it does not adequately explain the multiple contexts and identities that African women engage with. Feminists have challenged Western scholarship across multiple disciplines for 'attributing gender inequalities to factors such as ethnicity and caste while neglecting historical and contemporary global factors such as colonialism and neoliberalism' (Medie & Kang, 2018, p. 38). For instance, situating the development of current sport organisations in the broader social political contexts of organisational formation will make visible the contribution of colonialism to entrenching male domination of organisation leadership across sectors (Mama, 1997; Tripp, 2001).

Sociological analyses posit that sport organisations dominated by men keep women out through patriarchal practices such as boys networks and sexism (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013; Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007). These findings are valuable but risk implicating themselves in the idea that women are objects that are acted upon or victims with minimal agency (Hargreaves, 2000). However, when we understand sport organisations as spaces of patriarchal domination and risk to women's wellbeing, we can consider as Kabeer (2016) does, the agency of women to select to not be part of organisations and occupations that disadvantage them. The choice to engage can become apparent as part of an informed cost-benefit analysis. However, knowledge on global south organisations and management remain dominated by western perspectives as a form of coloniality (Alcadipani et al., 2012; Nkomo, 2011).

Women in the global south as subjects of multiple oppressive influences have a keen understanding of their own situation and navigate it in subtle ways that are at times not acknowledged as choices due to the research lenses and theoretical views applied in western research (Mama, 2011). As part of practices of hegemonic power, western research pursues and prioritises topics and theoretical perspectives aimed at western interests (Awumbila, 2007). For example, concerns for safety and wellbeing in view of the large prevalence of gender-based violence and exploitation inform choices of what networks and activities that girls and women can be part of (Mama, 2011). These are, however, topics that are often underexplored within the prominent western scholarship on sport organisation leadership.

Although sociological research on women and sport has grown extensively, there is still the challenge of 'Eurocentric discourses' and 'universalized accounts' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 8). The research on women sport leaders that is published in western platforms is often drawn from countries that have

strong relationships with the western academic economy. Even sociological research in sport is generally still mostly western focused in terms of researchers and themes of research and what regions are represented (Pike et al., 2015; Seippel, 2018). An enduring limitation with this situation is that the research based on sources in one country are often used to generalize about other African countries and yet, the realities are vastly different. Similarly, research in western countries is considered global due to the hegemonic influence of western academic practices (Alcadipani et al., 2012). Higher impact journals are mostly western and therefore the publications are distributed in a way that makes them gain more credibility through repeated citations and limits the inclusion of local ideas into 'global knowledge' (Ibarra-Colado, 2006, p. 465). This creates a canon that reinforces the overrepresentation of western scholars, scholarship and knowledge (Medie & Kang, 2018).

Research generates knowledge that informs interventions in gender inequality. Alcadipani et al., emphasize that 'administrative and organizational solutions developed to address problems of marginality in Southern countries are an issue that merits more attention and whose consideration could even carry relevant implications for organizational praxis' (2012, p. 140). Therefore, knowledge from western contexts is useful to understand from the perspective that it is used to influence the standards and culture of sport at a global scale. It is necessary then that knowledge from the global south becomes part of global knowledge.

In order to create a shift towards this inclusion in global knowledge, sources of information in developing knowledge about sport leadership must be as diverse and as varied as the people and locations in which sport leadership takes place. To achieve this diversity, an openness to draw from research across disciplines is imperative (Nauright & Wiggins, 2016). This thesis draws on literature from disciplines including sport, public administration, geography, development, sociology, psychology, and policy among others. This approach is in recognition of the many influences on sport leadership that women contend with and methodologically it is in respect of the principle of shifting practices in view of strict disciplinarity as a tool of coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). Using an intersectional analysis, this thesis engages in transdisciplinarity in order to draw on multiple resources to explore the experiences of women sport leaders.

4.3 Women Sport Leaders' Multiple Identities

This section outlines the identities that women sport leaders in Africa negotiate in order to begin to locate the barriers that they encounter as women sport leaders. Since women are not a homogenous group and identities are dependent on contexts and interactions, it is expected that women sport

leaders in Africa do not share the same range of multiple identities (Goffman, 1959; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Multiple identities are 'the collection of identities available for individuals to identify with or be categorised according to' (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). These identity categories are important as they affect how individuals in the respective categories perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others which in turn affects how they are treated and how they respond (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Goffman, 1963; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015).

Further, categories provide useful frames for researchers examining women's lives to explore their experiences such as in sport leadership. The research on women and sport leadership in Africa has focused on particular categories, mainly gender (Fasting, 2014; Hargreaves, 1997 ; Massao & Fasting, 2003). Gender and how it interacts with other categories such as class and race is identified as an issue as well (Chappell, 2005; Hargreaves, 1997). Since identities are interlinked, several other identities have been revealed and these are outlined in Table 4 below. The table outlines the identities that are discussed in the literature and the regions the research covers in order to demonstrate the connection between identities and socio-political contexts.

Table 4 Identities in Literature on Women's Sport Leadership in Africa

Table 4: Identities in Literature on Women's Sport Leadership in Africa		
Literature	Identities	Context of Research Participants
M'mbaha, 2012; Hargreaves, 1997, Fasting et al., 2012; Sikes & Bale, 2010; Manyonganise, 2010; Goslin and Kluka, 2014, Njororai, 2016	Gender	Kenya, Tanzania (East Africa) Zimbabwe, Malawi, South Africa (AUSC5)
Hargreaves, 1997; Naughright, 2016; Engh & Potgeiter, 2015, Roberts, 1993; Pelack, 2005; Njororai, 2016	Race	South Africa, Namibia (AUSC5)
Massao & Fasting, 2003; M'mbaha, 2012	Class, Age	Kenya, Tanzania (East Africa)
Manyonganise, 2010; Goslin & Kluka, 2014	Education	Malawi, Zimbabwe (AUSC5)
Hargreaves, 1997; Roberts, 1993; Engh & Potgeiter, 2015; Manyonganise, 2010	Sexuality	South Africa (AUSC5)
Massao & Fasting, 2003; M'mbaha, 2012	Ethnicity	Kenya, Tanzania (East Africa)
Massao & Fasting, 2003; M'mbaha, 2012	Religion	Kenya, Tanzania (East Africa)
Massao & Fasting, 2003; M'mbaha, 2012; Manyonganise, 2010	Motherhood	Zimbabwe (AUSC5)

Some of the research did not focus on exploring identities but revealed the identities through the exploration of experiences, perceptions, and categories of analysis used in the research (M'mbaha, 2012; Massao & Fasting, 2003). This is in comparison to literature that raises particular identity questions focused on race and sexual identities within the context of socio-political rights (Hargreaves, 1997; Pelak, 2005). The identity categories of gender and sexuality are discussed across section 4.4. In this section I now briefly discuss the identity categories of age, education, race, religion, and class.

Age: As discussed in chapter 2, age within many African societies is considered a factor in leadership. Although within the idea of Ubuntu, it is recognized that leadership and wisdom are not only expected of senior persons but that young people also generate wisdom. However, the dominant practices reflect the association of age seniority with leadership as evident by the underrepresentation of young people in leadership roles in sport organisations (Mwisukha & Rintaugu, 2013). Age is not only the numerical length of life but the associated social relations one has. Age is discussed in relation to life course occupations and social relations especially marriage which is considered a key signifier of adulthood. Sport is associated with girlhood and un-married women who may be excused for infantile conduct such as sport participation (Massao & Fasting, 2003). M'mbaha's (2012; 2018) investigation on women and sport leadership in Kenya shows that age is related to women's experience and tenure in sport pathways including leadership. They found that women in leadership were socialized into sport through their families and school institutions when they were young. These women largely volunteer in their sport organisations and work in other organisations for their income. They therefore bring skills that they have gained externally.

Education: Research explores leadership education of women in sport organisations advancing the idea that women leaders need development in order to progress in leadership. In Malawi, Goslin and Kluka (2014) found that women leaders perceived their participation in a leadership education programme as valuable for their influence and capabilities. Areas of effect were strengthened voice and status, networking skills, and understanding of the sports context. These benefits however do not address or mitigate the gendered challenges they encounter. For example, the study does not show how leadership education relates to navigation of spousal opposition to women's participation on sport governance boards and sexual harassment from male colleagues (Goslin & Kluka, 2014). Undertaking the course in Sport Business Management provided the women with a sense of confidence based on the credential of the course. This positioned them as educated in the specific area of sport management and therefore strengthened their leadership identity and interactions in spaces such as board meetings and networking events. Although this may be understood as a basis to

argue for more leadership education for women, it however also reinforces the sexist notion that women are not as capable as men and are always in need of further development. An assumption that is not targeted at men in similar situations as M'mbaha and Chepyator-Thomson (2018) found in Kenya. M'mbaha and Chepyator-Thomson (2018) show that although education is significant to women's progression in sport leadership, socialization and recruitment processes have a strong influence on women sport leaders' career paths. Education in their study encompassed formal training and occupation related qualifications in addition to sport credentials as well as training undertaken through mentoring processes and personal experiences outside of sport.

Race: Although racial discrimination and coloniality endure across the continent, themes of race are more prevalent in research empirically located in South Africa. In view of the recent abolition of legal apartheid in South Africa, the enduring legacies of racialized social-economic conditions and cultures have been subject of research. Research has shown that inequalities rooted in racial logics are evident in discrimination in resource distribution, access to opportunities and differential status of groups (Hargreaves, 2000). In Hargreaves (2000) findings, women presented a keen awareness that legal equality does not translate into immediate change in their material circumstances. For example, policy initiatives advanced an increase in representation of people racialized as Black in sports leadership yet those Black people were mostly men.

Religion: Research has documented religious engagement as an influence on women's participation in sport in general. However, very limited accounts are reflected in sport leadership literature on the ways that spirituality influences leadership progression and perceptions. In sport research, religion is seen as a framework that structures barriers for women through patriarchal regulations and norms. Massao and Fasting (2003) in their study on women and sport in Tanzania account for religion as a basis for marginalization of women. They argue that although a significant part of the population in their study location are Muslims, there are very few women sport leaders who are Muslims. In a study located in Zimbabwe, Manyongnise (2010a) highlights how sport is constructed as a male space and therefore women who engage as athletes or leaders are trespassing or contravening the norms. Manyonganise points to norms established through religious institutions that frame the engagement of women in male dominated spaces as immoral or transgressive. Women's religious identities therefore are salient in the expectations of what organisations and spaces they will be part of in their society. In Manyonganise's study this is mainly a constraining relation and not considered as a resource for women who transgress expectations and persist in their participation in sport organisation spaces including governance and management.

Regarding religion, it is argued that 'the majority of women in the world cannot make sense of their lives without it' (Alexander, 2005, p. 15). However, the exploration of spirituality and religion in the literature on sport leadership is limited. Leadership in sport literature is largely inclined towards a secular stance. By engaging in research sensitized by Ubuntu, it becomes possible to more openly consider spirituality as significant to identities and experiences of sport organizational leadership. Since conceptions and practices of the sacred form a significant part of the worldviews of women in the AUSC region, it means the exploration of women's experiences in sport leadership must take account of religious notions. Replicating the western literature and theoretical approaches that take a secular stance can be counterproductive and contribute to perpetuating the coloniality of knowledge (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). In so doing, an approach aligned to decolonial intentions involves engaging with 'the Sacred as an ever-changing yet permanent condition of the universe, and not as an embarrassingly unfortunate by-product of tradition in which women are disproportionately caught' (Alexander, 2005, p. 15). This study contributes an account of women leaders' experiences of religion and spirituality more broadly, not only as a constraint but also as an enabling part of their identity and networks as found in chapter 9. The findings further offer an opening to consider the sacred as a resource for women as they navigate and challenge patriarchal contexts within sport institutions. With full awareness of the patriarchal domination of religious texts and institutions, religion is still recognized here for the positive contributions it makes as expressed in women's experiences.

Class: Mwisukha and Rintaungu (2013) examine underrepresentation of women in sport leadership in Kenya. Their study included a comparison of perceptions of women below 25 years old and those above 46 years old on what factors are significant to their engagement in sport leadership. Both groups prioritized economic factors indicated by limited financial resources to support their 'sport politics and electioneering' (Mwisukha & Rintaugu, 2013, p. 105). Since sport organisations are underfunded, the cost of participation is largely the responsibility of individuals. Therefore, financial capacity affects entry, participation, and retention of women in leadership of sport organisations. One limitation in this analysis is the assumption of access and control of financial resources. As established in gender research, decision making regarding resources is influenced by gendered cultures. Women in categories considered higher class may also have limited access and control of financial resources (Collins, 2000; Longwe, 1991). Therefore, the association of lack of finances with lower class positions may mask some of the realities of women's lives. There is great value in extending these analyses

through an intersectional approach that considers class as a structure that is gendered in a patriarchal sense as applied in this thesis.

4.4 Economic Context: Volunteering as Organisational Leaders

Volunteering is one of the key characteristics of sport organisations within the AUSC5. Volunteering within the AUSC5 can be understood to be part of the cultural (Ubuntu), spiritual, and economic (neoliberal) influences that simultaneously work together. Thus, volunteerism manifests as an aspect of "a framework of morality that infiltrates all aspects of social life, linking it to every component of society' (Compion, 2016; 166). This means volunteering is pervasive across social, economic, and cultural elements of the society and impacts the women sport leaders' identities. Volunteering according to the women sport leaders is something they do in order to contribute to society and to help others. These practices and beliefs can be read as an expression of Ubuntu. As discussed in chapter 2, Ubuntu is the principle that your being has meaning only in connection with the being of others (Littrell et al., 2013; Nzimakwe, 2014). Within state policies such as in South Africa it is articulated as 'the principle of caring for each other's well-being … and a spirit of mutual support' (Department of Social Welfare, 1997, 1). Therefore, Ubuntu is practiced at individual and community level to mitigate the challenges of resource constraints in sport organisations. In the leadership literature the approach of an Ubuntu based leadership to enhance organisational performance is still in development yet there are some major contributions offered.

Five key applications to leadership are prominently outlined in Malunga (2006), Ncube (2010) and Managaliso (2001). First, enhanced collective responsibility ensures fair distribution of benefits and efforts. Second, valuing relationships can increase valuable engagement among organisation members and reduce abuse of power by leaders. Third, application of the participatory values and respect for views of each person can contribute to practice of participatory leadership. Fourth, patriotism can be applied to mean the values and interests of the organisations come before those of individuals. This can contribute to a sense of ownership among members and reduce violations of trust and abuse among leaders. Fifth, the value of reconciliation can be applied to manage internal conflicts and result in fair resolution especially in challenging situations that involve superiors and subordinates (Mangaliso, 2001; Malunga, 2006; Ncube, 2010). Scholars acknowledge that these practices and values in Ubuntu may appear universal or at least not different from western values, but that the value of application lies in the validation of the indigenous and the connection and ownership this validation makes possible in connecting people to their own roots (Mangaliso, 2001; Malunga, 2006).

These applications when considered in practice and policy can inform an understanding of the women sport leaders' perspectives and an organisational guide on appropriate leadership identities and practices. One policy application is the UN and AU programmes that promote volunteerism and contend that volunteering is a positive indicator of societal development as it means communities can manage risk and be resilient (Caprara et al., 2016). They argue that local volunteerism enables strategies for managing risks. For example, in the context of sport organisations, the risk of underfunding of sport organisations means sport organisations will have insufficient resources to enable appropriate human resource levels. Volunteerism therefore facilitates the functioning of organisations despite the stresses of resource constraints that are the result of neoliberal policies of social institution defunding. Compion (2016) argues that as states implement market-based policies to structure social services, more services are subcontracted to unpaid individuals, that is volunteers, to undertake. Volunteers therefore 'help buttress against the inequalities' (Compion, 2016, 166). In order to make this possible, volunteering is constructed as a way to demonstrate one's morality or civic responsibility. Even in cases where state systems fail to deliver adequate services and volunteers take up the work to meet the gap, the volunteerism is not highlighted as a response to state failure (Caprara et al., 2016). It is emphasised that individual volunteer actions to fulfil personal objectives or to meet the needs of other members of society are conceptualised as part of the practice of Ubuntu. Following this perspective, Mangaliso (2001) argues that an Ubuntu approach to leadership in Africa can result in organisations that have 'humaneness, a pervasive spirit of caring and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness [and] will enjoy more sustainable competitive advantages' (Mangaliso, 2001, 32). However, this assertion has limitations as it assumes that all Africans have or desire Ubuntu and needs to take into account the influences and shifts in cultures over time leading to varying levels of commitment and perceived utility of Ubuntu. In addition, some Africans may not be invested in Ubuntu considering the region is multicultural (Yuval-Davis, 2004).

The emphasis on volunteerism in this region also needs to take into account ways in which it contributes to shaping capital and power distribution and can reinforce societal resource inequalities, particularly for women volunteers (Compion, 2017; Seabe & Burger, 2017). Within sport organisations, volunteering provides an opportunity to demonstrate one's leadership interest and capacity. M'baha and Chepyator-Thomson (2018) found that volunteering enabled access to networks for mentoring and support towards selection into leadership positions. In the case of sport, as in other sectors, volunteerism serves neoliberal interests when a discourse of volunteerism as an expression of moral and spiritual identities is upheld without accounting for the aspects of labour exploitation (Collins, 2017). Volunteerism is promoted within sport as a way to get involved in civic participation, to give

back and to benefit from the sport community. However, not all sport organisations have the structural and cultural resources and framework to support volunteers adequately. Volunteerism can therefore leave unacknowledged the exploitation of women sport leaders as workers. Their exploitation is obstructed by a narrative of morality and social value in which women sport leaders achieve their identities as moral, passionate, and altruistic (section 7.3.2 and 7.3.3) and therefore good citizens, Christians, or leaders.

However, achieving these identities does not bring about a shift in women's positions or a change in the oppressive influences of neoliberal capitalist policies. Volunteerism in this case can be understood as a function of state failure to meet obligations (Collins, 2017; Perold & Graham, 2014). Women's representation in voluntary action especially in care work is disproportionately high relative to men's due to the culture of care work being gendered. Volunteer work that has higher status or economic value such as board membership in a sport organisation is however more dominated by men as already established (M'mbaha and Chepyator-Thomson, 2016; Fasting, 2014). For women who are in economic positions that are disadvantaged, volunteering as a form of participating in sport leadership can be more complicated than for those who have more economic means. As argued by Acker (2006), organisations are structured by various oppressive influences including gender and class. Volunteerism within sport leadership context can therefore be seen as an organisational culture or practice that facilitates the implementation of gender and class stratification. This process results in women leaders of particular social positions and identities being present or absent from sport organisations (Collins, 2000). It is therefore useful to examine how the women sport leaders who are volunteers in this space negotiate their identities and the interactions of multiple social cultural influences with the prevailing economic conditions (Collins, 2017).

While it can be argued that the principles of neoliberalism are contradictory to Ubuntu, the two philosophies are interlinked to the extent that neoliberal interests are served by promotion of Ubuntu. As discussed in chapter 2, in most of Southern Africa, institutions such as education and health care including sport were subject to reduced investment by government in compliance with neoliberal policies of the IMF and the World Bank (Amadiume 2001, Chipande 2016). Volunteerism is promoted to address the service gaps while leaving the structural neoliberal influences intact. For example, by encouraging the principles of Ubuntu such as service to others and mutual support, individuals and communities meet the needs that governments fail to provide such as sport.

An outcome however, as will be discussed in the next section, is that women's volunteer work is naturalised. A categorisation of women in sport emerges in which there are those that are passionate or committed and participate as volunteers and those who do not. This categorisation does not factor in the rational economic (lack of) choices and therefore contributes to potential misunderstanding of why some women do not participate in leadership of sport organisations in the AUSC5. Feminist and women's rights advocacy for women's leadership have so far invested in capacity development of women to take up leadership positions through training and confidence building, promoting quotas, supporting election campaigns of women (IOC, 2017; Pike et al., 2018). However, there has been insufficient attention paid to the material resource constraints that relate to sport leadership. This is potentially because women's sport leadership is explored as a governance and leadership issue and not often as an issue related to the classification of women's labour. The next section presents the cultural barriers that women sport leaders experience.

4.5 Culture Related Barriers Encountered by Women Sport Leaders

This section highlights culture as a source and context of women sport leaders' identities to demonstrate the resulting constraints that women sport leaders in Africa encounter. By so doing the discussion will highlight the barriers that women face in connection to their identities. For this study, I am interested in exploring how women work their way around these barriers and how they negotiate their identities. The next section highlights identity negotiation as a way of responding to leadership challenges. Before that, this section is split into three parts. The first part discusses the socio-cultural barriers that are linked to broader societal beliefs and norms. The second part discusses stereotypes that affect women sport leaders negatively. The third part discusses the discrimination that they encounter based on the stereotypes. By doing this, the section aims to show the intersecting ways in which societal, organisational, and personal level factors operate.

4.5.1 Socio-Cultural Beliefs about Women Sport Leaders

Socio-cultural beliefs are the understandings and long standing perceptions that people have of themselves and their worlds, drawn from their worldviews and experiences which form their culture (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Louw, 2001). Culture is understood here as both a structure and an embodiment of the structure which enables actors to be and do things as well as provides the boundaries within which this occurs. For example, cultural beliefs of what women should do or be contribute to the social roles women and men perform such as organisational leadership and the distribution of power and privilege (Acker, 2006). The culture determines how men and women interact and what identities they navigate (Goffman, 1963; Goffman, 1983). The extent to which

women can go outside of these expectations is dependent on the cultural beliefs of what women can do or not do (Mats Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Further, which women can go outside cultural expectations is also dependant on their other identities and roles (Collins, 2000). Massao & Fasting (2003) found that cultural practices and traditions that affect how women can participate in public life and what their roles are at domestic level affect women's participation and progression in sport leadership. For example, the interaction of domestic responsibilities as primary care givers within families and managers of domestic affairs impacts on their opportunities as leaders within sport organisations. For women sport leaders whose leadership roles are not a full-time job, balancing voluntary sport leadership positions in addition to earning occupations and family responsibilities is a constraint (M'mbaha, 2012).

Organisational practices such as timing and location of meetings based on the needs and lifestyles of men pose challenges for women. For instance, holding meetings late in the evening in bars demonstrates a lack of consideration for the gendered nature of time expenditure and the cultural meanings attached to spaces (Longwe, 2000). In some instances this is done deliberately to exclude women while in some situations organisations have not examined their practices to understand their gendered impact. M'baha (2012) reports that some women sport leaders have to mobilise their social network to support their non-work related roles in order to enable them to participate in leadership activities. This support includes family members providing childcare and support with domestic chores while the sport leaders are away in the evening or during travel. Some organisations deal with motherhood identities and roles as an extra resource that women bring to sport organisations. For example, M'mbaha (2012) found that some women sport leaders not only undertake board functions but extend to actually providing psychosocial support to athletes. In this case, it can be seen as a situation where a constraint is negotiated and used as a resource. However, some feminists have cautioned against these extra roles women leaders play arguing that women have to play extra unpaid nurturing roles even in the workplace (Longwe, 2000). This conflation of gender roles and leadership identities reinforces expectations of femininity from all women even those who are not willing or able to comply to this role (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Collins, 2000; Nnaemeka, 2005).

The navigation of culturally valued identities such as motherhood and marital status, important as a resource for social capital and respect, may be a challenge in male dominated sport organisations in which women's compliance to cultural identities maybe held against them (Manyonganise, 2010). Mugari and Masocha (2015) found that in Zimbabwe, the allocation of leadership activities such as delegation leader which involved travel away from home was more likely to be allocated to men as it

is expected that such a responsibility may conflict with women's marital and mothering roles. In addition to culture providing boundaries, culture is also a source of identity (Said, 1994; McFadden, 2004). Culture is therefore significant for women in sport leadership. The next section now discusses the stereotypes that are a barrier for women sport leaders.

4.5.2 Stereotypes about Women Sport Leaders

Stereotypes can be understood as the beliefs and expectations about the nature and behaviour of groups (Eagly, 2003; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Stereotypes are argued to be generated through perceptions and interpretations of characteristics of people according to their distribution into social roles such as gender based roles and identities (Eagly & Karau, 2002). According to Eagly and Mlandinic (1989), gender-based roles are drawn from the cultural and social contexts within which the stereotyped group is located therefore gender stereotypes are not uniformly applied or experienced. In African leadership research, there are two significant observations on stereotypes. Firstly, that men have dominated leadership positions of public organisations in general and sport leadership in particular (Nauright, 2014; Pelak, 2006). As a result, sport leadership has over time come to be stereotypically presented as male (Hargreaves, 1997; J. M. M'mbaha, 2012; Nauright, 2014). Secondly, the stereotypes about women's roles in society relative to men that portray women, based on their gender identity, as less suited to or capable of sport leadership than men (Goslin & Kluka, 2006).

The consequences of the intersection of these two stereotypical perceptions for women sport leaders are evident in various ways. Fasting et al. (2012) and IWG (2014) demonstrate that women sport leaders are still limited to leadership positions that are considered supportive such as secretaries and treasurers of committees and boards. Even in the situations where women sport leaders are the treasurers of their sport organisations, this role does not always translate into control over decisions of resource allocation or expenditure as women leaders may have to navigate patriarchal organisational decision making practices that do not equally value women's views and ideas (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013). This follows stereotypes of women's roles and identities linked to their social roles in domestic, reproductive, and care situations (Connell, 2005; Sara Hlupekile, 2008).

Similarly, there are stereotypes that sport leadership is ideologically male and that in the event of women becoming sport leaders, they are not as good or as legitimate as men (Eagly & Karau, 2002; M'mbaha, 2012). This stereotype results in women sport leaders not being equally recognised as leaders. Clark (2011) shows how despite women holding senior leadership positions in sport organisations, they are still not considered as fully embodying the leadership image. Whereas male

leaders are seen as important and capable, women are not perceived the same way and are overlooked from some activities such as media interviews. Media actors seek opinions and news commentary from men despite them being in lower positions (Clark, 2011). This is important because the distribution of leadership activities within the organisation, including representation, positions and presents women as not adequately embodying the organisation or group image and therefore cannot speak on behalf of it despite holding the formal leadership positions (Eagly and Karau, 2002). In addition, gender stereotypes are sustained through repeated interactions that reinforce perceptions of stereotypes as norms (Acker, 2006). Therefore, the presentation of men in lower leadership positions in media communication instead of women sport leaders in high positions excludes women sport leaders from being visible to the public as leaders therefore reinforcing the stereotype that women sport leaders are not a norm. Gender stereotypes that women are vulnerable to are further complicated by the other identities that they have (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). For instance, in addition to gender stereotypes, some women sport leaders also face racial stereotypes.

Racial stereotypes are beliefs about leadership capabilities of women based on their racial identities (Hargreaves, 1997; Massao & Fasting, 2003). These stereotypes have unfavourable consequences for women's position in leadership of sport organisations, as stereotypes get integrated into formal and informal organisational practices that result in racial inequality in recruitment of sport leaders (Goslin & Kluka, 2006). Women sport leaders, especially non-white women therefore experience the compounded influences of racial, gender, and economic stereotypes among others (Hargreaves, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 2006). However, although white women sport leaders may not be subject to some of the stereotypes that non-white women sport leaders experience, they may still experience stereotypes related to gender, religion, or class depending on the context they are in (Collins, 2000).

This section has so far outlined the stereotypes that women sport leaders encounter in connection to their identities. The next section builds on this discussion to focus on how stereotypes inform discrimination against women sport leaders.

4.5.3 Discrimination against Women Sport Leaders

This section will discuss the manifestation of discrimination in sport leadership and how identities and related stereotypes contribute to discrimination. Discrimination is the unfair treatment of categories of individuals aimed at disadvantaging them or in order to unfairly benefit another category of individuals (United Nations, 1995). Discrimination against women sport leaders is manifested at various levels including entry, practice, and progression through leadership (Clark, 2011b; Hargreaves,

1997). M'baha (2012) and Njororai (2016) highlight the experiences of Kenyan women aspiring to contest elective sport leadership positions and the discrimination they face based on stereotypes that women are not capable. In particular, their research notes how sport organisations that have a relatively large reach and income discriminate against recruiting women sport leaders (J. M. M'mbaha, 2012; Njororai, 2016).

One of the ways discrimination is evident is through ghettoisation, which refers to the practice of women's placement in clusters of types of work that are considered women's work. This can occur even when there is an increase in women in leadership, yet they are predominantly in low level positions and performing roles that require styles or approaches associated with women such as nurturing and cooperation (Cassell, 1997). Ghettoisation is a form of microaggression (discussed in 4.4.4) in which women are channelled into low status typical positions based on incongruency in roles and identities (Holder et al., 2015).

In addition, discrimination is not only linked to stereotypes about what kinds of people can lead sport organisations, but more broadly, what kind of people can be part of sport organisations. This kind of discrimination is enabled through organisational cultures that structure sport organisations as male spaces (Hovden, 2013). A study of women and football in Zimbabwe demonstrates the construction of sport as male spaces and as a result justifying the exclusion of women sport leaders (Manyonganise, 2010b). Manyonganise (2010) presents the binary of domestic and public spaces as safe and unsafe for women respectively to highlight the underrepresentation and discrimination against women in sport. Manyonganise (2010) argues that through socialisation, the sustained gendering of physical and occupational space in sport continues to marginalise women. The domination and construction as 'unsafe' is legitimated by the harassment that women and girls who cross into these spaces face. Using examples of verbal abuse, negative media coverage, and structural discrimination, sport is established as 'unsafe' for women at various levels including administration and leadership (Engh & Potgieter, 2015; Manyonganise, 2010b).

Further, the research shows how treatment of groups of people is based on their categories and the meaning associated to belonging to the category such as being women. This kind of discrimination is referred to as treatment discrimination (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002). In the context of a male dominated sport organisation in Zimbabwe, Manyonganise (2010) draws the linkages between identifying women sport leaders as transgressors of gender rules and interpreting women's sport leaders as bad omens who cause low performance of the men's teams. From an intersectional

perspective, Manyonganise's (2010) findings demonstrate the results of the interaction between gender, economic, and social factors which women sport leaders experience as exclusion.

4.5.4 Microaggressions as Forms of Discrimination

The term microaggression was created by anti-racism scholar Chester Pierce to explain the acts of daily racial insults and disrespect encountered by Black people (Sue 2010, Torino et al. 2018). Microaggressions are '. . .subtle, stunning, often automatic and nonverbal exchanges which are 'put-downs' of blacks by offenders' (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978, p. 66). Pierce developed the concept within critical race theory in the social political context of the United States of America. The concept has travelled to be applied to experiences of different disadvantaged groups across the world. For example, gender microaggressions that include sexual objectification and lack of recognition of women's capacity and legitimacy as leaders in the public sphere (Sue 2010). Another area of research focuses on microaggressions against persons with disabilities who are treated as incapable or less than those without disabilities (Keller and Galgay 2010). Researchers also focus on microaggressions in identity negotiation in context of inclusion for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons (Nadal et al. 2015, Sue 2010).

Of note in the development of the concept of microaggression is Sue et al.'s (2007, 2010) frame of types of microaggressions. Sue (2010) offers a typology of three broad categories of microaggressions that members of stigmatized groups encounter. These are microinvalidations, microasaults, and microinsults (Sue et al. 2007, 274-275). Microinsults refers to the insensitive, rude and demeaning communications based on the subjects' gender, age, class, race or other identities. Microinvalidations encompass the acts of exclusion and lack of recognition or negation of the presence, experiences, contributions, and status of members of a group. Lastly, microasaults are explicit violent acts of verbal or non-verbal aggression and discrimination that harms the subject (Sue et al. 2007). The three types of microaggressions '… may vary on the dimension of awareness and intentionality by the perpetrator, but they all communicate either overt, or hidden offensive messages or meaning to recipients' (Sue 2010, 28).

The aspect of 'micro' in microaggressions refers to the personal level at which these aggressions are experienced and to 'the everyday commonplace nature of these interactions' (Sue et al. 2007, 273). This is the interpersonal domain at which power operates (Collins 2000). The concept enables an analysis at personal level of aggressions rooted in oppressive structural power systems. Within Black feminist practice (see chapter 3), micro level analysis contributes to development of knowledge from

the position of those who are having the experiences (Collins 2000). There are reinforcing or overlapping microaggressions in terms of the types as well as the related power systems on which they are based. Microaggressions is useful as a way to frame manifestations of structural power while differentiating the level at which they operate. For example, state violence through legal provisions or lack of legal protections as opposed to daily interpersonal acts of verbal invalidations. Gartner and Sterzing (2016) found that gender microaggressions are evident as an expression of violence through harassment and abuse. They advance microaggressions as a major theme in how youth sexual violence is conceptualized. This resonates with research in sport that explores the ways that harassment and abuse are prevalent and how they are understood across organizations (Solstad and Strandbu 2017, Fasting, Huffman, and Sand 2015). In these studies, themes of verbal insults and offensive actions against athletes and leaders in sport organisations are recorded as forms of harassment and abuse. These can be understood as microinsults and microassaults.

Microaggressions are employed in circumstances where group belonging is threatened, and the aggressor communicates to the subject to retain the racial, class, and/or gender order. For example, Burdsey (2011) presents experiences of English men in first-class cricket and found that British athletes of Asian descent faced multiple microaggressions including microasaults. These were in form of derogatory remarks in locker room conversation as well as on the field and are based on the athletes' race, gender, religion, and class (Burdsey 2011). A major challenging characteristic of microaggressions is their subtle nature (Sue 2010, Nadal et al. 2015). This is further complicated by the aspect that microaggressions can be both intentional and unintentional. Therefore, there are challenges in resolving them as there are often differences in perception by the aggressor and the subject of the microaggression. 'Those with privilege do not always recognize the subtleness of the infractions for what they are: ways of maintaining power and exerting control—they strongly contest that no harm or malice was intended' (Cho, Corkett, and Steele 2018, viii).

Conceptually, this presents the difficulty of clarity of definitions as it becomes close to the idea of unconscious bias and poses a challenge of identifying what counts as microaggressions. Further challenges include the difficulty in establishing an appropriate response to microaggressions. Burdsey (2011) points to the language of microaggressions as one of the reasons they often go unchallenged. They use stereotypes and tropes and 'the use of particular terminology that draws on referents from cultural stereotypes or topical issues rather than commonly-acknowledged "hate words"' (Burdsey 2011, 276). However, as expressions of discrimination that are rooted in macro narratives and systems

of oppression, microaggressive acts still function as a way of sustaining unequal power relations (Sue et al. 2007).

Themes of microaggressions in experiences of women leaders across sectors persist. In school leadership, Weiner, Cyr, and Burton (2019) found that microaggressions were evident as a tool for tokenization and discrimination against Black women. The women school leaders experienced microinvalidations such as silencing and unacknowledged concerns and contributions. Clark (2011) argues that women leaders in sport organizations are not acknowledged to the same extent as men; therefore are often invisible. This invisibility was evident in selection of members to participate in media presentations which resulted in male domination or exclusion of women in the imagery of sport leadership. Women are disadvantaged when they are left out of the opportunities such as leadership tasks. For example, exclusion from delegations to international games on the basis that taking time away may not be good for the women's families (Manyonganise 2010). Although such sentiment may be argued by the aggressor that it is a considerate and helpful position, it can be understood as a sexist microinsult as the aggressor assumes to know and decide on her behalf without consultation.

The current study contributes to an expanding field of research on microaggressions by drawing attention to intersecting microaggressions (Sterzing et al. 2017). The focus on microaggressions is pertinent in this study as it offers a frame to analyse the banal events and occurrences in the interactions that women leaders in sport have. Ong and Burrow (2017) call for more research focusing on microaggressions using an exploration of the day to day experiences. They recommend the value of this research approach as a way to 'depict life as it is lived' (Ong and Burrow 2017, 174). By examining the microlevel, the manifestations of macro power structures can be made evident and how women navigate them can be acknowledged and start to be understood. This study offers an intersectional consideration of microaggressions that women with multiple identities experience as they work as leaders within sport organizations in Southern African countries. This study contributes to the literature by providing an analysis of identity negotiation that opens possibilities for exploration of experiences of women leaders in sport that are currently limited in the respective microaggression and leadership literature.

4.6 Responding to Barriers through Identity Negotiation

This section discusses some of the barriers that women sport leaders encounter and how they respond to these barriers. Leadership theories based on identities frame leadership as an enactment of identities in relation to the shared group identity of followers (Alvesson & Willmott 2002; Reicher et

al., 2005). Within this view, leaders are expected to reflect the image of the ideal group member; this image is called a prototypical image (Hogg et al., 2012). A second prototypical image relates to the construct of the ideal leader, which if constructed and accepted as male, implies a limitation for consideration of women to fulfil these unwritten criteria (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

The barriers that women sport leaders face are related to the regulation of their identities as leaders and as women (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002a; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Identity regulation refers to the actions and inactions that take place to enable or constrain the identities of individuals and groups (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002a; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). How women leaders respond to these regulations to form and reform appropriate leadership identities through negotiation is called identity work. Women leaders respond to gender constraints to their leadership in various ways. In order to perform their identities as leaders, the context of the workplace functions as a stage with the women's peers and followers as the audience to whom they need to present an appropriate identity (Goffman, 1959). Women negotiate their stigmatised identities based on gender roles in the work place using a range of responses from assimilating or adapting masculine definitions of leadership roles to resisting the masculine definitions (Ely, 1995; Tedrow & Rhoads, 1999). However, whether women adopt these strategies is strongly influenced by their multiple identities and factors including the cultural, political, and economic context (Collins, 2000; Goffman, 1959). These responses are adaptation, reconciliation, and resistance and they are discussed below.

4.6.1 Adaptation of masculine leadership identities

Since leadership styles and behaviours that are masculine are associated with effective leadership, some women leaders adapt male-oriented behaviours in order to fit in (Tedrow & Rhoads, 1999). For instance women leaders who adopt leadership identities that are aligned to transactional and instrumental styles of leadership can be considered to be using an adaptation strategy. Although adaptation as a strategy has been argued to be an indication that the women leaders do not question the system, it can also be argued to be the one of the effective ways to enable entry into some male dominated positions. For example, entry into leadership of organisations, such as the military, whose organisation culture is linked to masculine behaviours. One of the reasons why adaptation is a problematic strategy is that it affirms the idea that the problem is not with the way leadership is structured and constructed but rather that women are deficient or need to change (Ely, 1995). Further, Richards (2015) argues against adopting masculine orientated leadership because the approach does not fully consider the contextual factors. Adaptation 'privileges personal agency and leaders' unique abilities above structural factors such as race, class, education, and ethnicity'

(Richards, 2015, p. xi). Similarly, Ayman and Korabik (2010) argue that leaving masculine oriented leadership unquestioned is problematic as gender and culture have tangible influences on women leaders' lives.

Ely (1995) suggests that the cost of adapting masculine leadership identity is linked to the self-enhancing strategies women leaders use, which in some cases include differentiating themselves from colleagues who do not adapt masculine oriented styles, affects women leaders' relations as a group. An additional critique of adaptation is that even when women leaders behave in the same way as men do, they are still less favourably considered than male leaders (Eagly et al., 1992; Ryan & Haslam, 2007). This unfavourable evaluation contributes to stigma due to the influence of gender stereotypes which result in women being perceived as not fulfilling their female identities and yet not fully embodying masculine identities (Eagly, 2003; Goffman, 1963; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). This disconnect is referred to as role incongruity (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). Role incongruity suggests that women sport leaders will face constraints due to threats from their leadership identities as well as from their gender identities (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). So the challenges that women in this study face are both because they are women and also because they are leaders.

4.6.2 Reconciliation of masculine and feminine leadership identities

Women leaders are argued to be reconciling male and female leadership identities when they reflect both male and female leadership styles (Tedrow & Rhoads, 1999). This particularly works in organisational contexts that enable a mix of leadership styles. Eagly (2003) demonstrates that women leaders display both relational and instrumental styles. This can be considered contradictory as relational styles are associated with feminine identity presentation while instrumental styles are associated with masculine identities. However, the dynamic presentation of identities is a process of managing impressions in recognition of the situation and the intended objective of the interaction (Goffman, 1959). Leadership theories that account for this approach are contingency leadership theories such as ethical leadership theory (Thompson et al., 2010). Some scholars argue that reconciliation is a compromise and not guaranteed to bring about changes as it depends on the leaders' capacity to read the situation and change leadership styles accordingly (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Northhouse, 2010). Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010) argue against this negotiation of identities asserting that since it takes a lot of energy to manage how women leaders are perceived, shifting attention to their leadership purpose may be more worthwhile. For example, instead of focusing on the gender stereotypes, women leaders can instead invest in actions that contribute to their success such as building relationships with other leaders and influential networks (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010).

Although the suggestion made by Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010) is valid, it has limited application because women are still affected by how they are perceived, and the work of developing a leadership identity that is acceptable or recognised makes a difference to whether women leaders are able to do their work or not (Ely & Rhode, 2010a). Further, the position taken by Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010), assumes a context which enables choices and capacities to pursue the choice of developing networks. The identity work in women's early leadership development is important and may be affected by the role models that are available. Carroll and Levy (2010) argue that leaders should be viewed as active subjects who are participating in active relational construction of their identities with the people who are around them. According to Goffman (1959), this is part of the process of identity negotiation. With experience, women leaders develop their impression management skills, therefore becoming increasingly capable of reconciling relational and transactional leadership identities (Goffman, 1959). Further, the leader develops stronger alignment between their personal identity and the leadership identity (Ely & Rhode, 2010a).

4.6.3 Resistance of Masculine and Reinforcement of Feminine Leadership Identities

Some women leaders resist male oriented leader identities by actively rejecting and challenging organisational practices that are inclined to male leadership identities (Tedrow & Rhoads, 1999). The rejection of masculine oriented leadership behaviour is not a total rejection as although some behaviours are considered masculine, they are core to leadership and will fall within expected behaviours of leaders. Ely (1995) suggests that as status gaps begin to narrow between groups, such as male and female leaders, the lower status group may gain room to redefine evaluation criteria of leadership. For example, women leaders are likely to increasingly perform leadership identities that are considered female and that they will be more acceptable than in organisations where there are fewer women in high status leadership positions (Goffman, 1963). This study explores if this is an approach that the women in the AUSC5 use.

Women leaders who take the resistance approach actively use relational leadership styles to establish leadership identities that are based on leadership outcomes and the situations they lead in rather than on male identities. In addition, women leaders who resist masculine leadership identities also contribute to enhanced in-group identity with fellow women leaders which results in reinforcement of women's gender identities as not contrary to leadership (Ely, 1995). This implies that the presence of women leaders who resist the masculine orientation enables a shift towards increased value of stereotypically female leadership behaviours in organisations. The leadership identities that are categorised as forms of resistance include leadership styles that are about development of others and

a culture of dialogue with followers (Tedrow & Rhoads, 1999). These leadership approaches are a form of transformational leadership: 'they are about being able to nurture and empower staff to take risks in the pursuit of corporate goals' (Cassell, 1997, p. 13). It is a style that describes leaders who 'inspire employees to go beyond the call of duty, foster creative solutions to problems, serve as mentors, create vision, and articulate plans for achieving this vision' (Vinkenburg et al., 2011, p. 11). Transformational leadership style is associated with with women (Cassell, 1997). Although considered advantageous for women in particular, it is desirable in all leaders (Bass, 1999; Eagly, 2003; Gardner & Avolio, 1998). The three categories of strategies discussed are not distinct from each other but women leaders use them in a variety of situations and according to their capacity (Eagly, 2003). Although some women may have a more regular and strongly established identity that works for them, all the approaches remain open to women leaders as they are in response to their context. Another factor that affects which leadership identity women develop are their other social identities, such as race and class.

The preceding discussion has outlined the identities that women sport leaders negotiate and has drawn the connection between leadership identities and stereotypes that disadvantage women in leadership. This is not a novel approach but is however an important one for critical women and sport leadership research. Alvesson and Spicer (2012) argue that critical leadership studies do not only aim to understand leadership in different contexts, they go further and examine patterns of power and domination related to organisational and broader ideologies. Through an intersectionality frame, this review highlights the contribution of various scholars that demonstrate the power relations implicit in leadership practices and identities (Engh & Potgieter, 2015; Goslin & Kluka, 2014; J. M. M'mbaha, 2012).

4.6.4 A gap: Women sport leaders' identity negotiation

This review has taken a critical approach to the exploration of underrepresentation in organisations with multiple identities affected by societal, organisational, and personal level influences. Nkomo and Cox (1999) argue against solely focusing on group level analysis, as identities are not homogenous within social groups. In view of this, the review highlights various identities to show how they are intricately linked to each other and to power systems outside of sport (Allen, 2012; Fasting, Huffman, et al., 2014; Roberts, 1993). In so doing, the review has highlighted the intersecting and interlocking systems of oppressions including patriarchy, neoliberalism, imperialism, and racialism (Crenshaw, 2010; Dhamoon, 2011). These affect women in the AUSC5 and how this context sustains their underrepresentation in leadership is elaborated.

Based on this review, a recognised gap in the literature is how women sport leaders negotiate their identities (McDowell & Cunningham, 2009). Developing this understanding contributes to ideas of how to bring about change in the AUSC5 region. By looking into women's identity negotiation, the study will extend literature that has identified the identities and the barriers women sport leaders face (Massao & Fasting, 2003). It will further contribute to literature specific to the AUSC5 region (Fasting, 2014). This will be achieved through a critical application of interactionist theory with intersectionality theory in the cultural contexts of sport leadership to understand the experiences of women sport leaders in the AUSC5. The study will go beyond describing contexts of underrepresentation and highlight how women sport leaders in AUSC5 negotiate their multiple identities to navigate the barriers they encounter.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented an outline of the approaches to understanding women's leadership and the underrepresentation of women in sport leadership. The literature highlights various elements of the issues affecting underrepresentation of women sport leaders in Africa. The literature focuses on some of the intersecting influences that affect how women experience leadership. These intersecting influences include hegemonic masculine power and the resulting inequality in leadership (Clark, 2011b; Manyonganise, 2010b; Njororai, 2016). The literature has also revealed how women's interaction and identities are influenced by access to public and occupational space which is controlled to the disadvantage of women (Manyonganise, 2010b; Njororai, 2016). Much of the research on women and sport leadership in Africa has focused on the social cultural factors that affect women and how gender is reproduced and sustained within sport organisations and highlights the feminist theory of patriarchal oppression as an explanation for women's underrepresentation (Clark, 2011b; J. M. M'mbaha, 2012).

There is however still a gap in understanding how women experience the operation of intersecting and interlocking aspects of identification and power which scholars agree do not exist apart from each other (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Cho et al., 2013; Dhamoon, 2011). The chapter has therefore discussed the importance of a critical theoretical approach to examination of the experiences of women sport leaders and shown how women's identities affect the barriers they encounter and the opportunities they have of navigating and overcoming them. By highlighting the various identities that women sport leaders negotiate, this chapter has shown the need to focus on women's experiences to reveal the complex and different ways that sets of identities intersect and form opportunities or constraints.

Across the literature discussed in this chapter, multiple identities are largely considered as constraints and as a site of simultaneous vulnerabilities. This chapter has also shown that multiple identities, as a resource that contributes to navigation of constraints, is still insufficiently explored (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Using interactionist concepts of identity and interaction, this study therefore contributes to illuminating the micro-level dispositions of women sport leaders (Goffman, 1959; Stryker & Burke, 2000). In so doing, the study explores how women sport leaders' identities interact in legitimate and culturally acceptable ways that challenge or sustain the unequal structures that uphold underrepresentation. The next chapter presents the methodology applied in this study.

5. Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and justifies my use of a narrative inquiry method to explore the experiences of women sport leaders within the AUSC5. I interviewed 22 women in Botswana, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia who are leaders across bodies of the AUSC5. In this chapter, I firstly outline an Afrocentric feminist epistemology and how experience is narratively construed (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990; Collins, 2000). Secondly, I discuss narrative inquiry as the approach used to guide the data collection and analysis. Thirdly, I narrate the process I used to select the research participants, conduct the semi-structured interviews and thematically analyse the data. Lastly, I discuss the ethical considerations made in the design and implementation of this narrative inquiry and reflect on my position within the research process.

5.2 Ontology and Epistemology

There are two important philosophical assumptions that a researcher holds that guide and inform how they conduct their research. The first is ontology that refers to a perspective of the nature of the world; the second is epistemology that refers to a view of the relationship between the knower and what is known (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Creswell (2013) elaborates that ontology and epistemology influence the choices of what paradigm a researcher grounds their inquiry in and the methodological practices they apply. The resulting knowledge is therefore made meaningful through clarity on the researcher's view of the nature of the world and the subject of the knowledge.

Realism is an ontological position in which the world is viewed as a material fixed reality which informs an epistemological view that the world can be observed and known objectively (Ellis et al., 2008). Realist ontologies are therefore more aligned to objective epistemological orientations. For example, since knowledge is considered separate from the knower, the validity of research conducted by realists prioritises practices of objectivity. This approach would be applied within a positivist theoretical perspective to derive what they consider to be logical truths (Moon & Blackman, 2014). Since there is a separation between the knower and what is known, the positivist researcher would make claims of detachment from the research process and outcomes.

In contrast to realism, relativism is an ontological stance based on the understanding of reality as subjective and multiple in nature (Moon & Blackman, 2014). Therefore, knowledge and the knower are implicated together in the research process; as they are both part of the world and related to what

is known (Lincoln & Guba, 1995).   Relativist ontology holds that reality is not out there, but is constructed and interpreted in minds through interactions and that reality is not fixed as it is subject to multiple experiences (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Relativism is the basis of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers view knowledge as generated in a process that is 'inductive value-laden, and contextually unique' (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 3).

Epistemology 'refers to ways of knowing or systems of knowledge that shape one's view of the world' (Moore & Mathias, 2016, p. 1). Epistemological assumptions inform the ideas of what can be researched and how the knowledge about what exists is made legitimate. Epistemologies in western philosophy are broadly organised into two main paradigms, positivist and interpretivist. Positivist perspectives are fundamentally based on materialist ontological positions and are therefore invested in knowledge as objective and separate from the subject (Willis & Jost, 2007). Positivism is the basis of scientific methods that emphasise the separation of facts from values applied in research within both natural sciences and social science disciplines (Willis & Jost, 2007).

Interpretivist epistemology developed as a challenge to positivist epistemology, based on the argument that reality was more than the material and required qualitative methods of research in order to understand people's experiences of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Ellis et al., 2008). Relativists differ from realist researchers as they steer away from the idea of an independent knowable world outside of the knower. Relativists align with interpretivism as they operate from an assumption that knowledge is generated and interpreted within contexts (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Interpretivist epistemology 'holds that what constitutes knowledge depends on how people perceive and understand reality' (Moon and Blackman, 2014 p 6). An interpretivist epistemology would be evident in the work of qualitative researchers whose priorities are to understand realities in their multiplicity of contexts.

Feminist epistemologies have provided particular critiques of both positivism and interpretivism. Arguing for a feminist standpoint theory, Harding (1992) asserts that by pursuing research as objective, the results and process of knowledge are disembodied and decontextualised. Therefore, the experiences of particular groups such as those in marginalised groups due to oppressive systems based on class, age, race, gender, and ethnicity are unaccounted for (Harding, 1992). Further, feminist sociologists challenge the production of objective knowledge and generalised realities that cannot be applicable to all contexts (Narayan, 1989 Cited in Collins, 1990). Collins (1990) together with other feminists argue that knowledge is situated and therefore particular.

From this perspective, 'the researcher cannot give an objective depiction of the world out there; but produces a story, of which she or he is a part' (Lykke, 2010, p. 5). By positioning the knower within the same frame as what is 'being known', an interpretivist paradigm acknowledges the subjective nature of epistemology. Subjectivity refers to the understanding of reality as intertwined with and in relation between the knower and what is being known (Faust & Denzin, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1995).

Another concern is that power relations inherent in knowledge production have resulted in the experiences of subjugated groups such as black women being left out and therefore the need for qualitative research that focuses on black women (Collins, 2000; Moore & Mathias, 2016). Other standpoints within epistemologies are post-colonial positions that problematise the limited attention paid to intercultural contexts in both positivist and interpretivist research. For example, Mohanty (1995) argues that by being Eurocentric, feminist analysis that cross cultural boundaries tended to lose analytic strength due to the limited specificity to locations and histories. Philosopher Asante (2007) advances Afrocentricity as an epistemological standpoint by asserting that reality is a combination of material and spiritual aspects that are mutually influencing. Unlike western philosophy, Afrocentricity insists on recognition of 'the relationship between the physical and the spiritual, as well as the interconnectedness of all things' (Mazama, 2001, p. 399). Afrocentricity is different from Eurocentricity in that it does not mean an exclusion or subjugation of other worldviews or the making of a particular history or experience universal (Asante, 2007). Rather, it is '… a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values, and perspectives predominate … it is the placing of African people in the centre of any analysis of African phenomena' (Asante, 2003, p. 2).

For this thesis it meant a sensitivity to experiences, locations, and histories. I therefore read the idea of Ubuntu as within the concept of Afrocentric epistemology that builds on Mingolo's (2012) idea of *being where we think* to also link to the idea of *being because of who we are with*; Ubuntu. Ubuntu contributes to the mission of '… building decolonial epistemologies that legitimate "living in harmony and reciprocity" rather than "living in competition and meritocracy"...' (Mingolo, 2012 p.25). Being a *bantu* person, I recognised myself in an ontology in which reality is conceptualised as relational and contextual and understood that Ubuntu is an important characteristic of the socio-cultural and political context of the research participants (Nzimakwe, 2014; Wiredu, 2008). I took a position that accounts for these experiences through the questions I asked of participants and how I interpreted the data. Afrocentric feminist epistemology as part of intersectional feminist tradition takes into account the black women's experiences as the subject and producers of knowledge (Chilisa & Ntseane,

2010; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). Collins (2000) argues that an Afrocentric feminist epistemology draws on both feminist and Afrocentric standpoints. It involves 'concrete experience as a criterion of meaning' (Collins, 2000, p. 208). This means a way of knowing that draws on what is learned, believed, and what is lived through qualitative research approaches.

According to (Clandinin, 2006), experience can be understood as having narrative character with three dimensions. Firstly, people live their lives influenced by and located in time known as temporality, meaning what they experience can be identified as in the past, present, or the future (Clandinin, 2006; Clandinin & Connelly, 1990). Secondly, women's experience is affected by their location and environment (Clandinin, 2006). Thirdly experience is characterised by sociality. Sociality is explored as women's relations and the relationship between the structures that intersectionaly affect and impact on women's identities (Collins, 2000; Mukuka, 2013). In the next sections, I now discuss narrative inquiry as a research approach I applied to investigate women's experiences as sport leaders in the AUSC5.

5.3 Narrative Inquiry within Interpretive Interactionism

Interpretive interactionism as a form of symbolic interactionist theory takes a subjective and interactional view to knowledge in which reality is mediated by symbolic representations (Denzin, 2001). In this case, women sport leaders' experiences cannot be captured directly but only by examining the representations of the particular experiences (Denzin, 2001). The stories that women sport leaders and sport organisations tell themselves and others are a way of representing experiences (Alvesson & Willmott 2002; Zilber, 2017). So by examining the stories as forms of representation, we can understand the experiences that women sport leaders have (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005; Denzin, 2001).

In this thesis, I used narrative inquiry as an approach to gather and analyse women sport leaders' stories as forms of representation of their experiences (Caine et al., 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 1990). Narrative inquiry is the study of the stories through which research participants articulate their views of who they are and the meanings of the experiences they have (Caine et al., 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 1990). The terms 'stories' or 'narratives' are often used interchangeably to refer to the first-person's oral telling or retelling of events related to personal or social experiences of an individual (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002; Riessman, 2008). The stories that individual women sport leaders tell themselves and others are based on how they as storytellers perceive themselves and are therefore

a way of revealing identities. Narrative inquiry is based on this function of stories as representations of personal and social experience and identities (Clandinin et al., 2007a; Denzin, 2001).

Pioneered in literary studies, narrative inquiry has since the 1980s been adopted in fields including sociology, which is the context of this research, and is now considered a cross-disciplinary approach following the 'narrative turn' away from positivist research approaches (Bochner & Riggs, 2014; Riessman, 2008). The 'narrative turn' is a component of the broader development in western research philosophy in the social sciences in which there is a 'turn to language' as a site for exploring people's experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990; Reissman, 2000). An important aspect is the focus on contexts of research participants and the stories that they tell. Therefore in this thesis, the definition of narratives adopted is 'long sections of talk – extended accounts of lives in context that develop over the course of single or multiple interviews …' (Riessman, 2008, p. 6). This approach to narratives suited the focus on the particular context and aspects of women sport leaders' lives, as opposed to their entire life stories.

Narrative inquiry has developed with the interest in understanding lived experiences. Lived experiences are the focus of qualitative research because 'this is where individual belief and action intersect with culture' (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005). Narratives are an important part of the process of cultural production. Bruner (1991) draws attention to the discursive power of stories or narratives through 'narrative accrual'. Narrative accrual refers to the collection and iterative connection of stories that become preserved, canonised, or institutionalised whether at family, organisational, or national levels (Bruner, 1991). Canonical narratives, such as women leaders in male dominated spaces being unusual, are critical to the interpretation of personal narratives of individual women sport leaders' experiences and identities (Bruner, 1991; Pheonix, 2008; Reissman, 2008).

Within sociology of sport, how individuals negotiate their identities in contexts of underrepresented or stigmatised social groups remains of interest (Burton & Leberman, 2017; McDowell & Cunningham, 2009). Burton and Leberman (2017) note that most of the literature explores the impact of particular individual aspects of identities such as race or gender, and that while this is useful, it is insufficient. Echoing Collins (2000) and Crenshaw (1999), they recommend that since:

> '… people do not have a single identity, it is difficult if not impossible to
> compartmentalise the various aspects of their identity. As such, research designs
> must use methods that capture the unique, lived experiences of people who have

multiple identities (e.g., multiple diversity dimensions) that operate simultaneously' (Burton & Leberman, 2017, p. 65).

In this thesis, a narrative inquiry approach provided the conceptual space to apply feminist intersectionality and interactionist theories as the theoretical framework informed by Ubuntu as a sensitizing concept (see chapter three) which also informed my data analysis process. I therefore explored both the influences of oppression that affect women sport leaders, systems such as class and gender, and the acts of resistance performed through identity negotiation by the women sport leaders. Goffman's work on interaction was important to providing the framework to categorise these actions (see section 3.2). In particular, exploring the acts of identity negotiation using strategies such as identity negation and enhancement related to the multiple social influences and contexts (Goffman, 1959, 1963). The concept of Ubuntu guided questions and interpretation of the data to consider meanings in context (Blumer, 1954; Liu, 2004). In the next section I outline the data collection process I used in this narrative inquiry.

5.4 Data Collection

5.4.1 Inviting the Storytellers

I wanted to hear from women who had the lived experiences of being leaders within the AUSC5 bodies. Therefore, I used a combination of snowball and purposive sampling approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) to select participants from four countries, all of which are English speaking: Botswana, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe[1]. Therefore, although the AUSC5 is comprised of fourteen countries, the women sport leaders in the other countries were excluded for practical reasons including language accessibility and cost affordability. I interviewed women who were board members of national organisations including school sport federations, National Sports Councils, Olympic and Paralympic Committees between the period 2015 and 2017.

Ritchie et al. (2003) argue that when using purposive sampling, it is beneficial to ensure diversity within the selected sample. I therefore selected women with different backgrounds and experiences working at different levels of national and regional organisations (Table 1). I interviewed 22 participants based in the four countries. My use of snowball method was with women sport leaders in particular organisations within which I had not had sufficient responses from the individual women often due to email contacts that were no longer in use. Some of the women held multiple positions,

as per the criteria for membership in some regional organisations. For example, membership in the Confederation of the National Paralympic Committees is drawn from National Paralympic Committees. Table 5 shows the organisations of the women sport leaders in this study. A total of 22 women work in National level organisations, while 15 of the 22 women also hold positions in regional organisations as listed below:

Table 5: Organisations that research participants work in

National Level Organisations	Women Interviewed
National Ministries responsible for Sport	3
National Sports Councils/Commissions	4
National Paralympic Committees	5
National Federation of Higher Education Sport	1
National Olympic Committees	9
	Total: 22
Regional Level Organisations that some of the 22 women leaders work in	
Regional Organisation	**Women Interviewed**
Association of African National Olympic Committees	1
Commonwealth Games Association – Africa	1
Africa Netball Federation	1
Africa Union Sports Council Region Five Executive Council	2
Africa Union Sports Council Region Five Technical Commission	2
Africa Union Sports Council Region Five Women's Committee	2
Confederation of Southern African National Paralympic Committees	2
Confederation of Southern African National Olympic Committees	3
Confederation of Southern African Netball Associations	1
Women Sport Africa Network	1
	16

Of the 25 women I invited to participate, one was unavailable during the timeline of this research and one was unwilling to participate. One of the invited participants was unable to participate as we did not have the logistical arrangements in place to enable her participation as a woman who speaks non-British sign language. Table 6 is a list of the research participants. I have used pseudonyms to provide

confidentiality for the participants. For each participant, I have listed information they provided that relates to their identities and are important to the themes in the stories the women sport leaders tell about themselves and their experiences as sport leaders.

Table 6 List of Research Participants

	Pseudonym	Age Range	Occupation/Area of Work	Brief Description
1	Kutemwa	30s	Sport Development and Management	Postgraduate education, Civil Service, non-sport background
2	Mfula	60s	Special Needs Education	Mother of 3, Grandmother, Husband died, still plays sport.
3	Kunda	50s	Business Administration	Wife, Mother of 2, white African, former athlete.
4	Bwembya	60s	Accounts and Business Management	Mother of 4, Husband died, Higher Education, former athlete.
5	Chishimba	60s	Accounts and Business Management	Mother of 4, Husband died, Higher Education, women's rights advocacy
6	Mukula	40s	Sport Development and Management	Wife, Mother of 4, Postgraduate education, Civil Service
7	Mubanga	40s	Education and Trade Union Activism	Mother of 1, coach, disabled teachers' rights activist, still plays sport
8	Chibwe	30s	Library and Information Management	Wife, Higher Education, Non-sport background
9	Bukata	50s	Sport Development and Management, Education	Wife, Mother of 4, Grandmother, PhD Candidate, Civil Service.
10	Chembe	40s	Administration and Business	Wife, Widow, Mother of 2, Disabled-crutches to support walking, Sports Coach.
11	Chiti	50s	Law and International Finance	Mother, still plays sport, Postgraduate education.
12	Nsansa	50s	Business Administration	Wife, Mother of 3, former athlete, white African.
13	Mapoma	70s	Finance and Business Management	Mother of 1, Civil rights activist, former athlete, Indian- African.
14	Bulaya	50s	Business Administration	Wife, Mother of 2, former athlete, white African.
15	Mapalo	50s	Public Administration and Disability Rights Advocacy	Wife, Mother of 3, Grandmother, Postgraduate education, Disabled-crutches to support walking.
16	Kasuba	50s	Public Administration and Business Management	Mother of 3, Postgraduate education, Private and Civil Service.
17	Yasheni	40s	Medicine, Public Administration	Mother of 3, Postgraduate education, Private and Civil Service.

18	Bwaca	60s	Special Needs Education	Mother of 3, Grandmother, Husband died, still plays sport.
19	Mweshi	50s	Administration, Marketing and Public Relations	Wife, Mother of 3, Postgraduate education, former athlete,
20	Bumba	50s	Public Administration and Business Management	Mother of 1, Higher education, former athlete
21	Mulenga	50s	Special Needs Education	Wife, Mother of 3, disability rights advocacy
22	Yangeni	40s	Education and Sport Management	Wife, Mother of 2, Postgraduate education, former athlete,

I conducted the interviews between January and August 2017. These interviews were both in person and mediated as illustrated in Table 7 below. For the phone interviews, I used internet-enabled phone services such as Skype and WhatsApp. There was limited literature about the use of WhatsApp in research interviews specifically, however, the technological arguments for and against telephone services such as Skype are applicable here. An advantage of undertaking phone interviews was the lower cost implications than in-person meetings in situations of multi-country research (John W. Creswell, 2013; Lacono et al., 2016). The table below lists the different means I used to interview the women sport leaders.

Table 7 Method used for interviews

Method of Interview	Number of Women	Number of Countries
In-Person Interviews	5	1
Skype Video Call	1	1
Skype Audio Call	2	2
WhatsApp Audio Call	14	4

Another advantage of using WhatsApp Call with those who had the software was that it enabled flexibility regarding the time at which we could have the interview. Using these methods was not without challenges. Deakin and Wakefield (2014) highlight technology failure as one of the prominent disadvantages of using Skype services to undertake research interviews, which is also applicable to WhatsApp service. Indeed, this was my experience as the technology failure was related to more than internet services but also electricity supply in the places where the participants were. So, negotiating times to conduct the interview became quite complex, meaning interviews were sometimes rescheduled or undertaken in parts, thus taking longer than initially planned (see 5.7.3).

5.4.2 Telling the Stories

Interviews within narrative inquiry have different scope, such as life history that may cover a person's whole life, interviews that focus on particular events, or themes and how the individual experienced them (John W. Creswell, 2013; Riessman, 2008). In this thesis, the interviews focused on the women's experiences of leadership. Table 8 provides some of the broad themes drawn from the literature, methodology, and theoretical framework. These themes informed the questions I asked during the interview about which women gave accounts (see Appendix 3 for interview guide).

Table 8 Themes related to interview questions

Theme	Summary of Interview Questions
Personal Biography	Questions covering information such as age, education, ethnicity, entry into sport leadership positions.
Leadership and Identities	Questions covered perception of self, leadership approaches and identities, relationship of identities to challenges encountered.
Challenging and positive experiences	Questions covered negative and positive experiences of leadership. Strategies of navigating barriers. Positive experiences.
Social Change	Awareness of underrepresentation of women in sport, actions taken to contribute to change, ideas of how change can be achieved.

Collins (2000) cautions that the lived and narrated stories about people's lives are not linear. Despite the sense of continuity and structure to stories, people's lives are dynamic and so it is expected that within the narration, themes and identities can change or shift (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). This was apparent in the interviews when research participants went back and forth as they told their stories, often following a theme such as positive experiences they had and within that discussing across past and current experiences. Part of the analysis process involved restorying the narratives (see section 5.5) to order them according to themes incorporating narrative factors (see appendix 4) as advanced by (Pheonix, 2008; Riessman, 2008).

Interviews can engage both the researcher and the research participant interactively (John W Creswell, 2013). I therefore paid attention to the storyteller and the story. Having developed rapport

with the participants through talking with them before the interview and sharing about my-self contributed to creating the interview as an exchange process. Further, I focused on asking open-ended questions. I also presented myself as relaxed in order to allow the participant to narrate at their own pace. For example, I sometimes kept quiet when the participant was quiet in order to leave them space to continue their story. This was to minimize the challenge of working with audio only in contrast to the additional visual cues available during video or in person interviews. I also asked probing questions facilitated by the elements of narrative inquiry and the theoretical framework (Appendix 3). For example, asking for further details on a point that the participant has made in order to encourage them to elaborate. I used a digital recorder as advised by Creswell (2013) which freed me to focus on the research participant. At the end of these interviews, I had in excess of 25 hours of audio recorded. I saved these on a password-protected computer for later listening and transcription, as discussed in the next section.

5.5 Data Analysis

When analysing the data, my aim was to interpret the interview accounts in order to construct meaning with them (John W. Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). I understood data analysis as the organisation and interpretation of the materials I gathered through the interviews in order to facilitate the process of drawing results and conclusions (John W. Creswell, 2013; Roulston, 2014). I applied a thematic narrative analysis which entailed a focus on the content and context of the accounts (Pheonix, 2008; Riessman, 2008). The multiphase thematic analysis process was conducted with the steps illustrated in figure 2 below (p. 80) and is further discussed in the sections that follow.

I transcribed the interview recordings verbatim into Microsoft Word documents, including non-verbal acts and signals such as laughter, silence, stutters, and sighs (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002; Riessman, 2008). I undertook the transcription while I was in the process of interviewing and the last transcript was typed two months after I had done the interview. I stored the interview files on a password-protected computer. Since my focus was on thematic analysis, I transcribed the interviews as paragraphs to enable the coherent reading of the texts to prepare for coding (Andrews et al., 2008; Riessman, 2008). Following transcription, I organised the transcripts into three groups of seven participants. Each group was comprised of women located across all levels of the AUSC5 and the four countries. This was done for the purpose of making data handling manageable. I then I read over each group of transcripts and then finally across all the transcripts to get a sense of the themes that would emerge to me.

Figure 2 Data Analysis Process
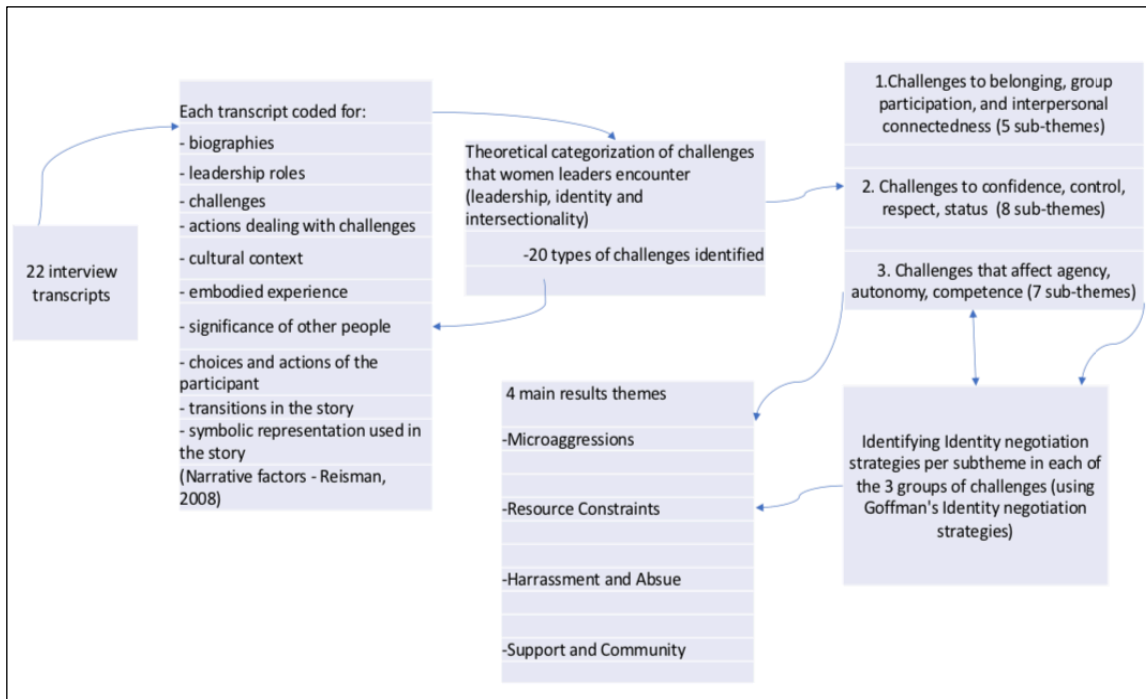
As shown in figure 2 above, having transcribed the interviews, I undertook the first phase of analysis which was initial coding. I examined the transcript one by one, reading them in detail and identifying the broad themes and ideas that were in the accounts. In this process, I applied line by line coding, in order to ensure the accounts in their parts and entirety were considered. In this process I was noting themes and coding using the verbatim texts as well as assigning codes for biographical data, type of organization, levels of leadership, identities, and challenges and responses to challenges. This facilitated a deep familiarity with the data that is key for this form of analysis.

During this phase of coding, I further assigned codes based on aspects of experience. I took 'a Deweyan view of experience, a view that acknowledges the embodiment of the person in the world and that focuses on not only the individual's experience but also on the social, cultural, and institutional narratives in which the individual's experiences are constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted' (Clandinin et al., 2007b, p. 27). Therefore I adopted Pheonix (2008) and Riessman's (2008) means of categorizing content of accounts using narrative factors that encompass temporality, sociality, and place. Table 9 below lists the narrative factors included in the first phase of coding.

Table 9 Narrative Factors Applied in Thesis Data Collection and Analysis

Narrative Factors Applied in Thesis Data Collection and Analysis (Pheonix, 2008; Riessman, 2008)	
Cultural context	This is the point of reference of the participant. It includes their worldview, social relations, and practices.
Embodied experience	The women sport leaders' experience of real life since the stories uncover their thoughts, attitudes, feelings, and ideas.
Significance of other people	Other people can be contributors to barriers and constraints and in some cases other people play a role that supports the women leaders in their leadership.
Choices and actions of the participant	The actions women take, the choices they make when faced with various options both negative and positive and how these are related to their context and identities.
Transitions in the story	Indications of shifts in situation or perception or resolution of problem Women sport leaders' identities are characterized by multiple narratives.
Symbolic representation used in the story	Women sport leaders' identities are characterized by multiple narratives.

These aspects provide a frame for the analysis enabling a categorization and questioning of the data that considers experience as multidimensional. These narrative aspects also resonate with the consideration of Ubuntu as a worldview in which sociality and temporality are significant (Mukuka, 2013; Ncube, 2010). In so doing, the analysis process considers both the content and the context of the accounts (Reissman, 2008). This phase also generated some themes that are not categorized within the frame of narrative factors or identities of the participants. These themes were also documented and included in the consolidation and further analysis. At the time of developing the interview guide, I used this frame to inform the questions I asked the participants, to prompt further into particular themes or aspects they shared (appendix 3). These factors were therefore present across the women's accounts. Using these narrative factors to read the women's accounts provided the foundation for the next step.

The second coding phase was a review of the initially coded data in order to identify and assign codes to themes of challenges or barriers that women face. These included themes such as recruitment, access to information, and sexism and resulted in a list of twenty types of challenges. During this phase I also identified the ways that women get around these barriers that they presented. Not all challenges had corresponding actions for resolution as some were identified as part of the context of other challenges. Further, I organised the individual participant narratives by using the research questions as a guide. The research questions focused on identifying what challenges women sport leaders faced,

how they dealt with the challenges and the identities they negotiated in the process. This is a process referred to as emplotment; a technique which involves ordering of details in terms of time and space and relational factors (Somers, 1994). This is done in order to organise the stories in a way that provides a coherent narrative flow as stories are often narrated in a non-linear way. I used the themes that were emerging from the reading of the interviews to undertake a non-linear thematic approach to emplotment (Squires, 2008; Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002).

In the third phase, I categorized these twenty into broad groups using feminist theory, leadership and identity negotiation literature by considering what the challenge does or the effect it has on women. Through this process, three clusters of challenges were produced. These are: i. challenges related to belonging, group participation, and interpersonal connectedness encompassing five sub-themes; ii. challenges that included confidence, control, and respect, encompassing eight sub-themes; and, iii. challenges that related to aspects of agency, autonomy, and competence, encompassing seven sub-themes. Drawing on intersectionality principles that multiple oppressive situations result in different barriers for different women of multiple identities, some of the items on the challenges list were placed in multiple clusters. For example, challenges that were coded as a lack of recognition of leadership competencies were mentioned by multiple participants as a challenge. This challenge affects group belonging that is an aspect of identity. Therefore, this challenge was categorized in category i. and since it also links to perceptions of the woman's agency, it was also categorized in category 3. As shown in table 10 below.

Table 10 Preliminary Categories of Challenges

1.Challenges to belonging, group participation, and interpersonal connectedness	2. Challenges to confidence, control, respect, status	3. Challenges that affect agency, autonomy, competence
a. Gaining acceptance as a legitimate leader	a. Gaining respect as a sports leader	a. Gaining acceptance as a legitimate leader
b. Prejudice against women	b. Lack of organizational resources to enable participation	b. Gaining respect as a sports leader
c. Recognition as professional of equal status	c. Organization culture does not prioritize women issues	c. Lack of organizational resources to enable participation
d. Recognition of leadership competencies	d. Prejudice against particular abilities	d. Recognition as leader of equal status

	e. Prejudice against particular ethnicities	e. Recognition of leadership competencies
e. Limited community and alliances	f. Recognition as leader of equal status	f. Recognition as professional of equal status
	g. Recognition as professional of equal status	g. Weak safeguarding and protection organization culture
	h. Weak safeguarding and protection organization culture	

Having plotted the themes into tables as above, I used the theoretical concepts in table 9 to further categorise the themes in the accounts. I interpreted the themes that emerged from the accounts through a process of questioning and comparing within accounts and across accounts (John W Creswell, 2013; Pheonix, 2008). Since my focus was on women's experiences, I went beyond the personal narratives in the interviews and incorporated the broader societal narratives to provide context for the meanings (Pheonix, 2008). These are referred to as meta-narratives (Somers, 1994) or canonical narratives (Bruner, 2002).

Narrative inquiry involves locating how 'the little stories we hear day-in and day-out relate to bigger stories, some of which may be *the* big story of the experience in view, bringing on board issues of discourse, power, influence, and globalization' (Gubrium, 2010, p. 391). Therefore I drew on Collins' (2000; 2016) conception of domains of power. I examined the clusters taking into account how the stories presented aspects of structural, cultural, interpersonal, and disciplinary power. Doing this contributed to clarifying what the challenge was and how to interpret the action that is being taken in response.

For example, Bwaca in chapter 7 narrates how she covers the logistical costs of her participation in activities because the organization including the government does not do so for anyone. Here I read the challenge of meeting costs of participation in leadership activities such as meetings as not just an issue of personal level lack among women, but that it was a structural problem due to insufficient social investment in sport organizations rooted in the social, economic and political history of the AUSC5 (discussed in chapter 2). In taking account of this temporality aspect from narrative method, I interpreted the challenge as organizational resource constraints. In so doing I was locating the problem in the institution and drawing attention to institutional and cultural narratives of volunteering and how these shape women's leadership participation (discussed in chapter 7).

In phase four, the focus was on ways women dealt with the challenges they encountered and what this meant from an identity negotiation perspective. I read the data for the actions taken by the women for how they deal with each of these challenges. Not all challenges had corresponding actions for resolution as some were identified as part of the context of other challenges. At this stage, the difference in actions that multiple women implemented in response to what may have been classified as similar challenges was becoming more evident.

I re-examined and interpreted the response actions identified earlier using the framework of identity negotiation strategies. The process involved classifying these actions in terms of Goffman's (1959, 1963) typology of identity negotiation strategies as applied by Miller and Morgan (1993). The identity negotiation strategies as discussed in 3.2.3 are Concealing, Rejecting, Re-Affirming, Remooring, Intensified Group Contact, and Social change. Since multiple strategies were used by different women to address a particular challenge, I mapped these into the analysis matrix as well, colour coding the approaches to ease writing up and further analysis. This resulted in the table below:

Table 11 Challenges and Identity Negotiation Strategies

1.Negotiating challenges to belonging, group participation, and interpersonal connectedness						
Identity Challenges	Individual Actions			Social/Interactive Actions		
	Concealing Identities	Denial of Identities/ Rejecting stereotype	Reaffirm	Remooring	Intensified Group Contact	Social Change
a. Gaining acceptance as a legitimate leader		(blue)	(orange)			(green)
b. Prejudice against women		(blue)		(green)		(green)
c. Recognition as professional of equal status			(orange)			
d. Recognition of leadership competencies			(orange)			(green)
e. Limited community and alliances	(orange)				(yellow)	(green)

2. Negotiating challenges to confidence, control, respect, status		
Identity Challenges	Individual Actions	Social/Interactive Actions

	Concealing Identities	Denial of Identities/ Rejecting stereotype	Reaffirm	Remooring	Intensified Group Contact	Social Change
a. Gaining respect as a sports leader			X			X
b. Lack of organizational resources to enable participation			X			X
c. Organization culture does not prioritize women issues						X
d. Prejudice against particular abilities		X		X		X
e. Prejudice against particular ethnicities			X			X
f. Recognition as leader of equal status		X		X		
Recognition as professional of equal status			X			
g. Weak safeguarding and protectionorganization culture		X	X		X	X

3. Negotiating challenges that affect agency, autonomy, competence						
Identity Challenges	Individual Actions			Social/Interactive Actions		
	Concealing Identities	Denial of Identities/ Rejecting stereotype	Reaffirm	Remooring	Intensified Group Contact	Social Change
a. Gaining acceptance as a legitimate leader		X	X			X
b. Gaining respect as a sports leader			X			X
c. Lack of organizational resources to enable participation			X			X
d. Recognition as leader of equal status		X		X		
e. Recognition of leadership competencies			X			X
f. Recognition as professional of equal status			X			

g. Weak safeguarding and protection organization culture						

Throughout the analysis, I went through an iterative process, across analysis themes and interview transcripts and in between phases and in relation to the literature. In examining the actions used to navigate challenges and barriers, I applied identity negotiation concepts in the table 12 below. Table 12 illustrates some of the considerations used to view what negotiation strategy is applied through framing the actions and accounts within a dramaturgical perspective.

Table 12 Aspects of Goffman's Dramaturgy, Interaction, and Identity Negotiation

Some Aspects of Goffman's Dramaturgy, Interaction, and Identity Negotiation Applied in Thesis Data Collection and Analysis (Goffman 1959; 17 – 76) Also (Miller & Morgan, 1993)	
Aspect of Interaction/Presentation	*Some Factors related to Women Sport Leaders*
Belief in the part one is playing	Recognition of the leadership position, role, performance and belief in it. Awareness that failure to comply may result in negative consequences.
Front and Back	What is this comprised of? How does it vary at various stages/situation?
Dramatic Realisation	Dramatic expressions that highlight or portray facts about the actor/role. E.g Clothes, language, rituals, ways of doing things.
Idealisation	To what extent the leader perceives themselves as exemplifying the official values or culture of the organisation.
The maintenance of expressive control	Do the women sport leaders express concern or share practices of how other areas of life are not be allowed to intrude into the front stage of the on-going presentation.
Misrepresentation	Misrepresentation of facts. Would this relate to role or influence/ achievements or gender inclinations/values?
Mystification	What do leaders say about themselves that sets them apart as inspiring or high achievers?
Reality and Contrivance	The leaders here as to present themselves/give the impression that they are a real/proper leader. This of course is based on their understanding of what that is.

In writing up the identity negotiation strategies used for each of the challenges, connections between the challenges and strategies emerged that made it possible to establish further consolidation of the challenges and what they meant to the women. Within narrative inquiry, place is significant. Not only the physical places in the stories but also the place of the stories in relation to other stories or narratives in the field of research (Clandinin et al., 2007b). I therefore related the themes in the accounts to the themes in the extant literature on the challenges that women leaders encounter. For example, the challenge of sexist language was coded as a challenge to belonging, status, and agency. However, it occurred in different situations and women responded using different approaches such as maintaining express control in order to reaffirm their leadership identity. These aspects of dramaturgy provided further detail in determining the type of identity negotiation strategies that was engaged in respective circumstances.

It was useful to further clarify and present the challenges in a way that illustrates how they work across the three categories or groupings. Therefore, I reworked these categories of challenges into the four broad but more identifiable sets of challenges that women experience. The four broad themes are; microaggressions, resource constraints, harassment and abuse, and support and community. These categories subsume the three types of challenges accordingly and they are worked through as a form of effect that the challenges have. For example, the effect of microaggressions is a challenged leadership status which is navigated through identity reaffirmation and social change. This is illustrated in table 13 below of how the sub-theme in category 2 are re-clustered.

Table 13 Re-clustering Leading to Current Results Themes

2. Negotiating challenges to confidence, control, respect, status					
Identity Challenges	Denial of Identities / Rejecting stereotype	Reaffirm	Remooring	Intensified Group Contact	Social Change
a. Gaining respect as a sports leader		Microaggressions			
b. Lack of organizational resources to enable participation		Resource constraints		Community and support	Community and support
c. Organization culture does not prioritize women issues	Micro-aggressions				
d. Prejudice against particular abilities	Micro-aggressions				
e. Prejudice against particular ethnicities		Microaggressions			
f. Recognition as leader of equal status	Micro-aggressions				
g. Recognition as professional of equal status		Microaggressions			
h. Weak safeguarding and protection organization culture	Harassment and abuse				

The re-clustering achieves an organization of several challenges that operate in multiple categories and are addressed using multiple strategies. Doing this further served the purpose of resolving the limitation of listing challenges according to individual identities such as disability, ethnicity, age and

others, as was the case at this phase of the analysis. In view of intersectionality theory, analysis of multiple identities does not mean a focus on listing the identities, rather it is about effects of oppressive structures on women with multiple identities (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991). Since the researcher is as much a storyteller as the research participants, I was also making a form of account or narrative as I made choices about what data means and how it fits together (Clandinin et al., 2007b). The four challenges frame the results chapters of this thesis. Organising the themes according to these four categories amplifies the focus on these pressing themes in the women leaders' accounts and adds to the literature in each of these four areas of research. This research analysis process therefore incorporated intersectionality, identity negotiation, and ubuntu using a narrative inquiry thematic analysis process.

5.6 Research Trustworthiness

Denzin and Lincoln (2018) assert that quality is important across all research paradigms and that what constitutes quality is linked to the epistemological positions. Within this thesis, the factors that guided reflection and action towards quality are trustworthiness and authenticity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). I firstly sought to have a close understanding of the research participants' context in order to engage with the inquiry with fairness. This involved a detailed literature review to understand the social, cultural, and political context as well as of sport and leadership in the AUSC5 (chapter two and three). Authenticity requires a fair representation of stakeholder voices within the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). In this thesis, this includes voices of other researchers through the literature review, the participants' voices through the data collected and the results, and my own voice as the researcher through my interpretation of both the literature and the data on which the results are based. Further, I account for my influence on the process as a woman sport leader from the AUSC5 (section 5.8). In addition, I used the process of member checks in order to engage with participants after the interviews by providing an opportunity for them to confirm the accuracy of the interview transcripts. I also used peer feedback from fellow doctoral students and my PhD supervision team to facilitate questioning and reflection on my analysis. A practice acknowledged within research as part of 'intersubjective agreement and reasoning among actors shared through dialogue' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 122). Another element of research quality is in the ethical considerations I made during the process, which are important for ensuring the trustworthiness of the research and the wellbeing of the research participants and of the researcher (Cresswell, 2013; Atkinson & Delamont, 2005). These are now discussed in the next section.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics refers to 'the moral deliberation, choice and accountability on the part of researchers throughout the research process' (Edwards & Mauthner, 2012, p. 15). I followed the University of Chichester research ethics process and approval for this research was granted in December 2016. Clandinin et al. (2013) assert that ethical matters may change during the research process and so narrative inquirers ought to consider ethical matters at each stage. Indeed for this research, ethical questions came up at various points and here I discuss three key aspects: free and informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and doing no harm (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012).

5.7.1 Informed and Free Consent

I emailed research participants to inform them of my research and the role I was asking them to take in it. For the five participants I met in person, I provided them with a printed copy of the information sheet (see Appendix 2) and consent form (see Appendix 1). I also sent the form through phone messaging services for a participant who said she did not access her email regularly. This was in order for her to have the information so that we could have a discussion before she agreed to undertake the interview in line with the principle that consent should be informed (John W Creswell, 2013).

I addressed this by asking research participants to confirm that they have read and understood the purpose of the research and their rights. I also repeated key content from the information sheet at the start of interviews to confirm that the participants consented. Due to limited internet access or printing facilities, obtaining signed consent forms was sometimes done after the interview was completed. We therefore also used WhatsApp messaging to send consent forms. This was a challenge, as some of the participants struggled to provide the signed form despite several reminders. These occurrences in my research reinforced my understanding that consent is a process and not a one-off event signified by the signing of a form.

'The idea of 'free consent' refers to the extent to which a person might be, or could feel, under pressure to consent or for that matter to refuse consent' (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012, p. 9). For example, one of the research participants informed me that she was very busy but would make time to participate in my research because of the relationship she has with a mutual colleague who had told her about my PhD studies. I resolved this by considering their consent to participate in this research as an act of support and solidarity in alignment with their identities as women who support other women within sport.

5.7.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Regarding anonymity, researchers aim for a balance between 'maximising protection of participants' identities and maintaining the value and integrity of the data' (Saunders et al., 2015, p. 617). For this research, I was concerned that since there are very few women who met the criteria that I established for participation, I could not guarantee total anonymity. I declared this to the participants as part of the informed consent process. To address this, I committed to anonymise the names and places as much as possible (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012; Saunders et al., 2015). I focused on ensuring the text is not associated with particular participants and organisations by anonymising places, locations and names. An aspect of considering participants' wellbeing includes ensuring they are aware of what information will be recorded and who will have access to it. I provided this through the information sheet and in discussions before and after the interviews.

5.7.3 Doing No Harm

Feminist philosophy has challenged how the experiences of women are central to the ethics process in social sciences (Edwards & Mauthner, 2012; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). The research serves to contribute to understanding the experiences of women sport leaders who in some situations have not had an opportunity to share their stories, for example women sport leaders in the AUCS5 with disabilities and women who have recently come into leadership positions (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). I addressed the concerns raised by Tuhiwai Smith (1999) by giving women the opportunity to remove from the interview transcript any details they felt were not to be shared outside the interview. Moreover, I sent the interview transcripts to participants as a way to be accountable to them about how I had transcribed and recorded their stories accurately.

5.7.4 Issues Encountered

Researching women's experiences has its challenges and indeed, I encountered several. Although phone interviews have advantages of not being location dependent, some participants needed to be in particular locations where they could access electricity to charge their phones and access internet service. With participants' agreement, three interviews were rescheduled due to lack of power supply and five due to poor-quality phone connectivity. Thus, the interviews took up more time to arrange and coordinate than anticipated. One woman had a hearing impairment and we agreed to a text-based interview. However, she was not interviewed because she was busy during the period of the research and was therefore removed from the study.

The multiplicity of women's roles affected this research. A few weeks into the data collection, when I had challenges getting appointments for interviews, I started to let the participants know that I was available to interview them outside working hours, which is during the evenings of weekdays and on weekends. I recognised that this was a privileged position to be in as a researcher and may not be possible for all researchers. Of the 22 interviews I conducted, only seven were conducted during working hours of the participants on days when they were not on leave or during their lunch break. When we ask women to participate in research interviews, we therefore need to be flexible about the possibility that they may not be able to do so in one sitting on a date that is ideal for the researcher.

I sent the transcripts to the participants as a form of reciprocity and openness to demonstrate to them that I had recorded our interview accurately (Caine et al., 2013). Only one participant asked to remove certain parts of the interview transcript as they felt 'they had said too much'. Therefore, even though what they had said in the interview gave me insight into how they felt about a situation, the participant found it uncomfortable and thought it was improper to include it in the transcript that I would analyse. I complied with the participant and redacted the text.

5.8 Researcher Position in the Research Process

Part of narrative research practice and qualitative research in general is the importance of reflexivity and awareness of the researcher's own subjectivity (Caine et al., 2013; Collins, 2000; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). As a Zambian woman in my mid-thirties, I was aware that undertaking doctoral studies was a privilege that was not available to many women working in sport in Zambia and the AUSC5. Further, undertaking the studies at a UK-based university affected how I thought of myself within the research. I reflected on my interest in not being complicit with the critique of a northern dominated research economy within sociology in which research data is gathered in countries in the south and analysed and reported in the north (Connell, 2014a; Mama, 2011). The persistent question in my mind was whom this research was for and how undertaking this study benefited more than the University and me. This concern was reflected back to me in several of the interviews when research participants asked about how useful the research would be in the AUSC5 and through their hopes that by sharing their stories, other women sport leaders within the AUSC5 will benefit. I dealt with this by having discussions with my supervision team, and fellow PhD students who are from countries in the global South within the university as well as colleagues I had met at conferences who were not based at my university.

Bennet (2008) notes that there are always power dynamics that have to be acknowledged and managed in research settings. As a doctoral student researching women and sport leadership, I became aware that some of the women saw me as an expert on the subject. I therefore deliberately ensured that in my interviews, I centred their lived experience as the subject of the research and not their academic knowledge of leadership theories and concepts. Although researchers are often perceived as having more power in research relationships with participants, the power dynamics shift and vary throughout the research process (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). For example, although my power is related to my role as the person who will interpret the interviews, I was conscious of the participants' power as the ones who own their story, the choice of how far to tell their story, and the right to withdraw their consent.

5.8.1 Reflections

There were several issues that I thought about during this research process. I found myself thinking about how my relationship with some of the research participants will change as I now have more insight into parts of their experiences. Perhaps I will now have more empathy in my future work with women sport leaders. I would also like to contribute to other women conducting research or working in the area of women and sport as a form of reciprocity. I was overwhelmed by the positive support and encouragement from several of the participants who were invested in this work and saw it as part of the broader effort on improving sport. I am conscious of my responsibility to explore how to develop the results of this thesis into formats that are accessible for this particular community since they were open to share their stories with me with the understanding that I will share these stories further.

In doing intersectional research, a key tenet is openness to the multiple identities and ways that women embody their lives (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 2000). I regularly considered how I had backed away from directly asking questions about women's non-binary gender identities, sexuality, or embodiment. I did not know if any of the women I interviewed identify other than as heterosexual women because I did not ask and none of them spoke about it. I thought it might pose an ethical dilemma to ask such a question especially for women in countries where the legal and social norms are oppressive. A limitation of this research then is that the experiences represented here may not resonate with or account for women who are not heterosexual. I therefore felt complicit in sustaining the unknowns about some women because of the choices we make about what questions to ask (Collins, 2000). This is an area for future research as it is a subject that is of interest within the women and sport movement. Matthews (2014) historical analysis of women and sport movement actors draws attention to the discussions by the women and sport leaders who have had to navigate similar

thoughts as I have had to, when convening meetings or developing agendas for action. Fasting et al. (2014) show that there is progress in the space created for actions within the women and sport movement and therefore reveal that there are a diversity of women whose experiences are not expected to be homogenous and should be accounted for in research projects such as this one.

5.9 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the methodological approach to my research on women sport leaders in the AUSC5. I outlined why I used narrative inquiry as an approach for exploring the lived experiences of women sport leaders in navigating challenges and negotiating multiple identities. I discussed how narrative inquiry examines stories as accounts through which women sport leaders make sense of their experiences. Further, within this chapter I discussed the Afrocentric feminist epistemology as a perspective that guided this research. I also laid out the steps I took to gather the data and to analyse it thematically in order to develop an understanding of how women sport leaders negotiate their identities. I discussed the various issues that arose in the process of the research such as those related to conducting interviews remotely, as well as ethical considerations including participant anonymity, participants' consent, and the feminist influenced ethic of care. Lastly, I presented some reflections on my position within the research process.

The next chapter is the first of four chapters on the findings of this research. The results chapters are based on the findings on the challenges women encounter. These are: navigating microaggressions (chapter 6), volunteering in resource constrained organisations (chapter 7), addressing harassment and abuse (chapter 8), and building support (chapter 9). Each results chapter focuses on a barrier that women faced, discusses how they addressed it, and the strategies they used to navigate their identities in the process.

6. Navigating Microaggressions within Organisations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the experiences of women sport leaders in the AUSC5 as they work to sustain their leadership identities in the wake of the microaggressions they encounter within their organisations. Microaggressions refer to the everyday indignities that women experience aimed at sustaining oppressive hierarchies such as patriarchal and racial inequality (Nadal et al., 2016). Although there are increasingly more women in positions of leadership in Southern Africa (see chapter three), the impact of this numerical increase is limited by the patriarchal conditions that work to constrain women leaders' influence (Nkekana, 2015; Nanjala, 2016). One of the effects of multiple oppressive power systems is evident in the constant identity work that women perform as they navigate microaggressions in order to be perceived and engaged with as leaders (Ahikire et al., 2015; A. Gouws, 2008). The narratives in the women's accounts revealed that women felt that their contributions are undervalued, their group belonging questioned, and that their competence as leaders is questioned. This set of issues consequently compromises their leadership identities and impacts how they are perceived and treated in interactions. This chapter therefore focuses on the challenge of microaggressions and how women negotiate their identities in response.

In this study, I found that the identity work that women perform as leaders is aimed at presenting selves that enhance their leadership identities (Carli, 1999; Ridgeway, 2014). The women addressed the challenges of microaggressions through two key identity negotiation strategies: a) they strengthened their identities as leaders through enhancing their organisational status; b) they rejected stereotypes by constructing positive leadership identities, and in so doing they remained in their positions and therefore influenced social change by being role models and activists. This chapter therefore contributes to demonstrating this identity work and understanding the multiple approaches and conditions that women negotiate their identities in.

In section 6.2, I outline the challenges that women sport leaders encounter that affect the development of women's leadership identities, which in turn impacts how they are perceived and treated as leaders by their peers and followers. Section 6.3 is a discussion of identity negotiation strategies women used in the process of dealing with the challenges. The women strengthened their leadership identities by enhancing their role status, constructing a positive leadership identity in order to reject stereotypes, and worked to create social change to minimise the societal issues on which the challenges to their leadership identities are based. This chapter closes with a summary highlighting

the simultaneity of the identities that women negotiate and the application of multiple negotiation strategies in order to influence social change.

6.2 Challenge of Microaggressions to Leaders' Influence

Often, the status of women's leadership within and without sport is relatively lower than men's and considered a deviation from the norm. This is a common form of inequality and is reflected in the ways that men and women present themselves in interactions (Goffman, 1963; Nyabola, 2016a). In regards to sport organisations in the AUSC5, the women in this thesis expressed awareness that the practices within the sport sector still privilege men as leaders over women (Grappendorf & Burton, 2017). The women's narratives reveal experiences of struggle to gain and sustain influence due to the prejudice and differential treatment of women as leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2007). The purpose and effect of challenging women leaders' influence is the maintenance of a patriarchal culture by excluding women from the practice and definition of leadership (Tamale, 1999; Goetz, 2001; Nanjala, 2016). The challenges to women's influence can be understood as microaggressions. In the women's narratives, I identified three broad practices of microaggressions that they experienced; under-recognising women's contributions, raising questions about women's belonging, and questioning women's competences. Microaggressions are experienced at an individual level during interactions the women sport leaders have, and yet they are the effects of the exercise of multiple oppressive power systems (Collins, 2017; Nadal et al., 2016). These practices are all related to challenging the perception that women sport leaders are legitimate leaders and therefore undermines their influence (Tamale, 2004).

6.2.1 Under-Recognising Women's Contributions

Women sport leaders encounter a variety of issues that present a challenge to being taken seriously as a peer within the leadership body. One recommendation to address this is the introduction of quotas. However, a major critique of initiatives such as quotas to contribute to women's representation on boards is the argument that increasing the numbers of women does not improve representation of women's interests (Bauer, 2012; A. Gouws, 2008; Tamale, 2003). For example, participants described experiences of meeting practices and interactions where women experienced lower opportunity to contribute and less acknowledgment of their input than men. Kunda's narrative illustrates this:

> … I'd go through the minutes and something which I would have said is not included in the minutes. I spend many times writing back and saying you know I don't understand why you did not include this comment that I made because surely the minutes should be a true reflection of the meeting. So I was forever having to say please will you include this in the minutes because it's the actual

conversation that took place. And you kind of start wondering are they just sort of not regarding you as anything important.

Similarly, Bukata said:

… you meet resistance, people will not appreciate when we come up with a project proposal, when you come up with something that you want to implement. So you have to really dig deep into your knowledge and experience that you find a diplomatic way of convincing people that this thing that you are talking about is a novel idea and it can yield results at the end of it all.

In these situations, women are present as leaders but they struggle to have their contributions fairly acknowledged and respected. This is due to the prevalence of discrimination based on gender stereotypes in which women's gender identities are not seen as congruent to the identity and practice of leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This stereotype results in women's gender being a tainted identity (Goffman, 1963). In these circumstances, women need to negotiate their identities as leaders in order to get around the challenge of being listened to. One of the ways they do this is through reinforcing their professional identities as discussed in 6.3.

In addition, the gendered expectations of how women should present themselves were also evident in the meeting interactions experienced by the women leaders. Bumba's account reveals a situation where being assertive about an unpopular decision was received by her peers as a taint on her character (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). Bumba said she was perceived as:

… inhuman, that I do not understand problems, that I am too harsh. You can't do that Bumba! How can you do that? No you can't do that I am inhuman.

Being assertive is associated with positive conceptualisation of leadership among men, yet it is considered contradictory to feminine behaviour therefore not expected of women leaders (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Women leaders therefore have to consciously manage their presentation of self to take into account the cultural expectations and consequences of deviating from societal expectations (Nzomo, 2015). Billing and Alvesson (1997) argue that, organisations structure identities by providing the boundaries within which individuals can present their identities. As patriarchal organisations, sport organisations reproduce the societal gender stereotypes and therefore despite women leaders being part of the leadership group, how they present as leaders is gendered (Alvesson, 2012).

Like Bumba, many of the women in this study felt that they were perceived as less capable than men and that their opinions were not as valued (Lewis & Simpson, 2012). This stereotype challenges women's legitimacy as leaders as the implications are that women sport leaders in the organisation

do not fully fit the image of a leader, therefore they are allocated less room to engage on issues considered important than their male colleagues.

6.2.2 Questioning Women's Belonging

Group belonging is a key factor in establishing identities (Eagly, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2011a). Belonging is demonstrated in ways including acceptance and respect from peers (Goffman, 1959, 1963). This contributes to a sense of legitimacy for women leaders (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Several women in the study identified feeling excluded and their sense of group-belonging being challenged by the actions and inactions of both men and women in their organisations. This included gender based microaggression such as sexualisation of women leaders' presence in the organisation (discussed in chapter 8) and microaggressions based on race. Microaggressions in context of racio-ethnic inequality emerged as a challenge that participants deal with in context of selection processes, outcomes, and interactions. For example, although the elections are open to all members to participate, the elections are affected by the legacy of colonial and apartheid racial inequality resulting in the challenge of imbalanced representation in leadership (Carrim, 2012; Nkomo, 2011). Mapoma's observations provide an illustration of election processes not resulting into a balanced demographic representation:

> what's been happening with these elections, … it's predominantly our African leaders in sport both men and women; they were not elected. With this election that we had, it was it was an eye-opener, not to me only, but the sporting fraternity to say that we haven't produced black leaders and specifically African leaders. There were eight people elected, four of them were white, ok. (Mapoma)

Further, Mapoma experienced situations in which their peers on the board made comments challenging their presence on the board as leaders:

> I am a strong advocate of the fact that 95% of our population is African, we need to reflect that… So then you'd hear in the board room, 'oh there's too many Indians' and I would tell them I am not going to apologise for my heritage and my ancestry. I am never gonna apologise for that. (Mapoma)

Although racial inequality affects both men and women, women's marginalisation is further compounded by gender based discrimination (Collins, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 2011a). For Mapoma, the gender and racio-ethnic dynamics create a disadvantaging effect; she shared her experience of being passed over for status specific roles despite her position:

> if we're having an event, if we need to go and represent the organisation, or to speak at meetings, I should be the first person if the president is not available because I am the vice-president. … I would be by-passed in that event. I would say, but you know, why is this happening, is this a male organisation?

Mapoma's situation illustrates how despite a relatively advantaged racial location and her high-status position in the sport organisation, since her organisation has a strong patriarchal culture, her gender position results in the diminishing of her opportunities through role allocation that favours men. In this situation as Collins (2000) argues, gender as a power structure influences what choices are possible for Mapoma as a woman.

For Kunda, it was more of the practices and outcomes of decisions than what was said that made apparent the impact of racial inequality on interactions. Kunda recalled that:

> … whenever they say, we need to go and address parliament or we need to go and do something with government, my name never gets put forward, because I am the wrong colour. Well you know he won't say, you can't go because you are [ethnicity], you know, basically, he'll just say "you, you, and you" and will basically just pick people out of the group. So he might not do it intentionally but he might at the back of his mind have that thought, I am just putting my thought into his actions. And then I mean, … it certainly doesn't happen all the time, but it has in the past.

If the parliament is considered as a stage in Goffman's (1959) model, then Kunda being passed over every time others are called onto the stage makes her consider her ethnicity as stigmatised and as the basis of the marginalisation. Although, the chairman does not say it, the organisational interest in presenting the appropriate actors discounts this woman, and she is kept in the backstage of the organisation. The concept of appropriate identities to suit the interaction situation mean unless Kunda can shift to present a self that is suitable for the stage, perhaps her expert position, she will not be included in these interactions.

Mapoma and Kunda's narratives echo the practices of inequality that are voiced and unvoiced that affect perception of in-group membership (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Since various social inequalities affect the women, they have to continuously be aware of their positions as issues arise in order to present the appropriate selves based on race or gender or other identities. However, the gender and racial conditions which challenge the women's identities as leaders and their sense of belonging operate simultaneously (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Therefore, women have to contribute to social change (discussed in 9.3.3). This is critical to their capacity and opportunity to influence decisions as leaders within their boards and to be present as representatives in decision making processes.

6.2.3 Questioning Women's Competence and Experience

Women leaders presented their perceptions that they did not receive equal respect to men. This was based on their experiences of being disproportionately challenged despite their competencies and

authority. Specifically, women sport leaders felt that they repeatedly had to prove themselves against the gender stereotypes about women. In processes of leader selection such as elections and promotions, these performances of leadership identities were presented as ordinary practice or procedure. However, due to the patriarchal context, women are not perceived at the same level as men and therefore have to do more to prove themselves than is required of men (Adriaanse & Claringbould, 2016; Melton & Bryant, 2017). Therefore a practice that may appear neutral, such as campaigning during organisational elections (discussed in chapter 7) contributed to normalising the disadvantaging of women who do not prove their capacity outside of the stereotypes (Hovden, 2000a). For example, Chiti recalls her experience of board elections:

> I think the thing that most surprised me as a woman was that I had to justify what I could do for them. And I saw that the male counterparts didn't have the same sort of campaign need, where you say to them 'here is my CV, guess what I do for a living' so that people can actually get surprised and say 'oh my God! You are in that field?' 'You run ten countries, oh! That means you actually have credibility?'. The other male counterparts didn't have to do that. That's what I found very interesting, even in this day and age.

As Chiti narrates, demonstrating tangible achievements in areas such as education and occupational experience was important as proof of their capacity (Goslin & Kluka, 2014). Since women's leadership is still perceived as unusual due to stereotypes about what women can or cannot do in patriarchal cultures, for women to be accepted as leaders it often means providing proof of capability (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Therefore, women leaders in various sectors have to perform aspects of their professional or occupational identities in order to demonstrate that they meet the identity content of leader. The problem is not that women were having to provide evidence of capacity but rather that the men were not held to the same standard, as Chiti highlights. The disproportionate demands on women during selection processes are not unique to sport organisation, but are also apparent in political and educational leadership contexts in Southern Africa (Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance, 2015).

Another theme that speaks to reinforcement of effects of multiple inequalities is the allocation of responsibilities and roles within the organisations. Several women's accounts presented the ghettoisation of women into low status roles that are typically seen as women's work (Ridgeway, 2014). These include roles of committee member without portfolio, secretaries, and positions where women are responsible for "women's issues". Chiti narrates how being branded as a woman board member contributes to lowered influence and status:

> look at it this way, if I go anywhere we have an [official] opening and the first announcement they make is 'the only woman on the board' it's like I only got on

the board because I am a woman. And you get that distinction when you are about to present, 'oh welcome Chiti, the only woman on the board' what does that mean, I am a board member or I am not. Because then you tend to have a sea of faces say 'ah it's another woman's gripe', you know, it's not about this person is here as a [board] member to deliver a speech, it is a vast difference in the way people receive the information.

Similarly, it can be argued that Chiti being presented as the woman on the board draws attention to her gender in a context in which women's presence on boards is associated with quotas and seen as problematic (Ahmed, 2010; Johnson, 2014). Although quotas are a positive intervention towards addressing underrepresented groups, they are seen as a way to establish token representation (Amanda Gouws, 2008). Therefore, women who are numerically underrepresented, as is common in sport organisations, can have their legitimacy questioned and their capacity underestimated as they get labelled as only there to meet quota requirements.

As Chiti highlights, women are expected to present 'women's gripe' which can as a result limit the scope of their influence. In Nzomo's (2015) analysis, women contesting political leadership who present or articulate an apparent feminist agenda face challenges as they are perceived as problematic by their largely male dominated institutions. Advancing ideas that challenge structural inequality, including patriarchal class structures, that dominant groups benefit from results in resistance (Nzomo, 2015). For example, feminist politicians that advance policy and legislative ideas towards environmental conservation face a backlash due to the economic interests of some of their peers that they challenge (Muthuki, 2006; Nzomo, 2015). Women are therefore compelled to align to the general liberal stances of their institutions.

6.3 Strategies of Identity Negotiation

In this section, I highlight the strategies of identity negotiation that women engage with when encountering the challenges discussed in section 6.2. Identity negotiation is a set of approaches for navigating the dynamics that unsettle the (self) perception of women individually and as a collective within the category of sport leaders. Since women as an identity category is heterogenous, multiple identity negotiation approaches are possible (Anthias, 2014; Goffman, 1963). The women highlighted in this section are drawn from all four countries within the study and across the types of organisations described in chapter 5. I draw on the work of Goffman (1959, 1963) to interpret these accounts of interactions and identity negotiation. The women's accounts revealed that identity reaffirmation and stereotype rejection were used in the process of navigating the challenges they encounter and therefore the identity negotiation strategies. Women sport leaders respond to and mitigate the

challenges to their identities in order to achieve their desired identities and leadership aims by working on their personal and social identities as demonstrated in the next two sections (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004).

6.3.1 Strengthening Leadership Identity through Role Status

The identity negotiation strategies of rejecting stereotypes and reaffirming alternative identities are prominent in interactive situations. Interactions such as meetings, which are important organisational methods for decision-making, provide a process through which identities are challenged or established. Therefore, it is important to consider the opportunity that all members of the board, for instance, have for equal say in an issue. How one is perceived, that is, the identity that is salient, can affect their status and consequently their influence in decision making processes (Goffman, 1959; Ridgeway, 2014).

Negotiation of identities is heightened in these situations in order for women sport leaders to be present in a way that will as Goffman (1959) suggests, illicit the appropriate interaction and results. Within Goffman's range of strategies, the approaches that the women in this section engage with are quite ambiguous. They are neither only enhancing nor strictly negating their identities, as women, on which discrimination is most likely to be based (Bauer, 2010; A. Gouws, 2008). As will be discussed, the women appear to be responding to the selves that are summoned by their particular situations (Goffman, 1959). For Chiti, her identity as a woman is made salient when she is assigned the role of women's representative while the medical professional identity for Yasheni and Nsansa is prioritised. For each of them, they neither negate nor enhance these roles in the immediate instance. Chiti and Mweshi demonstrate a longer-term identity negotiation process which involved developing the content she needs for her leadership identity. The identity content includes experience, group alignment, and position status (Ridgeway, 2014; T.J. Watson, 2008).

One such result is that women's inputs will be considered and accepted on a relatively equal basis as other members of the board. As discussed in chapter 4, identities are drawn from one's group membership and relationships. A significant source of identities is one's occupational role in their sports organisation. Based on McDowell and Cunningham (2009) and Ridgeway (2014), the status of the positions that women board members hold has an effect on their status as individuals within sport organisations. An example among the participants is drawn from Chiti who is in her 40s and has a career in international law and finance. She has been part of governing boards of several national sport associations and within the national governing body. She experiences marginalising treatment

from fellow leaders within the board because she is a relatively young woman. In this case, her high societal status based on her occupational identity did not immediately translate into a high organisational status within the sport board. She therefore feels she is under-recognised due to her relatively shorter time in service on the board compared to her peers who have been there for several terms:

> But once you get in it is a bit dismissive attitude of oh, you were chosen as a woman, what are you going to do? So all that campaign goes out the door, you start from scratch, so what are you going to do? (Chiti)

Achieving an acceptable leadership identity within a sports body can take time as Chiti has to develop her leadership identity through performing actions that signal her group belonging. Chiti is aware of the low status identity she is being framed in as she sees herself as 'starting from scratch'. However, she resists this through 'counter-stereotypical behaviour' in order to 'temporarily or permanently alter perceivers judgements of them', resulting in increased responsiveness to the contributions that Chiti makes (McDowell & Cunningham, 2009, p. 208). One way she does this is by articulating her allegiance to the group as a member in order to reduce being perceived as an outsider. She aligns herself to the identity of her peers. She says:

> … they do understand that there are some decisions that we make that nobody likes and we accept. And I have made it very clear that if I am not in a meeting and the board agrees a way forward, I am the board, whether I am there or not I accept what has been decided and that is what I am going to say to you.

By presenting herself as part of the collective to both the members of her organisation and to those outside, she affirms her identity as a peer of her colleagues (Goffman, 1963). In addition, she presents to them a high level of trust in the cooperative decision making process, this is an action that reinforces her presentation of her identity as part of the board.

Another way that Chiti establishes her leadership identity is by presenting herself as efficient and capable by using the recognised processes of organisational participation such as formal reporting. She reflects:

> I will be sent to all the women meetings [chuckles] but you know I would come back, give the feedback in writing because I know what they are like. Because when you tell them it sort of passes by, when we write it and then obviously contextualise it to what we are delivering whether women or not and what value it's going to add to the organisation. So that is the staying power, not that they like it all the time but it happens

So although the women's representation task is assigned stereotypically because she is a woman, Chiti ensures the value of her role is elevated through treatment of her tasks as important issues within the broader context of the organisational aims (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004). In so doing Chiti demonstrates her skills and ideas and enhances her leadership identity. As McDowell and Cunningham (2009) note, since she is the only women in her group, her actions may not bring about immediate change within the structures and operations of the organisation. This indicates a need to adjust expectations that women who are selected onto leadership positions can rapidly bring about social change (discussed in 9.3.3) that enables other women to more easily be represented on boards (Bierema, 2016; Hovden, 2013; Lewis & Simpson, 2012). With time, Chiti's leadership identity has been established as indicated by her increasingly becoming integrated into the group. She observed that:

> … normally if I don't comment in meetings I will be asked "what do you think? You haven't commented, let's hear your views on something", which didn't happen previously. So they do acknowledge my view, sometimes when I bring up something they will say "we will put it as an agenda item and we'll have a full on discussion about it". Before then they would just do it in passing like, "Any Other Business?", yeah, so there is that change.

Chiti's case reflects how gender, age, and organisational status can override other identities that can strengthen a woman's leadership identity and legitimacy. Although she has an influential and high profile occupational position in her primary employment, this did not immediately translate as a salient identity in view of her sport leadership role (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Stryker & Burke, 2000). The salience of her gender, age, and time served as board member makes her vulnerable to sexism and ageism (Calder-Dawe, 2015; Nyabola, 2016a). In order to address this disadvantage, Chiti has decided to contest for a higher position on the board. She is contesting for an executive position that will potentially provide a higher status and since she has completed one term on the board, she will no longer be new and can use her experience as part of her leadership identity. This approach will enable Chiti to more readily pass as a leader despite her other attributes. Moving into a stronger position as it will strengthen her status which is an important facet of her sport leadership identity (Goffman, 1963; Ridgeway, 2017; T.J. Watson, 2008). This approach is not workable for all women, therefore women who persistently face sexism are less likely to continue in the leadership position leading to attrition (Bauer, 2012).

Similar to Chiti, Mweshi faced challenges as a board member with a relatively low status position. Mweshi is in her 50s and is vice president of her organisation's board. She is married and has three children. Mweshi has academic qualifications in science, administration, and public relations obtained

within her country and in Europe. She has been involved in sport as an athlete since she was in school and university and after that worked in the marketing department of a sport organisation before taking up a board position. Due to her experience in marketing she has worked on sponsorship of various sports organisations and events. She recalls experiencing difficulties when she had just come into the board:

> when I first got in as a committee member, sometimes it was difficult to make a contribution that would be accepted or even sometimes to find space to make the contribution. And certainly I felt that that had an element of gender in it. Because when you looked at the composition of the whole board. The executive committee that I talk about in which I was a member, that was all exclusively male you know and the rest of the board was also male except for one other person. So at that level, I did find that sometimes people were dismissive.

Mweshi had experience in voluntary and staff positions within sport including her specialised skills in marketing which she believed were a key aspect of why she was elected as committee. Yet, these factors did not contribute to her leadership identity as much as the status of her position did (Brown, 2015; Collinson, 2003). Therefore, as the minority or sole person in her category, she particularly noticed how her leadership identity was delegitimised through the dismissive interactions and rejection of her contributions (Ely et al., 2011; Kanter, 1977).

At the end of the term, Mweshi contested the elections for the position of vice-president and won. This placed her in a higher status role in which she found she had to be less concerned about the challenges she encountered earlier. She found that her leadership identity was firmly established and in response her peers interacted with her in a way that confirmed this leadership identity. Therefore reinforcing her identity and affirming the self that she presents (Goffman, 1959). She recognises this when she says 'when I became vice president … I found that it was almost like people accepted that you were at a certain level and allowed you a lot of space in terms of contribution or leading the discourse'. According to House et al. (2002), organisations within Southern Africa can be considered to have a high power distance within the organisation hierarchies. Therefore, a formal high-status role such as vice-president is a salient part of Mweshi's identity and resulted in more respectful interaction. Her role identity therefore superseded other identities that made her subject to gender based microaggressions previously:

> And I also found that when we did have our executive members with just the four of us, there was a lot of respect amongst the four of us. We listened to each other. We assisted each other in making decisions. We had been making decisions. And you know we also supported each other particularly when we had to deal with difficult situations within the organisation

One implication of this strategy is that like Chiti and Mweshi, leaders that use this approach are likely to stay on in leadership of sport organisations. This may provide an explanation for the long tenure and multiplicity of roles that several women leaders within this study have as leaders of sport organisations (Appendix 5). Further, the impact that women can have in influencing change has to be considered in view of what role status the women have within their organisations (Ridgeway, 2014).

Not all participants in this study had the challenges Chiti and Mweshi encountered despite being in the first terms of their board service of similar organisations. Two women in this study, Yasheni and Nsansa, have similar backgrounds to Chiti and Mweshi. The main difference is they are in medical and health professions. Yasheni is a medical doctor working as head of a health centre within an institution of higher learning, she is in her 40s, married and has three children. She is a member of a national sports council and was selected through a Ministerial appointment after her role leading the medical team and operations during her country's hosting of the AUSC5 regional sports tournament. Nsansa is a professional physiotherapist. She is married and is a former Olympic athlete. She served on the board of a National Olympic Committee. Yasheni and Nsansa both found that their selection to the board was linked to the particular roles of sport medicine and health care as opposed to general organisational leadership. They felt that they had been appointed because they had demonstrated capacity and could therefore contribute in a leadership role in the boards of multisport national governing bodies, saying:

> I think because I had shown what I could do, I was nominated and after all the processes I was confirmed (Yasheni).

> Our … constitution states that you have to have at least three women members, so there is a priority on women who would be qualified to be on the committee. And they were also looking for somebody who could be on the medical side… I qualified as both female and … with a medical background and medical experience in sport, so that stood me in good stead (Nsansa).

Unlike Chiti, both Yasheni and Nsansa have a relatively high status within their boards due to their professional backgrounds which hold a high social value and assumed competence (Ridgeway, 2014; Ridgeway, 2017). This is possible due to their occupational identity being the same as their sport leader identity, that of medical practitioner. This integration of role identities reduced the need to present any other identity as they focus is on the primary occupational identity.

> I don't think we were treated any differently; we were treated as board members. We don't get special preference, you are a board member and you will fulfil your duties, do what is expected of you (Nsansa).

Since their high-status occupational roles are not associated with negative perceptions, they are not a source of stigma. As Yasheni and Nsansa noted, because they are from a profession that is generally well respected and prestigious, they draw respect from that and the stereotypes that apply to women in general are less apparent in this situation. They said:

> It doesn't really come up. You know when you are a doctor you are a specialist and they sort of respect that, it is what it is, the guidelines from the sport federations are there and when we suggest we need to test athletes or to procure medical related supplies it is not up for debate, the only issues are practical matters such as budget constraints (Yasheni).

> I think [medical profession] is seen as a respected organised profession, people are respected for being [in medical profession]. So although I was a woman there, I was more on the medical aspect, my portfolio wasn't specifically developing women (Nsansa).

As Yasheni's narrative highlights, her societal status due to her profession, contributes to her organisational status and to her being more readily listened to. Yasheni and Nsansa can be said to have a consistent identity or performance both on and off stage since their role identity outside sport is same as within the sport organisation. This strengthens the acceptability of their identities as there is no opportunity for their identities to shift. Which makes passing more achievable (Goffman, 1959). Their prominent identities as medical professionals contribute to their identities as woman to be less salient and therefore their status as leaders is less questionable (Goffman, 1963; Ridgeway, 2014). The experiences of Chiti, Yasheni and Nsansa provide an example of how organisational practices and beliefs on status sustain women as lower status leaders than men while reproducing inequalities among women as a group (Collins & Bilge, 2016; hooks, 2013). In Goffman's (1963) model, Yasheni and Nsansa are able to pass and not face stigma as they have salient identities that are valued despite being in a discreditable gender position. Yasheni is aware of the challenges that women in sport from other professional or lower status-professional backgrounds encounter:

> I am aware that I am fortunate; many women have to prove themselves and have to work there way through the ranks to get into a leadership position. I am fortunate that I have come into sport at a relatively high level.

Since Yasheni and Nsansa's leadership identity is tied to their professional identities, it appears that their identity negotiation is aimed at sustaining their current identities. This is in contrast to Chiti and Mweshi for whom developing a stronger leadership identity has involved longer service, starting from a lower status position and securing a higher status position in the long term as that is dependent on the four-year election cycle of the organisation.

In this section, the women's strategies have been employed towards maintaining identities or enhancing status in order to make advantageous identities more salient. In the next section I highlight the use of a strategy mainly involved with efforts to make certain identities less salient by rejecting stereotypes in order to minimise stigmatising attention (Goffman, 1963; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

6.3.2 Rejecting Stereotypes: Constructing a Positive Leadership Identity

Rejecting stereotypes is part of an identity negotiation strategy called covering, in which 'the individual's object is to reduce tension, that is, to make it easier for himself [sic] and the others to withdraw covert attention from the stigma, and to sustain spontaneous involvement in the official content of the interaction' (Goffman, 1963, p. 125). In this study, women sport leaders that employ this strategy engage in a presentation of self that is centred on portraying their competent and capable professional selves. This is in order to counter the image of women as stereotypically associated with underperformance or lack of leadership abilities (Nyabola, 2016a). Further, women sport leaders use covering to negotiate their leadership ideas such as a higher value for collaborative leadership as opposed to individualistic styles considered masculine (Mogadime et al., 2010). In this section, I discuss two approaches that women in this study used in the strategy of covering. Firstly, managing identity performances that are considered masculine or feminine in order to navigate gender stereotypes. And secondly, upholding ethical conduct as a significant aspect of a leadership identity.

Managing Feminine/Masculine Identity Performances
Goffman's (1963) conceptualisation of stigma considers individuals' personal identities. Their sense of who they are is influenced by their social identities, which are derived from others' perceptions. The ways in which women sport leaders in this study present themselves and respond to the feedback from those around them was a strong narrative in their accounts and is therefore the focus of this sub-section.

Kutemwa and Mweshi expressed an awareness of the expectations that women will be discriminated against in male dominated spaces. They highlight how being a woman means having an identity that according to Goffman (1963) is discreditable and understood through stereotypical perceptions. They noted:

> … people say people will discriminate [against] you because you are a woman. I don't think so. I think if you take it to heart then you'll see it. … for me I have never really been bothered … because maybe I always try to put my point across. And I believe for men, as long as you are able to show … what you are able to do they will accommodate you (Kutemwa).

It is a given that women need to work that much harder to get accepted, to get believed, and I have just noticed that if we work as women in a professional manner you find that it is easier for us to get the support that we require including from male colleagues (Mweshi).

With that acknowledgment, Kutemwa draws attention to the responsibility women leaders have to navigate this challenge in a way that compels them to achieve recognition to be accommodated. She gave the following example:

… when I was Chef de Mission … , it was quite a big role … you know sometimes you get to fight with coaches because they think you don't really think or you don't really know but you just have to stand your ground.

Kutemwa can be seen to acknowledge the stigma or discreditable identity, but she focuses on her own capabilities in an '…effort to keep the stigma from looming large' (Goffman, 1963, p. 125). The effort of standing one's ground in a situation of prejudice as Kutemwa asserts implies that individual women should demonstrate confidence and resilience (Eagly & Carli, 2007). She says:

the men will always say you are not good enough whether in your relationships or at work … If you say 'well, I will always be looked at like I am second' and you work hard and use your abilities, even the men will start saying 'she can do it'.

Advocating for proving stereotypes wrong through managing the impression one makes, Kutemwa says 'you just have to prove your point and work at it, also don't show … signs of weakness … just be firm'. This was particularly interesting as it is an acknowledgment of discrimination as a norm and part of the organisational cultures in which women work (Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009; Shehu, 2010).

Similarly, Mweshi provides an example of how her impression management changed from seeking to present a self with no weaknesses to developing a presentation of self that includes weaknesses as a part of her leadership identity. Mweshi reflects:

the mistake I made was that I would be very strict with myself, very strict with other people that I was dealing with whether it was men or women. And I think I was kind of like reflecting what I thought male leaders do.

A major part of identity negotiation is the contribution of others. So when Mweshi performs '… actions aimed at asserting leadership, others affirm or disaffirm those actions, encouraging or discouraging further assertions' (Ely et al., 2011, p. 476). Mweshi's attention was drawn to her identity work by a colleague she served with on the board. She narrated that;

… somebody who was on the board pointed it out to me, a woman. She said to me, do you realise that you are very stern, you are very strict and because of that people are kind of scared of you?

The feedback from her colleague is important to Mweshi's reflections and decision making on her identity performance. Her experience confirms the importance of having fellow women on the board who can give one feedback that contributes to developing a positive leadership identity (McDowell & Cunningham, 2009). Similarly, Kutemwa articulates her self in terms of what she is, and is not, in context of her roles as a leader and the value of teamwork. She says:

> I have never envied like… I really want to be that big leader … like some people are born and are like "I want to be president, I want to be what", no. Because I think for me from way back I always believe in teamwork, I always believe in working together because maybe that is how I was brought up.

Kutemwa rejects the image of the leader as separate from the group and positions herself as part of the collective working towards a common goal in the interest of all group members (Gill & Orgad, 2017; Mogadime et al., 2010; Ridgeway, 2014).

> I don't have to say ok now I am the boss you have to do this you have to do that …
> I don't have all the strength and all the abilities so I always believe in team work.

In this way, Kutemwa curtails the negative dynamics that may emerge if she positioned herself as a dominating or more distinctly in-front type of leader in a culture were men are the stereotypical leaders (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). Similarly, Mweshi also constructs herself as a leader in relationship to the team:

> as a leader I appreciate and encourage participation by the people in terms of making decisions and in terms of defining the direction in which the organisation is taking. But in the event that I have to demonstrate leadership even on an issue where perhaps the rest of the team does not necessarily agree with me I am not afraid to do that.

Kutemwa and Mweshi both present themselves as taking a more collective and less distinctively individual identities as leaders. As Becker et al. (2012) assert, beliefs of what attitudes and practices are valued with a particular culture are important to informing individual values. The women therefore reject the stereotype of the dominating masculine leader approach in order to affirm a leadership identity that suits their context and ideas of self (Melton & Bryant, 2017). In Goffman's (1959) terms, Kutemwa is careful about 'giving off' the impression that she is compliant to a culture where the self has to be presented in a way that indicates humility and respect for the collective. Kutemwa makes visible the translation of social values into personal practice and beliefs (Kuada, 2010; Nkube, 2010). Mweshi, highlights how her experience of leadership in her primary occupation has influenced her current ideas and practice of leadership:

> perhaps it was also experience gained in my primary employment. I've been fortunate to work with leaders who themselves encourage participation…who encourage input from a team level into activities into plans and

so on. So I think I transferred the nurturing that I had received from my primary
job into the leadership role in sports as well.

This is important to sustaining a coherence between narratives of personal and social selves (Carrim, 2012; Ely et al., 2011; Goffman, 1959). To achieve this Kutemwa is drawing on her background and Mweshi on her professional experience which are located within the broader social culture.

Mweshi further recalls how she felt when she considered the impression she makes:

> it made me feel very sad because I am a mother of three. And my children will tell you that I am not scary at all [laughter] so I felt terrible. I kind of knew who I was at the core, and that people had a certain image of me that was totally not me and then I realised that oh no you must introspect, you must look at yourself in the mirror and think why is there that perception. It actually made me realize that hey there is something wrong here.

Through reflection, Mweshi realises that her behaviour was aimed at presenting herself in the stereotypical image of male leaders. She recalls,

> and I realised with the passage of time that I am almost like trying to be a male leader, but in a woman's skin [chuckles]. …. and it is because you don't want people to feel that you are being soft because you are a woman.

Mweshi's identity as a woman is salient to her as it is an aspect of herself that she is managing. Following Goffman (1963), it is a discreditable aspect of herself and she is attempting to draw attention away from it. In the process of determining the self she wants to present, Mweshi draws on another aspect of her life that is important to her identity, her role as a mother:

> Then I started to ask myself what does it mean being soft as a woman? These traits that define you as a woman; are they negative? Can they not be useful? Then I started to look at my role as a mother, and say I strive to be a good mother. And when I say I strive to be a good mother what does it mean? It means I listen to my kids, I empathise with them, I give them space to be weak and to say its ok, let's work at whatever is bothering you or causing you not to be able to achieve a certain objective.

She considers the forms of presentations of self that are identified with women and stigmatised as weaknesses and reads them as aspects of a positive leadership identity. Mweshi therefore affirms the very traits that are a symbol of her stigmatised identity as a woman saying;

> you create an environment in which other people whether they are men or women become comfortable working with you as a leader … and I realised that if you used the same traits not just on your children but other colleagues, those you work with, those you share common goals with, it's not a negative thing.

In this way Mweshi reworks her identities (Deaux & Etheier, 1998; Goffman, 1959). In order to achieve this, Mweshi has drawn on the perceptions of others, through the feedback given to her by her colleague as well as referencing her own views of the self she aims to be, in other significant roles such as mother (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Mweshi works to reconcile these aspects of her selves in order to achieve a coherent sense of self. To do this, she integrates actions that she earlier considered negative into her presentation or impression management of who she feels she is and the self she wants others to perceive (Goffman, 1959, 1963).

Upholding Ethical Conduct

The women in this study highlighted managing impressions related to their moral standing as part of their leadership identity. As discussed in section 6.2.2, one way that women's leadership is questioned is through moral policing and sexualisation of their presence in male dominated spaces including sport organisations (Manyonganise, 2010b; Mogadime et al., 2010; Nyabola, 2016a). Therefore, ethical conduct in relation to sexual morality in particular emerged as an aspect of women leaders' positive identities. Both Mweshi and Kutemwa highlight this concern as significant to establishing a positive leadership identity. Kutemwa noted that for her, progressing as a leader meant staying true to herself; a self that was morally upright and relied on hard work and earning opportunities as opposed to using what she called underhand methods of getting ahead. She said:

> you know like the work environment, sometimes they can influence you to doing wrong things because of pressure. Because of competition, you can maybe lose your morals. Yeah, start maybe wanting to get wrong favours. But if you just say 'well I will do my work to the best of my abilities and I will use my skills and my abilities to speak for me. And I will remain like that'. I think that helps I think that really helps. And I think that is what has helped me to be where I am now.

Narratives of ethical behavior were drawn from religious and professional ideas. For these women their multiple identities are sources of the meanings they attach to the ideas they have regarding who they are (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Ethical notions are incorporated into the identity content of the women in recognition of the influences of organisational and social cultural practices.

> I am a Christian… people will know that this person can do it or not… if you start using underhand methods, you sell-off your friends or maybe getting favours, sleeping around and all that… when they realise that, that will be the end of you… I have tried to be honest where I feel I have got weaknesses, I tell my supervisors I say I can't do this because I am unable to (Kutemwa).

> In terms of improper relationships I don't think that women should have sexual relations, physical relations with men in influence or in positions of influence in order to themselves then be promoted or to get opportunities (Mweshi).

Mweshi uses ethical conduct as a way to construct a leadership identity that has value and therefore can be made more salient than the disadvantaged gender identity. She presents herself as having a positive leadership identity and therefore can lay claim to full membership in the leadership category (Goffman, 1963). She integrates the concept of ethical conduct into her personal professional identity through the presentation of an image she refers to as her 'brand', similar to a persona on a stage. Mweshi points out:

> It is building your brand if you want to put it that way. In that brand description people watching you as you acquit your duties and looking at both the positives and negatives, I think if you compromise yourself as a woman, your integrity goes out the window, that's for one. And then you also affect the manner in which people perceive you so that when you do require support, that support can be withdrawn because of the perceptions of attitudes in terms of behaviour.

By being conscious of being watched, she is developing a presentation that meets the criteria of an audience (Goffman, 1959, 1963). In this case the people within and outside the organisation whose followership and support depend on her identity as a leader with integrity remains intact

As a member of a stigmatised group, Mweshi promotes her approach to other women through mentoring and networking sessions to enable them to fit into the leadership category. As Goffman (1963) proposes, members of a stigmatised group share tactics of navigating stigma and the related disadvantaged environments. Mweshi says;

> It is something that I consciously bring up to say you know what, as you build your own brand and try to get up the ladder in sports management, don't compromise yourself. Just behave professionally and ethically right throughout, so that you know, you can sleep easy at night and you can feel good about yourself. That you have gotten to where you are because hard work, because of networking, because of just having a goal and pursuing it.

One of the women spoke in particular about their own demeanor and how they understood this as a presentation of the self and the effect they achieve. Mukula reflects;

> My job requires a lot of travelling … I know some women have those problems, personally I don't know why, but somehow God has just decided. I have not had a problem with men trying to approach me or trying to make rude remarks, sexual rude remarks towards me. I have not had that problem, not at all. So I always think that maybe it's so because you know how I always am like a very serious person. [Perhaps they get scared thinking 'oh this woman can shout at you'] [translated from different language] it's just my personal character I have no time for smiling foolishly at people or smiling foolishly everywhere.

Mukula highlights in particular the context of travel away from home as an event during which interactions she refers to as 'silly approaches' with men may occur, and she draws the conclusion that how she presents herself contributes to sustaining the salience of her professional identity and therefore setting the terms of the interactions with people around her. She illustrates a performance as Goffman (1959) would argue, deliberately determining how she is to be treated in an interaction. She says:

> you know sometimes it is also the way you present [yourself]. So at least in that area I have not had any problem with a man trying to take advantage of me or passing silly remarks or approaches. Everywhere I have gone, and I have travelled a lot, for regional meetings, international conference I have not had a problem.

She further notes how she manages her interactions in terms of what activities she participates in with colleagues. She outlines how she controls the impressions of herself among peers by limiting the interaction contexts she shares in. She reflects:

> I am a type of person that immediately the meeting finishes I walk to the bus I do not linger around…I like going out but, I always think I am a married woman. So I will not go out, because anything is possible when you go out. You know what I am saying? You can be misunderstood. Maybe that way, so even when we go out I never go out for a drink up. I'll keep to my room and be on the phone with my family. We chat through in the night my kids and my husband, so, I am never lonely when I travel out because I will be Skyping with the family I will never go to these outings.

Mukula's approach to sustaining her professional leadership identity incorporates acts of managing boundaries by limiting access to elements of herself through limiting physical interaction. In addition Mukula's role identity as a mother and a wife are quite salient, to inform her interactions in a way that results in her establishment of boundaries (Goffman, 1959).

6.4 Summary

In this chapter I outlined the challenges that participants encounter and how they work to challenge their influence as sport leaders within the AUSC5. The chapter was based on the participants' narratives of microaggressions in form of exclusion, lack of recognition of competence, and undervalued contributions. These issues draw attention to the micro-level acts or practices within sport organisations that work to hinder women leaders influence. The women's accounts included in this chapter present the understanding that women sport leaders who are in low status board positions perceive themselves as subject to more stereotypes and disadvantage than the women in higher positions. Therefore, these women seek to enhance their influence by reinforcing their identities as leader through seeking higher status roles. Although discussed separately and

conceptualized as a distinct strategy by Goffman (1963), identity negotiation strategies are not discrete but are used in combination. The women sport leaders' narratives revealed that in some cases, the outcome of one strategy can be read as the application of another negotiation strategy.

The participants spoke about their experiences in ways that reveal intersecting social positions that inform their possibilities for identity negotiation and the related strategies they use (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Stryker & Burke, 2000). These social positions include, for example, disability, occupational status and gender. This research therefore contributes to this line of investigation by discussing the identity negotiation strategies that women employ in their interactions. From this chapter, it can be seen how political issues are engaged with at a personal level, and how personal actions reveal the political issues that affect women's lives. In the next chapter, I discuss how the political issue of resourcing sport organisations enables variable conditions which are experienced and interpreted in a diversity of ways by the women sport leaders.

7. Volunteering in Resource Constrained Organisations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings on how women sport leaders negotiate their identities as they navigate resource constraints within sport organisations. The theme of resource constraints was common in several accounts in the context of leaders being volunteers and is therefore a focus of this chapter. Although economic inequality affects all members of society, men and women experience conditions of inequality differently (Collins, 2000; Mama, 2001). Further, gender inequality cuts across other inequalities as a system of social and political relations where women occupy a relational position lower than men (see chapter 2 and 3). The reality of resource constraints in sport organisations and its effects on women's participation in leadership is not unique to the AUSC5. This chapter therefore contributes to not only understanding how women encounter this problem but how they continue to be leaders despite it. As African critical feminists argue, because women have multiple identities their lives are not only filled with disaster and oppression, their lives also have 'deeply fulfilling experiences, powerful emotions … sometimes born through struggles waged against the terms of existence' (Bhavnani et al., 2016, p. 2). In line with this principle, this chapter therefore contributes to highlighting some ways that women sport leaders 'resist and celebrate the circumstances of their lives' (Bhavnani et al., 2016, p. 2), for example, how the women find fulfilment in their volunteerism as leaders who express their values and beliefs despite inequality and multiple forms of oppression such as sexism and discrimination. In this chapter, women's narratives present a recurring theme of the emotions such as passion for their work, joy in fulfilling the mission of their organisations and how these emotions contribute to the meaning women assign to their identities as leaders.

This theme of emotional aspects of identities was pervasive in the participants' narratives on the challenges they encounter in the process of getting into and working within leadership positions. As discussed in chapter 2, sport organisations within the AUSC5 are generally under-resourced due to the low value placed on sport organisations and sport as a social economic sector (Chipande, 2016). Further, neoliberal capitalist policies implemented in the AUSC5 countries since the 1990s resulted in the current system in which the costs of participation in sport are increasingly borne by the users. This condition therefore influences the women sport leaders' subjective identities as individuals that are appropriate to the organisation, in this case as volunteers (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002b). The identities are established in order to enable the women leaders to sustain their sense of self and to make

meaning of the multiple aspects of their identities that they need to have in order to overcome gender and other forms of stereotypes (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002a; Goffman, 1963).

Although themes that are in tandem with Ubuntu are prevalent in the women's accounts, the persistent individualistic views also present among the women's narratives align with neoliberal notions of subjectivity (Farris & Rottenberg, 2017; Gill & Scharff, 2013). Neoliberalism here is understood as an economic and political ideology that pursues the structuring of the state into a system grounded in market principles (Dados & Connell, 2018). Market influences such as supply and demand of employment opportunities drive the value of unpaid occupations such as sport volunteering. A key feature of neoliberal influences is that the economic benefit of volunteering to the sport sector means cheap labour for the provision of services and products that are not shared equally (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Gill & Scharff, 2013). Therefore, neoliberal subjectivities refer to the ways that market logics influence individuals and societies resulting in incorporation of neoliberal practices and ideas (Gill & Scharff, 2013). This means all areas of human activity including volunteering and sport organisation leadership are subjected to market mechanisms (Andrews & Silk, 2012). In particular, a core aspect of neoliberal philosophy is individualism, asserting the individual as the rational agent who given choices on the market can take action. For example, through the open call from the government for anyone to participate in the formation of a sport governing body, the market for volunteers is established. This opportunity is presented as available to all on equal terms and can be taken up by any women who chose to do so.

The women's stories show how women's sport leadership is constituted as a choice or opportunity available to all women (section 7.2). Through identity negotiation the women leaders in this study strengthen their sense of self as leaders and makes sense of how they navigate these opportunities. By affirming their volunteer identities and engaging with their values they are able to present a self that is appropriate for the context they are in (Goffman, 1959). In addition, narratives of passion and altruism become normalised as important content of women sport leader identities. This is useful as it provides a chance for some women, yet it limits the chances for others and does not challenge the structural problem that neoliberal economic and political policies place on sport organisations as illustrated in section 7.3. This is not to say women sport leaders through identity negotiation are complicit with sustaining the marginalisation of other women who cannot afford to volunteer.

The women whose accounts are discussed in this chapter are diverse; they are drawn from government bodies, non-government bodies, voluntary and occupational positions. However, their

narratives shared a theme of the influence of unequal economic resources on their experiences as leaders. The experiences of the women sport leaders assist to challenge the mystification of sport leadership as volunteer-based when in essence the context of volunteering is based on economic capabilities (Goffman, 1959). This chapter presents a discussion of the findings in relation to the theme of resource limitations within sport organisations. In section 7.2, I outline how women experience the challenge of resource constraints and in section 7.3 I discuss the approaches they use to navigate their identities in context of resource challenges and, lastly, 7.4 is a summary of this chapter.

7.2 The Challenging Context of Voluntary Leadership Roles

The AUSC5 countries in this study have implemented economic policies within international economic regimes of the World Bank and IMF aimed at stabilising economies as part of development aims. Here, development means enabling the removal of structural systems of oppressions in order for all to have freedom to access their choices including to lead sport organisations (Anand & Sen, 2000; Kevane, 2014; Nussbaum, 2001). The effects of the structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s and 1990s of public sector organisations have had enduring impact, especially the divestment of resources from social sectors (Dados & Connell, 2018; Prügl, 2015). Public funding allocated within national budgets dedicated to sport and recreation is minimal. The budget proposals are often under-fulfilled and the sport sector are increasingly driven to work with resourcing models that engage the private sector and international aid organisations as a major source of funding (Banda, 2010; Holmes et al., 2015; Mwaanga, 2014). In most countries within the AUSC5, this has meant a reliance on volunteers who can meet their own volunteering costs and contribute to resource needs of the organisation too.

Resource availability is a known limitation to women's engagement in sport leadership (Manyonganise, 2010a; M'mbaha J.M., 2012). However, there is less understanding of the expenses that women sport leaders incur as members of boards, and their perceptions of this. The expenses incurred by board members included transport to meetings and to undertake actions assigned based on their roles including administrative tasks. This is due to the lack of organisational resource capacity leaving the administration and management costs to be borne by the board members. The participants self-reported their economic positions as not rich but that they had resources to enable them to fulfil their leadership roles. According to the distribution of occupations among the 22 women interviewed in this study, the women sport leaders were in occupations including education (predominantly in P.E and special education related to disability), corporate firms, small-scale enterprises, civil service and non-profit organisations. Five of the women were retired from their occupations, while four were in state employment in sport organisations. Their experiences therefore

varied in relation to how and when they are affected by resource challenges. This is important to explore as this indicates how a political issue such as financing of sport organisations and living wages for all workers in a society manifests as a personal issue of affordability of participation in a largely voluntary sector such as sport (Collins, 2017; Prügl, 2015).

Financial capacity is subsumed within what is required as a leader of a sport organisation. Exploring the volunteer identities in view of economic concerns contributes to illustrating the aspects of sport leadership that are normalised within neoliberal economic contexts. Therefore, when women are presented as choosing to not participate in the sport leadership bodies, it is worth highlighting the contents of volunteer identities and the conditions of inequalities in which they are performed. Volunteer identities are in constant negotiation, particularly in the AUSC5 in which incomes are relatively lower than the livelihood expenses, disposable resources to enable voluntary work such as sport leadership is not often available (Evans, 2014; Patel, 2007).

'[C]ulture works through assumptions, values and meanings that people tend to take for granted and that inform their ways of relating to work' (Alvesson, 2012, p. 36). The form of voluntarism that is presented by the women leaders in this thesis is within the norm of the sport organisations. However, as Alvesson (2012) further argues, multiple identities influence the ways that different people engage with the organisation cultures. Indeed, in the narratives of volunteerism among women sport leaders, how women articulated the sense they make of their volunteer identities was a recurring theme.

One of the ways individuals perform their identity work is through articulation of their moral and value positions (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002a). This was one of the ways that women sport leaders interpreted their actions and choices to volunteer within their organisations despite the related costs. They are keen to serve as a way of playing their role in supporting or helping others. Volunteering in Southern Africa can be read as part of a culture of communal living and solidarity as conceptualised in Ubuntu (Mati, 2016). Through their narratives of volunteering and leadership, the women leaders' constructed themselves as moral subjects who are altruistic and find joy in serving others (Bhavnani et al., 2016).

7.3 Strategies of Negotiating Volunteer Identities

The volunteer identity within the sport sector is pervasive as volunteering is seen as integral to sport organisation culture. In this section, the women sport leaders' narratives of how they negotiate their

volunteer identities are organised around the broad strategy of identity affirmation. These are performed in processes including performance of leadership participation drawn from economic capability to volunteer (7.3.1). In section 7.3.2, I illustrate the strategy of drawing on morals and values in order to establish alternative meanings or identities apart from economic ones. In section 7.3.3, women sport leaders align their identities to the organisation's identity by sharing in mutual interests. Three key aspects of leadership identity were prominent as the focus of meaning and presentation of the leaders' identities. Section 7.3.4 discusses how women sport leaders draw on their various motivations for social change in order to affirm their identities as activists.

7.3.1 Resourcing the Volunteer Identity

Bwaca is in her sixties and has served on the board of a National Paralympic Committee since the late-2000s. She joined the Paralympic movement through her work leading the establishment of school sport for children with intellectual challenges. Bwaca was a specialist teacher at a school for children with intellectual challenges. In her early years, she was educated at a church boarding school for girls where she had played a range of sports. Bwaca was married but her spouse died, and she has one son. She narrated that initially, she was involved in disability sport as a coach, then, as she grew older, she focused on administration and board roles. Bwaca recounted her experience getting into a national governing body:

> *What happened was when the government was trying to come up with a constitution [for the sport governing body], they were just inviting interested parties, and they would say come to [place] from [place] with your own buses, your own accommodation, your own everything. So people would not … volunteer to go. So I just said, 'aah I will go'. So I used to go from point A to point B, wherever they would call a meeting I would be [there] helping to set up the constitution. … Maybe from the way I was contributing, when the elections came, maybe my colleagues just said let's have her in the committee.*

Bwaca's narrative highlights two key identity performance factors; firstly, access to 'a stage' at which she can perform her identity (Goffman, 1959). Secondly, the role of identity signifiers that she unknowingly 'gives off' that lead to her being recognised as a leader (Goffman, 1963). Bwaca's demonstration of economic capability was important to her leadership identity. Unlike Mweshi (7.3.2), she does not present altruistic moral convictions as the motivations for her voluntary economic choices. She presents the positive perception of her economic position as an enabler of her volunteer actions.

Bwaca centres her voluntary participation in the development of her sport organisation as the key contributor to her leadership identity. She advances to point that volunteering enabled her to

demonstrate her ability and commitment to the organisation and the development of sport (M'mbaha & Chepyator-Thomson, 2018). In addition, by self-financing her participation, like others on the board, she made her economic capability a salient part of her identity as a leader . Therefore, with the salience of her economic capability she established her identity as the type of leader who can function as a volunteer within a resource constrained organisation.

After getting into the Board, the resource aspects of her volunteer identity are made prominent in the process of her role within organisation functions. Bwaca recounts an event when she volunteered to self-finance her role as an organisation representative participating in the AUSC5 regional level bodies:

> *In 2016 … we were invited to go to Cape Town. Unfortunately, because our countries… don't have money and our organisations are struggling … [they] had no money [for] those who were supposed to go. So although I was [board role], I was asked by my president … 'if you can afford, can you please go and hear what is happening then come and report' … so I went to Cape Town … so the gentleman from [International Organisation] said "I need you guys to form a committee".*

As Bwaca narrates, volunteer identities are reinforced and reconstructed within sport organisation participation in processes such as regional meetings and workshops. The lack of resources can be read as an opportunity in which volunteer identities are made salient through the choice that Bwaca makes to perform the task of attending the meeting in Cape Town (Alevesson, 2012).

Bwaca also draws attention to the cost implications of participating in the sport organisations establishing that a volunteer identity for her refers to not only unpaid time and expertise but also that the volunteer meets costs that would usually be institutional expenses (Patel, 2007). She says:

> *none of us get paid for what we are doing… I had to go to Cape Town on my own with my own money… We are all volunteers. No one is paying anyone to do this.*

The situation of under-resourced leadership roles is presented by Bwaca as the reality of the organisation. Her narrative highlights the context and conditions of participation presented by the government. Aligning with neoliberal arrangements of society, to be part of the sport organisation, all leaders must pay their own way indicating an individual responsibility and choice despite variations in individuals' social economic conditions (Makhulu et al., 2010). This opportunity creates a distinct separation between interested parties who volunteer and those who do not. Bwaca reflects on her decision to go and be present at the various meetings as a platform which led to her recognition. Based on Goffman's (1959) analogy of a theatrical stage, meetings such as the one Bwaca refers to can be seen as a stage where actors perform their identities and have them legitimated by those perceiving the actors. Bwaca's account further reveals the possibility that those who were interested

but could not afford to attend, were not present at these meetings and therefore did not establish their identities as interested leaders who make a contribution. As Bwaca notes, the lack of resources for her fellow volunteers who 'were supposed to go', means there are differentiations among the volunteer board members based on economic capacity to participate. This can contribute to some leaders being able to take up more opportunities than others can, resulting in unequal rates of progression or retention within the sport sector (M'mbaha & Chepyator-Thomson, 2018).

However, the volunteer identity was not available to all the women leaders in this study due to differences in how they are positioned within their sport organisation. Mukula's case represents a situation when performing a volunteer role through self-financing her participation in leadership activities may not be possible. Mukula is employed in a government sports organisation and part of her duties include representing the government on some sports bodies within AUSC5. For Mukula, this position is part of the government structure and commitment, however due to overall national budget limitations, this manifests at personal level.

One key recommendation of regional and international policies such as AU and SADC include the allocation of resources to ensure participation of women in decision making bodies (Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance, 2015). However, departmental budget constraints limited her participation in some of the meetings. Here Mukula reflects on the impact of her organisation not having the funds to support her participation in a regional body:

> From 2013 I was appointed to be on the finance sub-committee up to this year. And the reason why I left is because of funding. I had to because it is a four-year mandate which is renewable. I did not renew my mandate because funding was always a struggle for me to attend meetings. So now I'm able to sit on the [sport body] which meets twice a year, but I am not able to represent the country in the subcommittees.

This is consistent with Fasting et al. (2014) who found that women who had regional level leadership positions in the AUSC5 only attended 60% of the meetings. This could mean women such as Bwaca who can use their own resources will have a higher chance of participation than those who cannot afford to or are in positions where it cannot be done. Bwaca accounts for the resources that she has used in her leadership role that may be taken for granted and yet are not available to every woman who may want to and is a capable leader.

> So my being a [occupation] maybe is an advantage so maybe they know I get paid at the end of the month so I can do a, b, c, d. As opposed maybe to someone who might not be working who might even be saying can I have this [resources] for this and that. I sort of found they had no funds. Maybe that is what even influenced

> *them to ask me to be [board position] because I can work from home, or from [workplace]. You need your computers you need your wifi for communication and you need to buy those things. So if you've got it, it's helpful. I think you need that.*

Here, Bwaca illustrates how her economic position indicated by her occupational identity, could have influenced her rise in the leadership levels of the organisation. Organisations with limited resources including office facilities and services therefore rely on leaders who can volunteer their time and expertise as well as the practical and financial resources as well. Bwaca's understanding that sport organisations are under-resourced underlies the meaning and interpretation she develops through her narrative of why she has been selected into her leadership position over other leaders who are similarly qualified and available.

Although the requirement of economic capability is not formally articulated, selection processes as illustrated by Bwaca, are used to ensure the people selected as leaders are also capable of providing or at least not needing the administrative resource support from the organisation. Bwaca, by presenting herself as capable and gainfully employed demonstrates her ability as the sort of volunteer leader who will not be a resource drain on the organisation. In so doing, Bwaca presents an appropriate self to the sports organisation and her peers which enables her to be treated as entitled to the privileges allowed to all leaders (Goffman, 1963). Although Bwaca, did not say she set out to give the impression she is economically capable, her volunteering and self-financing organisational assignments meant she was 'giving off' signs that validate her identity as a volunteer with an advantaged economic position (Goffman, 1959).

In Bwaca's account, there are circumstances that appear as ordinary occurrences in organisation development that revealed her choices and her identity construction as a leader. Considering the organisation meetings as a stage on which status enabling identities are performed (Goffman, 1959) means barriers to participation in meetings have broad implications for the individual women as well as the organisations. This is because criteria or conditions of participation affect the various women differently (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Therefore, women who are interested in sport leadership but are economically unable to attend meetings are left out of the opportunity to perform their leadership identities. These occurrences led Bwaca to consider the question of how she is perceived by others and how that has contributed to her identity as a leader. Through this reflective process, Bwaca strengthens her volunteer identity as a positive aspect of her leadership as it has enabled her progression. The next section highlights how economic capability is decentred and moral or value-based commitments are used to negotiate volunteer identities within sport organisations with resource constraints similar to those faced by the women in this section.

7.3.2 Affirming Moral Motivations for Volunteering

This section discusses women sport leaders' interpretations of their engagement with resource costs of their voluntary participation in sport leadership processes in their organisations. The main theme is the role of their values as a way to frame the meanings or basis of their choices regarding how they spend their resources. One of the leaders in this thesis whose account illustrates morality-based motivations is Mweshi. She is in her 50s, is married and has children. She has post-graduate education qualifications and works in a corporate organisation and in her spare time runs a non-profit organisation. Mweshi is a Christian and her values and principles of service form part of how she perceives herself as a leader. Mweshi articulates her resource contributions through volunteering as a board member as part of her values and life. She says:

> *I consider myself blessed in terms of my life. I am in a space which is very fortunate in that I was able to absorb some of the costs of what I did without having to go back to somebody to say I need money for this, that, and the other. I am blessed to be in that space, where I am able to do that. I am not rich, but I believe that whatever little I have, I should use some of it to support other people.*

Mweshi's narrative accounts for her economic position and emphasises the view that it is not because of her position that she volunteers and contributes resources but despite it. Studies of volunteering in Southern Africa reveal that motivations for formal volunteering in organisations include access to economic benefits such as stipends in some organisations due to the high unemployment levels (Hunter & Ross, 2013). Integrated in these motivations are moral beliefs linked to spiritual and cultural values based on traditions of community care and participation (Patel, 2007; Van der Klashorst, 2018), especially in volunteer conditions where economic benefits are not part of the structure and are undertaken by young people and adults across economic positions (Patel, 2007). Mweshi asserts that she is not rich yet draws on her spirituality and faith to frame her economic situation as 'blessed'. This framing informs a self that practices a generosity with her resources as an expression of her identity. She says:

> *if you see how I live it's obvious that I am not rich, but I believe that if you are strict with yourself in how you live your life, … even if you are not rich, but you … manage your finances in such a way that there's a little bit left, you can use it to benefit others. It's a basic philosophy that I have in my life.*

This can be understood as the practice of a desired self within an economically constrained condition that enables her to participate in sport leadership. Makhulu et al., (2010) argue that within economically unequal societies such as Southern African countries, the formation of neoliberal subjectivities includes development of identities that foster personal adjustments. These adjustments are made to one's practices of economic resource use to enable practices of moral selves such as the

generosity that Mweshi speaks of in her account (Makhulu et al., 2010). She uses her moral values to construct herself as generous and therefore able to participate in the organisation without as she says 'going back to ask for money' to cover her expenses. Therefore, by affirming her values and moral aspects of herself, Mweshi sustains her identity as a leader that is not economically needy. In the next section I continue the theme of moral influences as a basis of identity affirmation to interpret volunteer identities, the focus is on how personal values and organisational values are co-mobilised to strengthen the identities of women sport leaders.

7.3.3 Aligning Personal and Organisational Values

Passion as a content of leadership identity was a recurring theme in the women sport leaders' accounts of motivation for their persistence within resource constrained contexts. This section therefore discusses the narratives of passion as part of the identity work that the women sport leaders do. Passion is conceptualised by the women sport leaders as being emotionally fervent or keen on the role one has and the related services of the sport organisation as an aspect of who they are as leaders. Women self-describe as passionate in order to give meaning to how they negotiate their choices linked to resource constraints. These narratives reveal the views that women have about their leadership through the ways they account for their motivations and describe their identities (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). For example, individuals in this study highlighted the need for passion as a characteristic of leaders that demonstrates commitment to their roles and to the sport organisation.

Passion as an identity characteristic is expressed through the narratives the women present to account for their resource investment in the sport organisations they lead through volunteering. Chibwe's narrative was one of the accounts that emphasised passion and commitment as expression of leadership and volunteerism. Chibwe's organisation has resource constraints that affect both leaders and sport participants. Like Bwaca and Mukula, she says:

> We don't have a lot of money, so sometimes you have to use your own money … to participate in these activities. And then depending on which institution you are coming from, you find that you have challenges attending meetings or participating in certain activities because you don't have the resources.

Chibwe described her understanding of leadership as incorporating passion and commitment. She points out passion and commitment as necessary elements of being a leader. She understands that there is no monetary benefit in the performance of a leadership role but that the benefit is not material and is in the form of self-satisfaction. Chibwe demonstrates this when she accounts for her motivations as a leader who works in a resource-constrained organisation, she says:

> *One thing that I have learnt actually about leadership is passion. You need to be passionate about what you are doing. You need to be committed, at all levels in terms of resources; there's no money. There's nothing to look forward to in terms of monetary rewards, it is about self-satisfaction, you know. It's about how you feel helping students … achieve their goals in terms of sports.*

Chibwe's narrative makes apparent the matters of self-identity and its interactive relationship with the organisation. Kärreman and Alveson (2004) allude to this relationship between self and the organisational context and how individual identities are co-constructed with organisational identities and values. By adopting the organisational interests as their own, individuals become embodiments of the organisation (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002a). This can be seen in Chibwe's narrative when she speaks about her motivation of altruistic actions as a leader. She presents herself as a leader that is focused on service to others to enable them achieve their goals and through this service her personal interests are satisfied.

> *There are times … when you don't even have resources as an institution or as an association, but then you know that this game or tournament is very important for the students, you know where they are pushing you, "madam we want to go for this, we want to participate". But you don't have the money, so as an association, as a person, you try by all means to see how you can help them – how you can get resources from wherever you can so that they can participate.*

Chibwe articulates her self-satisfaction as tied to the positive outcomes for the sport participants. For her, facilitating meeting their needs is what informs whether she is successful or not. She draws the link between her personal and organisational identity as a leader who acts to help resource the actions needed to enable the students to participate in the sport event (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004; T.J. Watson, 2008).

> *So it is about passion, it brings joy to see students excel in their sports activities and just joy, the laughter the comedy, everything that happens on the pitch or court, I think it just pushes me. It motivates me a lot.*

Aligning her interests to the organisational interests contributes to Chibwe's sense of self and the motivation for her resource contributions. Her personal interests as a leader as she said are in '… helping students … achieve their goals in terms of sports'. Working in an organisation established to develop student sport, her personal and organisational aims are integrated consequently the success of the organisation has a personal level stake for Chibwe (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002a). Therefore, seeing herself as required to use her personal resources to supplement organisational resources in order to achieve organisational aims. This was common among several women sport leaders in this study, for example Chishimba and Mfula reported that they provided accommodation and meals for athletes who needed them in order to participate in events away from their own homes.

As Goffman (1959) suggests, members of organisations perform actions that demonstrate that they embody the values or culture of their organisations. Chibwe does this when she reports her motivation for her resource contributions. For her, meeting costs of organisational activities is a performance of a committed and passionate leadership identity.

> *I am hardworking, I am result-oriented, if I am doing something I put my mind to it, if it means going an extra mile even using my own resources to have it done, I do that. Yeah. There are times in the association we need to do something and we don't have money and I have something. Because I know if that thing is done it is going to be of importance to students or someone out there, if I have the resources then I use them, so commitment.*

The lack of monetary reward is presented as the norm, the inevitable climate of the organisation that one knowingly chooses to be a part of. The women respond to this resource problem by framing themselves through aspects that are not related to resources but to individual characteristics (Gill & Orgad, 2017). In their identity narratives, the selves that are made salient are not women sport leaders with resources; rather it is women sport leaders with passion and commitment. Ideally, passion and commitment are possible for almost everyone. However, economic capacity to contribute to a sport organisation is not. This process contributes to leaving the problem of resource constraints unaddressed and locates the challenges women face as an individual issue of a lack of altruism and not a structural problem of intersecting gender and economic inequality (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Collins (2017) offers a helpful way of understanding voluntary service and non-profit organisations as an indicator of state policies being complicit with capitalist and market interests in disinvestment in social goods. This results in women's individual resources being exploited by the sport sector to fill the resource gap left by lack of state resources (Collins & Bilge, 2016). However, the culture of volunteerism within sport provides a narrative for meanings linked to positive values of Ubuntu and spirituality as a worldview instead of a neoliberal discourse of exploitation. As discussed in 7.2.2, this is a form of appropriation of interests that serves neoliberal interests within state policies such as the prioritisation of austerity and market value above social investments in sectors such as sport (Rottenberg, 2014).

A common theme in the women's narratives is the role of value and emotional aspects of their motivations. The implication of centring emotional aspects in identity negotiation processes is that the focus of volunteering identity is steered away from the material resource aspects, such as ability to afford expenses to more personal level aspects, such as passion. The challenge raised by this perspective of passion is it takes away the focus for advocacy when the issue is framed as a personal and not a structural one (Collins, 2000; Longwe, 2000). However, personal level framing is not

problematic in and of itself as passion is also a key characteristic of motivations for activist identities (discussed in 7.3.4) that are based on women sport leaders' interest in creating change. Through these various aspects of leadership identities, it can be seen that women's sport leadership identities are comprised of multiple meanings drawn from their multiple realities.

Through the narrative of affective motivations, alternative interpretations of navigating resource constraints in sport organisations are revealed. Leaders who participate in this environment construct themselves as not motivated by financial benefit. In so doing, they establish an image of an other who is not engaging in leadership because they are motivated by monetary incentives or are lacking in passion. Through this process the concept of leadership takes on a sacrificial or altruistic aspect that demands selflessness on the part of leaders. The narrative of motivations for the women's altruism is based on sustaining identity coherence with their moral beliefs as shown in this section. The women's altruism is also motivated by their commitment and interest in their identities as activists bringing about change, as discussed in the next section.

7.3.4 Affirming Activist Interests

Participants' experiences reflected the persistent influence of gender in economic decisions within the organisation structures and in their broader society (Collins, 2017). This was particularly evident in accounts of decision making on allocation of resources for sport participants as narrated by Chiti;

> *We have conversations in the board [about investment in athletes], and you know what the comments sometimes I get? "She will become pregnant, next thing she'll be married … where will be our money?"*

In this case, what is presented as a business case to safeguard organisation resources - which is well within the functions of the board - perpetuates the disadvantages women have continually faced (Gill & Scharff, 2013). Through these decision-making processes based on market-related principles, such as maximisation of profit and efficiency, women and girls are disproportionately under-resourced (Collins, 2017; Gill & Scharff, 2013). However, instead of investing in developing an environment in which women can continue to be athletes or work in other aspects of sport, resource allocation is based on the view that women are a risky investment. Chiti says:

> *….it defeats decision-making because you don't give somebody the opportunity to make a career out of sport as a woman because you have already put them into a context … you actually even see the numbers skew towards males and not females.*

Chiti's account illustrates the consequences of decision makers succumbing to the context and viewing women as a risky investment. Therefore, the resources are not allocated in a way that brings social change but merely accepts and reinforces the stereotypes.

Several participants presented narratives of struggle and fighting for the organisation decisions to benefit women. The women sport leaders perceived that the usual decision-making processes within their organisations resulted in women being disadvantaged. This view contributed to the women sport leaders constructing themselves as fighters or activists. In this case, they identify with the other who is not part of the team making the decisions (Goffman, 1963). Their identities as activists draw on narratives of their understanding of who they represent and what they understand as their commitment or meaning of their roles as leaders within the organisation. For example, the women recognised the importance of resource allocation in the barriers that other women encounter in leadership participation as well as in meeting organisation goals. They therefore spoke of their actions advocating for changes in practices of resource distribution. Chishimba presented a narrative of pursuing change:

> We have been trying for quite some time to make sure that when budgeting, it [resources] should be shared equally. But it has just been on the paper. We use so many ways, going to the ministry, we have gone to the parliamentary committee to talk about it. In so many platforms we have talked about it but it has not happened.

They saw the challenges that women leaders currently face as a deterrent for other women to get involved in sport organisation leadership. There was a blend of affirmation of their identities as fighters with actions to create a change within their organisations. (Goffman, 1963). This was in order to facilitate change that would minimise the need for fighter identities among women sport leaders in the long term. Mubanga says:

> So those other women who are maybe thinking of joining leadership they are not seeing anything that can compel them to say we can also join because I have been facing a lot of challenges and criticisms, things like that.

Further, women leaders saw themselves as fighters to the extent that the environment was hostile and their continued engagement in it required them to be fighters in order to sustain their presence as leaders.

> If you are not a fighter as a woman in [AUSC5 Country] right now, you can simply quit and say "no, no, no I think no, mm mmm [no] I would rather not be here let me try something else", or, "I would rather be doing some business or just be a house wife". The situation is not good. (Mubanga)

Being a fighter was not only in response to internal organisation processes. Some participants highlighted the conflicts within sport organisations that are broadcast through the media and the implications for sport leaders' reputations. Mapalo observed about sport organisations:

> *There's a lot of infighting and some people who can contribute do not want to find their names in the headlines and things like that. Sport is …a sector where I have seen people, even without evidence they are going to go the media … "this one stole this this one did that" and some people do not want their credibility to be brought down because of these things.*

Dropping out of the sport organisations is a way of avoiding the stigma that comes with being associated with disreputable sport sector. However, for the women who stay on, constructing their fighter identities helps them manage the stigma that they would encounter due to the conflicted reputations of sport as a sector.

> *And mostly, this work is voluntary, even those people who are on the board, if you look at benefits, it is only when they have a board meeting. Then they ask themselves, but why?*

The sport sector was seen by some of the participants as having an antagonistic reputation and therefore a risk to personal welfare and reputation therefore women were seen to elect to not get involved. Therefore those who stayed on such as Mapalo, count themselves as fighters who persist despite the challenging environment.

The fighter identity developed as a way to account for women's interpretation of their positions within gendered cultures that were not fully supportive. Further, the fighter identity emerged as a way to define the kind of leaders they are in relation to the gendered disadvantages they are acting against or to change (Ahikire et al., 2015). As fighters, the women leaders positioned themselves to present a self that is persistent and resilient to enable them work within the environment as well as to enable them to seek change.

7.4 Summary

The experiences of women sport leaders can be understood as located within the intersecting gender and economic power systems and the resulting social inequalities (Collins & Bilge, 2016). In my interpretation, the experiences of the women sport leaders in this thesis provide insight into how intersecting macro-level political conditions influence their social positions. This chapter presents the women's articulation of their identities and interpretation of their conditions in order to enable an understanding of the women's actions and perceptions within their contexts of resource-constrained organisations. The narrative of personal motivation, passion and individual altruistic intentions was common across several women's accounts. This illustrated a focus on the individual and their personal values and identities as a strong factor in how they experience resource constraints.

Existing scholarship on women sport leadership in Southern Africa explores a range of topics on women leaders' experiences that relates to resources. Fasting et al., (2014) examined women's leadership participation highlighting distribution of women at various levels of leadership and including frequency of participation in meetings. Clark (2011a) investigated women leader's participation in decision making and their visibility in media coverage in the context of a mega-sports event. This chapter contributes to these explorations of women leaders' experiences by examining how women sport leaders are negotiating their identities as volunteers. In particular, within the context of navigating challenges based on material resource constraints in their sport organisations. The chapter explores women's volunteer experiences as structured by enduring influences of colonialism and emergent neoliberal capitalist processes on sport organisations. To achieve this, I draw on various theoretical insights on neoliberalism, feminism, Ubuntu, and identities (Amadiume, 2000; Collins, 2000; Goffman, 1963; Ncube, 2010).

The women sport leaders in this thesis recognised that limited resources is a challenge for women who do not have access to personal or organisational resources through their occupation or networks (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). The women responded to the conditions of resource constraints by enhancing their volunteer identities as leaders. They highlighted their volunteer identities as becoming salient during leadership selection processes and participation in leaders' meetings (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Goffman, 1959). In this context, volunteering was understood by the women as the provision of services without expectation of remuneration. The women in this study spoke of volunteerism as a way of life, as part of their values as well as recognised or accepted volunteering as a normal part of sport organisation culture. In the next chapter, the interaction of personal identities and organisational culture is evident in the women sport leaders accounts of navigating harassment and abuse. Similarly, narratives of moral and activist identities are apparent.

8. Addressing Harassment and Abuse within Organisations

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses women sport leaders' experiences of navigating issues related to harassment and abuse within sport organisations. Article 22 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development requires member states (in this thesis South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe are signatories) to 'enact legislative provisions, and adopt and implement policies, strategies, and programmes which define and prohibit sexual harassment in all spheres and provide deterrent sanctions for perpetrators of sexual harassment'. Therefore, to ensure girls and women in sport are safe from harassment and abuse, '…it becomes a question of changing the culture, changes need to occur also at the personal and organisational level' (Fasting & Sand, 2015 p.585). In order to bring about these changes, the distinct issues must be identified, and exploring women's personal and social identity negotiation contributes to this effort.

Harassment and abuse emerged as an issue that several women located across the four countries within this thesis encountered. Therefore, in this chapter, I present narratives that represent the women leaders' experiences and the strategies they use as they negotiate their self and social identities. Although several women within this study spoke about harassment and abuse, the women whose narratives are prominent in this section, discussed it more extensively than the others did. I have focused on three main narratives of the women for whom this theme was significant. Their narratives are important to include here as the context of the organisations and countries they work in make these experiences relatable across the region. As discussed in section 3.2, I refer to 'self-identity as the individual's own notion of who and what they are and social-identities as cultural, discursive or institutional notions of who or what any individual might be' (T.J. Watson, 2008, p. 131). One argument for advocating for more women's representation in governance of sport organisation is the broadening of the issues that sport organisations address. By having women as sport leaders 'they could ensure that, throughout planning and decision-making processes, the actual circumstances of women's lives are given greater consideration in the world of sport than has been the case up to the present' (Pfister, 2010, p. 242).

Indeed, the women leaders in this thesis draw attention to sexual harassment and abuse as an issue for women in Southern Africa that had been unattended to for a long time (AUSC5, 2014). Sexual harassment is defined as 'unwanted behaviour or unwelcome advances on the basis of sex is … facilitated by an institutional climate which permits, rather than sanctions, such behaviour'

(Brackenridge, 1997, p. 130). This theme relates to the everyday practices and behaviours that are the norm within sport organisations and influence how the organisation deals with safeguarding and protection issues that emerge (Fasting et al, 2015; Jacobsen, 2014; Solstad & Strandbu, 2017).

Section 8.2 within this chapter outlines the ways in which the women sport leaders experience harassment and abuse and the challenges that they identify. In particular, the women's narratives highlight organisational weakness manifested as weak policy and procedure on safeguarding and protection of leaders and athletes from harassment as well as a patriarchal culture that limits action on harassment and abuse. Further, the women sport leaders experience the disproportionately higher responsibility than the men leaders, for dealing with issues related to harassment and abuse. This skewed responsibility was due to the gender construction of safeguarding and protection work as care work that should be undertaken by women. In section 8.3, three strategies of identity negotiation that emerged in the women's narratives are discussed. These are; reaffirming identities by rejecting stereotypes, re-mooring by shifting the situation meanings and self-identities, and lastly social change through activist identities and multiple methods of identity negotiation contribute to social change. This chapter concludes that the women sport leaders are using multiple approaches to negotiate their identities while addressing sexual harassment abuse through interventions that are aimed at immediate and more sustained change. The experiences that are highlighted here draw attention to how lack of action as well as the interventions that the women sport leaders pursue both challenge and support the idea of Ubuntu within AUSC5 leadership.

8.2 Challenges of Addressing Harassment and Abuse

This section presents the challenges that women leaders encounter in relation to their role as leaders. Although there is progress in women's participation in leadership of sport and other sectors, '[p]rogression in opening up spaces for women's political participation in Africa has not gone along with the diminishing of the patriarchal power structures' (Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013, p. 76). This is evident by the persistence of gender-based violence within organisations that include women leaders such as the sport organisations in this study. Women sport leaders encounter harassment and abuse targeted at themselves and others and they face challenges with undertaking their roles as officials with the duty to ensure safeguarding and protection of organisation members such as athletes and staff. These experiences they have place them in a position to understand what changes need to happen within organisations to address harassment and abuse.

8.2.1 Policy Weaknesses and Patriarchal Culture Enable Abuse of Power

Research indicates that harassment and abuse in sport are endemic within some countries of the AUSC5 (Fasting et al., 2015). Within the women's narratives, challenges of sexual harassment in sport organisations were raised in context of abuse of power (Fasting et al., 2015). Mubanga highlights this in her statement:

> … some coaches and some men are corrupt, you know they would want you to sleep with them so that you gain a position to be at national level in their committee… and maybe if there is a trip, they would want you to sink so low to sleep with them and that is when they say 'yes, she is coming with us'. If you don't accept their terms, they will always paint you to be a bad leader not to be doing what is supposed to be done and things like that.

Particularly, the limited leadership opportunities for women created a vulnerability that is experienced by women as they work towards progressing through the leadership levels. Chibwe pointed out a similar experience to that presented by Mubanga that the opportunity for sexual harassment as a form of power abuse is associated with access to limited resources (discussed in chapter 7) and opportunities such as participation in international meetings and events. According to Fasting et al. (2014), within the AUSC5, women sport leaders attend less than 40% of regional and international meetings. Resource constraints facilitate the environmental conditions within which vulnerability to sexual harassment are generated (Michau et al., 2015). Further, sexual harassment, as Mubanga's experience shows, reflects the patriarchal domination that enables masculine sexual aggression and gender inequality in leadership positions (Michau et al., 2015; Nyabola, 2016b; Tamale, 2004). Women therefore face the challenge of navigating harassment as well as the stereotypes associated with being a woman as they pursue leadership positions.

The women in this study noted that it is not only leaders who experience harassment and abuse, as athletes were also identified as particularly vulnerable. Mfula said:

> Let me give you an example about a sponsor of a team … with sixteen girls. This sponsor is a man. Sometimes we hear things that something is up with the girls and the sponsor.

Mfula draws attention to the vulnerability of athletes and the unclear information indicating the likelihood of harassment and abuse. This result reflects the findings of Fasting et al. (2015) who established that on average about 45% of the male and female athletes surveyed in their study had experienced forced sexual behaviour by persons within sport. Similarly, Solstad and Strandbu (2017) found that athletes were a major group that sport organisations needed to ensure were safeguarded and protected from abuse. Safeguarding and protection refers to the steps that organisations take to prevent harassment and abuse among groups including athletes and leaders of sport organisations

(Solstad & Strandbu, 2017). The organisations through the leadership of the board members have a responsibility to protect athletes and to safeguard their wellbeing. Some ways to implement this responsibility include the development and implementation of organisation policies and active interventions when harm is perceived or reported (Michau et al., 2015; Solstad & Strandbu, 2017).

The women leaders in this study reported challenges with organisation leaders fulfilling their functions in relation to safeguarding. Their experiences confirm that the translation of policy into action remains one of the enduring challenges regarding women's and athletes' rights. This includes the limitations in translating policies into actions such as implementation of codes of conduct for all actors in sport and clear procedures so that athletes know where to report (Fasting et al., 2014; Fasting & Sand, 2015). However, as Mfula and Chishimba found, the processes for complaint and seeking redress were not always clear to athletes and actions when reported were not resolved. Chishimba said:

> *Even if the case is reported and it is brought to the disciplinary committee, I have never heard of any successful case being … prosecuted or addressed by the disciplinary committee*

Chishimba saw male domination as a factor and pointed out that despite reports, there were no actions taken on reports of sexual harassment and abuse and she could not recall any case that had been brought and addressed by her organisations disciplinary committee.

Like Mubanga and Chishimba, Kunda identified the organisations' lack of will to address the sexual harassment and abuse that women face challenging. She recounted an event where a complaint has been raised within the organisation yet there is hesitation to complete the process. Kunda said:

> *You know there have been allegations from a staff member against a senior staff member and it is a woman who … put the allegations. And now they are sort of trying to put that under the carpet and I am saying no.*

Kunda's organisation had two perceivable structural issues. First, since there was a possibility of not acknowledging the sexual harassment complaint and 'pushing it under the carpet' as she says. This suggests that there were grave limitations to the organisation policies on complaints and resolving harassment matters. Second, the role of governing leaders is to ensure the organisation policies are implemented and the governing leaders are held accountable for implementation. Therefore, the situation Kunda described indicates that the system of accountability for action or inaction of duty bearers, in this case board members (including Kunda) of the organisation, may not be as robust as needed (Fasting & Sand, 2015).

The women's accounts indicated that sexism affects the decisions of whether a complaint is dealt with or not. Mfula reflected:

> *Sometimes I just think it's a men's world. Where situations involve other men, there is a way of justifying what shouldn't even be justified because there will be men involved. The people make decisions; the decision-making people are men.*

Like Chishimba, Mfula highlighted the domination of men in decision-making within the organisation as an important problem. Male domination in organisation contributes to sustaining a patriarchal culture in which gender inequality issues such as harassment and abuse go unaddressed (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Michau et al., 2015). There is little research about response mechanisms within sport organisations in Southern Africa, yet findings from education institutions show that there is a gap in institutional structures and practices. In exploring sexism in institutions of higher learning, Ahmed (2007) identified the process of filing a complaint as a deliberately inefficient system that wears the complainant down. As Chishimba reports, since no action is taken in response to athlete reports, 'it will just end up like it was just a story… and that's why you find a lot of girls get frustrated and they even shy away from reporting'.

Mfula stated that she heard about abuse of girls because of her organisational position, and in that role as a board member or leader, she tried to gather more information in order to take action. However, she faced a backlash from within the organisation as well as in public media publications.

> *When you try to investigate and to get a clear picture you get victimised, a lot of things are said about you even in the [news]papers a lot of issues just to distract you from what you are trying to fix or find out. A lot of lies, allegations just to divert your attention from what you are trying to do.*

The backlash that Mfula experiences through the media misrepresentation challenges her identity as a leader and in the process her legitimacy as a complainant that should be listened to. Whitley and Tiffany (2015 p.36) found that 'when women speak of the sexual violence they have experienced, these accounts tend to be widely discounted and disbelieved'. Within sport organisations in Southern Africa, Fasting et al. (2015) also found that there was a lack of awareness on policies and procedures in place for responding to harassment and abuse. The lack of policies and procedures combines with a culture that protects patriarchal domination despite the harm to athlete wellbeing.

Women leaders felt the environment within their organisations meant they had the responsibility to address safeguarding and protection. The women associated the lack of action with male identities; in this context the women like Chishimba highlighted the difficulty of garnering support to take action on abuse:

> *… the abuse that was going on in sport and this was affecting mostly the coaches, but because the menfolk are involved, it was not easy to get support from them…mainly they ignore issues that are related to women*

Since they were fewer than the men, this responsibility was disproportionately greater for them relative to the men leaders. The women sport leaders perceived a correlation between male overrepresentation in decision-making and an organisational culture that is permissive of harassment and reluctant to take action. As Brackenridge & Rhind (2014) argue, harassment and abuse within sport occurs because of the social, political, and cultural contexts the sport organisations are located in. Since the personal experiences of the women are how they encounter their societies, to resist or challenge practices of sexual harassment within sport is an act of challenging societal norms.

The experience shared by Mfula and Chishimba offer a challenge to the idea of an African culture in which cohesive and community oriented beliefs and practices are expected to influence leadership (Kuada, 2010; Littrell et al., 2013). Here, African culture is used to 'highlight those aspects of cultural ideology that are widely shared among Africans (e.g. the communitarian, solidaritarian and Ubuntu ethos), and politically to call attention to the common historical legacies inscribed in cultures within Africa by forces such as colonialism, capitalism, imperialism and globalisation' (Tamale, 2008, p. 151).

As Kuada (2010) and Littrell (2013) caution, there are limitations in the practical manifestation of Ubuntu in leadership. The principles of solidarity, a concern for others, and for the collective are not evident in this situation where the work of safeguarding is largely left to women. The pervasive patriarchal culture is more influential in this context and the environment that sustains the harassment abuse is upheld. In this way the care work of dealing with safeguarding is disproportionately undertaken by women. Even so, as Mfula found, challenging practices of harassment and abuse result in women leaders becoming unpopular, indicating a disruption in the relations and support that they need as leaders.

In their roles as custodians of the welfare of participants as board members, the women highlighted the challenge of upholding the duty of care within organisations that were not supportive. They demonstrated that their moral careers as duty bearers were challenged by their gender positions as women. The women perceived the shift in their identity as good sport leaders, when challenging action or inaction placed them into the role of what Kunda highlighted as 'the bad person'. However, they all embraced this image of the 'bad person' as they realised it was part of their identities as leaders (Kunda) and for Chishimba and Mfula part of their identities as activists.

Resistance to harassment and abuse by women on behalf of themselves or others is a critical act of feminism (Ahmed, 2010; Collins, 2000). In agreement with Ahmed (2010), Calder-Dawe (2015 p.94) identifies 'moments of resistance' when those facing harassment affirmed their determination to push back'. Similarly, the women sport leaders in this thesis faced pressure, such as the expectation to not take action against harassment and abuse of athletes and staff within sport organisations. While addressing these pressures, their approaches led them to be considered a problem because '[y]ou cause unhappiness by revealing the causes of unhappiness. And you can become the cause of the unhappiness you reveal' (Ahmed, 2010, p. 591). Ahmed explains the risk of drawing attention to problems of harassment or sexism within academic institutions, a risk that is evident in the experiences of the women interviewed in this thesis. As Ahmed (2017) argued, 'to locate a problem is to become the location of a problem'. This was so with Mfula who was perceived as the problem because she 'hated men' or was going against perceived administrative tradition by taking up the role of team manager, therefore she needed to present herself as a non-threatening persona by emphasising herself as a mother. Similarly, we see Kunda becoming the problem as she was the problematic board member who is taking the side of a staff member.

As will be shown in section 8.3, the women in this chapter accepted the theme of struggle and of being the problem as part of their identity development, however, not all women leaders can afford to become 'problems'. Some categories of women that this consequence may be a problem for includes younger women, women whose appointments are political, single women, women in rural areas, or women based in under resourced organisations. Navigating being a problem revealed some ideas about the social location of the women.

8.3 Strategies of Identity Negotiation in Response to Safeguarding and Protection Challenges

As they encountered the above challenges, the women sport leaders addressed these challenges by taking up leadership positions that enabled them to be present among athletes (Mfula), they lobbied for complaints to be processed (Kunda), and for policy change and implementation within their organisations (Chishimba and Mfula). While addressing the challenges, the women sport leaders negotiated their identities in three main ways: re-affirmation, re-mooring, and social change as conceptualised by (Goffman, 1963; Goffman, 1983). In section 8.3.1, I explore how processes of identity re-affirmation were achieved by rejecting stereotypes associated with particular identities

and advancing identities that had fewer negative implications. For example, Mfula noted her activist identity made her unpopular. However, by drawing on her identity as a mother she could perform her leadership functions with fewer obstructions. The second strategy is discussed in 8.3.2, which is focused on associating with other people who have similar identities that the woman leader wants to reinforce. This is evident in Kunda's efforts to present herself as part of a group of ethical leaders by ensuring she speaks out about issues she considers problematic such as gender-based violence in her sport organisation. In 8.3.3, the strategy of social change is demonstrated through the activist identity and actions Chishimba takes to influence the complaint and response policies and practices within her sport organisation (Ahmed, 2007; Fasting et al., 2015). These strategies were employed by the particular women due to their social, political, and economic positions and their cultural beliefs (Ahikire et al., 2015; Collins, 2000). It was also found that these identity negotiation strategies were engaged to varying extents and in some cases multiple strategies were applied. In dealing with an environment in which gender based violence influenced their experiences, the women sport leaders demonstrated identity work that drew on their presentation of self and on reworking the meanings of the situations they encountered (Goffman, 1959; Goffman, 1983).

8.3.1 Re-Affirming: Rejecting Stereotypes and Advancing Alternative Identities

The first strategy outlined here involves re-affirming the stereotypical identity of women as mothers as a way to provide an alternative to a leadership identity that is stigmatised. In this section Mfula provides an illustration of how she reinforced her leadership role through making her mother identity more salient as it was more appropriate and less stigmatised. For Mfula, it became evident that the organisation systems were inadequate to protect girls and her choice was to personally be present for the girls as team leader to undertake her mothering role. Mothering as an activist strategy has been conceptualised as the care work that takes place not only within domestic spaces for one's children (Collins, 2000; Collins, 2017). In Collins' (2017, p.13) terms, Mfula is performing 'motherwork'. Motherwork, Collins (2017) argues, is part of how women practice their politics in community with others, in this instance with the aim that she will protect the girls while the pursuit of structural changes continues.

Mfula approached the challenge of safeguarding by taking up an organisational role in which she can be physically present among a girls' sports team during an international event. In one particular event she was challenged as going against administrative and ethical standards by taking up the role of team manager while being a president of a federation. Mfula interpreted this response to her actions as a

backlash from the men who did not want her in that role because she was drawing attention to athlete welfare.

> *I like being with the girls … I went as team manager for the […] team, but I am also the president. I was told that was conflict of interest, I should have appointed someone else, but my organisation supported my nomination.*

However, since male presidents take up team management roles at competitions, she persisted. She argued for her role as a team manager and engagement with protection of athletes by positioning herself as a mother. Mfula said:

> *I believe that young girls need their mothers to look after them. If they are going out on games where they are multi-discipline with a lot of people involved, then they need somebody who can mother them properly. I wouldn't rule out abuse of girls in sports, I wouldn't rule that one out. Because it is one of our goals in women in sport to safeguard the girl child.*

As outlined in section 8.2.1, sport organisation practices and systems are insufficient in dealing with safeguarding and protection due to limited policy frameworks and domination of a patriarchal culture (Fasting et al., 2015). Mfula emphasises the social identities of the 'young girls' as children as opposed to just athletes. She therefore presents their position as children needing care and protection from a mother, and not particularly athletes who require a team manager, which is the position she is contesting. She therefore stresses the aspect of mothering and the importance of a team manager who can 'mother the girls properly'.

Mfula was aware that since the role of team manager is not tied to a particular gender, she can be challenged through the bureaucratic rules as she experienced. However, by invoking the role of 'mother' that is linked to her identity as a woman of senior age in a role of authority, Mfula performs what Goffman (1963) refers to as a change in framing of the situation. Mfula uses the stereotype of women as mothers to make her case. This strategy worked because the stereotype she draws on is a socially available narrative (canonical narrative) in her society that suits with the gender expectations of roles that women play (Phoenix, 2008). She wielded this to her advantage to achieve the aim of securing her position as team manager. This worked for her as she narrates that 'later on we were told that actually you were right because there is no rule which says you can't be team manager if you are president and things like that'. Although this strategy of taking up a leadership position in order to undertake safeguarding work does not bring about long term social change, it works as a short term safeguarding intervention in a situation where there are system weaknesses (Michau et al., 2015; Solstad & Strandbu, 2017).

Challenges of economic disadvantage and gender inequality within sport organisations intersect resulting in vulnerabilities for athletes (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). For example, the expenses of supporting officials to travel to international competitions can be an organisational challenge that affects the implementation of safeguarding practices (Solstad & Strandbu, 2017). Combined with an organisation culture in which safety of athletes is not institutionalised the application of resources and selection of staff can contribute to sustaining the vulnerability of athletes while hindering women leaders' initiatives, like Mfula's, to protect athletes. Protecting athletes is not formally assigned to women, however, by taking on mothering identities women leaders bring their experiences to their leadership role and therefore prioritise addressing harassment and abuse (Pfister, 2010).

However, Mfula's actions are not without consequences as she was faced with the public backlash or negative reaction she gets after speaking out against harassment of girls:

> *… right now, even last week there was in the [news]paper to say you don't like men. I said 'no, I love them, but I don't like men who are not upright.'*

> *Then I said to the reporter 'do you have children?' He said 'yes, I have three girls'. So, I said 'can you imagine when your girl is going to another country with a coach who is a man; a team manager who is a man?'. He said, 'no mama that is not right'. I said 'yes'.*

A generally negative construction of Mfula's social identity in the press is apparent here where she is presented as a hater of men as opposed to the possible identities of dutiful board member or protector of girls in sport based on her actions. The negative responses such as these play a role on obstructing the change that Mfula is advocating for:

> *… this is why I get crucified, there is no going back. There's no going back. We want the women to come for sport and feel safe.*

Mfula interprets it as being 'crucified'; she uses imagery of an innocent person being killed to protect others in sacrifice. The sacrifice analogy is interesting as it draws from a narrative that is the foundation of Christianity that is a prominent part of her culture. Mfula uses it to structure the meaning she makes of her situation as a defender of girls within sport. Hence, this contributes to her choices and resolution when she declares 'there is no going back'. Further, Mfula is aware that the backlash she experiences challenges her social identity as a leader and could potentially discourage other women from speaking up saying:

> *… I think that's why women who speak out don't get voted into or get assignments that involve men.*

For her, this strategy works since she is in a high position in her organisation (president) and works for the empowerment of girls so has an established identity based on her social position. She is therefore able to navigate the challenge of speaking out against harassment while sustaining her social identity.

Research on sexism has shown that women who rise to high positions against stereotypes are accepted and celebrated as overcoming challenges, however when they speak up about sexism they are perceived as problematic (Gill, 2007; Worth et al., 2016). Mfula had been awarded by the government and profiled in media publications as a role model for her contribution to sport. However, her actions that challenged the sexist practice of harassment and abuse of girls in sport positioned her in a negative light. Mfula's motivation and resilience to sustain her actions in this situation therefore were reinforced through her social identity that draws on narratives of motherhood, sacrifice, and dedication to girls and women in sport and her position as a senior woman in a position of authority.

There were occurrences when the identity of mother had been used against women leaders as a microaggression (Nadal et al., 2016). Chiti narrated a situation in which the association of mothering with women was used to devalue her expert contribution as a leader when she raised the need to discuss athlete welfare. A colleague said '… spoken like a mother! We just want these people to give us a medal'. In this situation, even though Chiti reports having presented the suggestion within the context of organisational strategy, because she is a woman, the comment was passed to frame her as a mother therefore associating her to the domestic and consequently out of place in the organisational decision making situation.

Similarly, Chishimba's intention to contest for a leadership position within her sport organisation was questioned on the basis that she is a mother and should be at home taking care of her children since sport is very demanding. For women therefore, the mothering identity is not consistently valuable in every situation. While this strategy has a key role in the larger frame of the situation, it points to the strong connection between personal identities and social identities. Mfula sees herself as a mother and so it is possible for her to work towards this identity in the interaction within her organisation. There is a chance that this strategy may not work for all women leaders as they may not be able to perform it adequately. For example, a younger woman may not be able to embody this social identity and therefore would have to pursue a different presentation of the self.

In summary, Mfula performed two major identity negotiation moves to ensure the interaction results will be in her favour; she presents a stereotyped identity (motherhood) and reaffirms it as valuable

and she reframes the meaning of the situation (from need for a team manager to the need for a mother) (Goffman, 1963; Goffman, 1983; Steady, 2011). In so doing she navigates the problem of providing a woman team leader to accompany girl athletes as a strategy to reduce vulnerability to sexual harassment. The motivation to continue working on issues that are considered challenging in organisations despite the backlash was linked to women's activism as an identity and personal mission as a leader. The next section presents Kunda's approach to the identify negotiation strategy of re-mooring by reframing situation meaning and aligning social identities.

8.3.2 Re-Mooring: Performing an Ethical Leadership Identity

This section presents the second strategy that was identified among the women sport leaders who were addressing sexual harassment and abuse. Goffman (1963, 1981) asserts that managing one's identities influences the outcomes of interactions. The account that Kunda provided presented her use of re-mooring as an identity negotiation strategy through two key approaches. The approach of reframing the situation meaning and aligning her social identities with her established self-identities (Goffman, 1963; Goffman, 1981). Kunda was the only one among the women sport leaders who extensively presented this strategy in context of dealing with harassment and abuse. The experience that Kunda had regarding the lack of organisational commitment to acknowledge and respond to the problem resonates with Chishimba's and Mfula's narratives. However, Kunda, unlike Chishimba and Mfula who advance their personal identities as activists for girls and women's rights, Kunda asserts her role identity as a duty bearer in the organisation.

> A woman's rights have to be… [respected] …we have to acknowledge the situation. You know what? What is it the degree of sexual harassment? You know, how do we start to measure what is a bad sexual harassment which is a good sexual harassment, good or bad or little or big?

Kunda positions herself as committed to her fiduciary duty in an effort to infuse her personal identity into her social identity. She also presents herself as interested in the rights of the woman who has been violated presenting herself as a fighter saying '… that's a cause I have been fighting'. Kunda presents herself as an advocate for the employee who has reported being harmed and was perceived as taking a stance that is not collective with those among her peers who choose to not take action.

> … unfortunately, I become the bad person because I'm speaking up for this employee.

Kunda asserts that she speaks out about the difficult matters because it is part of her duty as a board member and she is happy to be seen to be standing up for what is right when newspapers report on occurrences in her organisation.

> *that's our duty, we are the board ...we need to make sure … the minute it gets out*
> *in the paper I am very happy … because it shows that I am fighting for the rights,*
> *for the correct thing*

A way of managing identities is through defining the self against an identity, by clarifying what one is not (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). Kunda does this when she declares:

> *I do not want to be labelled with the rest of government that I am just here for the*
> *free ride. … on the gravy train I am getting free trips to all these Olympic games etc*
> *I do not want to be labelled like that.*

Here Kunda is not only giving meaning to her actions, she presents here a performance of her ongoing identity work in which she is constructing her social identity as an ethical or dutiful board member. Using what Goffman (1981) refers to as a shift of 'footing', Kunda moves from highlighting that harassment must be addressed because a woman's rights are challenged to Kunda positioning herself as an ethical leader of sport in general. She does so in order to manage the impression of what her social identity is, therefore she moves herself away from the possible interpretation that she is taking this action based on her identity as a woman. This is an important distinction for Kunda since in the interview she clearly presented herself as not a believer in a definite women's agenda, but that sport as a whole should be the focus.

By standing up for the woman staff member, Kunda does not position herself in solidarity with the woman because she is a woman, but rather as an organisational leader who is standing for what is right. Despite harassment being a gender issue, her view can be interpreted as an organisational ethics or workers' rights issue. Kunda's sense-making here exemplifies Ashforth and Schinoff's (2016, p. 129) assertion that '[b]ecause possible selves include both desired selves to approach and feared selves to avoid, [they] attend to both positive and negative role models. The latter, in clarifying who one does not want to be, help crystallize identity choices. Kunda crystalizes her identity choice by clarifying that she does not want to be perceived as a woman leader but as an ethical sports leader. In this way Kunda reframes the situation as an organisational ethics issue and her identity as an ethical leader.

Presenting a counter identity, as Kunda does, can contribute to social change. Kunda's identity as a leader who fights for others is established within herself, however as a social identity it is not yet established. This is so since according to her narrative there is a societal held perception that sport leaders are largely unethical. She then has to make sure her social identity aligns to her personal or self-identity. In order to achieve this, she had to '… provide observable indicators that they are (or are becoming) exemplars of the identity' (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016, p. 125). Kunda does this within the situation she narrated by taking the stand of fighting for the complainant to be heard.

In the process she was reaffirming her personal identity through her actions by remooring, which is aligning herself with peers who hold a similar view (Goffman, 1963; Deux & Etheier, 1998; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Remooring requires cooperation and interaction with others. This is evident when in telling her story in the interview Kunda talks of her male peer who also holds the same stance. Remooring can be an important strategy for women as it requires working across identities. This can support the shifting of attention from stigmatised identities (Goffman, 1963; Deux & Etheier, 1998). For example, it can help to mitigate against the backlash that presenting a salient woman leader identity may invite. In terms of long-term change, remooring as a strategy can contribute to challenging the idea that good leadership is male leadership or that addressing harassment against women is women sport leaders' responsibility. Shifting the perception can support the implementation of safeguarding and protection even while organisation leadership is still male dominated. This approach is different from the one taken by Chishimba and Mfula who assert themselves as activists as discussed in the next section.

8.3.3 Social Change: Affirming an Activist Leader Identity

The third approach that women sport leaders used to negotiate their identities was aimed at creating social change. According to Goffman (1963) social change involves changing the perceptions of the members of the society that the person with the stigmatised identity is in. This strategy was implemented by leaders including Chishimba, Mfula, and Kunda. By affirming activist identities, the women intended to influence their organisations to act on safeguarding and protection. To present an activist identity means presenting the self as committed to creating social change, which is, changing the circumstances that have created the situation. In this case, the effort is towards '…changing the culture, so that it can be safer for girls and women' (Fasting & Sand, 2015 p.585).

As Goffman (1959) asserts, the encounters that people have on a day-to-day basis are organised around established views of how the persons present will treat each other. In this case, Chishimba as a leader among peers would ideally expect her views on preventing harassment and abuse to be prioritised by her peers. She is making a moral demand to be listened to and the issue she is raising to be addressed. Goffman (1959 p.13) argues that, 'when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thereby makes an implicit or explicit claim to be a person of a particular kind, [they] automatically exerts a moral demand upon the others, obliging them to value and treat him in the manner that persons of [their] kind have a right to expect'.

However, based on her understanding of the context of the organisation and country she lives in, she reads the situation as one in which her identity as a leader will not be enough. She therefore performs the identity of the activist. For Goffman (1959, p. 15) a "performance" may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants'. A performance serves the purpose of managing the impression that one makes on others in order to achieve a goal, in this case to influence the actions of the board.

Chishimba's performance of her activist role includes persistently raising the issue of harassment and abuse and gathering the necessary documents and policies to support her argument. Chishimba's identity negotiation aligns to her actions of '[r]esistance to patriarchal practices, as well as confronting and challenging the dominant forms of masculinity' (Fasting & Sand, 2015 p.585). In describing herself, Chishimba is aware of her own identity construction process when she reflects:

> *… so, I didn't see myself that I can be that kind of activist in sport administration the way I am now, but it is the people and their reaction that made me who I am*

She recognises how her own identity has been formed in relationship to others and to the situations she has encountered. Developing the activist identity serves the purpose of providing a meaning to Chishimba herself when she reflects on her actions and reasons for persisting on this course. She declared that:

> *It is our duty as activist not only for women but also for both genders participating in sport that it is safe sport, free from harassment, free from abuse*

Since personal identities are about providing a concept of who one is, it contributes to individual's motivation for sustained actions despite risks of misidentification. Chishimba said that she is viewed as a 'trouble maker' because she is drawing attention to a problem that is considered not suitable for discussion:

> *… when you talk about sexual abuse it's something that is like it's taboo and people don't want to accept it. So, this kind of resistance comes from different angles from different people with different agendas.*

Persistent lobbying is a recognised practice of activism. The identity of activist provides Chishimba with the justification of how she does her work and to maintain face as a leader while doing it:

> *I get disappointed, but I don't give up, I continue referring to it until someone looks at it … the idea is to be persistent and to continue putting it on the agenda and keeping on reminding them that there is this issue it is not being addressed. So that is how I go about it, although it is so frustrating, but I don't give up.*

Similarly, Mfula presents herself as having a long-standing principle to persevere in taking action to resolve these issues, which elicits a negative response from her male peers:

I have always said, there is no going back on women's empowerment. There's no going back on the girl child. It doesn't matter what happens, if we feel there is an anomaly we need to investigate, and flush that out… and you become very unpopular with men, that is a challenge.

One of the practices within interactions is that each actor will behave in a manner that is considered appropriate (Goffman, 1959). As leaders, Chishimba and Mfula are being persistent and raising issues that are framed as taboo. However, because they perceive and present themselves as activists, these actions are justified, and they counter the view that these women are troublemakers. Like Mfula, part of the work of presenting the self as an activist is to ensure the actions that one takes are taken seriously as part of the defined situation. Shifting attention from one's role identity of board member as an act of resistance is not always effective in creating a change in the organisational culture and practices. Mfula contributes to safeguarding the children by taking on the actions based on her gender-derived personal or social role of mother. This strategy leaves the burden of safeguarding on women leaders and not the function of all who are in positions of leadership within the sport organisation.

Since women are underrepresented and their influence challenged, as discussed in chapter 6, leaving safeguarding to women is problematic as the burden will be on the few who will be dealing with other issues. As Goffman (1963) identified, the burden of representation can tend to be on the stigmatised themselves. Leaving social issues within organisations to women contributes to the utilitarian argument for promoting women's representation within sport leadership (Hoyt, 2010; Pfister, 2010). While this approach can increase the number of women leaders, it does not however address two significant matters. First, it reinforces the separation of women sport leaders from the identity of sport leaders, therefore maintaining the image of male leaders as the norm and keeping women as the outsiders. Second, the approach does not strengthen women's influence on organisational change that needs to happen in order to make sport organisations safer for athletes, staff, and leaders. This results in organisational performance of accepting or promoting women's leadership, but only as long as this does not bring changes to patriarchal power practices (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013; Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013; Nyabola, 2016b).

Despite this limitation, these actions when viewed within the context of broader women's participation are important to challenging the linked issues of opportunities for leadership positions, such as team manager, and the issues of safeguarding athletes. Mfula's experience assists to reveal the influences of practices that contribute to sustaining patriarchal power within sport organisations

that result in overrepresentation of men sport leaders and in continued vulnerability of athletes. Mfula's decision to take up an additional leadership position was questioned, yet as she reported, this is something that men do all the time and it is perceived as normal and right (Lewis & Simpson, 2012). Through her actions, we learn how women challenge these normalised inequality practices by negotiating their identities. She shows that women's leadership is not yet normalised by using the socially accepted stereotypical identity to overcome the practices through which male domination is rendered invisible in selection processes (Hovden, 2000b).

Finally, within the narratives presented here, I can trace some characteristics of servant leadership, a style that is based on a desire to serve others and a commitment to community with followers (Avolio, 2009; Parris, 2013). As extensively discussed across leadership literature, servant leadership is typically associated with women leaders as it is based on leadership behaviours that are considered female (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). However, as Ridgeway and Correll (2004) and Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) argue, interpretation of leadership behaviours should be located within social cultural contexts of the actors and organisations. It can be argued that because these women are located within AUSC5 societies, these practices are a reflection of the African cultures that influence their leadership and societies (Mangaliso, 2001; Tamale, 2008).

Therefore, I now can view Mfula's standing in for the athletes, Kunda speaking up for staff members, or Chishimba's building a committee to guide her input within the board as all actions that reflect service and community and therefore are a reflection of Ubuntu. However, understanding women's practices as identity negotiation supports the view that these behaviours are strategies of leadership that are contingent on the contexts of their organisations and the issues that the women are seeking to resolve. Therefore, we can argue that servant leadership grounded in Ubuntu is not women's way of leadership because they are women, it is so because of the way women are positioned in their particular sport organisations and societies (Collins, 2017; Ford, 2010). By practicing leadership that is informed by Ubuntu, all leaders including the men will ideally ensure that harassment and abuse is addressed, therefore drawing to attention the fact that patriarchal influences supersede the other elements of the culture that make Ubuntu valuable (Littrell et al., 2013; Nkomo, 2011).

8.4 Summary

In this chapter I presented the issue of harassment and abuse as a challenge that the women sport leaders in this thesis engage with. In particular the women's narratives of working within organisations with limited policies and procedure implementation for safeguarding and protection. Throughout this

chapter, I have highlighted how the women hold multiple personal and social identities that they negotiate as they work within their organisations and relate to people outside their organisations. The meanings the women make of their identities are important as they contribute to the motivation for continued actions especially in situation where such actions are a risk to their social identities and positions. Through their narrations of how they deal with challenges, we see the identities that are at stake for each woman. Making this visible helps develop future questions to understand women leaders in sport and their influence and motivations. Through narratives of becoming unpopular, becoming activists, and fighting for harassment complaints to be heard, the women sport leaders made their experiences apparent.

Sport research focused on countries in Southern Africa has identified harassment in sport as an issue (Fasting et al., 2014; Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014). This chapter contributes to exploring how women sport leaders experience this organisational and societal problem at personal level. Research, including Jacobson (2014) and Solstad & Strandbu (2017) has focused on athletes and coaches, while Manyonganise (2010) and Fasting et al., (2015) highlight leaders in view of selection processes and participation. This thesis adds to the exploration of this issue by exploring how women sport leaders as organisational duty-bearers engage with harassment and abuse. Therefore, this chapter contributes to understanding how women as an underrepresented group exercise their agency within and between challenging situations based on their social location through agile identity work. I draw the connection between the status of the underrepresented women and the strategies that women sport leaders use in their struggles to overcome a stigmatised identity and the anticipated responsibility to represent their group positively (Kanter, 1977; Yoder, 1991; Goffman, 1963).

As Yuval-Davis (2006 p. 197) asserts, 'identities are individual and collective narratives that answer the question 'who am/are I/we?''. From the above discussion, it can be said that women sport leaders are mothers, sport leaders, activists, fighters, and ethical sport leaders. These identities were presented and developed within encounters and in relation with others therefore they reveal the contexts and dynamics that enable who women sport leaders can be or need to be. The women negotiated their self-identities and their social identities as part of navigating various power relations such as status within sport organisations and patriarchal influences within the gendered organisational practices. A common thread among the women's narratives is the commitment to addressing harassment and abuse and to aligning their personal and social identities as selfless leaders who care about the wellbeing of sport participants. In the next chapter, I present the results of how women negotiate

their identities as they work towards gaining support and community as leaders within their sport organisations in the AUSC5.

9. Building Support and Community

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is centred on identity negotiation within narratives of support and community as presented in the women sport leaders' accounts of their experiences of sport leadership. Support from men and women within male-dominated organisations, such as sport, is important as it contributes to challenging the stereotypes regarding roles that women and men can play in society (Manyonganise, 2010b). The development of cooperation among women through establishment of formal networks and alliances, mentoring, and capacity development is recognised as a strategy that demonstrates solidarity for social change (IWG, 2014). Since solidarity is often linked to shared identities and interests, a heterogenous group is bound to have varying configurations of networks and dynamics of solidarity and support within it (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016; Matthews, 2014). Therefore, how women understand support is important to these processes. The women's narratives revealed that support was perceived as recognition for individuals to be leaders, support for their ideas and work, and support in form of participation in a community.

The women sport leaders' narratives in this chapter indicate that support was important at various stages and aspects of their leadership including in selection, promotion, and achievement of leadership tasks. It was also found that support was understood by the women in this study as comprising of various actions and attitudes of others that enabled or facilitated the women sport leaders functioning. However, there were some challenges encountered that hindered the extent or sources of support that women sport leaders received. The three main types of challenges identified with getting support were limited organisational support, prejudice, and underrepresentation in leadership positions.

It is in the process of navigating these challenges that identity negotiation strategies were engaged. From their narratives, three identity negotiation strategies emerged. The women sport leaders prominently engaged intensified group contact, in which they formed relationships and actively participated in communities of support within and outside the sport sector. They also used concealment of identities in order to highlight more readily acceptable identities to facilitate access to support. Social change is the third identity negotiation strategy women sport leaders used to gain support. Within the social change strategy, women sport leaders leveraged their identities as leaders, community members, and professionals. They undertook actions such as raising awareness, lobbying

for resources and creating opportunities for other women in sport to develop as leaders. In this chapter I discuss the role of support in identity negotiation and how identities affect support by drawing on the women sport leaders accounts as well as literature on women and sport, identities, Ubuntu, and intersectional solidarity.

Section 9.2 briefly discusses identities and support before focusing on the challenges related to support and community encountered by the women leaders in this study. These challenges are similar to the issues discussed in chapters 6, 7 and 8, but are presented here in view of the theme of support. Generally, women sport leaders in this study acknowledged being supported in their leadership. The narratives of limited support are just one aspect of the experiences that women had, so examples of situations when support was experienced are included in this section. In section 9.3, the three main identity negotiation strategies engaged with by women sport leaders as they navigate challenges related to support are presented. Drawing on various women sport leaders'accounts, this section demonstrates how they mobilise support to reinforce their own leadership identities as well as to create change to faciliate an environment where other women in sport can be leaders too. Building community contributes to enabling women sport leaders to navigate the challenges they encounter related to influence (chapter 6), leveraging organisational resources (chapter 7) and addressing safeguarding and protection issues (chapter 8). The chapter then closes with a summary highlighting that support and community building are not experienced the same way by all women due to the multiple identities on which alliances and shared interests are based (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015).

9.2 Leadership, Support and Community

9.2.1 Accessing Support and Community

As discussed in chapter 3, support is strongly linked to group belonging and identity as it is through interaction that identities are constructed, affirmed, and adjusted (Ford et al., 2008; Goffman, 1959). Neema says:

> *My walk in this leadership role has been a great walk, I have enjoyed it. Sometimes I have felt alone. Sometimes you feel like you are alone. Like nobody is there, who wants to help you. I have learnt that in times like that there are people that I recognised that I can pick up the phone and talk to, and you know they will you in something positive.*
>
> *It is important in leadership that you have people who can speak into your life, people who can encourage you, a supportive group of people, there are always people who will discourage you and put you down.*

Following Social Identity Theory and Ubuntu, the self is conceptualised in relation to others. Neema's account here draws attention to the significance of support in that it means having people around you who can be considered a community. She particularly acknowldged that there is both disaffirming and affirming feedback. So to feel less alone, and more part of a group as a leader, the community provides encouragement and therefore they affirm her identity to her.

Mukula presents an example of the colleagues and leaders who comprise her community and the type of support they provide:

> *there are many people, of course my boss … she is an encouragement and a good mentor. I have friends that we work with who are encouraging, many friends within the sporting family. There are a lot of people … in various organisations. I have had a lot of support actually.*

Mukula narrates that her support is drawn from both her leaders and her peers. As Ford et al. (2008) have argued, leaders present their identities to followers and peers, and in the process of interaction and functioning within leadership roles, the leaders' identity is reworked. Mukula also mentions that she has support in form of encouragement. Encouragement serves the purpose of affirmation of identities and practices. Support from peers and others within the women sport leaders' environment provides the positive feedback on which identity reaffirmation is based (Goffman, 1963; Ting‑Toomey, 2015). Therefore support has implications at personal, relational, and collective level for women sport leaders as the accounts presented here will show.

Neema has served in an Olympic Committee for four terms and believes that although there is individual responsibility for progress as a leader, there must also be support. Her account presents the view of a leader supporting other women. She says:

> *I want to just say to the women, we need to get up. But Lombe, there's a place where I must hold your hand and encourage you to get up. As fellow women let's look out for each other as well.*

Neema sees herself as responsible for supporting the newer women to get into leadership positions. According to her account, Neema performs the role of the audience. She gives affirmative feedback to the women to reinforce their self perception as leaders. . This is a way of perfoming her leadership and being available to the other women in community. Neema says:

> *Like I am talking to two women now, and I am saying now, we are coming up for elections, I think around November. I am saying to myself; Neema, which two women can I go and say 'girl you are ready to go onto the board, stand.'? If for*

some reason they lost, I will still tell them 'come next quadrennial get up don't give up'.

Neema performs the role of the audience. She gives affirmative feedback to the women to reinforce their self perception as leaders (Goffman, 1959). This is a way of perfoming her leadership and being available to the other women in community. Goffman's (1963) conceptualisation of presenting oneself as part of the group is a key predicator of how one is treated by others and the identity demands they make of members. Ubuntu in leadership is characterised by the value placed on relatonships as a way to achieve organisational outcomes (Mangaliso, 2001). By encouraging other women Neema is enabling them to have the knowledge and confidence to present themselves as leaders on the organisational stage. This support from someone who has a firmly established leadership identity can provide newcomers with affirmation and a sense of group association (Goffman, 1963). When they perceive themselves as part of the group identity of leaders, women can stand for boards.

Specific to organisational behaviour, Kanter (1977) proposed that minority groups within organisations cooperate or develop alliances for collective action to benefit themselves. Similarly, minority groups who face stigma use the strategy of forming coalitions in order to create change as a response to challenges such as stereotypes or discrimination (Goffman, 1963). These alliances or acts of cooperation with women can be with people of other identities, such as men, or established leaders supporting emerging leaders. For example Neema says 'we want supportive men working with us as partners'. Considering that men are associated with leadership, when they visibly work with women the stigma associated with women as weaker leaders can be challenged. Cooperative behaviour of this form reflects values of participatory leadership from an Ubuntu perspective (Mangaliso, 2001; Sulamoyo, 2010). Neema draws attention to the significance of people in positions of power acting in support of women. She narrates the story of a man in an NOC board supporting a woman to move up.

> *There are men out there who recognise that this girl, this lady, this female has some leadership qualities and can help to bring them up. A man said they had to leave the position of secretary general and went for a position of president. He made sure that a woman came on, not just a woman but somebody he felt could do it and went and helped to campaign. This is because the women may be there like I told you, the majority maybe are men.*

> *And then there is a man and woman then the man goes and campaigns with the men and they will vote for the guy, because the woman has no maker, no sponsor. You need a mentor, a sponsor, so this guy who became a president, he became a sponsor to this woman who he felt was ready to become secretary general. (Neema)*

In this account, Neema illustrates the form that support can take including sponsorship and campaigning for women leaders during elections processes. This requires a type of leadership action that is selfless as defined in Ubuntu, where the benefit for the organisation is the motivation rather than personal biases and stereotypes (Mangaliso, 2001; Ncube, 2010).

For women sport leaders, the stereotypes that sustain the idea that leadership is more suitable for men, facilitate a culture in which leadership is less viable for women. Stigma grounded in stereotypes functions as a form of power '… by disciplining people in ways that put people's lives on paths that make some options seem viable and others out of reach' (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 9). Having the support of peers and members in organisations contributes to challenging these stereotypes therefore enabling and expanding the choices for women to advance as women sport leaders. The practice of Ubuntu in leadership enables a reduction in power abuse as participation and relationships are valued and demonstrated through support (Malunga, 2006; Ncube, 2010). In a way, support neutralises stigma by normalising or challenging the lack of acceptance of difference (Goffman, 1963). Therefore, considering support as an expression of power relations is useful here (Collins, 2017). This means a view of women's actions towards collective behaviour that accounts for the power dynamics that the women negotiate while they work in their organisations as leaders and as women leaders within the broader sport sector.

Taking this view extends identity negotiation as a process with concerns beyond sustaining positions and group belonging in unequal conditions, to a way to challenge inequality. Goffman's (1963) concept of social change as an identity negotiation strategy can be made more visible through illustration of the actions, such as community building, that lead to social change. In so doing, the differences in social positions due to intersecting power influences are made more apparent. This can contribute to accountability for women sport leader's contribution to social change even when their actions are not labelled as bringing about social change. For example, by re-affirming their identities as professional leaders, women stay on as leaders and can be role models. Taken together with more deliberate social change actions such as policy advocacy, these contributions facilitate social change.

9.2.2 Challenges to Support and Community

Underrepresentation of Women in Sport Leadership Positions
The low numbers of women in leadership positions in sport organisations means limited opportunities and choices of networks that can be established among women. Within the Olympic and Paralympic movement for example, less than 30 % of leaders are women (Fasting, 2014; Wrynn & Smith, 2014).

This means fewer leaders are in a group that can be considered as similar or of the same leadership identity around which relationships and support can be organised. Mukula illustrates this when she said, 'even when we are at meetings, many times I am the only woman there'. The presence of women sport leaders within sport organisations is important as it contributes to availability of role models. Role models provide symbolic support for the idea that the role and identity of a sport leader is achievable for women (Hoyt & Murphy, 2016). As Chibwe said, 'I was inspired by the women who are leaders now, I said I can also do it'.

However, underrepresentation of women is reinforced by the limitation in organisational support to the few women who are leaders. Organisational support is conceptualised here as the institutional actions to enable or remove barriers to women's performance of their leadership identities and roles. In the guidelines of the Maputo Protocol on Women's Rights, Article 9 Paragraph 2 declares the commitment that 'States Parties shall ensure increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making' (African Union, 2003, p. 11). In order to do so, national sport governing institutions are responsible for ensuring the removal of barriers and the establishment of positive interventions to enable women's participation in leadership and decision making. Interventions include leadership development, mentoring, and implementation of quotas and targets (Fasting, 2014; Fasting, Sand, et al., 2014; Wrynn & Smith, 2014). However, limited organisational actions remain a challenge.

Some women sport leaders in this study reported experiencing situations where they were not supported in implementing programmes that would enhance women's leadership development. Mukula noted that:

> It's about the qualifications that are required for that particular position. We have few women that are sports administrators, few women that are rising to that challenge. Because it's not just a matter of appointing a woman into a position just because you are a woman.

For positions that are linked to job roles with government and non-governmental structures of sport, education focused on sport is required to qualify for appointment or selection, therefore women having the relevant training is important (Goslin & Kluka, 2014; Henry & Robinson, 2010).

Limited organisational resources also contributed to the challenges the women faced in formally organising to develop the capacity of women leaders and communities of women in sport (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016). For example, whereas Bukata's organisation had the resources for the workshops and mobilising women, several women reported challenges in securing resources for these kinds of

actions. As discussed in 7.2, the women identified organisations' lack of commitment to making the changes and investments in budgets and programme policies to facilitate participation of women in leadership positions as agreed in national and organisational policies.

Prejudice against Women Sport Leaders

As Goslin and Kluka (2014) and M'mbaha (2012) assert, women leaders face a lack of support in their leadership roles due to prejudice from both peers and followers. Kasuba identified a lack of support from male peers which she thought was due to gender stereotypes. Speaking about lack of support for ideas presented by women during meetings, Kasuba said:

> *Men honestly believe that a woman is a woman and there are certain things that women do and certain things that women simply do not do. And when you try to argue that there should be nothing that a woman cannot do you are challenging what they have come to know as the norm.*

However, Mubanga specifically identified a limitation in the support that she received from women. Mubanga shared an occurance that took place while she was a leader of a team management delegation to a sports event. She recalled a situation when she had meetings to attend and expected the other team members to assist with other tasks but they did not do so:

> *You tell them "when it is time to get food, get a coupon and go and get the food". They would want that … when you have finished with the meeting you go and get that food for them.*

Here Mubanga expected mutual reliance among her leadership team and so felt unsupported when they did not undertake the tasks as requested. In line with her earlier quote on being relied on and dependeble, in this case her situation showed that she could not rely on the other team members. She interpreted this as a lack of support for her leadership as a woman by saying:

> *Why were they doing that? Because they wanted the group to be saying 'she has failed, she can't do this, we don't want a woman no wonder we wanted a man' things like that. … the women were influencing the group to do things like that.*

In this instance, the values of Ubuntu which include participation and support for each other in the interest of organisation aims where not evident and Mubanga's identity was therefore challenged and her objectives risked failure.

Mubanga's particular perception was that she is unsupported due to her being a woman. This finding is contrary to the expectations that minority groups would form coalitions to cooperate to protect their shared interest (Goffman, 1963; Kanter, 1977; Lewis & Simpson, 2012). However, even though the in-group identities among the sports leaders were varied, gender based prejudice can still be

influential, as Mubanga experienced. Hoyt and Murphy (2016) argue that the triggers of stereotype threat include not only numerical dispropotionate representation but also include social inequality such as the gender culture. So despite not being the only woman on her leadership team, Mubanga experienced limited support due to what she percived as prejudice.

In situations where women sport leaders reported feeling supported, the interactions were based on mutual respect and recognition of each other as leaders. For example, Kutemwa reported her experience being part of a team of delegation leaders during an international sports event.

> *… we were even supposed to face more challenges because the whole continent just had 3-4 women out of the 54 countries that were heading their delegations. … We were hard workers. We made a team we kept each other. We also made a team with the men. Where we'd felt we can't manage, we would ask the men to stand in. Also, the men were very helpful… they were very supportive. We were just like peers there was nothing like this is a woman and this is a man…*

Kutemwa, noting the underrepresentation of women on the team, expected that there would be challenges based on prejudice against her being a woman such as the challenges Mubanga encountered. Kutemwa expected this because as Adriaanse (2016) argues, disproportionate ratios of women and men in sport organisation leadership contribute to unequal power relations. Therefore, women sport leaders would not be treated equally as the identity of leader is not congruent with their identities as women (Eagly, 2003; Kanter, 1977). However, because women have multiple identities, support that may be denied on gender lines may be accessible through recognition of role identities such as leader as in Kutemwa's experience when she says '... we were just like peers'.

Developing collectives or coalitions around issues and causes such as women's election to boards is one way that support is manifested. For women sport leaders who are negotiating identities, the strategies that are most closely related to processes of coalition forming are re-mooring and social change as they involve relationship building towards collective identities. However, the formation of coalitions happens within specific gender relations which, as discussed, is influenced by gender inequality and stereotypes. Derks et al., (2016) argue that women leaders behaviours that are interpreted as misogynistic as conceptualised in 'queen bee phenomenon' (the idea that women in higher position act against those in lower positions in order to be dominant), are not mainly a way of sustaining gender inequality but are in essence a result of the gender inequality already in existence in the organisation.

Following Shepard and Acquino (2014), Derks et al. (2016) argue that women's non-solidarity behaviours are not the problem in and of themselves. They argue that the 'queen bee phenomenon'

is not an adequate explanation of women's actions as it is a concept '… that identifies the source of gender inequality in women's own behaviour rather than in a broader social system that produces group-based structural disadvantages …' (Sherpard & Acquino, 2014, p.3). For example, Bukata presents her experience supporting women in her organisation that are her subordinates and she identifies the difficulty she encounters.

> *… I am trying very hard to come up with workshops and conferences. We used to have them at national level but now we are cascading them to provinces and districts, we want to go to our lowest … ward. But it is not easy, even when you are working with other females within even the same [organisation] you see that they have this very low self-esteem. So, it is a challenge that I must build a very strong or powerful self-esteem of the women even within my organisation*

Based on her position, she can implement workshops and conferences and form a coalition of women within her organisation. However, the problem of low self-esteem among women is a broader social-cultural issue that complicates the kind of support Bukata can provide. From Bukata's account, the type of support available may not be relevant to all women.

As Collins and Bilge (2016) affirm, differently positioned people experience inequality differently. Women sport leaders that are economically disadvantaged therefore would benefit more from support that is in form of removal of economic barriers than from other forms of support. However, the challenges related to self-esteem may not be possible to address through the approaches Bukata takes and so some women will not benefit from her interventions.

The building of community among women is intended to bring about social change within the sector. This is reflected in strategies promoting networks and cooperation such as the Brighton Declaration and initiatives within local countries (IWG, 2014). According to Goffman's (1974) concept of frames, the notion that building community among women sport leaders is desirable behaviour is assumed. Yet, as challenged by feminist insights, women are not a heterogenous group who have common interest and agreed strategies (Mohanty, 1995; Pereira, 2017). For example, there is the expectation among women in sport that women in leadership will mentor other women to faciliate their entry or progressions. However, this expectation was not mentioned within the women's narratives as an expectation that is held about men leaders, despite men constituting most leaders and therefore reflects the notion that addressing women's underrepresentation in leadership is women's responsibility (Nyabola, 2016b). Where men's support is highlighted among women leaders in this study, women express surprise that men are being supportive.

For example, Chiti found it surprising that it was mostly men who were canvassing support for her when she contested the board elections. She also recalls being pleasantly surprised that one of the men on the board was supportive through provision of orientation and guidance to the organisation systems and proceedures. This may indicate a normalisation of the gender culture within the organisatons where men are not expected by women to take up leadership behaviours that are supportive to women. Therefore when they do so, it is interpreted as support based on other identities such as leadership in group identities or presented as professional identities and not as actions that are undertaken in order to express solidarity with women sport leaders.

Lack of support was also perceived as a problem that contributes to lack of interest in women pursuing leadership, for Mubanga asserts:

> because we don't support each other, we find that the continuation of women to
> be found in leadership is not there.

Mubanga reflects on how the challenges she has encountered and the limited support can be viewed by other women:

> There are few of us who are in leadership but you find that because I might say 'no
> I am resigning'. Or maybe my term of office has finished and I have not inspired
> another woman to come and take over or maybe to feel like you know getting into
> leadership. Why? Because there is that 'I was never supported by any woman'. So
> those other women who are maybe thinking of joining leadership they are not
> seeing anything that can compel them to say we can also join.

Support from women for women is not guaranteed as '[d]ifferent manifestations of female misogyny highlight the contradictory places women take in relation to other women and raise questions about women as "natural allies" and of the notion of solidarity behaviour as an advancement strategy for women' (Mavin, 2006, p. 361). Within the women's narratives, this is exemplified by the notion that women do not always support each other. Sustained prejudice against women leaders, which translates into a lack of trust in the capacity of women leaders, affects whether they are supported or not by both women and men.

In situations where solidarity has failed, the lack of support experienced by some women contributed to the future lack of solidarity. For instance, in discussing harassment and abuse, Mubanga asserts that women who had experienced harassment and had not been supported did not feel inclined to support others as they were not supported (8.2.1). This was perceived as a situation where they felt

that since they had suffered and paid their dues, they would not do anything to protect other women. Further broader challenges such as the perceived risk of transactional sex in the process of selection processes was mentioned as a contributor to reduced respect and led to hesitation to offer support to women sport leaders (see 8.2.1). Although the challenge of harassment and abuse had provided a reason for women to build solidarity around to address the issue, the same challenge provided narratives that challenged women leaders' identities and made solidarity difficult highlighting how 'processes of female misogyny fragment notions of sisterhood and solidarity' (Mavin, 2008, p13).

9.3 Strategies of Identity Negotiation for Support and Community

9.3.1 Intensified Group Contact: Association with Supportive Others

Cooperation with Women and Men within the Organisation

The women sport leaders reported being supported in their involvement within sport as a leader and throughout their leadership experience. Starting with their decisions to take up a leadership position, women leaders presented accounts of how their colleagues had positive views. Mubanga said:

> *…I said let me try, and even … when we are talking others would say as we meet, "we want you to go and represent or take these issues to those leaders on our behalf", so I saw that people had confidence in me. So even others to come on board and encourage me and say, "just do this… we'll vote for you, we've seen that you can do it and you can help us"*

Buumba was serving in a sub-committee assisting her colleague who was the Board. The board member encouraged her to contest for a board position. This kind of moral support enabled her to consider and decide to contest the election.

> *I became attached to a committee and when they were due for elections and she said, 'Why don't you stand and that way we can work closer and it will be easier to undertake this sort of work I am doing'. And I thought,' stand? Me? I am not ready, I am not sure'.*

Buumba narrated that she was President of a Federation at the time and had thought she should focus on addressing the challenges the Federation was facing and so she was unsure about taking on a board role in an Olympic Committee. Her colleague, who was a member of the Federation but had joined the Olympic Committee helped her consider the decision and she realised she could do it. Further support came from her executive committee who nominated her to contest the Olympic Committee Board elections 'So, I was proposed by my federation and that's how I stood'.

Mubanga and Buumba highlight the importance of the support their colleagues demonstrated by encouraging them to contest the board positions. Although they had not set out to contest the elections, they gained the confidence to do so due to the encouragement of their peers and won the elections. Through the conversations, Mubanga and Buumba began to accept they could embody the proposed identity of leader and that this was an achieveable identity (Ford et al., 2008; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). Their identities as leaders were reaffirmed by the positive communications with their fellow women leaders. A confirmation of the techniques to navigate stigma by groups with discreditable identities (Goffman, 1963).

While in their board positions, support was experienced as mutual cooperation based on shared identities as leaders. Mubanga highlights the support she provides to her fellow board members and the board president by being a dependable member they can rely on:

> *There are times when meetings are called urgently by the ministry and she [the president] knows these others might doubt, but for me she knows that Mubanga will be there whether there's money or no money she'll make sure that she'll come.*

Further, she asserts that they have a mutual relationship in which they rely on each other:

> *So like that she's been connected to me … we have been like sisters, I bear her load and she can also bear my load.*

It was not only Mubanga who was being there for others. This was reciprocated and therefore she likened it to sisterhood and sharing of each others loads as part of actively participating in achieving a collective purpose (Collins, 2000; Goffman, 1963). This support was not only among women, but also included the men on the board. For example, Mubanga talked about getting advice from peers on her board and them being available as a confidant and source of guidance.

> *The vice president … I can say he's not really financially supportive now, but he would support you and give you advice, things like that. So even when I have been given an assignment, you know, maybe I don't know what to do or the next step to take, I would call him and ask him for his advice. And he is somebody that you can confide in, you can tell him something even if things are not good, he doesn't repeat it to somebody or tell it to somebody. No, he can just advise you and then it ends just like that.*

As Adriaanse and Scholfield (2013) assert that support is important to the interpersonal relations within organisations that indicate gender power distribution. Mubanga's example of mutual reliance reveals that she felt supported and therefore accepeted as a leader of peer status by both men and women on the board and within the organisations she worked with. This was particularly interesting because on her board there was a fairly even distribution of men and women. The supportive relations within the board then indicated a recognition of each other as having shared leadership identities

within the same group as opposed to demarcations between women and men (Goffman, 1963; Yoder, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 2010).

The women sport leaders also received support from men who are not within their organisations. For example, Mukula highlights her network of colleagues within her organisation and outside country. She says:

> *You know our positions are mostly held by men, when I talk about support, they are all men in different positions where I receive a lot of encouragement.*

Mukula speaks of herself as among the few women in her group of leaders, she therefore proceeds to engage and relate to her colleagues in a way that communicates that she is a peer 'in the same career of sport'. She says she goes to them for advice and support:

> *They are not many, but I can relate to them well and I can get advice and I am able to get support.*

> *I can go to them and say, 'I am working on this what is your advice? How do you think of this programme I want to do?' This is a person who maybe even lives in a different country, but we are in the same career of sport. But I can approach them and talk about my work with them and they are able to advise.*

She is reaffirming her identity as a leader through networking and communicating with her colleagues who are in various positions and countries. She not only communicates with the few women sport leaders, but she maintains her membership in the group of male leaders in similar positions. This is the work she performs to strengthen her identity as a leader and through the support she received from her peers her leadership identity is reinforced (Brown, 2015; Goffman, 1959). Intensified group contact is not always possible for women sport leaders as not all have access to networks in organisations that are dominated by men (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Ibarra et al., 2013). Mukula's job role and leadership position contributes to her confidence in her leadership identity and therefore proceeds to network with her male peers instead of potentially separating herself to pursue networks with women. She asserts that she is able to relate with her peers indicating that she is viewed and accepted as a leader and therefore supported (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016).

Aligning to Individuals and Groups outside of the Organisation

Support of people who are significant to the women's communities emerged as important to the participants in this study. This was discussed in the context of sources and types of support that the women receive related to barriers they encounter. These included family support, support from friends, non-sport sector professionals and church groups. One of the women sport leaders, Mulenga,

said her work was not easy but she felt well supported by the people who were significant to her sense of self (Ford et al., 2008). In particular, she talked about her family, workplace, and her church. Within her family, she recognised her husband and children as supportive saying:

> *I have to have support. It can be from my husband. If he was not supportive, it would not allow me to be attending meetings and participating in games I wouldn't be where I am. I have a liberal husband who allows me to participate and who is supportive as well, and my children, well, they learned to live with it. They learned to live with the absentee mother most of the time. They learned to live with it and they gave me all the support.*

In her account, Mulenga demonstrates that she was aware of the social norms of family relations that influence how women spend their time and the value placed on reproductive roles played by women such as mothers and spouses (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016; Kiamba, 2008; Nkomo & Ngambi, 2011). Having this support made it possible for her to freely undertake the responsibilities and opportunities available to her as a leader of a sport organisation even if it meant being the 'absentee mother' as she says. Usually, the distribution of roles and expectations from the family is a barrier that women leaders encounter within their particular cultures and social economic conditions (Fasting, 2014; Forster et al., 2016).

For Mulenga, this barrier was overcome by a family culture where her spouse and children adapted to her needs as a leader. Support in this case was a significant contributor to ensuring there was little conflict between her identity within her personal relational roles and her identities of a sport leader within the sport community. As a teacher, running sport was part of her job. Yet she said she had to be an activist to achieve what she did:

> *It was part of my job, but sport for learners with disabilities was not recognised in the school system. I am a disability rights activist as well, so for me it was a question of activism initially. Then I have a special interest in sport as well so that is how the two blended.*

Mulenga mentioned that her workplace, meaning the school management and the Education Ministry system, supported her work: '…they have been very supportive, my province, my district, very supportive all of them. So, I learnt to accept the support'. As an expert in special education, her role as a sport leader in the Paralympic committee was affirmed and reinforced as a part of her identity (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). Ashforth and Schinoff (2016) argue that individuals in organisations draw their sense of self from the actions and positions they take in the organisations they are a part of. For Mulenga, seeing herself as an activist for disability sport, enabled her to undertake the work of developing a sport programme within the education system of her country. This meant positioning herself as an insider to engage with the policies and organisational processes within the sector to

contribute to the changes needed to make sport for disabled children part of the institutional arrangements. Collins (2017) argues that women can inhabit multiple communities linked to their multiple identities. Mulenga illustrates how this was beneficial to achieving her leadership goals through mobilising resources and influencing programmes in both the sport and education institutions.

9.3.2 Concealing Identities: Advancing other Identities

Advancing a Professional Leader Identity

As highlighted in chapter 6, one of the ways women's legitimacy as sport leaders is questioned relates to the understanding of how they progressed into their positions. A common perception is that some women sport leaders obtain sexual favours from men to get into their positions or that they are interested in being in male dominated organisations because they are sexually promiscuous (Manyonganise, 2010b). Some participants in this study mentioned the risk of being seen as promiscuous. They therefore highlighted another identity in order to pass as not having the identity considered negative (Goffman, 1963). This approach meant not identifying with the stereotype associated with being a woman sport leader in order to navigate gaining or losing support. Mweshi said:

> *I think if you compromise yourself as a woman, your integrity goes out the window*
> *… you also affect the manner in which people perceive you so that when you do*
> *require support, that support is withdrawn*

Mweshi recognises the stereotypes that are assigned to women leaders in society and asserts that presenting identities that counter the stereotypes is a strategy that can lead to access to support. Mweshi said;

> *… it is a given that women need to work that much harder to get accepted and to*
> *get believed… if we work as women in a professional manner, you find that it is*
> *easier for us to get the support that we require including from male colleagues*

For Mweshi, support is based on the individual women sport leaders' 'unsoiled identity' (Goffman, 1963). Having multiple identities means Mweshi needs to present the appropriate side of herself, in this case her professional leadership identity (Goffman, 1959). Therefore, for her, sustaining that identity – what she refers to as a personal brand – is important. The idea of a personal brand can be understood as the constructed identity that Mweshi works to preserve and present in order to be recognised and therefore treated as the leader she is during interactions (Dutton et al., 2010).

Dutton et al. (2010) posit that positive identities contribute to building or increasing the social resources, meaning quality and diversity of relationships, that an individual has in the workplace. For women sport leaders then, as Mweshi exemplifies, consciously presenting herself as a woman who will not have sexual relations to get ahead reinforces her professional identity. This positive identity of professionalism becomes the basis on which she can confidently network and develop work relationships with colleagues who can be supportive. In situations when she needs support for her ideas and plans, Mweshi said being professional means being prepared and actively presenting her ideas to her colleagues even outside meetings in order to gain their support during formal meetings. She emphasises the aspect of her networking and relationship building with men and women being strictly professional.

As a stereotype, professionalism is often associated with male leaders (Ely & Rhode, 2010b; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016). Therefore, by actively working to present this identity, Mweshi aligns to the widely held image of a leadership identity that is not often linked to women. She reaffirms her leadership identity and aligns to the professional identity that is shared by both men and women leaders. In so doing, she shifts attention from her identity as a woman, but focuses on the kind of leader that she is.

As Goffman (1963) notes, some identities are hard to physically conceal, therefore individuals work on highlighting alternative identities in order to make the stigmatised identity less salient. Therefore, Mweshi focuses on reinforcing an identity that she has constructed through her work and interactions with her peers therefore diverting attention from her identity as a woman that is subject to prejudice.

Managing a Low Status Leader Identity

Support was recognised as actions including cooperation and advice to enable decision making or achievement of tasks by leaders. Diehl and Dzubinski (2016) note that support for women leaders in male dominated organisations face challenges when resources are not provided, including information and access to systems to undertake their work. For Chiti, she received support from her male peers on the Board in the form of orientation and guidance for her to learn the organisational processes. She says:

> *two of the guys who actually took me under their wings and taught me the ways*
> *around the IOC… I was very passionate about the women's desk, so you know for*
> *example they will sit me down and say, 'if you need this, this is how and where you*
> *can get it, how to go about it, this is what you need in place'.*

> *I've had one who's taken me under his wing to explain to me the financial process of the government if I want money, how do I go about it what are the challenges, so you learn a lot.*

However, she noted that there was gatekeeping in terms of the areas of information and actions which Chiti could pursue in her role as a new member of the board. Chiti recalled that:

> *… if it is project driven, they don't mind talking to you about it, if it has historic value then they will mind.*

She noted that this support was present because she positioned herself as not a threat to the current way the organisation operated. She noted that presenting herself as an advocate for change or as a governance specialist (her occupational role) resulted in limited cooperation:

> *I have had to be patient because everything moves at a slow pace. Also, I think the other thing is learning to accept what I can't change. You get in there with all the goodness in you to change, to make it better. There are times when things have to be as they are.*

By advancing her identity as a new leader within the leadership team who is willing to cooperate and not focus on changing and challenging her peers to change how things have been done in the past. She spoke of being patient and open to learning from her peers. In the process she learned which issues she could raise and which ones to not bring up. As discussed in chapter 6, the status of a board member is important to how they are perceived and if they will be supported or not by their colleagues. So, by aligning to her newcomer identity, she drew attention away from her expert identity that is based on her job role in the cooperate sector.

9.3.3 Social Change: Negotiating Identities to Influence Social Change

Although social change is conceptualised as an identity negotiation strategy, it is different from the other methods discussed. Firstly, it involves the individual performing other identity negotiation strategies in order to influence the perceptions of other people about the stigmatised identity. Secondly, the individual with a stigmatised identity also performs other actions to influence a change in beliefs and practices that result in the stigma (Goffman, 1963). According to Goffman (1963), one of the ways that this is achieved is through establishment of groups or communities of people with stigmatised identities, and those without the stigmatised identities, to act together to bring about change. Community here refers to the practical and identity-based belonging to a group with a common purpose (Collins, 2017). In this case, challenging stigma associated to identities or supporting stigmatised persons within their environments such as male dominated sport organisations or organisations where people with disabilities are underrepresented.

Collins (2005, 2017) argues that the concept of community should be understood as a political construct. This means a view of women's actions towards collective behaviour that accounts for the power dynamics that the women negotiate while they work in their organisations as leaders and as women leaders within the broader sport sector. The importance of community or a sense of belonging to a group within which one may draw support and act together was raised several times within the women's narratives. These groups include the boards and organisations the women sport leaders are members of, networks, and organisations outside of sport.

In order to establish community among women sport leaders, some women sport leaders have explored intensified group contact as an identity negotiation strategy with social change aims (9.3.1). For example, Bukata narrated her efforts to mobilise a community of women leaders within the sport sector. However, she encountered challenges as the women leaders she would like to engage had issues related to self-esteem that limited their capacity to engage. In this case, the differences in women's social-cultural positions made community building less straight forward than Bukata anticipated. 'Solidarity may be an admirable political goal but can have within it entrenched social hierarchies that routinely privilege and penalise designated individuals and/or sub-groups' (Collins, 2017, p.37). This raises the question of which women one can expect support from and what kind of support can come from each group of women at a time.

The women sport leaders in this study reported being active within regional and international women's networks and sport bodies including AUSC5 women's committees, WSAN, and IWG. Several women highlighted networking among women leaders. These networks include informal personal interactions in small groups of women leaders within their countries and across the regions. There were two types of networks: women who work specifically on advancing women within sport and more general networks of women who work within sport. These networks were considered important for advice and access to mutual support. Another type of network was linked to positions or status; these were networks of women and men who work within levels of the ASUC5 bodies across the region, such as the position Mukula is in.

Formal networks were more concentrated among women in sport rights advocate groups. These included internal organisational groups or committees, NGOs, and Networks. These networks provided support and were a mechanism for these women leaders to support other women in sport through resources and advocacy (Fasting, Sand, et al., 2014; Matthews, 2014). At international level, networking and support was through sports events, conferences and seminars which enable learning

and sharing. Several women highlighted learning and inspiration from other women sport leaders in the region and around the world. Mfula said

> …I have had a chance to travel quite a bit around the world on sports trips. I have been able to meet great women of the world, I have been able to network and develop friendship with great women of the world. Like the president of [sport] from Jamaica, [….] from Hong Kong, lots of other friends, you feel like you got yourself on the map in the world. That you are some little woman of substance.

Community built on solidarity along lines of identity or interests are not without their challenges as contextual needs and situational changes require flexibility (Yuval-Davis, 2011b). However, for women with multiple identities such as the women sport leaders in this thesis, 'flexible solidarity can facilitate coalitions among groups who have a shared commitment to a social ideal, e.g., freedom, social justice or democracy, or to a shared social problem, yet who take very different paths into coalition building' (Collins, 2017, p.37).

Through their narratives, the women demonstrated remooring strategies by making other identities besides their gender or disability salient; therefore, aligning to groups across different bases of solidarity. Practices of flexible solidarity included cooperation among men and women who are leaders within and outside their organisations as well as those outside the sport sector (Collins, 2017). A value of Ubuntu is collective responsibility which the women and men demonstrated by pursuing action together (Ncube, 2010; Sulamoyo, 2010). These acts of solidarity were apparent in various situations including, when women worked with men to promote themselves as candidates during leadership selection processes. The women highlighted support during decision-making when lobbying for issues as well as support from different levels of the organisatonal structures and sports bodies. The women also drew support from outside sport organisations indicating a flexibility in their understanding of sources of support and who can be in solidarity with them.

The women's narratives in this chapter revealed the influence of long-standing relationships or investments. They drew support from women they had worked with and invested in who in turn supported them. There was an underlying theme of reciprocity in the relationships where support functioned as a resource. When women supported others, they were expecting returns such as representation of issues or that the women leaders will facilitate opportunities and resources for other women. So, if the women leaders were perceived as not able to achieve that, or their motivation for leadership was a personal endeavour and not driven by the need to represent women and other group interests then support would have been withheld. For example, Anthias (2012) refers to distancing from others that is based on more than class and includes status and capital. Therefore, the women

that Bukata asserts did not vote for her and the ones who withheld their cooperation from Mubanga (9.2.2) could be argued to have been withholding their support and therefore not reflecting Ubuntu.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter, support is shown as drawn from multiple sources based on multiple identities. While it was found that women sport leaders drew support from both men and women with various communities, support among women was not always mobilised towards building a community or coalition. Support was also affected by other challenges women encounter such as prejudice, harassment and abuse, and unequal resource distribution within organisations. Belief in equality and the need for broader changes affected how each woman practiced support of other women in sport. This included actions such as mentoring, lobbying for resources, networking, and being available to advocate for women and girls' wellbeing. These actions formed an important strategy for bringing about social change.

The women sport leaders' multiple identities provided options for broadening sources of support, and at the same time complicated processes of coalition building. As Collins and Bilge (2016) assert, intersectional perspectives of issues enable a view of human experience that reveals the contradictions and complexities. In this case, the women sport leaders negotiated their identities that were privileged or challenged due to the inequality contexts of their locations. In practicing support and alliance building, various values of Ubuntu were evident such as collective responsibility, selflessness, value for relationships and the organisation interests. These values where not evident in other situations, such as when support that was expected was withheld from the women. This chapter has further contributed to widening the exploration of the theme of support among women sport leaders by linking it to identities, Ubuntu, navigating challenges to leadership, and power relations within organisations. The chapter demonstrates that support is a key factor in navigating all the challenges discussed in chapters 6, 7, and 8 that women sport leaders encounter. Therefore, being able to successfully negotiate their identities is vital to gaining and sustaining the support that women sport leaders need. In the final chapter of this thesis, I present the conclusions from the findings.

10. Concluding Discussion

10.1 Introduction

This thesis has presented the experiences of women sport leaders within the AUSC5 boards. To achieve this, the study engaged an intersectional analysis of narratives of identity negotiation in the women's accounts of encountering and addressing challenges. The meanings that women made of their experiences of negotiating various facets of their identities were thematically considered as performative impression management (Goffman, 1959; 1963). In so doing, the thesis has particularly produced a contextualised reading of how women sport leaders experience and navigate challenges rooted in multiple inequalities. These findings are valuable to expanding the understanding of how women sport leaders' experience and interpret their organisational realities.

This closing chapter is organised in three sections. In section 10.2 I outline the research questions and the conclusions drawn for the key findings according to each question. Section 10.3 is a discussion of the contribution that this research makes to literature and the implications of the findings for policy and practice. Section 10.4 is a reflection on the limitations of this research and suggestions of areas for further research identified from my research process and findings. Lastly, section 10.5 presents concluding reflections on the research process and outcomes of this thesis.

10.2 Research Questions and Key Findings

This research provides insights into the challenge of underrepresentation of women in leadership and decision making in sport within Southern Africa. This was undertaken through an intersectional analysis of women sport leaders' narratives of identity negotiation stimulated by the challenges they encounter within their organisations. The research findings indicate that for women sport leaders, identity negotiation is a constant conscious and unconscious action aimed at surviving the situation, overcoming the challenge, and in some cases creating long term change. This section presents the research questions, summarises the major findings and presents the conclusions respectively.

10.2.1 Challenges Encountered by Women Sport Leaders

The first question in my study asked, 'what are the barriers encountered by women sport leaders on boards of sport organisations of the AUSC5?'. This question sought to generate insights to comprehend the particular manifestations of inequalities that the women sport leaders encountered in their work as leaders. The four major challenges that women sport leaders faced –

microaggressions, resource constraints, harassment and abuse, and limited alliances and community – confirm the operation of interlocking power structures of inequality (Collins, 2000). Each are now summarised.

Microaggressions: The interpersonal domain of power includes the patterns of interaction that occur between individuals and groups, one of them being gender informed roles and practices. Women sport leaders experienced these in the form of micro-aggressions. Collectively the microaggressions worked to sustain the gender inequality hierarchy and maintain women's inferior positions at various levels based on their multiple identities. This study concluded that although there were significant macro-level challenges that were more apparent at institutional level, the micro-level phenomena were significant too. The implications are that organisations were more prepared and focused on monitoring for larger challenges through programmes and policies such as quotas to address numerical discrepancies but limited actions to monitor and address microaggressions.

*Resource constraints***:** As discussed in section 3.3.2, structural domains of inequality such as economic systems shape inequalities through legal, political, and policy frames (Collins, 2000). In chapter seven, this research demonstrates that within the AUSC5 structural inequality is perpetuated and enhanced by neoliberal policies and practices that are embedded in the volunteer culture within the sport sector. The findings reveal that although the culture of volunteerism in sport is one of the positive values that facilitates participation of a diversity of people. Through an intersectional analysis, it emerged that existing economic inequalities are sustained through narratives and policies of volunteerism. These findings therefore, raise the need to reconsider leadership theory and practice that focuses on leadership styles or confidence as main factors that inhibit women's engagement in leadership roles. The contextual understating of the written and lived organisational arrangements of sport organisations become increasingly important. The implications for this are discussed in 10.3.2.

Harassment and Abuse: Experiences of harassment and abuse were mainly focused on encounters of disproportionate leadership responsibility for safeguarding organisation members and limited organisational capacity to prevent and respond. A persistent theme in the data is that the women sport leaders were continually aware of the vulnerability of athletes and the inadequate implementation of policies within the organisations. Although the problem was important, it emerged that taking action on it as women sport leaders was risky as there was occurrences of backlash and lack of cooperation. In this context the women sport leaders navigated being perceived as problematic for drawing attention to negative issues within their organisations. Since women as a group are

statistically also at risk of harassment, playing the role of the duty bearer to care for athletes and others in the organisation that are vulnerable, was complex. These findings suggest that women sport leaders take on a double duty, one of the work of the leadership role, and the other of representing their group interests (Goffman, 1963; Kanter, 1977).

Support and Community: I further found that cooperative behaviour was however not uniform as there were differences in who and when supportive actions are taken and the meanings assigned to them based on the situation of each woman sport leader and their social location (Collins, 2000; Collins, 2017). Although narratives of collectivist actions and ideas that align to Ubuntu were recorded, it was also evident that Ubuntu's influence on how women present was co-influenced by neoliberal culture. Based on the finding on women's experiences of challenges building and sustaining a sense of community and support, this study concludes that there is significant influence of neoliberal principles. This study further concludes that the effects of neoliberal influences were not only economic but also discursive in that they affect the conceptualisation of leadership and individual responsibility. These multiple influences mean there are a diversity of ways that women sport leaders construct their identities and how they justify or interpret their actions. Leadership literature can benefit from these findings by drawing on what may be contradictions in narratives of experiences.

Although outlined as discreet themes here, these challenges are mutually influencing and the women's multiple identities were fundamental to their experiences of relations including gender, race, disability, and class. In the next section, I present the conclusions on the identity negotiation strategies related to the above challenges.

10.2.2 Identity Negotiation Strategies

The second question that guided this research was 'How do women sport leaders on boards of sport organisations in the AUSC5 negotiate their identities?'. The findings revealed that there are four main dramaturgical strategies that the women engaged to establish, sustain, or reposition their identities (Goffman, 1959; 1963). The strategies were applied in view of the particular challenges they encountered or anticipated as part of their organisational contexts as discussed in 10.2.1. The identity negotiation strategies that were most prominent in this study are; (i) rejecting stereotypes, (ii) identity affirmation, (iii) intensified group contact, and (iv) creating social change (Goffman 1963).

Rejecting Stereotypes: Rejecting stereotypes as a strategy includes actions to construct a positive identity based on the stigmatised identity (Goffman, 1963). Women sport leaders in this study did so by affirming aspects of their identities that they or their audiences considered valuable, such as the

moral motivations of their identities and their identities as ethical leaders or as mothers (8.3.1, 8.3.2 and 7.3.2).

Affirming Identities: The strategy of identity affirmation includes strengthening of identities to enhance their salience in an interaction or relationship. This study concludes that women sport leaders engage in identity affirmation through processes of adjusting their status as leaders relative to their peers. This process requires presenting oneself as a leader of equal status to the valued identity. For example, the women sport leaders that did this (6.3.1 and 9.3.2) reinforced their status by moving into leadership positions that are higher and whose identity is so strong it enables the stigmatised identity to be less salient.

The women in some cases used more than one identity negotiation strategy in response to a particular identity challenge. Therefore, strategies are sometimes inseparable. For example, the women sport leaders re-affirmed the identities that are stigmatised in order to reject stereotypes. The thesis concludes that, although these can be perceived as two separate strategies, in application, they are employed simultaneously.

Intensified Group Contact: Women sport leaders in this thesis pursued cooperation and interaction with others of the same identity groups as a way to intensify group contact. This strategy was evident through the association of some women sport leaders with their peers with whom they had shared values (9.3.1), and with their fellow women through networks and cooperation towards creating change (9.3.3). The study concludes that intensified group contact as a strategy is applied in various contexts. However, the forms of groups with which women intensified their contact was variable based on the intended identity salience. For example, women who were keen on social change intensified their association with other women in order to build community for collective action. Women sport leaders also selected to intensify group contact based on what identity they want to affirm or reject. Intensification of group contact was therefore a method of consolidating other strategies. One of the strategies that is strengthened by intensified group contact is identity affirmation, in which enhanced group contact strengthens association of individual identity with the group identity.

Social Change: This strategy involved working to remove the cause of the stigma (Goffman, 1963). Women sport leaders employed this strategy in form of consciousness raising, advocacy for policies and resources, and by being visibly present as role models. This study concluded that this strategy was

limited to women sport leaders who had the deliberate motivation to identify as creators of change or as activists. The identity of activist was considered laden with negative connotations. However, women sport leaders consider themselves responsible for and motivated to change the culture within sport organisations and broader society.

In addition, this strategy was not always intentionally used. In using other strategies such as affirming their identities (8.3.1), this strategy was consequently applied. Based on this, the thesis concludes that in the same way that identity salience can shift between multiple identities, it is also possible to have a difference in salience between the various identity negotiation strategies.

Another conclusion from the study regards the relationship between the various identity negotiation strategies. The study confirms that identity negotiation strategies are not always independent of each other. For example, identity affirmation can be used as a primary strategy independent of other strategies and also as a part of the strategy of social change. Social change as a strategy can therefore be considered as overarching and as a larger action. To illustrate this, social change as a strategy can be conceptualised as a set of gears comprised of a large wheel that can move on its own as well as by the movement of the smaller wheel of identity affirmation. Therefore, social change operates as a broader strategy that is propelled by, or draws from, the other strategies. It is this relationship that makes the shifts in salience possible as they are differentiated by factors including actors' motivation and the time frame of the interactions.

10.2.3 How Identity Negotiation Relates to Navigating Challenges

Having answered research questions one and two, it was possible to then answer the third research question: 'how does the identity negotiation of women sport leaders on boards of sport organisations of the AUSC5 relate to their navigation of barriers?'. A primary finding of this thesis was that firstly, the challenges encountered by women sports leaders, as found in 10.2.1, are dependent on the women's identities. The challenges that are encountered emerge in response to women's identities or as a way to structure women's identities towards sustaining inequality structures such as gender (Collins, 2000). Therefore, how women navigate the challenges is dependent on what identities are available to them and if these are valuable or discredited.

A major factor in how challenges are navigated are the contextual influences that shape women's identities. These are both structural, such as economic and political conditions, and relational including the roles and positions that women play in their organisations. Approaches to navigating

challenges suggest indication of where power lies, since as Goffman argues, performers are actors and audience to the people they are interacting with. By refusing to acknowledge women sports leaders identities as leaders, the audience are exercising power to refuse to give affirmation. This raises questions of how power is distributed in groups. It further raises questions of who has power to refuse to affirm someone else's identity. The operation of gender inequality means men's leadership is presented as a normalised and default identity that has no need of affirmation. In contrast, women's identity is in and of itself discreditable (Goffman, 1963). Women in this case occupy a role that is undervalued and identity negotiation serves the purpose of shifting what role the person plays. When gender is considered a totalising institution with particular rules of interaction, identity negotiation shows how boundaries can be stretched and room for deviance from stereotypical stances created.

Through social change as an identity negotiation strategy, the challenges can be dismantled. In this way, identity negotiation becomes an expression of agency for the actor to address an issue. Since there are multiple strategies of identity negotiation, women sport leaders who are capable of engaging the appropriate negotiation skills can navigate more challenges as they can be considered agile or resilient. Identity negotiation therefore is an expression of ability to interpret a challenge and respond with the appropriate strategy. As shown in the findings, multiple identity negotiation strategies can be employed to navigate a challenge. Therefore, strategies are not limited to particular challenges.

The approaches that the women use are, in many cases, developed individually through experience within sport leadership and from other spheres of their lives including mothering and professional occupations. This challenges the practice of sport organisations who prioritise individuals that have a history of sport leadership for some positions, when women as in this study, develop skills in other ways too. The understanding of leadership as identity performance can shift the questions from what leaders can do to who leaders are or can be.

Additionally, from these findings, it can be concluded that there is significant need for support of women leaders who are pursuing activist aims. This includes enabling their access to information and feminist analysis of their organisations and sector through research and documentation or dialogue. The women leaders whose practices and understanding are informed by feminist knowledge and motivations have the confidence and resources to strategically work to influence change in their organisations.

The findings of this study are generally compatible with literature that argues that stereotype threat undermines women's leadership and may trigger potential deleterious effects (Hoyt & Murphy, 2016 p.29). This study takes the line of inquiry further by showing how identities that are stigmatised are negotiated to mitigate and respond to stereotype threat. Further, these findings are broadly in harmony with Kang and Badenhausen (2015) to the extent that women sport leaders are able to engage stereotyped identities to overcome challenges. For example, the stereotype of 'women leaders care' is used to reinforce mothering identities in order to overcome challenges in selection for a leadership position (chapter 8). Taken together, these findings point to the variety of ways inequality is experienced and navigated at individual level.

10.3 Contributions and Implications of the Study

10.3.1 Theoretical Contribution

This thesis draws on theoretical frameworks of interactionism, intersectionality, and the sensitising concept of Ubuntu. In particular, the research is informed by the interactionist concept of dramaturgy (Goffman, 1959, 1963). This framework was selected due to the micro-level focus of the study which facilitated a revelation of the meanings that women sport leaders make of their experiences. Although criticisms against Goffman's approaches highlight his work's limited considerations of gender, especially women's experiences (West, 1996), there are several redeeming aspects of his work that has made it relevant to this research.

Primarily, Goffman's work facilitates a micro-level examination of multiple identities including gender (Pike, 2012). Goffman's (1959; 1977) perspective of identities as performed and dynamic enables an application of his work within feminist intersectionality. Therefore, I have incorporated a feminist intersectional theory that accounts for women's multiple identities and a vulnerability to the effects of simultaneous co-influencing oppressions (Collins, 2000; Collins & Bilge, 2016). This is an approach that enables more detailed attention to gender and the social location of the women sport leaders (Birrell & Donnelly, 2004; Pike, 2012).

Another criticism that Goffman faced is that he was considered conservative as his work does not deliberately focus on the macro-level processes (Birrell & Donnelly, 2004). So, although his approach can facilitate for example the understanding of the rules of deference in interactions such as between people of varying classes, races, or imperial relationships, it does not account for the macro-influences that inform these rules and therefore it can be difficult to extrapolate how social change can occur.

This can be considered a feature of the approach aligned to symbolic interactionism that uses the micro to gain insight into the macro. Therefore, to account for the macro aspects, this thesis includes feminist intersectionality theory and Ubuntu to orient the framework towards the realities of women sport leaders in the AUSC5.

This section outlines the theoretical contributions of this thesis to knowledge on navigating the challenges raised by inequalities and how women encounter them in context of sport organisational leadership. Firstly, this study makes a contribution to the literature on leadership and organisation by unsettling the concept of volunteerism in sport leadership as a given good. It was found that macro-economic policies contributed to inequality and were reflected in the possibilities and choices that were available to women to participate in sport organisations as leaders. The study shows the linkage between the macro-level narratives of neoliberal market independence and micro-level narratives of personal independence and motivation to participate in sport organisations at one's personal cost. These findings draw attention to how the principles of Ubuntu, leadership, and volunteerism are appropriated to align to neoliberal aims and therefore contributing to sustaining inequality instead of challenging it. This provides a contradiction to leadership theory that asserts that increasing the number of women in organisation leadership in and of itself can results in positive outcomes.

With regards to the existing literature on retention of women in leadership, the findings of this study take forward theoretical conversations related to women in leadership remaining within their positions. The study contributes by showing the identity work women sport leaders perform at personal level to make that possible. The research further deepens the understanding we have of the conditions that women sport leaders work in and how navigating these is contingent on individual and group social positions. As discussed earlier, this has implications for who can take up and stay in a leadership position.

This thesis also contributes to the literature on Ubuntu as a concept that expands theoretical and methodological approaches to understanding experiences within Africa (Kuada, 2010; Nkube, 2010). The application of Ubuntu in this study demonstrates how theoretical approaches that are developed in other contexts can be sensitised to strengthen applicability.

The findings on microaggressions contributes to the body of knowledge on harassment and abuse and adds to literature on challenges of stereotypes that women sport leaders face. This thesis makes an original contribution by presenting a different perspective. My findings show a need for accounting for the steps that organisations take to develop a culture in which microaggressions are monitored

and dealt with as seriously as the more visible and apparent challenges such as harassment and abuse. Through a micro-level analysis, this research contributes to showing the work that women are doing to navigate daily aggressions, work which in many cases can go unnoticed and yet contributes to an environment that is not supportive (Nadal et al., 2016).

Lastly, Black feminist theorising is grounded in the experiences of women, their perspectives and the meanings they make of their situations (Collins, 2000; Fraser, 2013). This research contributes to feminist knowledge building by presenting findings that provide a continuation in feminist theorising on how women within the AUSC5 experience, survive, and challenge inequality. This research has demonstrated that an intersectional analysis is valuable to the exploration of the meanings the women sport leaders make of their experiences and how they account for their actions. Therefore, the findings enable an interpretation that provides additional insights for how we understand women's experiences of inequality.

10.3.2 Implications for Policy and Practice

One of the primary motivations of undertaking this research was to contribute to practical changes in policy and practice within the sport sector in order to increasingly contribute to free and decent engagement of women in organisation leadership. Drawing on the findings of this research, I now present four key recommendations for policy makers and practitioners.

First, leaders play a significant role in governance and policy implementation. This thesis contributes to understanding women sport leaders' experiences of the issues they address such as harassment and abuse, corruption, and gender inequality. As women and as sport leaders, they are affected by these issues yet they are accountable for addressing them within their organisations. The data reveals that this insider-outsider position the women occupy indicates identity negotiation as they navigate this challenge and support others in the organisation to do the same. Therefore, developing organisation strategies, leadership development, and policies to address harassment and abuse must meaningfully engage women as both knowledgeable actors against and subjects of abuse.

Second, this study further contributes to a contextual understanding of leadership in sport NGOs and government bodies that are subject to regional policies and legislation. This study brings the experiences of women in sport in conversation with the literature on women in leadership in other types of organisations and spheres within the region. This is significant since sport leaders are drawn from multiple sectors. Future research can take forward the discussion on how feminist approaches

to leadership development or empowerment interacts with neoliberal capitalism as an exploitative policy and culture system.

Third, this study contributes to the understanding that oppressive and exploitative systems have varying impacts on women due to their differences in social positions. Through an intersectional approach to analysing contexts and experiences organisations, movements, and individuals advancing women in sport leadership can reflect and review their approaches to ensure they are meeting the needs of the women based on their multiple identities and realities. For example, mentoring and leadership development courses are recommended in literature, industry policies and community developed programmes as a method to support leaders. This research contributes to advancing the content of mentoring, coaching, and training of leaders. Thus, in developing programmes to support leadership capacity, practitioners may consider including topics on personal and social identities, leveraging positive and strong identities to overcome challenges that are encountered due to marginalisation.

The challenges women sport leaders experience are filtered through interpersonal relations as well as interactions between the individual and the organisation. However, the findings of this research enable the conclusion that sport organisations, as institutions where men are over represented, while investing in policies to change numeric representation, have not invested in addressing power imbalances. This therefore sustains the organisation cultures that facilitate the challenges women face. The challenges that this study found as prominently impacting women are not new, meaning there is a need for policies and programmes that are informed by the experiences of the people they are meant to serve.

Finally, sport organisations as elaborated in this thesis are interlinked to other organisations and policies, and so resolving the challenges within the sport sector requires an inter-sectoral approach. This research has contributed by showing how the broader policies such as neoliberal economic policies influence the personal experiences of women leaders within sport organisations. The findings in this research suggest that policy making processes targeted at addressing underrepresentation of women leaders in sport must take into account influences and linkages to policies beyond the sport sector.

10.4. Limitations and Future Directions

The micro-level focus of this research enabled critical insights into how women experience their environments and the interpersonal relations within their organisations. In so doing, the research draws attention to the need for further inquiry that is even more specific such as within national sport associations. Regarding the context of this research, this study focused on only four countries within the AUSC5, all of which are predominantly English-speaking and based on the mainland.

Future research could inquire into the experiences of women sport leaders in countries that are not Anglophone such as Angola and Mozambique and those that are geographically different, such as island states of Madagascar and Seychelles that are part of the AUSC5. Therefore, although the study explores the experiences within the AUSC5, the members states are diverse, and the findings presented in this thesis may not resonate with the women in the different context despite being within the same region.

Identity negotiation as a strategy for navigating challenges can benefit from further research focusing on the strategy of social change as an approach to addressing challenges. This is particularly important as social change as a method of identity negotiation seeks to address the issues that challenge identities. This direction of research can be generative in exploring the skills, networks, and resources that enable women sport leaders to contribute to particular forms of social change.

One of the key observations from my research is that several women sport leaders have stayed and risen through the hierarchy within their organisations despite the challenges they face. Future research into women sport leaders' experiences might usefully focus in particular on theorising notions of and approaches to developing resilience.

Methodologically, future research can use an action research approach. Action research uses the approach of incorporating both a study and practical action to contribute to change and knowledge development to inquire into the area of social change (Somekh, 2005). By engaging women sport leaders as social change actors and exploring the interventions that they use, research can be closer integrated with practice and enable identification of themes that are perhaps not very apparent in other forms of research.

10.5 Concluding remarks

The intentions of this study were to contribute to knowledge on inequalities and how women experience working in contexts of underrepresentation such as sport leadership. This research process has provided experiences that have led to my growth as a researcher. I have expanded and deepened my understanding of the collective nature of feminist informed research; that it means engaging with participants and with literatures across time and geographies. The same way that oppressive systems operate across time and geographies, I have learned that feminist informed research is necessary and yet not a straight forward or complete endeavour. A key learning is to be comfortable with the incompleteness and unanswered questions as pathways to potential future research.

I believe that undertaking this research has expanded my capacity to contribute to activism for women and girls' rights in sport. Through my networks, I have been able to participate in and contribute to discussions in workshops, conferences, training, and planning on the subject of women, leadership, and sport. In my work with women's rights organisations, I have increasingly begun to question the structure of interventions in view of the diversity and difference in the realities and experiences of the groups we serve or represent. I am further reflective of my own identity negotiation as a researcher and as a worker within the sport and development fields. As a non-sport person, developing a research identity linked to a sport area has strengthened my sports identity and consolidated my place in the sector. In the process of this research, I realise that I share with the women sport leaders a similarity in being among the few women within the sport sector in the AUSC5.

Finally, the women in this study urged me to complete this thesis and to share it with them as they see this work as part of our collective effort in addressing inequality in the sport sector. I therefore intend to share the results of this research with them, with advocacy groups within women and sport movements, and broader women's rights movements through presentations and discussion papers. In addition, I plan to publish policy briefs to inform sport sector policy actors' understanding and interventions. The women in this study have reinforced to me the confidence that as a scholar, I am making my modest contribution to standing up with women sport leaders in surviving, challenging, and changing the condition of inequality in sport leadership. 'And who will join this standing up … we are the ones we have been waiting for' (Jordan, 2005, p. 279).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form

Consent Form for Lombe Mwambwa

Lombe Mwambwa
Sport Development and Management
University of Chichester

Lmwambw1@stu.chi.ac.uk
+441243816361

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY AND ANSWER ALL STATEMENTS

Study title: Experiences of Women Sport Leaders within the African Union Sports Council Region 5

1) I have read and understand the information sheet *(Version 1, 8th December 2016)* for this research project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	Yes	No
2) I understand that my participation in the activity is voluntary and that I am therefore free to withdraw my involvement without giving a reason.	Yes	No
3) I am aware of the timescales in which I can withdraw my participation (as indicated on the Information Sheet)	Yes	No
4) I understand that not all information will be anonymised	Yes	No
5) I understand that my personal information will not be released to any third parties.	Yes	No
6) I agree to participate in this research.	Yes	No

Your name (please print)...................................

Your signature...................................

Date...................................

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

Researcher's signature...................................

Date...................................

Thank you for your time

One copy for the researcher and a copy for the participant

Research Ethics Policy approved by Academic Board 18 June 2014; Research Ethics Committee 1 July 2014

Version 1| 8th December 2016

Appendix 2: Information Sheet

Information Sheet for Lombe Mwambwa

Lombe Mwambwa
Sport Development and Management
University of Chichester

Lmwambw1@stu.chi.ac.uk
+441243816361

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY

Study title: Experiences of Women Sport Leaders within the African Union Sports Council Region 5

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study on the 'Experiences of Women Sport Leaders within the African Union Sports Council Region 5' which I am doing as part of my doctoral studies.

Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the research and how will the research be carried out?
The research is aimed at understanding the experiences of women sport leaders within the African Union Sports Council Region 5 (AUSC5). Participants of this research are women leaders currently serving on boards and executive committees of sport organisations and structures within the AUSC5.

Why have you been selected?
You have been selected because you are a woman currently serving in a high-level sport leadership position such as a board or executive committee at national, regional, or international level. This research includes women from Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

What will you be asked to do?
You will be asked to participate in one or two interviews on the phone, video calls on skype, or interviews in person. Interviews will be between 1 hour and 1.5 hours. The interviews will take place between January 2017 and September 2017. During these interviews you will be asked questions about yourself, and about your work as a leader in sport.

How will the interview be documented?
The interview will be recorded on a digital recorder. Afterwards, it will be typed up.

Will my identity be hidden?
The researcher cannot guarantee that your identity will be hidden in this research. There are very few women sport leaders in your position within the region so it is not practical to hide your identity. You have the opportunity to request that some parts of the interview you give be published without being linked to your identity if you think the information is sensitive.

What if there are some things you want to say but do not want your name mentioned?
Any parts of the text that you have shared that you wish to be published without identifying them as yours will be anonymised. The transcript will be emailed to you. If you find inaccuracies, please respond with corrections within two weeks of receipt.

What are the anticipated benefits of participating in the research?
Through this research you will have an opportunity to share your experiences and discuss related topics with the researcher. Your views may contribute to encouraging more women into leadership of sport organisations and also contribute to the work of others in the academic community as well as policy makers through the AUSC5. Further, you will have the option to receive information on the study results, and the work of the University on women and sport leadership.

Are there any risks associated with participating in the research?
You may find it distressing to recall or talk about some experiences that you may have had. If that occurs, you will have the option of taking a break; rescheduling the interview, or withdrawing your participation.

Do you have to take part?
Participation in this research is voluntary.

Who can you contact if you have any questions about the project?
If you have any questions or concerns please contact me on LMWAMBW1@STU.CHI.AC.UK or +441243816361

What happens if you change your mind and want to withdraw?
If you no longer wish to or are no longer able to participate, kindly let me know as soon as possible. You will not be able to withdraw from participation after 30th June 2017.

What will happen to the information collected as part of the study?
The information that will be gathered from this study will be written up into a PhD thesis and will potentially be published through conferences and academic papers. Both the digital recording and the typed transcript will be stored on a password protected drive according to the University of Chichester data protection policies. The recording and the transcript will not be shared outside of the agreed context of this research. The information will be kept for a period of three (3) years in the University of Chichester servers and on back up storage devices with password protection.

Who can you contact if you have a complaint about the project?
If you have any concerns or complaints about this research project, please contact my supervisor Dr. Elizabeth Pike Email: e.pike@chi.ac.uk Phone: +44 1243 816356

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

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Thank you for your time

</div>

Appendix 3: Interview Questions

Research Aim: To understand the experiences of women sport leaders in the AUSC5

Overall Question: How do women sport leaders negotiate their identities and navigate leadership barriers?

Personal Information

Full Name:

Position in Organisation:

Family and Marital Status:

Education Background:

Religious/Faith Background:

Ethnicity:

Interview Questions		Purpose of Question
About the leaders' position and how she leads		
1.	Please tell me about your role as [position in organisation]?	Introductory question, to ease participant into discussion To understand how they view their position in relation to others/org, who they lead/lead with To confirm type of position e.g. paid/voluntary
2.	How did you come to be [position]? - What other positions do you hold as part of your role?	I want to understand their mandate, any issues of authority, and security of tenure. Policies on quotas? Their experiences of their leadership selection process (for most their primary position affects other positions). How they present their leadership identity, membership or connections to other groups that informs identities
3.	How would you describe the way you lead? - How have you come to lead in this way? - How is this different from the way men in your position lead?	To discuss leadership styles, leadership attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs. Identify barriers and influences e.g. Personal history e.g education, other occupation etc
4.	What aspects of your life outside this role influence your leadership?	To reveal what identities women see as important/related to their leadership. May discuss

	- Are these influences particular to you being a woman? - Are they specific to this position? -In what ways are you a different person as a leader from the way you are in other situations?	family, other occupations, and religion. These influences could also be related to the barriers they face.
5.	What values are important to you personally that you bring to your leadership? -Are these shared with other leaders?	To discuss influences on leadership styles, leadership attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs. Values may be drawn from religion, culture, education, etc
	About the leaders' experience of disproportionate representation	
6.	Please tell me about your experience being one of the few women in your position in the organisation? - Are you conscious about there being few women? - How do you deal with this? - What are some things you do as a leader because of this?	To understand how the leader perceives their leadership status. To lead into discussion on stereotypes. How they present their leadership identity, Membership/connections to other groups that informs identities. Experiences of organizational policies, contexts.
7.	How do others react to your leadership as a woman? - How does this affect you? - Are there ways you being a woman + [other identity] affects this?	
8.	What do you think about the value and respect given to you as a woman leader in relation to men leaders? - Please give an example - How is this affected by your [other identities- class/age/race/marital status]?	
	About the barriers and how they are dealt with	
9.	Can you tell me about some negative experiences you've had as a woman leader in this position?	To look into the barriers that women leaders face eg discrimination, exclusion, tokenism. Issues related to both personal & leadership identities. Do the women

	-Are there any personal circumstances that affected this experience? - Who else encounters these challenges?	interpret these as particular to some of their identities – race, age, religion, motherhood, disability, leadership?
10.	Please describe how you deal with the challenge of [….]? - What strategies work for you? - What strategies have not worked? - How does [value/belief in Q4&5] affect how you deal with challenges?	To reveal what identities relate to leadership challenges and dealing with barriers. E.g personal changes or changes in approach to situation.
11.	How does being [other identity] affect how you understand and deal with leadership barriers as a woman? - Are there any conflicts or benefits due to this?	To reveal what identities relate to leadership challenges and dealing with barriers. E.g. race, age, religion, motherhood, disability etc
12.	Who are the people within the organisations and outside of it that affect your leadership? - Positive influences - Negative influences	To see the women leaders' relationships inside and outside the organisation that relate to identity negotiation and presenting/dealing with barriers. E.g. Peers, followers, role models, family etc.
13.	Please describe a positive leadership experience you have had in your position? -In what way did you think it was related to you being a woman/other identity?	To look into the success/barriers that women leaders have, related to both personal & leadership identities. Do the women interpret these as particular to their identities?
	Perception of self and own leadership	
14.	In what ways are the experiences you have had as [position + organisation] different from your experiences as [position + organisation]?	To discuss experiences that women who hold multiple positions have. [e.g. National + Regional] what identities they engage with and barriers they face.
15.	What do you consider successful leadership? - To what extent do you see yourself as successful	To reveal what leadership identities women leaders aspire for and what barriers exist.
16.	In what ways do you work towards achieving your idea of successful	To look at women's behaviours and beliefs that relate to identity negotiation and how they deal with

	leadership? - What challenges do you face? - What contributes to achieving success?	barriers. Do they deal with barriers by only navigating or also changing the situation?
17.	How has your leadership approach changed from when you first got into this position to now?	To reveal any changes in interpretation of barriers and what identities are negotiated.
18.	How has being a leader in this position influenced your view of yourself? - Any examples of a situation that led to/shows this? - Does this affect how you lead now?	To look into the barriers that women leaders face e.g. discrimination, exclusion, tokenism. Issues related to both personal and leadership identities
19.	What do you think needs to happen to improve your situation and for other women leaders?	I would like to know what women leaders see as the solutions to the barriers they face. Issues related to both personal and leadership identities.
20.	Is there anything more you would like to talk about? Do you have any questions for me?	To give an opportunity to cover any issues they consider important. To close the interview and give chance to discuss any other issues.

Appendix 4: Research Participants

	Participant (Pseudonym)	Age Range	Occupation/Area of Work	Years in Sport Leadership
1	Bukata	50s	Sport Development and Management, Education	22
2	Bumba	50s	Public Administration and Business Management	25
3	Bwaca	60s	Special Needs Education	9
4	Chembe	40s	Administration and Business	4
5	Chibwe	30s	Library and Information Management	4
6	Chishimba	60s	Accounts and Business Management	22
7	Chiti	50s	Law and International Finance	8
8	Kasuba	50s	Public Administration and Business Management	8
9	Kunda	50s	Business Administration	16
10	Kutemwa	30s	Sport Development and Management	8
11	Mapalo	40s	Public Administration and Disability Rights Advocacy	10
12	Mapoma	70s	Finance and Business Management	30
13	Mfula	60s	Special Needs Education	18
14	Mubanga	40s	Education and Trade Union Activism	4
15	Mukula	40s	Sport Development and Management	11
16	Mulenga	50s	Special Needs Education	8
17	Mwela	40s	Education and Sports Administration	5
18	Mweshi	50s	Administration, Marketing and Public Relations	8
19	Neema	60s	Accounts and Business Management	30
20	Nsansa	50s	Business Administration	4
21	Yangeni	40s	Education and Sport Management	8
22	Yasheni	40s	Medicine, Public Administration	5

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