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## A Strategy to Promote Gender Equality

# The Number and Status of Women in Leadership and Decision-making Positions in Finnish Sport

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## Abstract

In Finland, gender equality has been promoted through several sport policy initiatives, taking into account issues of multiple discrimination and social segregation and, lately, also non-binary gender identity implications. In this study, we report on the development of the legal basis and policies of gender equality promotion in Finnish sport since the 1990s. The emphasis is on documentation of the proportion of women in leadership and decision-making roles in national governing bodies of sport and the recommendations as well as policies and actions to even out disparities. The policies and actions include recommendations, government programmes, gender impact assessments, introduction of quotas and the requirement for gender equality policies to apply for funding. Policy changes, turning points and key events are also identified by interviewing persons who have been in leadership positions during the previous two decades. We found that the number of women in leadership positions has increased slightly. The institutions acting as policy drivers have been in the minority, which has weakened the agenda setting when considering macro policy and outcomes. Overall, as a policy process, gender equality promotion has been more in the development phase than it has been applied in practice.

### Introduction

In Finland, there are around 10,000 sports clubs, and 69% of the population (total of 5.5 million) claim to participate in sport at least once a week (European Commission 2018). The characteristics of the Nordic sport model typically include sports organisations based on volunteerism and democratic decision-making structures inside the sport movement. The sport system is different in Finland than it is in other Nordic countries, because the state has a strong role as a coordinator, especially through funding. The Ministry of Education and Culture (OKM) is responsible for administering the distribution of state subsidies to sports organisations such as national governing bodies of sport (NGBs), not a central sport organisation like it is, for example, in Norway. The role of sports organisations is to implement the sport policy. Because the system is not clearly controlled by either the state or the sport movement, the Finnish system is regarded as a mixed model consisting of these two key governing entities (Henry 2009; Lehtonen and Mäkinen 2020).

While the sense of gender equality has deep roots in Finnish society, similarly to other North European countries, several sport policy initiatives around gender equality have been promoted, especially since the 1990s. One of these foci has been the proportion of women in leadership and decision-making positions. Both state and sport organisations have initiated several projects and strategic plans around the issue, aiming to increase the number of women in sport leadership positions. For example, Finland has been an active collaborator in the International Working Group (IWG) on Women & Sport, which was convened as an international conference organised in Helsinki in 2014. Due to this conference, the Brighton Declaration was updated by the IWG to become the Brighton plus Helsinki Declaration. According to the IWG Treaty (2021, p. 3), the aim was "to develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport and physical activity."

In this chapter, we consider how the promotion of gender equality in Finnish sport policy has been actualised since the 1990s through the framework of policy process analysis. The emphasis is on the documentation of the proportion of women in leadership and decision-making roles in NGBs, which are traditionally the most male-dominant sport organisations in Finland (Särkivuori et al. 2020;

Turpeinen and Hakamäki 2018). We analyse this progress by using numerical data, key informant interviews and policy documents. The policies and actions include recommendations, government programmes, gender impact assessments, the introduction of quotas and meeting requirements of gender equality policies to receive public funding. The chapter is structured as follows: after introducing some of the main concepts of policy process analysis – including focusing events, agenda setting and turning points – the methods section will detail data sets and analysis. The focus then turns to the results where statistical analysis is presented first, followed by interview analyses related to policy documents. The discussion section offers interpretations with future remarks on promoting gender equality in Finnish sport policy.

# Framework for analysing gender equality promotion in the sport policy process

According to Sabatier (<u>1991</u>), those processes and practices in which governmental policies are formulated and implemented as well as the effects of those actions require an understanding of the behaviour of major governmental institutions. These behavioural dimensions include legislatures, courts and administrative agencies as well as the behaviour of interest groups such as public opinion, media and third sector organisations. Attention may be paid, for example, to those influences and agents of change that are the most prominent when looking at the policy process and its changes. From this point of view, key aspects to consider are the turning points during the policy process and the agenda-setting.

Turning points are also called focusing events, or, as per Atkinson (2019, p. 1), "triggering events." Conceptually, a focusing event is a large-scale event and can be defined, for example, as a large environmental disaster (Birkland <u>1998</u>) as well as by the presence or absence of "policy entrepreneurs" both within and outside of governments or institutionalised events, such as periodic elections. Regarding agenda-setting, the focus is on the ways policy agenda is set up and, overall, on what issues are established as part of the policy agenda (Kingdon <u>1995</u>). Policy process and policymaking is a complex, messy and contested process, involving negotiation and power play between diverse stakeholders over the control and use of limited resources (Springate-Baginski and Soussan <u>2002</u>). The question of power arises in its most basic form, for example, when considering the institutional power relations between peoples and organisations, responsibilities to force or resist policy agenda or when the focus is on informal power structures controlling the policy process (Cairney 2020). When analysing the policy process, power is also one of the key influences affecting the process and its development.

### Methods and data

The data sets for this chapter come from three sources: (1) six key person interviews to assess the turning points of promoting gender equality in sport policy context including its development, (2) four state policy documents to consider the overall progress of sport policy and (3) numerical data of positions and board memberships of NGBs between 1995 and 2019.

The interviews were conducted with representatives of the National Olympic Committee, the Ministry of Education and Culture (hereafter the Ministry) as the public sector authority of Finnish sport and stakeholder sport organisations. The interviewees were selected based on their current and leading managerial positions in sport organisations or in the Ministry or based on their expertise in gender equality issues. To retain the anonymity of the interviewees, detailed personal information such as working titles are excluded. The total duration of the interviews was six hours. The average duration of each interview was 60 minutes, usually lasting from 40 to 72 minutes. Catalysing questions guided interviewees towards (1) the main turning points of sport policy to increasing or

decreasing the number of women in leadership positions, (2) overall issues of promoting gender equality in sport since the 1990s and (3) future aspects for promoting gender equality.

Three key policy documents on promotion and gender assessment in sport and the preparation of the national programme on sport were published by the Ministry of Education between 2005 and 2008. The Finnish Government report on sport policy was submitted to Parliament in 2018 and approved with parliamentary communication in 2019 (Finnish Government 2019; Finnish Parliament 2019).

In data sets 1 and 2, qualitative theory-oriented content analysis was used (Krippendorf 2013). In the first reading, data were grouped into three thematic areas suggested by theory: influences, agenda setting and focusing events. In the second round, we compared our findings to numerical data with an idea to understand how the progress of women in leadership positions has developed as a policy process. Third, we pinpointed the main influences and events as results.

The numerical data demonstrate the share of women and men in leadership positions in all NGBs and the longitudinal progress of gender equality development in Finnish sport. The data of NGBs from the years 1995–2017 have been compiled by the umbrella organisations such as Suomen Liikunta ja Urheilu (SLU), Valtakunnallinen liikunta ja urheiluorganisaatio (Valo) and the Finnish Olympic Committee (Turpeinen and Hakamäki 2018). The data consists of all Finnish NGBs, including the non-Olympic sports. Numerical data from the years 2018–2019 is compiled from the report "Equality in the national and regional sport organisations of Finland in 2019" (Särkivuori et al. 2020). The data are based on the information given by the respective organisations themselves in the application process concerning the general grants for national organisations promoting sport and physical activity in 2018 and 2019.

When summarising these three different data sets, the key informant interviewees form the basis for analysing the policy process. Interview data underline an interpretative frame for the numerical data, which demonstrates the overall progress of gender equality from the viewpoint of leadership. Documentary reviews are important to pinpoint the main documented policy goals and their background. In addition, the output of previous policy actions is presented in these documents. Therefore, sport policy documents complement both statistics and interviews.

#### Results

#### Gender distribution in national governing bodies

In this subsection, we present statistics that depict women's gradual increase in sport NGBs in Finland. According to the numerical data, decision-making and leadership roles in sport in NGBs have mostly been held by men for decades, but over the last 20 years, the number of women in leadership and decision-making positions has been gradually increasing. In total, the proportion of women on the boards of NGBs have increased between 1995 and 2019. Currently, the share of women is 28% (see Figure 32.1).

*Figure 32.1* Gender distribution (%) in the boards of directors of national governing bodies, 1995–2019

This figure displays the gender distribution in the boards of directors of NGBs in percentage between 1995 and 2019. The statistics displayed in the figure reveal that women have been significantly underrepresented in leadership positions in NGBs. The number of women in such positions remained under 10% until 2011. After 2011, a modest growth began from 11% to 13%, and in 2019 – the last

year of analysis – the percentage grew to 18%. This demonstrates that while there has been some progress, the gender gap is still significant.

The lowest proportion of women is found among chairpersons. Chair positions remain firmly in men's hands in the NGBs. Only a few women serve as elected officials. In 1995, women accounted for 6% of chairs of all NGBs. In 2019, the share of women was 18% (see Figure 32.2).

*Figure 32.2* Gender distribution (%) among the chairs of the board of national governing bodies, 1995–2019

This figure displays the gender distribution among the chairs of the board of NGBs in percentage between 1995 and 2019. The statistics displayed in the figure reveal that women have been significantly underrepresented in chair positions in NGBs. The number of women in such positions remained under 20% until 2009, in which year it reached 21%. While there was a modest growth in the percentage of women in chair positions after 2009, in 2019, the last year of analysis, that number was still under 30%. This demonstrates that while there has been some progress, the gender gap is still significant.

The proportion of women in leadership positions is the highest in operative leading. The number of women in leadership positions in these bodies has increased notably from the 1990s. In 2019, approximately one out of three executive directors of NGBs were women (see Figure 32.3). The statistics presented here will be interpreted and combined with the other two data sets in the following sections.

*Figure 32.3* Gender distribution (%) in the Operative Lead of National Governing Bodies in 1995–2019

This figure displays the gender distribution in the Operative Lead of NGBs in percentage between 1995 and 2019. The statistics displayed in the figure reveal that women have been significantly underrepresented in operative lead positions in NGBs. The number of women in such positions remained under 25% until 2011. Between 2011 and 2019, the percentage of women in operative lead positions in NGBs reached 32%. This demonstrates that while there has been some progress, the gender gap is still significant.

#### 1990s: A new era in sport gender equality promotion

From the viewpoint of sport policy actions, the 1990s was an abundant decade in Finnish sport: a new umbrella organisation, the Finnish Sports Confederation (SLU), was established in 1993 in the spirit of service production and in contrast to the bureaucratic sport system (Heikkala <u>1998</u>). This structural change in the systemic level as institutional influence (see Sabatier <u>1991</u>) opened the first window to set gender equality to a sports policy agenda. A representative of the Ministry stated during an interview: "SLU was looking for its identity and strategic goals. It gave us here in the Ministry the possibility to combine our policy actions with those of the SLU. Promoting gender equality was one of them." This possibility to set up a common policy agenda was supported by reform, where OKM renewed NGBs' subsidy system due to New Public Management practices that focused on results-based funding (Lehtonen <u>2017a</u>). This subsidy system, as a new economic context, influenced and forced sport associations to target funding or working time to promote gender equality among certain sports (OKM <u>2005</u>, p. 30). In addition, another governmental turning point of the 1990s was the revision of the Act on the Promotion of Sports and Physical Activity, where equality was listed among the objectives. The strengthening of the legal framework was therefore the key influence on the policy process together with economic and institutional ones.

The current Associations Act (503/1989) in Finland stresses the autonomy of associations. The umbrella organisation of Finnish sports, for example, the Finnish Olympic Committee, can issue recommendations to its member organisations if it wishes to steer gender equality in organisation and club Boards, as well as the Ministry of Education and Culture can set conditions to direct the funding/subsidies. From the viewpoint of sport associations' own policy agenda and political context (see Springate-Baginski and Soussan 2002), in 1998, SLU made a recommendation that the Boards of their member associations, including NGBs, should consist of minimum 40% of each gender. The recommendation was based on the Act on Equality between Women and Men (1986) with a statement that the proportion of both women and men in government committees, advisory boards and other corresponding bodies ought to be at least 40%, unless there were special reasons to the contrary (Turpeinen et al. 2012, pp. 25–27). This recommendation can be seen as the main turning point for increasing the number of women on Boards from 16% to 30% between 1995 and 2002 (see Figure 32.1). In addition, symbols and prizes as external influences were also used, as one interviewee from the Ministry explained: "In 1995, we started to award yearly recognitions to influential persons or organisations who have promoted gender equality in sport. It gave visibility to this issue."

One policy action to strengthen the policy agenda in gender equality was internationalisation. This viewpoint manifested in interviewees' comments and was mentioned especially as a strategic turning point made in the 1990s, thereby giving strong support to the Brighton Declaration (1994), leading to the IWG conference in Helsinki in 2014. However, most important was to systematically take part in international networks around global sport and combine national and international agents of change (see Springate-Baginski and Soussan 2002). Already in its early stage in the 1990s, this combination became a policy driver, as a representative of a stakeholder sport organisation explained: "Because we didn't get noticed here in Finland around gender equality and sport, we thought to create national sport policy throughout international sport policy. We networked, took part in conferences and acquired visibility. Little by little, it helped to bring gender equality stronger to national sport policy."

#### 2000–2010: Increasing legislation and governmental agendas

At the beginning of 2000, promoting gender equality in Finnish society had reached the macropolicy level while the Government Programme of Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen's government included a section on gender equality, in which one objective was: "Methods for assessing gender effects will be developed and evaluation will be taken into account in the preparation of legislation and the central government budget" (Finnish Government <u>2003</u>, p. 14).

The first decade of the 2000s was also an era of governmental agendas and guidelines – named institutional and legal influences of policy process (Springate-Baginski and Soussan <u>2002</u>). The committee report "A draw: Promotion and assessment of the gender aspect in sports" was published by OKM in 2005. These reports were also important tools to "increase knowledge and awareness around gender and sport" – a representative of the Ministry stated. Therefore, we can note that information and knowledge started to be relevant influences in promoting gender equality. As it was already in the 1990s, financial support to policy-related measures for promoting gender equality through resource allocation and information-based guidance were seen to be relevant. In 2006, OKM appointed a committee to prepare and propose a national programme for sport and physical activity. The results were published in 2007 as an interim report: "Sport in the current of choices: Report of the committee preparing a national sport programme." Gender equality was discussed in one of the chapters and opened with a statement that for a long time, sport used to be an area specifically for men. In the text, it was noted that the majority of the decision-makers in sport federations and in the public sector were men, but the number of women participating in sport and volunteering has increased (OKM <u>2007</u>).

In 2008, "A proposal for a national programme for sport and physical activity in view of public steering" was published. In it, sport policy was seen as part of a wellbeing policy. The committee proposed 43 measures to promote physical activity, enhance strategic work, provide equal opportunities and raise the level of professionalism in civic activities (OKM 2008). However, no specific recommendations to promote gender equality were given. This meant that promoting gender equality as a policy process did not proceed to the phase of agenda setting (Kingdon 1995). From the viewpoint of sport organisations and stakeholders, the main turning point occurred within the international sport policy context at the end of this period, when the IWG chair from 2010 to 2014 was appointed to Finland. This nomination linked the national sport policy to the international one, and through that, gender equality promotion became a more favourable policy agenda.

Summarising the first decade of the 2000s from the viewpoint of gender equality promotion in sport, a number of supporting regulations such as policy process influences were implemented and the overall political context became more favourable to improve gender politics (see Kingdon <u>1995</u>). However, it seems that governmental sport policy actions provided only a frame and foundation to NGBs' own work, and they implemented the policy actions informally within their own organisational context and culture. Due to the autonomous status of the associations, the state as well as the National Olympic Committee have no power over how the NGBs operate. This lack of influence helps explain the numbers and the proportion of women, which were stable in the first decade of the 2000s (see Figures 32.1–32.3).

#### 2010–2020s: What is gender?

Finnish sport re-structured itself again at the beginning of 2017 when the Finnish Olympic Committee started as a new central sport organisation. An eclectic reform process had started years before with the closing of several national sport organisations, ultimately resulting in the unification of both sport for all and elite sport organisations in the same organisation (Lehtonen <u>2017a</u>, <u>2017b</u>). The power structure was centralised, and the number of decision-making positions decreased overall (Lehtonen <u>2017c</u>). As an institutional influence, this re-structuring could have signalled gender equality for stronger place on the policy agenda of sport organisations. However, the agents of change did not reach the institutional level, as a representative from the National Olympic Committee stated: "Promoting gender equality is still very personified and dependent on individuals interested in it. In addition, I have thought that when project funding ends, does the gender equality promotion drop away from our strategy?"

From the viewpoint of regulation and legislation as policy influences, the Act on the Promotion of Sports and Physical Activity was renewed in 2015, and today it gives to OKM the possibility to use incentives in encouraging associations to promote equality. When assessing eligibility for state aid, consideration shall be given to the type, extent and social impact of the activities in which the association is engaged, and the ways in which the association promotes equality and non-discrimination.

In addition, a new Non-discrimination Act was enacted in 2014. Adapting it to sport, everyone should be equally entitled to participate in sport and physical activity at all levels and in all roles. Based on the aforementioned legislation, the state's steering system tightened its grip on NGBs in 2020. The overall societal responsibility of NGBs' activities is considered when state subsidies are allocated. In practice, this means that NGBs must have updated strategic plans as to how to prevent, for example, sexual harassment, bullying and inequality, and promote good governance in order to gain state subsidies (OKM 2020). These plans and overall governmental guidance have been a policy driver, especially to the National Olympic Committee, as one of its representatives explained: "For my work, legislation and other governmental frames are important, it rationalises my work and it is easier to say that we have to consider gender issues also."

In the Finnish sport system, the state has had a strong role to push sport actors to implement the sport policy agenda (Lehtonen 2017a). In particular, it emphasises current practices as a representative of the Ministry stated: "Sometimes I feel that if we do not push them, they do not do anything [in OKM or NGBs]." Combining this view of person-dependent policy drivers with the Ministry's view that sport associations are not very active themselves, one remarkable strategic toolkit is missing compared to the 1990s: common goal setting and a strategic agenda to promote gender equality in sport. One interpretation of this situation is the long reform process of sport's organisational environment and the continual identity seeking of the country's central sport organisation (Lehtonen 2017a). Over time, this has led to a situation where sport's central organisation has lost its effectiveness to be an influential implementer of sport policy actions (Lehtonen and Mäkinen 2020). However, comparing these latest policy influences, agents of change and drivers that occurred in the 2010s to the numerical data, we notice a slight shift from policy development to policy implementation (cf. Springate-Baginski and Soussan 2002). Currently, the proportion of women in leading positions of chairperson and operative leader is at its peak (see Figures 32.2 and 32.3). However, the percentage of women on Boards has remained stable and has shown no change since 2002 (see Figure 32.1).

In the current decade, discussions have widened the perspective of ethical issues around sports, and today those are more large-scale than in the 1990s. The #MeToo movement in 2017 changed the world and generated discussion all around the globe, also in sport and sport research (Reel and Crouch <u>2019</u>). As a global turning point, it also shaped Finnish sport policy, but more on the level of "overall worry," as the interviewees described the effect. All of the interviewees recognised that gender as a concept is changing, and in some cases, it seemed to be difficult – or even unnecessary as one of the Ministry representatives stated – to promote it anymore as a single issue: "We are speaking more about non-discrimination than gender equality... we are speaking of involvement. The upper concept is more and more abstract, and we are setting up many things inside one umbrella [concept]." These considerations are a mirror of society where gender in its different conceptual senses is under discussion in ordinary life, academic arenas and politics (Eagly and Sczesny <u>2019</u>). At the same time, gender as a concept or the actualisation of it is filtered through an individual's own experience. It seems to be a part of identity politics, which might weaken the possibilities to share the common understanding of those practices which might promote gender equality in sport policy (Bernstein <u>2005</u>).

#### Conclusions

We started our analysis of gender equality promotion as a sport policy process in the 1990s and concluded with its current state. Overall, societal development and related broader ethical questions along with the widening understanding of gender is an issue which goes beyond sport. The analysis shows that actors inside the sport system have realised the current societal frame with a diverse understanding of gender. This especially seems to have been happening since the IWG Helsinki 2014 conference. The current state and future seem to be less structured processes than was the progress from IWG Brighton 1994 to Helsinki 2014.

Brighton was a starting point to launch more systematic work towards gender equality in sport. Twenty years later IWG Conference in Helsinki gave visibility to gender equality promotion in Finnish sport. However, looking backwards, it is worth considering the legacy of this 20-year journey. From the viewpoint of numerical data, the share of women in leadership positions in NGBs has increased, albeit slowly. Overall, the sport system at every level has cross-sectioned gender equality, mainly pushed by legislation or state funding criteria. In other words, as a policy agenda, it is not deeply rooted to the main values of the system and there seems to be no sudden, attentiongrabbing focusing events, which could have changed the policy process (Birkland <u>1998</u>). Actions have been targeted and taken by a few individual agents of change interested in the issue. Therefore, one narrative during the decades has been the single active actors as policy drivers. The sport institutions acting as policy drivers have been in the minority, which has weakened the agenda setting when considering macro-policy and outcomes. Overall, as a policy process, gender equality promotion has remained more in the development phase than it has been applied in practice (Springate-Baginski and Soussan <u>2002</u>).

From the viewpoint of power, institutions such as those that make up the sport movement could have been more active in using their institutional power to keep gender politics on their agenda more visible. In addition, using compulsory power has not been possible in the Finnish context where the autonomous status of associations like NGBs is high. As a Nordic society, the state has a guiding role that is often manifested through resource allocation and other soft power mechanisms (Norberg 1997). Moreover, as Lehtonen and Mäkinen (2020) have pointed out, even though the Finnish sport system is a mixed model of the state and the sport movement, the responsibility for implementing sport policy overall might have fallen into a desolate land without requirement to achieve specific goals.

Specifically, the last decade and present state of gender equality promotion in Finnish sport appear as a mixture of governmental regulation, conceptual interpretations and large-scale societal changes. However, the benefits of these are bound to be half-baked, partly because other societal developments in recent years have taken the basis of equality work towards broader societal responsibility. Therefore, the current situation and future in Finnish sport and gender equality promotion are unclear. It seems that in Finnish sport, gender equality has lost its identity. The promotion of it in Finnish sport is in a vacuum, where discussions around gender are amorphous without clear targets and aims. While gender remains within the conversation around inclusion, its obscurity has made both strategic thinking and any practical changes of implementation difficult. Therefore, if the policy agenda no longer recognises gender equality but rather a more generic approach of non-discrimination or, for example, human rights, is there a possibility that by removing certain words and concepts from the agenda, policy actions around gender equality will also go missing? To tackle this issue, the minimum starting point is that promoting gender equality should undergo a renaissance and achieve conceptual consensus among stakeholders within the sport system.

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