"My Ideal Is Where It Is Just Jane the Cricketer, Rather Than Jane the Gay Cricketer": An Institutional Perspective of Lesbian Inclusion in Australian Cricket

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"My ideal is where it is just Jane the cricketer, rather than Jane the gay cricketer": An institutional perspective of lesbian inclusion in Australian cricket.

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The aim of this paper is to develop a theoretical framework to aid current understanding of social change practice. Drawing on concepts from institutional theory, we propose and apply a theoretical framework to investigate social change at the intersection of gender and sexuality inclusion in Australian cricket. Qualitative techniques (interviews and document analyses) were utilized to investigate the trajectory of lesbian inclusion in Australian cricket over time. Starting from the perspective that institutional arrangements can be exclusionary (or biased) toward certain groups in society, our research investigates how the actions of institutional entrepreneurs can create more inclusive institutional arrangements. Theoretical and practical implications for future research are discussed.

Keywords: *institutional theory, bias, inclusion, lesbian, cricket*

Although attitudes towards the inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals (LGBT) are arguably improving in Australian society, substantial prejudice has, and continues to influence, equitable access to rights for sexual minorities that the majority of the population take for granted. For example, homosexuality was a crime in Australia until the introduction of the *Human Rights (Sexual Conduct) Act* in 1994. Over 70 different Australian legislative acts contained sexuality based discriminatory elements in areas including, but not limited to, taxation, social security, public healthcare, child support and family law, until the *Same-Sex Relationships (Equal Treatment in Commonwealth Laws General Law Reform) Act* was introduced in 2008. Equal access to the institution of marriage became legal following the *Marriage Amendment (Definition and Religious Freedoms) Act* in December, 2017. Despite legislative progress toward equity and inclusion, significant challenges remain in order to address historically embedded prejudices faced by sexual minorities within sport institutions. This is particularly so for lesbians, who face prejudice based on both gender and sexuality within sport participation and administration (Denison & Kitchen, 2015). As part of a broader study, Denison and Kitchen (2015) surveyed 385 lesbians regarding their experiences in sport environments in Australia, they identified that 48% of lesbians had been personally targeted within a sport environment and experienced high levels of bullying (19%), verbal threats (17%) and physical assault (9%). In the youth sport context (under 22 years-of-age), this led to 75% of lesbians remaining completely, or partially, in the closet for fear of discrimination.

Many sports operate within hypermasculine environments in which gender-based sexism (Fink, 2016) and sexuality-based homophobia (Shaw, 2019) are prevalent, and exemplify group-based inequities within sport institutions. The normalization of masculine hegemonic power structures (Messner, 1992), and the white-heterosexual-male as the prototypical sports person, continue to marginalize and oppress on the basis of race, sexuality, and/or gender

(Walker & Melton, 2015; Melton & Cunningham, 2014a). Within these environments, minorities can feel required to manage their identities by downplaying a marginalized identity (e.g., homosexuality) and promoting an accepted identity within a given sport environment (e.g., heterosexuality) (Melton & Bryant, 2017). Consequently, it is important for us to understand how these forms of institutional bias are continuously negotiated within the slow struggle for social change.

Australian cricket provides a rich context in which to examine social change in practice, and notably within the domain of lesbian participation at the intersection of gender and sexuality. Cricket has historically been a male dominated environment, and despite a long and successful history of female involvement dating back to the turn of the 20th century (Cashman, 1991), has only recently received relative support in areas of participation, commercialization and professionalization. In the 1990s, women's participation in Australian cricket was heavily stigmatized on the basis of a national team player claiming to have missed selection for a tour on the basis of her sexuality (Burroughs, Seebohm, & Ashburn, 1995; Lenskyj, 1995). Over the past two decades, the governing body of cricket in Australia, Cricket Australia (CA), has not been without controversy on a variety of social issues including homophobia, board representation, pay and work conditions (Webster, 2014; Lerner, 2016).

Lesbianism in Sport: Intersections of Gender and Sexuality

Although research has addressed discrimination and homophobia in sport environments (Denison & Kitchen, 2015), little research has addressed how sport organizations engage with LGBT diversity within Australia. Recently, efforts have been made to understand how community sport organizations are responding to increased diversity more broadly (Spaaij et al., 2016), but inclusion on the basis of sexuality has often been absent from such conversations.

Cricket is one of the most culturally significant sports in Australian society, and CA's diversity policy, 'A Sport for All,' seeks to make cricket a sport played by all Australians. CA was a founding member of the Pride in Sport Index and was one of five key sports in Australia to sign an anti-homophobia document in 2015, after research showed the prevalence of homophobia within Australian sport (Denison & Kitchen, 2015). The Pride in Sport Index is a national benchmarking system for Australian sport organizations (i.e., national and state organizations), which gives a score out of 100 on the level of LGBT inclusion. Indicative of the lack of inclusion for the LGBT community in the Australian sport system, the highest score went from 36 in 2017 to 49 in 2018, with the average being 30 across all submissions in 2018. Anti-LGBT discrimination has been the focus of researchers in Australia over the past decade, with homophobia, biphobia and transphobia within sport environments shown to be prevalent (Symons, O'Sullivan, & Polman, 2017; Symons, Sbaraglia, Hillier, & Mitchell, 2010). In the New Zealand context, Shaw (2019) explored approaches to anti-homophobia policy development within a steering group of national sport organizations finding that policy development was contingent on organizational context and the priorities of decision makers. This paper specifically addresses women's cricket and lesbians as one component within the LGBT acronym.

In the past three decades, much literature has discussed issues around women's sexuality within sport, in particular, around responding to the lesbian label and the perceived stigma this brings to both the sport and the athlete (Griffin, 1992; Caudwell, 1999; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009; 2010; Melton & Bryant, 2017). Hickey, Harrison, Ollis, and Mooney (2016) investigated the commercialization of Australian women's cricket and drew attention to issues around homophobia and female athletes. Their report highlighted issues with lesbian stigma within cricket and noted, "some evidence that early career players were struggling with a lingering public perception of a culture of lesbianism within women's cricket" (Hickey

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et al., 2016, p.17). The same report also noted concerns associated with the marketing of certain players and 'photo friendly' female athletes, which "strategically works against the lesbian stereotype that exists around the women's game" (Hickey et al., 2016, p.3). Interestingly, this same point was also noted by Fink (2012), who drew attention to the role homophobia plays in marketing efforts around female athletes.

In linking the present literature to institutional theory, we now move our attention to research which has applied an institutional lens to research sexuality in sport management. Cunningham (2009), building on the work of Oliver (1992), utilized three institutional pressures (political, functional, and social) to describe the impetus for change to a culture of similarity within a university athletics department in the United States (US). The research found that the reliance on external funding agents (i.e., political pressures), the ability to attract and retain participants from diverse backgrounds (i.e., functional pressures), and broader legislative and societal expectations of equality and inclusiveness (i.e., social pressures), influenced the adoption of more inclusive diversity practices within the department. Building on this work, Cunningham (2015) used institutional theory to show that college athletic departments in the US can be agents for social change by adopting inclusive practices and policies towards LGBT administrators, coaches and athletes. We extend on Cunningham's (2009; 2015) premise that discriminatory institutions within sport systems can be disrupted by actors in the field and re-institutionalized into potentially more equitable forms. Additionally, Cunningham and colleagues' contributions have primarily focused on US college athletic departments; therefore, extending and building on their work to another context, adds to the veracity and generalizability of their findings.

On aggregate, Australian cricket provides a rich context in which to explore the dynamic processes inherent to social change. We make the case that, by highlighting the role of individuals in influencing biased institutional arrangements, an institutional perspective

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provides scholars a deeper understanding of the social change process. By investigating change at the intersection of gender and sexuality, we position institutional change as a contextual and multidimensional phenomenon that may be disruptive in one dimension while maintained in others. Our overall premise is to understand how institutional entrepreneurs bring about social change in a sport that demonstrates historical bias toward a particular societal group or groups. Specifically, with respect to the exclusion of lesbians from Australian cricket over time, we ask, how did institutional entrepreneurs maintain and disrupt biased institutional arrangement in Australian cricket?

Theoretical Framework

The development of a theoretical framework helps structure our understanding of social change in practice from an institutional perspective. Doherty (2013, p. 7) explains that a concept is, "an idea or notion;" and a theoretical framework is, "the structural representation of the relationships among concepts." By applying institutional concepts to the trajectory of inclusion of lesbians in Australian cricket, we take up the call for theory to guide social change practice (Schulenkorf & Spaaij, 2015; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011).

Whilst definitions of social change are surprisingly elusive, we adopt the understanding that social change is, "a change in the customs, institutions, or culture of a society" (Oxford Dictionary, n.d., para. 1). In our case, this applies to a change in the institutional arrangements of cricket in Australia as they relate to gender and sexuality-based inclusion. To do so, we will explore the interrelationships among theoretical concepts of institution, bias, entrepreneur, work and change that underpin our institutional approach.

Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin and Suddaby (2008, p. 4-5) described their understanding of the term 'institution' as, "more-or-less taken-for-granted repetitive social behavior that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order." The nature of such social exchanges

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can occur at a variety of levels of analysis including individual (e.g., shaking an opponent's hand prior to a match); organizational (e.g., a common team uniform, mascot or color); the field (e.g., the acceptance of formal and informal norms of behavior such as rules and regulations); and, societal (e.g., the imbued legitimacy granted to sport to self-govern).

At each respective level of analysis, inherent biases exist within institutions. Institutional bias can be understood as, "those established laws, customs, and practices which systematically reflect and produce group-based inequities in any society. An institution may be biased whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have biased intentions" (Henry, 2010, p. 427). Institutionalized sexism continues to be a prevalent concern in sport (Fink, 2016). Sexism as a form of bias, is readily visible from the hypermasculine cognitive understandings of male college basketball coaches in the United States (Walker & Sartore-Baldwin, 2013), to gendered social processes and discourses embedded in national sport organizations in the United Kingdom (Shaw, 2006). Similar patterns of institutional bias have been found in other domains of diversity in sport including: race and ethnicity (Armstrong, 2011); class (Vandermeerschen & Scheerder, 2017); and sexuality (Melton & Cunningham, 2014b; Shaw, 2019). The intersection of any two (or more) axes of institutional biases may act to heighten the degree of marginalization of a social group or individual within a given institutional setting (Walker & Melton, 2015).

One approach that is founded upon the relationship between individual agency and institutional structures is that of institutional work. In their seminal research, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) state that institutional work consists of, "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (p. 215). The concept of institutional work identifies that individuals possess agency that can both reinforce (i.e., maintain) and, more importantly from a social change perspective, disrupt institutional arrangements (Oliver, 1992). Within the sport management field, studies have investigated

how institutional work is utilized to gain and maintain legitimacy (Edwards & Washington, 2015); contain threats to organizational legitimacy and subsequently maintain power relations (Nite, 2016); reduce stigma and gain acceptance of a new and controversial sport product (mixed martial arts) (Helms & Patterson, 2014; Woolf, Berg, Newland, & Green, 2016); and, identify managerial practices that help institutionalize high performance sport programs within a national sport landscape (Dowling & Smith, 2016).

The ability of individuals to utilize their agency is central to the concept of institutional entrepreneurship. Institutional entrepreneurs are, "change agents who, whether or not they initially intended to change their institutional environment, initiate, and actively participate in the implementation of, changes that diverge from existing institutions" (Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009, p. 70). Institutional entrepreneurs can be individuals, organizations, or collective combinations of organizations and individuals (Hardy & Maguire, 2018). In their enlightening paper on the National Football League's (NFL) changing response to concussion from 1991-2015, Heinze and Lu (2017) found that the NFL shifted its position from dismissing concussion as a social issue, to decoupling (i.e., having concussion rules in place that were weakly implemented), to finally acquiescing and leading fundamental institutional change on that social issue. Institutional change around concussion was presented as a dialectic between institutional entrepreneurs who promoted the disruption to the institutional arrangements around concussion (e.g., player agents, neuroscientists, reporters), whilst others (e.g., some players and coaches) worked to maintain the established social order that American football is a contact sport and concussions are a part of the game.

The final concept within our framework is institutional change. Hargrave and Van de Ven (2006) explain that an institution is said to have changed when there are differences in the "form, quality, or state over time in an institution. Change in an institutional arrangement can be determined by observing the arrangement at two or more points in time on a set of

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dimensions (e.g., frames, norms, or rules)" (p. 866; parentheses in original). By analyzing

changes in particular frames, norms and rules that are germane, in our case, to the context of

lesbian inclusion in Australian cricket, we apply the theoretical concepts of institutional

change to social change practice (Figure 1).

Figure 1. An Institutional Framework of Social Change
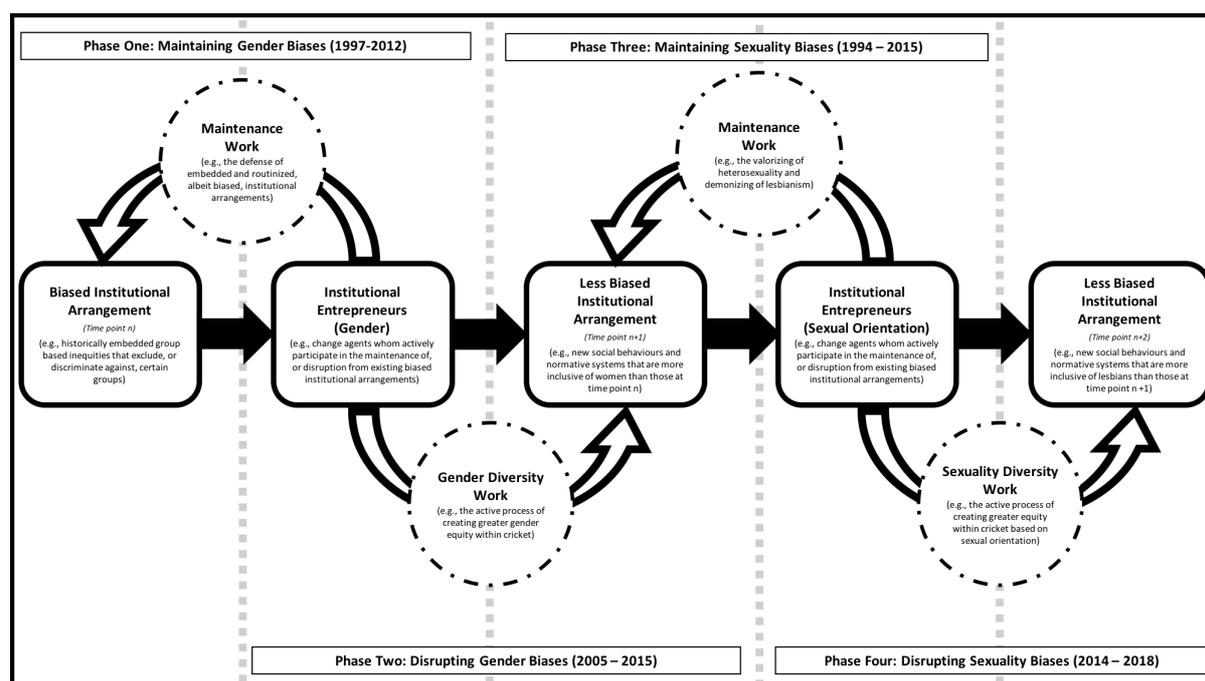
Herein we have developed a theoretical framework from existing concepts to help link

theory to social change practice in Australian cricket between 1994 and 2018 (Figure 1). The

framework identifies that implicit within institutional arrangements are (un)intentional and/or

(un)conscious biases, held by institutional entrepreneurs that may structure an institution to

be inclusive toward one group, whilst simultaneously excluding others (e.g., on the bases of

class, ethnicity, gender and/or sexuality). Over time, entrepreneurs can utilize their agency to

shift institutional arrangements to become more equitable. Change in this context is an

ongoing, negotiated process. Inclusion is never 'complete', but rather exists in greater or

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lesser forms over time, and contingent upon the domain of inclusion under consideration. Social change by its very nature is contested, contextual and temporal, and thus, contains inherent contradictions and tensions dependent upon the individual's subject position and the conditions present within the institutional environment (Battilana, et al., 2009). By introducing and explaining the relationships among arrangements, bias, work, entrepreneur and change, within the context of inclusion in Australian cricket, we link institutional concepts to deepen our understanding of the mechanics of social change practices.

Method

Research Context

The second author was part of a research team that collected data from a funded evaluation to assess the level of inclusion for LGBT Australians within Australian cricket (Storr, O'Sullivan, Symons, Spaaij, & Sbaraglia, 2017). The evaluation was commissioned by both Cricket Victoria (CV) and CA, with funding support from Sport and Recreation Victoria. The evaluation consisted of a mixed methods study adopting an online survey and individual stakeholder interviews. Both CA and CV are members of Pride in Sport, and the evaluation was prompted by the Index, with the aim to provide an evidence base upon which to plan their LGBT inclusion strategies. Data for this paper were gathered from individual interviews with key informants within Australian cricket, as well as documentary evidence from CA and CV which included reports, websites, strategic plans, and policy documents, as well as mass media reporting.

Recruitment for interview participants was initiated by an email sent out via CA and CV to all staff, cricket clubs, leagues and through the 'My Cricket Portal', which is an online portal for administration related to community cricket. Particular stakeholders were chosen for interview to gain insights into the current inclusion landscape within Australian cricket.

Interviewees included: elite players (two), community players (four), national administrators (four), state administrators (five), and volunteers (two). Due to the sensitive nature of the data, all respondents were assigned an anonymous participant identification – either player, administrator or volunteer. The research team were careful to ensure that data were presented on the basis of knowledge and insight, rather than opinion. On occasions, we do provide some context for our quotes, for example, if an administrator made a comment which had particular relevance to the context. Based on previous research in the area, we chose to interview a combination of participants who were openly LGBT, not openly LGBT, and also who were heterosexual and cisgender (cisgender are those people whose gender identity corresponds with the sex they were assigned at birth, i.e. not transgender). We chose to interview a mixture of LGBT and non-LGBT people to gain holistic insights into the different perspectives of inclusion. One of the major themes from the broader evaluation on LGBT inclusion was lesbian inclusion in cricket, which was a prominent theme and featured in most interviews. For this reason, we use these data as the focus of this paper.

Data Collection

The empirical data were part of a research project which received ethical clearance from Victoria University. Interviews were semi structured and key topics were discussed which included: knowledge and awareness around LGBT inclusion in sport, LGBT inclusion within cricket, and institutional support for LGBT diversity. The interview guide was developed using previous research (Melton & Cunningham, 2014a; 2014b; Symons et al., 2014). In particular, we used the work of Melton and Cunningham (2014b) in designing questions around institutional support and commitment to LGBT inclusion, and Symons et al.'s (2010) work in shaping questions around experiences of discrimination.

Seventeen participants were interviewed which included players, administrators, and volunteers (women = nine, men = eight). Eleven of the participants were administrators (i.e.,

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CA or CV) or volunteers (i.e., Women's Premier Cricket), who were specifically responsible for the development of women's cricket, and cricket more generally in Australia. Interviews ranged from 40 to 90 minutes. A snowball sample was used and participants were invited to be interviewed at a mutually convenient location, away from the workplace. Anonymity was maintained so participants could not be identified as participating in the research; this was particularly important, for example, if they were not 'out' in their workplace or organization and to avoid potential discomfort for anyone involved (asking questions about whether they participated and why).

Documentary data were collected from CA's websites, news media and inclusion strategies such as *A Sport for All*. Secondary data were also collected from publicly available strategic documents such as the report by Crawford and Carter (2011) *A Good Governance Structure for Australian Cricket* and the *National Female Cricket Strategy 2014/5-2017/18* (Cricket Australia, 2018). Furthermore, secondary sources such as Cashman's (1991) *Wicket Women* were included to support our primary data regarding the development of women's cricket in Australia. In aggregate, these secondary data complemented the primary interview data because they informed the study in terms of: (a) the evolution of values underpinning cricket governance in Australia; (b) the ebb and flow of cricket's strategic orientations over time; and, (c) the historical context of women's cricket in Australia.

Data Analysis

Interviews were recorded with the permission of participants, and then transcribed verbatim. We adopted the process of member checking, and all participants were emailed their transcript to review and offer any changes or things to be removed, due to the sensitive nature of the interview for some people. The resultant transcripts totalled 126,664 words. Initially, the primary and secondary data were independently reviewed by the first two authors. Data analysis proceeded both inductively and deductively. In line with the theory-to-

practice orientation of this paper, the coding initially tried to identify institutional work themes (i.e., maintenance, and change) and categories (e.g., embedding and routinizing) (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Each institutional work theme was clearly defined and guided our initial coding. However, where no existing forms of institutional work could explain the phenomena of study, the research team allowed codes to inductively emerge from the data (e.g., diversity work) to inform the research team as to how institutionalized belief systems were maintained and disrupted within Australian cricket (Ahmed, 2012; Spaaij et al., 2016). Following this process, 15 first-level codes were identified based on the analysis of primary and secondary data (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). Four-second level categories enabled the research team to aggregate significant social change themes within Australian cricket. Themes were developed from examples of disruption and maintenance of accepted gender and sexuality norms of behaviour provided by interviewees and secondary data. First, *maintaining biased institutional arrangements* consisted of two categories of institutional work pertaining to sexuality (i.e., *valorizing heteronormativity and demonizing lesbianism*) and gender (i.e., *embedding gendered normative systems*). The second theme was identified as *disrupting biased institutional arrangements* and included two categories of work: *gender diversity work* and *sexuality diversity work*. The relationship among codes, categories and themes are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2 – Codes, Categories and Themes

Codes	Categories	Themes
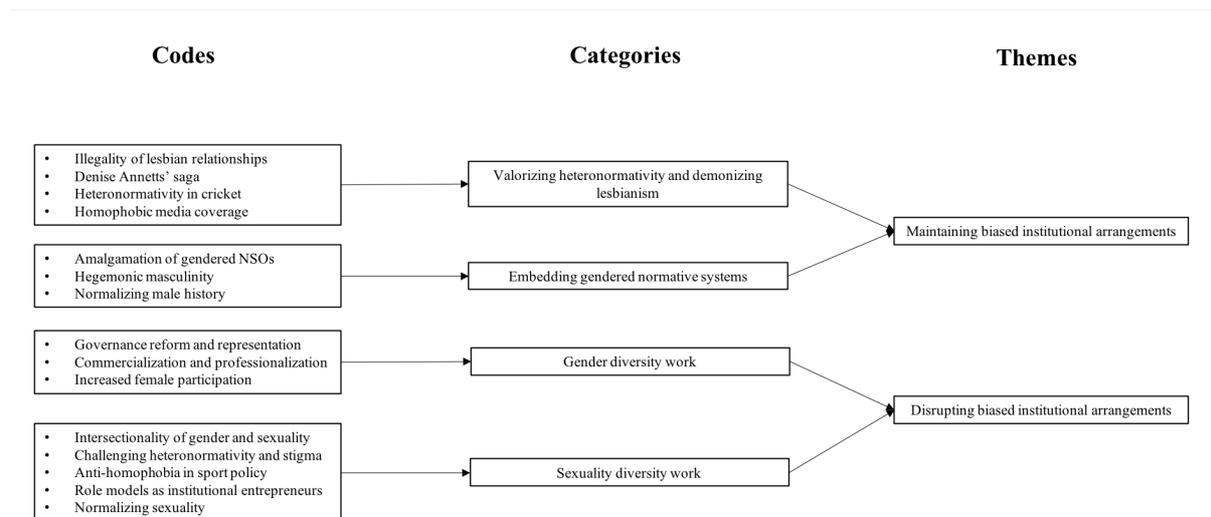
Findings and Discussion

Our findings and discussion are presented as four phases of change in gender and

sexuality inclusion within Australian cricket. Recognizing that change is not a linear process,

and often produces moments of paradox between maintaining and disrupting existing belief

systems, the four phases intentionally overlap. Our discussion operationalizes the theoretical

framework outlined in Figure 1. We frame our discussion around the work of entrepreneurs

that acted to maintain and disrupt biases within the institution of Australian cricket. Finally,

we outline future theoretical research and applications to social change in practice.

Phase 1: Embedding and Routinizing Gendered Institutional Bias (1997-2012).

During the 1990s, the governance of women's cricket under the Women's Cricket

Association (WCA) became increasingly reliant on funding from the men's governing body,

the Australian Cricket Board (ACB) and the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) (now

'Sport Australia'). The ASC is the means by which the Australian Federal Government funds

Australian national sport organizations. In 1997, the ASC released a report titled,

Amalgamation Guidelines for Recreation and Sporting Organizations (ASC, 1997). The

report recommended the amalgamation of any sports where separate gender-specific national

governing bodies existed. The WCA and the ACB subsequently merged to form CA on July

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1st, 2003. The formation of CA in 2003 required changes in the national sport governing body's organizational structure. This restructuring provides stark evidence of how gender and sexuality bias were actively maintained within the institution of Australian cricket. Here, we describe Cricket Australia as a type of institutional entrepreneur that DiMaggio (1988) defines as an "institutional defender" whom benefits from the existing, albeit biased, institutional arrangements. In developing this proposition, we purposefully position Cricket Australia in a paradoxical situation of simultaneously maintaining and disrupting biased institutional beliefs toward gender inclusion. In this section, we focus on the maintenance of biased institutional arrangements and introduce a mechanism of institutional maintenance that Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) define *embedding and routinizing work* as, "actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution into the participants' day-to-day routines and organizational practices" (p. 230).

Here, we draw on Scott's (1995,) research which conceptualizes normative systems as consisting of norms – "how things should be done;" and, values – "conceptions of the preferred or the desirable together with the construction of standards to which existing structures or behavior can be compared and assessed" (pp. 37-8). Within cricket, board representation was historically beset with structural inertia at both state and national levels. This structural inertia acted to embed gender norms. In particular, the federated governance structure of CA meant that state cricket associations appointed state representatives to the CA board. Thus, governance in Australian cricket, and by extension, at state and regional levels, was and to a certain extent remains, dominated by traditionally male, parochial interests. As one administrator noted of the past and present state-based governance structures:

> So we get our delegates who elect the Board, and you look around the room
>
> and there's one woman out of 27 people around the table. And you look
>
> around the rest of the people there and they're all middle-age to mature Anglo-

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Saxon men. So you look around the room and think, yeah, we've got a really

broad experience, but we don't have good diversity here. (Administrator 7)

Recognizing problems around the governance of Australian cricket, CA commissioned a

review into its governance structures in 2011. The review, titled *A Good Governance*

Structure for Australian Cricket (Crawford & Carter, 2011), investigated CA's governance in

a number of dimensions including: board composition, appointment of directors, board and

management roles, and voting rights. Pertinent to the inclusion of women into the sport, the

report found that, "there is good diversity in geography and age profile but little gender and

cultural diversity. Unlike the [Australian Football League] and [National Rugby League]

Boards, there are no women" (p. 14). Conflating the issue of setting the normative

foundations for female participation in cricket, prior to the review, women's participation had

been overseen by a 'Females in Cricket' subcommittee, which Crawford and Carter (2011)

noted was, "an all-male committee!" (emphasis in text) (p.17). Indicative of the

institutionalized hegemonic masculinity embedded within the governance of CA at the time,

no woman director had been appointed to CA's board of directors in the decade following the

ACB's merger with WCA. One administrator observed that,

As an administrator, I've probably seen more of that in terms of sitting in

rooms with old men discussing what's the best thing for women's cricket, or

what's the best thing to engage multicultural people. And you're just going,

you don't know what you're talking about! (Administrator 1)

The 10–year period that the structural status quo of the ACB was maintained following

the merger with WCA to form CA amply illustrates the extent to which gendered normative

systems were embedded in Australian cricket. During the merger, the ACB's male cricketing

normative foundations were almost universally accepted as *the* normative foundations of

cricket in Australia. Significantly, evidence of embedded and routinized bias toward male

participation in cricket remains. At the time of writing, the section on the CA website, 'Our History', after summarizing the precursor to the formation of the ACB, states, "The organization [ACB] changed its name in 1973 to the Australian Cricket Board, then on July 1st 2003, it became Cricket Australia" (CA, n.d., para. 4). The history then lists all of past chair*men*, with no mention of the history of the women's game in Australia, or its administrators. Instead, the language used suggests a continuation of the ACB (and its male history), which simply "changed its name" and "became" CA on July 1st 2003. The narrative completely disregards the fact that one of the rationales for the creation of CA was amalgamating two gendered sport organizations. By comparison, the sport governing bodies of golf, hockey and lawn bowls, that all amalgamated at roughly the same time due to the same legislative pressure from the ASC, have links to the history of female participation in their respective websites' honor roles and history sections. Cricket lost some of its history of female involvement in the sport and thus, the values and traditions of women's cricket in Australia were left no reference point to compare to. Instead, male history became the normative foundation and women's participation in cricket was shifted into the domain of inclusion. As one player observed,

> I still think that we're not particularly diverse in the way that the game is presented to us as an audience. And that comes from how we talk about the game, who is talking about the game, and what stories are shared around Test cricket. It's a male history, we don't really hear about Test cricket for women. So cricket's not 100% sort of shared between men and women. (Player 1)

Thus, it was male normative systems that were embedded within the institution of Australian cricket. In doing so, biases that excluded individuals on the basis of gender and sexuality were maintained. Specifically, on the creation of CA, a rich history of women's participation dating back to international tours in the 1930s (Cashman, 1991), was supplanted

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by male normative systems that went unquestioned due to gender biases that embedded cricket's male history and routinized hegemonic masculinity within Australian cricket's decision making processes. We suggest that the embedding and routinizing of normative systems was a key factor in restricting socially progressive change from occurring as it related directly to participants' perceptions of how the institution should operate (norms) and the behaviors perceived as desirable (values). Consequently, we argue that in order to actively change institutions to be more inclusive, work needs to be undertaken to create an environment that enables change, to allow for the normative associations that underpin participants' beliefs to be challenged and potentially disrupted.

A high degree of variance between the institutional arrangements of men's and women's cricket can enable the emergence of institutional entrepreneurs as inequity can give "rise to institutional incompatibilities that become a source of internal contradiction… actors exposed to contradictory institutional arrangements are thus less likely to take existing arrangements for granted and more likely to question, and possibly diverge from, them" (Battilana, et al., 2009, p. 75). For example, the Melbourne Cricket Club did not allow female members until 1984; professional women cricketers were not paid until 2005; women's cricket was first televised on free to air television in 2008 (and not regularly until 2016); the first female board member of Cricket Australia, Jacquie Hey, was appointed in 2012; and, of the 49 Australian cricket hall of fame inductees to 2018, only three are women. The high level of inequity implicit within the national cricket system acted as a field level condition that precipitated the emergence of institutional entrepreneurs whom subsequently utilized their agency to create more equitable institutional arrangements.

Phase Two: Gender Diversity Work (2005-2015)

Institutional entrepreneurs can act to disrupt as well as maintain biased institutional arrangements. We outline two forms of diversity *work* in the domains of gender and

sexuality, and the issues of intersectionality that inevitably arise. Spaaij et al. (2016, p. 3) define *diversity work*, "as actions that are aimed at creating greater diversity of members from various backgrounds in formal and informal organizational structures." In our case, two types of work are specified: (1) diversity work aimed at including women (i.e., gender diversity work); and, (2) diversity work aimed at including lesbian women specifically (i.e., sexuality diversity work). Whilst obvious interdependencies exist, the inclusion of lesbian women is conditional on the inclusion of women, we demonstrate how social change in one dimension (i.e., gender) can differ from social change in another dimension (i.e., sexuality). Representative of the contested and ongoing negotiations between actors in the field, the timelines within this section intentionally overlap.

Following the merger in 2003, Cricket Australia became the peak governing body of cricket within Australia. Responsible for mass participation, elite performance, leagues, rules and regulations, coaching and umpiring, CA holds a central 'subject position' within the field of Australian cricket that simultaneously provides it with a taken-for-granted legitimacy, access to substantive resources from federal funders, broadcast rights, and ticket sales. Viewed as an institutional entrepreneur, CA is *the* central actor for cricket in Australia and as such can influence institutional change throughout the cricket system (Battilana, et al., 2009). Recognising historically embedded biases within the sport, CA began to make a concerted effort to become "Australia's favourite sport" within their 2005-9 strategic plan (CA, 2005). Under the goal to, "substantially increase sustainable participation in the game," the report explicitly states that, "we [CA] will measure our success by the number and diversity of Australians playing the game" (CA, 2005, p. 16). In 2014, CA released a comprehensive strategy *'National Female Cricket Strategy for Game and Market Development 2014-2018'* the document outlined several avenues to grow the game for women and girls in Australia (CA, 2014). Three key shifts have been visible in the inclusion of women into cricket

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between 2005-2018: (1) the inclusion of women in the governance and decision making of cricket; (2) the commercialization and professionalization of elite women's cricket; and, (3) the increase in women and girls playing cricket.

A key influence within the gender diversity space has been the inclusion of appointed women directors on the board of CA following the ASC regulation that 40% of director positions on boards in state and national sport organizations should be filled by women (ASC, n.d.). Previously, CA was criticized for the lack of gender diversity in decision making following the merger of WCA and ACB in 2003 (Stronach & Adair, 2009). As part of the Crawford and Carter (2011) governance review, the CA board changed its governance structures in 2012 to allow the appointment of three independent directors in a transition to a fully independent board by 2017. At the time of writing, two out of eight CA directors are women. As one administrator described, although there was improvement, there was certainly scope for much more to be done,

> I think we've still got a fair way to go. Certainly, across the landscape, it's improved … Well, if you're talking about genuine diversity, we should be seeing that reflected in the governance, in the leadership, in the media coverage, in the resourcing, the payments that are going to elite athletes. So I think we've got a fair way to go in that respect. (Administrator 5)

CA acted to disrupt existing normative associations around women's cricket as a part-time amateur pursuit, via the professionalization of women's cricket in areas of pay, league formation and broadcasting. Key actors in these negotiations were the players and players' association, CA, and media broadcasters. Following the formation of CA, financial payments were allocated to professional women cricketers for the first time in 2005. After women cricketers were granted non-voting rights to the representative body of 'all' Australian cricketers, the Australian Cricketers Association (ACA) in 2007, and full rights in 2010, the

ACA were able to collectively negotiate the employment conditions of professional women cricketers in Australia. Via iterative negotiations between ACA and CA, professional women players went from not being paid to sharing in a pool of AUD$55.2 million in 2018 (Gearin, 2017). Whilst disparity remains between male and female cricketers, the increase in pay allowed elite women cricketers to become full-time professional players, rather than also juggling external work commitments previously required to maintain the same level of income. The professionalization of women in cricket disrupted the taken-for-grantedness of women as amateur cricketers and laid the foundation for further change via the introduction of a professional league structure.

In 2015, CA launched a professional and televised women's league, the Women's Big Bash League (WBBL). On the announcement of the WBBL in 2015, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of CA, James Sutherland, stated that CA wants "cricket to be the number one sport for girls and women in Australia and we believe that the WBBL can assist this goal by creating an inspiring visible pathway for the next generation of players, fans and volunteers" (CA, 2015, para. 13). During 2015-2018, CA dramatically increased the broadcasting of the WBBL and subsequent commercial value of the broadcast rights revenue associated with women's cricket. From a position of no significant media exposure prior to the commencement of the WBBL, CA negotiated a six-year deal with national broadcasters to show all matches on public and pay television in 2018. With broadcasters locked in to a six-year term, for the first time in the history of Australian cricket, there is relative parity between the public broadcasting of men's and women's cricket. Indicative of actions that include the formation of CA, negotiation of increased pay for women cricketers, and the launch of the WBBL, participation in cricket by women and girls has increased 637% to 393,735 since 2002 (ASC, 2002; CA, 2017). Whilst we reiterate that much work still remains to be done to reach parity with men's cricket, the aggregate result of diversity work in areas

of pay, professionalization and participation demonstrates a clear difference in the form, quality and state of the institution of Australia women's cricket over time – the institution of Australian cricket has changed to become more inclusive of women.

Phase 3: Demonizing Lesbianism and Valorizing Heteronormativity (1994-2014)

Demonizing lesbianism. Cricket provided a lightning rod for heated public debate around sexuality in Australia in 1994. In the lead up to a tour of New Zealand by the Australian women's cricket team, Denise Annetts, a member of the Australian team, was not selected for the tour. One administrator (Administrator 5) recalled the incident, "I remember when I first started playing cricket, I think it was Denise Annetts, the ex-Australian player, came out and said, 'I didn't get selected in the Australian team because I'm married to a bloke.'" Burroughs, Seebohm and Ashburn (1995) outline that in the two months following the comments, 140 news media articles were written, all news broadcasters covered it in their leading news section (rather than the sport section), and it occupied talk back radio for weeks. By the time the team reached New Zealand for their series, the tour was covered by travelling journalists for the first time since the inaugural Australia versus England tour in the 1930s. The incident gained significant media attention because it brought to the fore embedded societal biases toward lesbians both in the community and in cricket's administration. One cricket administrator explained that,

> A previous coach of a women's team was a mature aged Anglo-Saxon male. And just casually… he, you know talked about the players and sexuality, sexual preferences of players and … he quite casually said, 'well no, I think we've been able to weed out the lesbians'. And he was talking to a group where probably half the group were lesbians as well and they just said, 'this guy has got no idea,' and, 'that's the sort of thing we're facing now'. (Administrator 7)

The Annetts issue was very prescient for many cricket administrators. Another one commented that,

> How she [Annetts] got air because of that …. Even though it was 20 years ago, there were still some really good things that came out of it. So at the time, *Frontline* was a very big satirical current affairs show, and they parodied it on the show to just show how stupid it was. But it still … it forced the women's game further into the closet. (Administrator 9)

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) describe *valorizing and demonizing work* as a mechanism that maintains an institutional arrangement by, "providing for public consumption, both positive and negative examples that illustrate the normative foundations of an institution" (p. 230). Applying our theoretical framework to the behaviors, norms and practices observable via first-hand accounts and news media of the time, we suggest that Denise Annetts and the sensationalist reporters of the day, perhaps unwittingly, acted as institutional entrepreneurs by fermenting negative perceptions of lesbian athletes for public consumption, causing players to manage their 'lesbian-ness' by employing identity management techniques to conceal their sexuality (i.e., pushing lesbian cricketers further into the closet) (Walker & Melton, 2015).

Valorizing heteronormativity. The disruption of previously institutionalized gender norms via gender diversity work enabled higher levels of inclusion of women within the normative systems and cognitive understandings of cricket in Australia. However, whilst gendered institutional biases were disrupted (i.e., via demonstrable social change), the valorization of heteronormativity acted to maintain institutional biases toward females on the bases of sexuality. As one volunteer stated,

> You hear so much misogyny and, as an LGBT person, when I hear misogyny, I hear, 'OK, well if you're not accepting of women, you're probably not

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accepting of me either.' So it's got to be intersectional, you've got to take an

intersectional approach. (Volunteer 1)

During 2005-2018, CA faced a perceived paradox at the intersection of gender and

sexuality inclusion. On the one hand, CA was rapidly developing women's participation in

the game, whilst on the other hand, maintaining a historical stigma towards lesbianism. As

one administrator observed,

> I've got a mate who's got a daughter who is all through school and is a very
>
> good cricketer. And my mate was very comfortable for her to continue to play
>
> cricket, but his wife wouldn't let her go down to a local women's club … I've
>
> never spoken to his wife about it but I assume it's a case of, 'I don't want my
>
> daughter to be gay, so I don't want her to be in an environment where there's a
>
> risk that she might be gay.' … In its simplest form, that's the underlying stigma,
>
> prejudice, obstacle, that I think in some ways is actually an obstacle to us
>
> growing our game, growing our sport. (Administrator 8)

Disruption in the domain of gender inclusion in Australian cricket did not inevitably lead

to disruption in inclusion on the basis of sexuality. The valorization of heteronormativity in

women's cricket further embedded an underlying stigma toward lesbian cricketers. CA was

attempting to grow women's participation in the sport, whilst simultaneously, struggling to

change biased institutional beliefs within the management of cricket itself. Indicative of the

perceived paradox was that gender and sexuality-based inclusion were positioned as mutually

exclusive; and further, that to be inclusive of lesbians would be detrimental to the marketing

of the game to heterosexual women. Two players provided indicative quotes of this view,

> [A] homophobic thing I'm experiencing is that it appears that there is a strategy
>
> of shifting cricket's image, and that is by choosing specific types of women to
>
> represent [the Australian] team, in the public eye. They're all straight, they're all

tall, blonde, like they're kind of all the same. And it appears that there's an avoidance of those women who may look like they may be gay, or they are gay, but openly, who have girlfriends. There seems to be an avoidance of that. (Player 1)

I think that's probably a happy coincidence for Cricket Australia that they all look straight, they've all got long blonde hair, that whole kind of thing… I think if your really good players were not straight, and really looked like "Buckley Bins" [i.e., slang for not attractive], they might not quite be splashed about in the same way. (Player 6)

We have highlighted the intersectionality of gender and sexuality in diversity work. On the one hand inclusion in the domain of gender rapidly grew; but it did so within the constraints of heteronormative boundaries. Diversity work is plural and domain specific. The pace of change in one domain of inclusion (i.e., gender) was different from the pace of change in another domain (i.e., sexuality). Our findings echo those of Hickey et al., (2016) who found that the promotion of a heterosexual image of women's cricket targeted increasing female participation, whilst simultaneously reinforcing a form of heterosexism that continued to alienate and hinder lesbian inclusion in the sport. As the focus on inclusion and participation needed to appeal to the mass market, a justification was made to present a heterosexual image to the public, based on the premise that heteronormativity would align more strongly with social norms within Australian society and potentially attract more women to cricket. For example, a player indicated,

There is a common attitude that the game is getting better when our profile is shifting to more of a straight image… There was a perceived challenge to be on one hand genuinely inclusive and respectful for gay people, but on the other

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hand, shift the image in the women's game so mothers brought their daughters.

(Player 1)

Efforts to increase the participation base of women and girls were successful in normalizing women's participation in cricket and the commercialization of an elite women's league. The marketing of the new league was also problematic as communications further embedded heteronormative foundations and continued to exclude lesbians from mainstream inclusion in cricket. Whilst we do not suggest that such an exclusion was intentional, we propose that such a bias was an unintentional consequence of both the push to increase women's participation and a legacy of demonization that stigmatized lesbianism within cricket in the 1990s. Simultaneously institutional entrepreneurs can resist attempts to disrupt institutional arrangements, and instead reinforce existing embedded biases. One form of discursive practice described by Spaaij, Knoppers and Jeanes (2019) as 'bodily inscription' was utilized to reinforce exclusion and maintain a sense of heteronormative marketing communications. Bodily inscription is a discursive practice in which a sense of otherness is attached to a minority, such as lesbians not conforming to subjective notions of heteronormative female appearance, and facilitates the maintenance of pre-existing normative systems. Theoretically, we argue that social change is not linear. By simultaneously valorising heterosexuality, and demonizing lesbianism, we present a mechanism in which institutional biases toward sexuality were *maintained* despite changes in the broader inclusion of heterosexual women in cricket.

Phase 4: Sexuality Diversity Work (2014-2018)

With substantial changes in the women's game, disruption to embedded institutionalized arrangements gradually enabled the social inclusion of lesbians. Unlike the inclusion trajectory outlined above in regards to the inclusion of heterosexual women in cricket, the active inclusion of LGBT communities remains in its embryonic stage as institutional

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entrepreneurs within and external to the field of cricket purposively work to disrupt institutionalized heteronormative belief systems.

The most significant disruption work in LGBT inclusion was the development, and subsequent signing, of the *Anti-Homophobia and Inclusion for Australian Sports Framework* in 2015 ('the framework') (Bingham Cup, 2014). The framework was developed by the Bingham Cup committee, the *Sydney Convicts* rugby club (Australia's first gay and inclusive rugby club) and a coalition of advocacy groups whom operate at the intersection of human rights, sport and the LGBT community. As an institutional entrepreneur, the Bingham Cup committee held a 'subject position' across multiple fields (e.g., human rights, LGBT advocacy, academia, and sport) that both granted the organization legitimacy within the LGBT community, and the ability to access political and financial resources (e.g., from the signatories of the framework and the federal body responsible for governing sport (e.g., Sport Australia)) (Battilana, et al., 2009). The peripheral nature of the Bingham Cup, relative to the heteronormative institutional field of cricket in Australia, possessed the imbued legitimacy across multiple fields that enabled it to enact social change via sexuality diversity work, that the high-status, well-resourced CA was otherwise unable, or unwilling to initiate.

Building on Ahmed's (2012) conceptualization of diversity work, the signing of the framework by CA contained both non-performative (e.g., the signing of the framework did not bring about a more inclusive environment) and performative (e.g., the signing of the framework did bring about a more inclusive environment) elements (Ahmed, 2012). On the non-performative side, CA delayed signing the framework and was the only major sport league not to have their CEO present at the signing (Webster, 2014). On the performative side, CV won the inaugural *Pride in Sport* award for the highest ranked state sport organization in the *Pride in Sport* index in 2018. Additionally, drawing on Walker and Melton's (2015) work, the signing of the framework could be considered performative via the

implicit and explicit signalling effects signing the framework had on the institutional environment of cricket. Performative elements of diversity work may shift the organizational climate and further enable individuals to be more comfortable disclosing their sexuality.

The inclusion of women in the normative systems and cognitive understandings of cricket provided a platform for further inclusion of lesbian women. Whilst we are not suggesting that the institution of Australian cricket is fully inclusive, we make the case that a secondary type of diversity work was utilized within the domain of sexuality. A shift in the embedded normative beliefs of institutional actors is an identifier of institutional change (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006). Key to shifting normative assumptions regarding sexuality in women's cricket is the provision of positive role models that break the stigma associated with lesbianism in women's cricket and challenge taken-for-granted notions of heteronormativity. Here, we include a case study of an institutional entrepreneur identified by our participants who has been influential in shifting the discourse around sexuality within cricket – Elyse Villani. Like the description of the Bingham Cup committee above, whom possessed imbued legitimacy of key actors across multiple fields, Elyse Villani shared the same characteristics at the individual level of analysis. She is an elite athlete and representative of both the national and WBBL teams, and openly discloses her sexuality. Her status as an elite sportsperson granted her legitimacy and acceptance within the norms and behaviors present within cricket. Simultaneously, her openness regarding her sexuality granted her legitimacy to advocate and perform sexuality diversity work.

The increased media platform given to women's cricket and provision of lesbian role models challenges the heteronormative bias of cricket. A key aspect of diversity work within lesbian inclusion was to challenge normative associations that connected sexuality and stigma. *Rebel Sport,* an Australian sporting goods retailer, produced a series of five advertisements to leverage its sponsorship of the WBBL in 2016. One of these

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advertisements featured openly gay elite cricketer, Elyse Villani, who as part of the advertisement, made the following statement:

> Outing myself as an openly gay athlete, I guess that was a huge step for me. I was really nervous about that! That's something that I am really proud of. And I just hope that if that could have helped one person, then that is completely worth it. My name is Elyse Villani and I play for the Perth Scorchers [WBBL Team] (Rebel Sport, 2016).

The dialogue was played over imagery of Villani working out, training and demonstrating her skill at playing cricket. Institutional entrepreneurs like Elyse Villani change normative associations for players and key influencers such as parents. Our participants highlighted the importance of institutional entrepreneurs as role models. One indicative statement was:

> But if you have 'out' athletes, it really, really helps. Like Elyse Villani for me, when she came out, I was like, OK, I can perform at a high level. I mean, I knew people who performed there, but they weren't 'out' out. (Player 2)

The net result of such actions can be to change the normative associations of individuals who fear and stigmatize lesbian cricketers. Media coverage and taking a public stance provides role models and normalizes a range of sexualities in cricket. In doing so, diversity work challenges the stigma and vilification attached to the demonizing of lesbian cricketers in the 1990s. Such change is explained by a participant as follows:

> I think, like the big thing I found is young girls coming out to their parents or whatever, they find their parents take it better knowing happy older gay females that have got successful lives are all doing university degrees, and finding partners, and all that sort of stuff. So, they kind of look at it, oh they can be happy, like they're not as worried for their kids. (Player 3)

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Growing from a platform of inclusion, a substantial amount of diversity work initially allowed for cricket to more equitably and inclusively enable women to participate at the elite level in Australia. Although we argue that the focus on heteronormative positioning is potentially problematic on the basis that it may maintain stigma associated with lesbian inclusion, the substantial growth in media coverage and income associated with the women's game enabled a larger public platform to be developed to advocate for further inclusion of lesbian women within the institution of cricket. Two participants explain:

> The end goal should be a normalising of this, like the fact that we even need to be making it so public that there is this problem of a lack of inclusion for these people is… it's reality and it's great, but it's sad. (Volunteer 2)
>
> It's breaking down some of those attitudes that it is a bit weird to see two people of the same sex walking in holding hands. It's not different anymore, it's not unusual, which I think is a good thing for our sport, for our culture. (Administrator 7)

Our results align with Walker and Melton's (2015) investigation of intersectionality in intercollegiate sports. Walker and Melton found that two inclusion practices for managing gender and sexuality were identified as managing 'lesbian-ness', and shifting the organizational climate. Managing lesbian-ness involved searching for signs of inclusion prior to choosing whether or not to openly disclose individual sexual orientation in the workplace. Historically, signs of stigma, rather than inclusiveness, were present within Australian cricket. If signs of inclusion were not present, then lesbian women would be more likely to engage identity management techniques to conceal their sexuality, and portray femininity in order to adhere to gender norms within the work place. Diversity work within this organizational climate was contested. On the one hand, explicit policies (e.g., signing the Anti-Homophobia and Inclusion in Sport Framework) signalled an inclusive climate, whilst

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implicit practices (e.g., language around husbands and wives versus partners) aligned with historically embedded gender norms and were slower to change. The increasing prevalence of role models within cricket are further challenging these practices.

Implications and Conclusions

This research has shown how gender and sexuality biases can be maintained and disrupted by institutional entrepreneurs. It has also demonstrated how social change varies over time and between different intersections of inclusion. Our findings and discussion present several avenues for: (1) academics to pursue the application of institutional concepts to better understand social change in practice; and, (2) for practitioners (entrepreneurs) to articulate their contributions (work) to making their sport (institution) more inclusive via disrupting exclusionary (biased) arrangements. First, researchers looking to investigate social change should consider temporality regarding the contextual conditions present when existing sport institutions were created. By investigating the historical biases within the creation, and subsequent iterations of maintenance and disruption, we are better positioned to assess how sporting institutions have, or have not, changed and contextualize current practices within that knowledge (e.g., Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016). Investigations across different cultural contexts and over varying time periods are likely to reinforce the notion of social change as a non-linear process, occurring in fits-and-starts. Critical historical studies could investigate the mechanisms in which sport institutions regress to more biased arrangements in differing temporal and cultural settings (e.g., the popularity of women's cricket in Australia in the 1930s relative to today, or the introduction of Russia's 'gay propaganda' laws in the lead up to the Sochi Olympics) (McLachlan, 2019). This stream of research could potentially utilize Micelotta and Washington's (2013) 'repair work' to investigate how historically biased institutions are maintained, despite efforts to 'disrupt' such biases in favour of more inclusive environments.

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Secondly, this study demonstrated mechanisms of institutional entrepreneurship, and work, on social change practice. More attention needs to be paid to the specific mechanisms enacted by entrepreneurs to facilitate or hinder change. For example, how may the advocacy of a highly visible role model influence social change. Extending on this point, a third implication identified the importance of language, or what Walker and Melton (2015) term, "implicit practices." For example, not implying a heterosexual and gender-based norm around partners in the invitations to events (e.g., 'wives and girlfriends' or 'husbands and boyfriends' vs partners); dress codes (e.g., lounge suits vs formal dress); and travel policies (e.g., accommodation arrangements). Practitioners wishing to undertake diversity work need to be cognizant of the implicit cues they are sending that can act to maintain or disrupt existing biases (Melton & Cunningham, 2014b).

Fourth, we identified the need to better understand institutional entrepreneurs active within institutions. To date, a substantial amount of research on inclusion has been completed within intercollegiate sport in the United States (e.g., Melton & Cunningham, 2014a) and universities (e.g., Ahmed, 2012). Whilst this should not be read as problematic or unwelcomed, it does occur within a specific legislative environment (e.g., Title IX) and relatively progressive institutional settings (e.g., universities). Understanding the relative agency of institutional entrepreneurs (e.g., LGBT persons, allies, parents, employees, sponsors) in varying organizational contexts (e.g., corporations, government, community sport) could greatly add to our understanding of LGBT inclusion in sport.

There are some potential limitations to consider in terms of data; interviews were conducted with participants from two states Victoria and New South Wales. There are other state and territory cricket associations, and for a full range of perspectives, participants could have been interviewed from across Australia. Further, seven interviewees identified as openly LGBT, and more participants could have been recruited who were LGBT. However, finding

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openly LGBT administrators, in particular, who wanted to participate in the research was difficult. Further research could specifically address LGBT attitudes and experiences of inclusion, beyond discrimination and homophobia, and also non-LGBT attitudes towards inclusion. Comparing two distinct data sets could further demonstrate how LGBT people perceive inclusion versus heterosexual and cisgender people.

A theoretical framework was developed to underpin social change practice within the institution of Australian cricket. Our main findings indicate it may be typical for a sport institution to exist with some form of institutionalized bias that excludes members of society. In many cases, a struggle ensues between individuals seeking to disrupt and maintain institutional arrangements. We also demonstrated that social change in one domain of inclusion (e.g., gender) may lead to maintenance work in another domain (e.g., sexuality). Within CA's broader diversity policy, 'A Sport for All', we direct attention to an institutional arrangement which has served to historically alienate and exclude on the basis of gender and sexuality, and in more recent times actively take action to disrupt these embedded biases. Theoretically, our work contributes to understanding social change from an institutional perspective. By utilizing concepts of arrangements, bias, work, entrepreneur, and change, we provide theoretical categories that can help academics and practitioners explain and change socially-exclusive environments. Finally, we argue that despite significant historical stigma, the institution of cricket is beginning to demonstrate small changes in its normative associations and inclusion on the basis of gender and sexuality. Despite the presence of substantial social change, the institution still has significant work to fully include these groups. When lesbians in particular, are celebrated and promoted like their heterosexual counterparts, and their contributions to Australian cricket are valued, cricket in Australia may be considered one step closer to being a sport for all.

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