



Exploring the barriers to South Asian cricket players' entry and progression in coaching

A report for the England and Wales Cricket Board

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Contents

Executive Summary	i-iv
1.0. Aim and objectives	1
2.0. Background	2
3.0. Methodology	4
4.0. Findings	6
4.1. Coaching is low priority	7
4.1.1. Leisure time is constrained by family, work and religion	7
4.1.2. There is no perceived career in cricket coaching	12
4.1.3. Coaching is misunderstood	14
4.1.4. Coached players value coaching	14
4.2. Separate systems and absence of pathways	16
4.2.1. Cricket is run by white people, for white people	17
4.2.2. South Asian cricket is informal and transient	19
4.2.3. South Asians feel outside ‘the system’	20
4.2.4. South Asian coaches have little access to networks of influence	21
4.2.5. There is poor knowledge of ‘the system’ due to poor communication	22
4.3. The system and inclusivity	25
4.3.1. Historical lack of integration	25
4.3.2. The importance of role models and coach ethnicity	28
4.3.3. County coaching is for whites and roles are protected by gatekeepers	34
4.3.4. The ECB coaching ‘manual’ is too rigid	36
4.3.5. The language of the resources and courses can be alienating	37
4.4. White privilege (invisible to those who have it) perpetuates the reproduction of racialised differences and inequalities in cricket	40
5.0. Conclusions and recommendations	42
5.1. Conclusions	42
5.2. Recommendations	44
6.0. References	47

Executive summary

The research

The ECB are concerned that the apparently high proportion of cricket players from South Asian backgrounds were not extending their engagement in the sport into coaching. Estimates suggest that just under a third of total adult playing population are from South Asian communities compared to only 6% of Level 2 coaches.

Recent research highlights that inclusive sporting environments with a diverse range of participants, coaches and other workforce are highly motivating for entry into, and progression in sport for minority groups. If the ECB wishes to sustain and build upon the already high proportion of South Asian players involved in cricket, help these cricketers to develop, and to attract other South Asian participants, an examination of the diversity of the current coaching workforce is warranted.

In January 2014 the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) commissioned the Research Institute for Sport, Physical Activity and Leisure at Leeds Metropolitan University (LMU) to undertake research exploring the motivations, enablers and barriers underpinning South Asian male players' and coaches' engagement in cricket and the factors influencing their entry and progression in sport coaching.

The research involved interviews with 33 players and coaches from South Asian backgrounds in two locations: Bradford/Leeds and London.

	Leeds/Bradford	London	Total
Players	7	9	16
Coaches	9	8	17
Total	16	17	33

The interviews were informed by two discussion guides – a separate one for players and coaches. The interviews were conducted between 5 March and 18 April 2014. The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and analysed thematically.

Given the sample limitations, this research should be seen as an initial exploration of the key themes emerging around South Asian players' entry and progression in coaching rather than a comprehensive or representative analysis.

This kind of in-depth qualitative approach is recommended to inform more extensive data collection approaches once key themes and concepts have been identified.

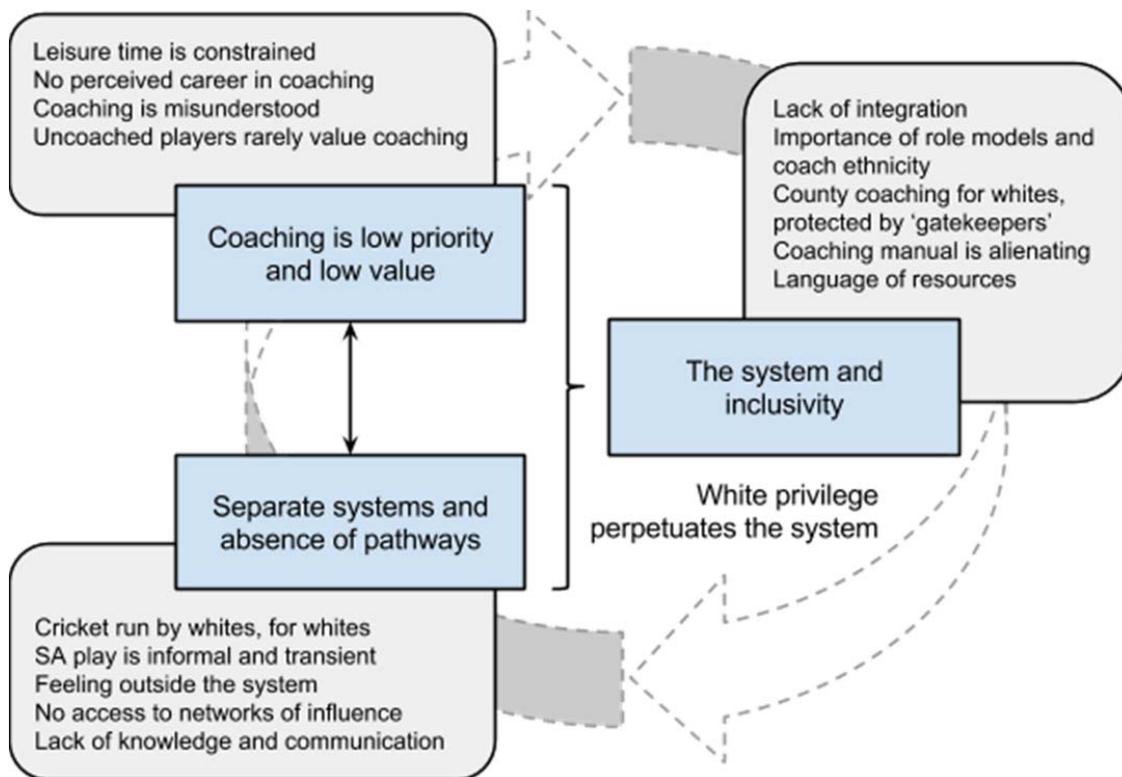
The results

The results were situated around three main themes:

- Coaching is low priority and low value
- The system and inclusivity
- Separate systems and absence of pathways

The three main themes were associated with a number of sub-themes:

Relationships between the main study findings on the motivations, enablers and barriers underpinning South Asian male participants' and coaches' engagement in cricket



Details of these themes are provided in the main report.

Despite these barriers to South Asian coaches engagement there was considerable evidence in the study of changing experiences and attitudes as early migrants to Britain were becoming more established, broader socio-cultural attitudes around the game were changing, and the first and second generation were having their own children who were having very different experiences to their parents and grandparents.

Older South Asian cricketers were more inclined to mention experiences of racism, for example, racial abuse during a game "20 years ago" but less so in recent times. There were definitely

signs that playing conditions had changed over the last 20 years – there appeared to be less overt racism, though we would caution that this does not mean the end of racism. It may be that racism has become more covert, institutionalised and subtle. Many of the younger participants suggested that the situation nowadays is much improved than in the past.

There was also a sense that coaching was becoming more important for younger players. Those who had experienced high quality or professional coaching – for example, in academies, junior county teams and other representation teams – noted its importance and it will be interesting to see how this translates into coaching interest in future years. In other words, there are seeds of change in terms of South Asian interest in coaching though it may take a number of years – and some appropriate prompting and support – for these changes to be realised in coaching numbers.

Recommendations

Reflecting the complexities of the issues concerning South Asian communities' engagement in coaching we offer our recommendations not as standalone points (though they could certainly be implemented in isolation) but as a series of 'chains'.

The idea here is that to have genuine impact on South Asians and coaching many of the recommendations have to be implemented and work together:

Recommendation chain 1: modifying 'the system' (demo-cricket)

No.	Recommendation
1	Proactively identify white privilege and processes and seek to disrupt them with early intervention. The ECB as an organisation should also look to present itself as being more progressive and inclusive to different ethnic groups. It is recognised that the ECB may well have attempted to recast the game and itself in this way but the messages are clearly not getting through to many in the South Asian community involved in this research.
2	Establish county-wide BME forum(s) for sharing ideas and good practice, with the requirement to meet or interact at a national level.
3	Encourage and enable more South Asians into influential, decision-making positions, including coach educator roles, thereby widening the 'network' (e.g. cricket development managers).
4	ECB needs to open up to and reach out to more informal spaces of play and recognise and value a greater diversity of playing and competition formats. Opportunities to coach are not obvious in teams without youth structures, nor are players likely to remain invested in cricket upon retirement unless they feel part of a club (with a community identity). The ECB must explore how they can help South Asians to develop clubs of their own, or integrate them in others.
5	Provide cultural diversity and equality training to all coaches and coach educators to

	increase sensitivity to important cultural and religious differences.
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Recommendation chain 2: promoting the value of cricket coaching

No.	Recommendation
6	Promote the value of cricket and coaching as legitimate activities (career, part-time or voluntary) to parents and senior community leaders (e.g. 'Elders' and religious leaders). This includes providing information about coach development and education and using innovative communication approaches.
7	Promote the value of coaching to players via enhancing club structures (i.e. to 'put something back in') and relationships with county boards.
8	Create more full-time paid coaching roles (and workforce development roles) that are accessible to South Asians (i.e. careers in cricket coaching).

Recommendation chain 3: making coach education and coaching more accessible

No.	Recommendation
9	Increase the visibility of South Asian coaches - in the county system where possible - to act as inspirational role models to aspiring coaches (i.e. dispelling the glass ceiling myth). This may encompass a degree of positive discrimination in recruitment practices. Where candidates have similar experiences and expertise choose the South Asian candidate especially for county level or more senior positions.
10	Establish a strategy aimed at engaging with a potential 'missed generation' (i.e. players in the 35-45 age bracket coming to the end of their careers, likely to have experienced overt and covert racism and may be disillusioned with the system).
11	Undertake a review of coaching resources and course material in terms of: a) their form, language and accessibility; and b) the technical scope and flexibility of 'the manual'.
12	Increase funding available for coaching qualifications and increase local delivery of courses.

1. Aim & Objectives

The aim of the study was to explore the motivations, enablers and barriers underpinning South Asian male players' and coaches' engagement in cricket and the factors influencing their entry and progression in sport coaching.

To meet this aim, the objectives for the study were to:

1. Understand South Asian male players' experiences of playing cricket.
2. Examine, describe and analyse the conditions which enable South Asian male cricket players to become cricket coaches.
3. Examine, describe and analyse the conditions which constrain South Asian male cricket players from becoming cricket coaches.
4. Understand existing South Asian male cricket coaches' experiences of entering and progressing through cricket coaching.
5. Evaluate the relationship between the participants' experiences of playing cricket and their coaching aspirations.
6. Present recommendations to the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) towards establishing an action orientated programme to enable more South Asian players to enter into and progress through cricket coaching.

2. Background

In the UK, recent research demonstrates the overrepresentation of white participants, coaches and decision makers within sporting contexts. In contrast Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups are under-represented at various levels of sport - from players, coaches (particularly higher level qualifications and higher level roles) and managers in sport governance - which suggests a significant problem for diversity and sport for all. In relation to this, statistics include:

- ❖ 15% of English participants taking part in 1 session a week (at least 4 sessions of at least moderate intensity for at least 30 minutes in the previous 28 days) are BME (Active People Survey 7 Q2).
- ❖ 97% of the UK coaching workforce is white, meaning 3% of individuals who coach in the UK are BME. This figure decreases further within the context of qualified coaches: 1% of qualified coaches in the UK are from BME groups (Sports Coach UK, 2011).

These high participation rates do not translate into a diverse cricket coaching workforce. For example, currently, only 6% of Level 2 coaches are of South Asian origin (ECB coaching data). This is despite the fact that cricket enjoys a high proportion of participants from South Asian origins (i.e. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka). According to Sport England Active People research around 30% of the 908,000 cricket participants aged 16 years and over in England and Wales are of South Asian origin. However, understanding how to enable players to make the transition into coaching, how to facilitate their motivation and remove the constraints or barriers to entry and progression into coaching is hindered further by a lack of research into Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) engagement in sport coaching. Where research does exist on 'race', ethnicity and sport, only a tiny fraction of it focuses on South Asian communities in cricket.

Existing research into 'race' and cricket has focused predominantly on the excluding and alienating effects of 'Englishness' in international cricket, issues of identity and problems of racism in amateur cricket, or articulations of fandom within diasporic communities (Fletcher, 2011). At the current time, very little research exists that directly focuses on the experiences of South Asians in cricket. It continues to be the case that dominant histories of cricket in England have centralised white voices. Subsequently, the experiences and stories of minority ethnic communities remain heavily marginalised.

Of the research that does exist on the experiences of BME groups in sport, it suggests that inclusive sporting environments with a diverse range of participants, coaches and other workforce are highly motivating for entry into, and progression in sport (Norman et al., 2014). Recent research has also found that while playing experiences within a sport can be positive as a whole and entry into coaching fairly smooth, significant and powerful barriers exist that prevent the progression of BME individuals into higher levels - i.e. higher level qualifications, higher level job roles (Long et al., 2009; Norman et al., 2014). It is when coaches attempt to move up and through the coaching 'system' that their experiences become 'racialised'.

Research describes how coaching can be a difficult profession for BME groups to progress in due to the presence of institutional and individual factors:

- ❖ BME coaches experience a lack of a social or professional network to support their professional development. This is reflected in a lack of mentoring, or opportunities to develop their coaching expertise; inaccessible, infrequent and costly training courses.
- ❖ The nature of the coaching appointment process, experienced by BME coaches as informal, closed, and lacking transparency, excludes and marginalises many BME coaches from new opportunities. These networks often privilege white men and are therefore described as raced and gendered. The conscious or unconscious outcome of such raced and gendered processes means that employment opportunities tend only to be available to coaches with similar characteristics and thus ultimately, preventing the progression of BME candidates.
- ❖ The lack of diversity among coaches leads to a lack of understanding of others. Common assumptions of the capabilities of BME groups as effective coaches and of their ability to undertake coaching qualifications, discourages or excludes many coaches from attending coaching courses.
- ❖ The under-representation of BME groups within coaching leads to the isolation of existing BME coaches and a lack of depth in the pool of potential coaching role models for aspiring coaches.
- ❖ Employment opportunities have a higher value than volunteer coaching roles.

Research describes the nature of the coaching profession itself as a lonely one, with little financial rewards, and in the case of voluntary coaching, a role that makes great demands on each individual's time (North, 2010; Timson-Katchis and North, 2010). The interplay of these powerful social, cultural, economic and institutional barriers serve to construct what could be described as a 'glass ceiling'; these barriers have connected to successfully prevent the progression of many BME coaches (Norman et al, 2014).

The ECB's wish to sustain and build upon the already high proportion of South Asian players involved in cricket, to enable these players to develop as coaches, and to attract other South Asians into coaching, therefore warrants this examination of the experiences of current South Asian players and coaches.

3. Methodology

An important feature of the present study was to centralise the participants' experiences by collecting detailed in-depth data. Findings from the data are to be used to base a guide for intervention(s) to increase the number of South Asians entering and progressing through cricket coaching. For this, the study utilised a qualitative methodological approach so that the engagement of South Asian groups in cricket, considering their motivations, barriers and enablers, could be understood more broadly. This also involved examining cultural and structural influences in addition to individual factors.

The study explored the experiences of participants in different playing and coaching contexts, social and cultural contexts, and at different stages and performance levels of their cricket participation and coaching. To achieve this, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were carried out with a sample of male South Asian players and coaches, from two different geographical areas (London, and Yorkshire) and from a sample of clubs with different levels of ethnic diversity (some with a high number of South Asian players and coaches, mixed ratio of South Asian to white players and coaches, to a low number of South Asian players and coaches). The sample of players and coaches were initially recruited through contacts and networks known to the research team and facilitated by the ECB and relevant county boards. These contacts served as 'key informants' to recruit more participants who themselves recommended other participants (snowballing). In total, 33 interviews (mix of face-to-face and telephone) were carried out with South Asian players and coaches in the Yorkshire and London areas. For the sake of anonymity, throughout the report all respondents have been given pseudonyms. Respondents are identified as either 'Player' or 'Coach', followed by a code to depict which geographic region they were from - i.e. 'Y' for Yorkshire or 'L' for London, and their personal number. Table 1 details the profiles of the coaches and players interviewed (next page).

The interview guides that steered the discussions with the players and coaches were written for the purpose of the study. For the discussions with the coaches, the interviews focused upon current or previous playing experience within the sport, how they had made the transition into coaching, their experiences of progressing as cricket coaches, and for their opinions and experiences of wider organisational drives and initiatives towards the recruitment of South Asian groups in cricket coaching. The interviews with the players focused upon their entry into the game, what enabled and / or constrained their entry, their coaching ambitions and aspirations, and their thoughts and experiences of wider organisational drives and initiatives towards the recruitment of South Asian cricket coaches.

Table 1: Participant profiles

Pseudonym	Diversity within club (H – High number of South Asian players / coaches; M – Mixed number; L – Low number)	Role (player or coach)	Location	Age bracket	Born in or migrated to the UK	Ethnicity (self-defined by the participant)
CoachY1	H	Coach	Yorkshire	31-40	B	Indian
PlayerY1	H	Player	Yorkshire	21-30	B	British
PlayerY2	H	Player	Yorkshire	41-50	B	British Asian
PlayerY3	M	Player	Yorkshire	31-40	B	Pakistani
PlayerY4	M	Player	Yorkshire	<21	B	British Pakistani
CoachY2	M	Coach	Yorkshire	21-30	B	British
CoachL1	M	Coach	Essex	31-40	B	British Pakistani
CoachL2	M	Coach	Essex	31-40	M	Pakistani
PlayerL1	M	Player	Essex	<21	B	British Pakistani
PlayerL2	H	Player	Essex	31-40	B	Indian
PlayerL3	H	Player	London	21-30	M	British Asian
PlayerL4	H	Player	London	31-40	M	British Pakistani
PlayerL5	H	Player	London	41-50	M	British Pakistani
PlayerL6	H	Player	London	41-50	M	British Asian
PlayerL7	H	Player	London	21-30	M	Indian
PlayerL8	H	Player	London	21-30	M	Indian
CoachY3	M	Coach	Yorkshire	51-60	M	Indian
PlayerY5	L	Player	Yorkshire	41-50	M	Pakistani
PlayerY6	L	Player	Yorkshire	21-30	B	British Asian
CoachY4	L	Coach	Yorkshire	41-50	B	Pakistani
CoachY5	L	Coach	Yorkshire	21-30	B	British Indian
CoachY6	H	Coach	Yorkshire	41-50	B	Yorkshireman/ Pakistani Muslim
CoachY7	H	Coach	Yorkshire	41-50	B	Indian
CoachY8	H	Coach	Yorkshire	41-50	B	Pakistani
PlayerY7	L	Player	Yorkshire	21-30	B	British Asian
CoachY9	L	Coach	Yorkshire	21-30	B	British Asian
CoachL3	M	Coach	London	21-30	B	British Pakistani
CoachL4	L	Coach	London	31-40	M	Pakistani
CoachL5	H	Coach	London	<21	M	Bangladeshi
PlayerL9	H	Player	London	41-50	M	Pakistani
CoachL6	H	Coach	London	<21	M	Bangladeshi
CoachL7	H	Coach	London	31-40	M	Indian
Coach L8	H	Coach	London	31-40	M	Bangladeshi

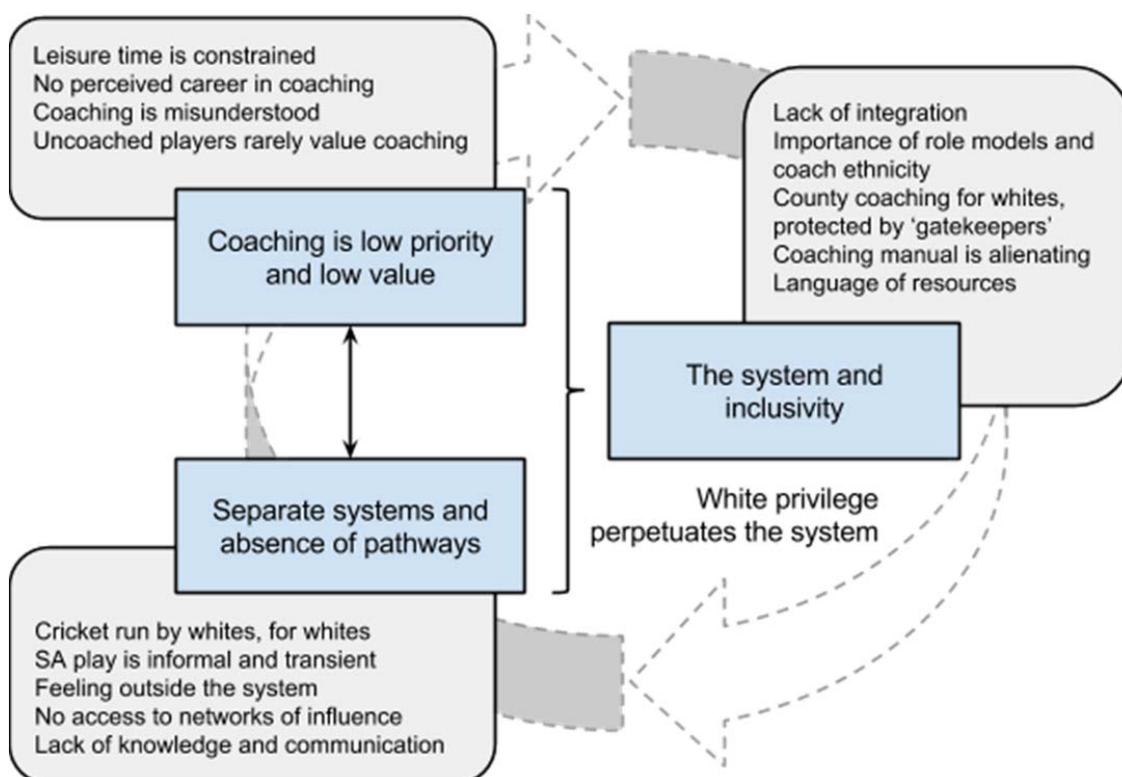
Prior to the interview, all participants completed a signed consent form. All interviews were digitally recorded using a dictaphone and were then transcribed verbatim. Interview summaries were written for all 33 interviews to provide an overview of the emergent ideas and themes for the research team. Data were thematically analysed by members of the research team and then cross-checked by other members in order to share and confirm the findings. This also ensured rigour in the data analysis and interpretation stage of the research.

4. Findings

As an important preliminary to the presentation of the results it is important to remember that the findings presented here always reflect the *perceptions* of the South Asian participants. Where conflicts arise between these perceptions and the ECB's activities and experiences (e.g. the perception that the ECB 'coaching manual' is rigid and outdated) we encourage reflection on why such perceptions might exist even if, in the ECB's view there appears to be questionable foundation to them.

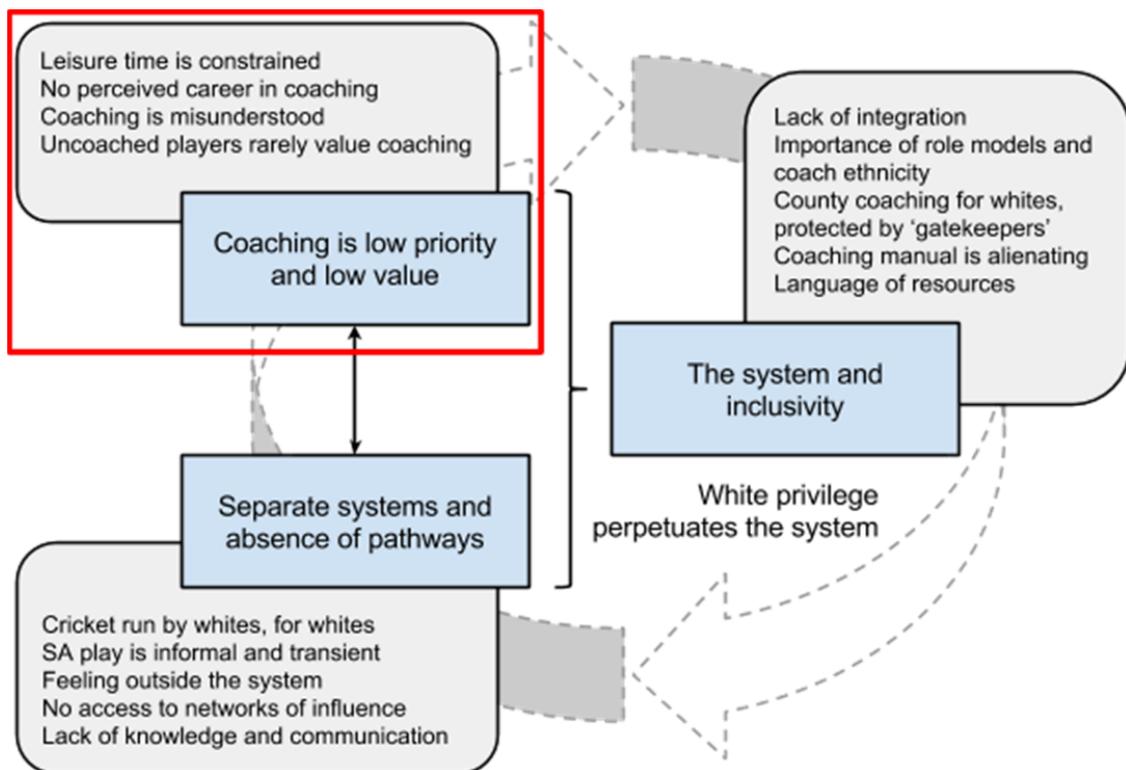
The findings are presented in three interrelated categories (with a fourth, underpinning category), which together offer explanations for the main project question: why are there so few South Asian cricket coaches? Briefly put, the low value attached to coaching by the South Asian participants, their perception that they occupy a distinctly different 'cricketing' system, and a situation where white coaches and administrators (explicitly and implicitly) restrict access to coaching and the higher level coaching roles required to create effective role models, all appear important.

Figure 4.1. Relationships between the main study findings on the motivations, enablers and barriers underpinning South Asian male participants' and coaches' engagement in cricket



4.1. Coaching is low priority and low value

Cricket was seen to be a highly enjoyable social activity linked to the sporting traditions and cultural pastimes of the countries of origin of the players and coaches we interviewed. This adds to popular explanations for the high proportion of the cricket playing population that are South Asian. However, engagement in the sport was conditioned by other commitments which made more intensive involvement in the sport, for example through coaching, difficult.



4.1.1. Leisure time is constrained by family, work and religion

Very few of the South Asian players and coaches involved in this study considered coaching to be a legitimate career (see section 4.1.2). Instead, coaching was something to be done during their leisure time. For these individuals coaching was a mainly voluntary activity, which would be undertaken in addition to their prioritised everyday commitments. Given this, coaching was both low priority and low value for many of the respondents. They identified a number of potential barriers to becoming a coach, and these can be divided into three main categories: family, work and religion.

The centrality of family came through strongly in the research. Many respondents identified that in their networks it is common for there to be multiple generations of a single family living under

one roof. This brings a series of challenges to considering the heterogeneity and demands of South Asian players and coaches, especially time to both play and coach cricket. A number of the respondents stressed that it was difficult to justify time away from their families to coach and/or undertake coaching qualifications because they already spend a great deal of time apart due to work and cricket playing commitments. Player L9, identified time away from his family as the main barrier to him not taking up coaching:

The only reason I could say is probably timing ... because come the summer it's like the wife is a widow. I'm always on the cricket ground with the kids etc. I take my kids along, be involved with the club, as soon as the winter kicks in, it's just family time.

Player Y2, shared concerns about spending time away from his family and added that as he considered coaching cricket to be a predominantly voluntary activity, he would find it hard to justify spending time away from his family without being paid for it:

It's that voluntary thing, that concept of giving some time up. It is difficult, I can understand why they can't [give up the time]. I've got an excellent missus because I'm away a lot because of cricket and it is difficult to get the balance right with family and extended family commitments and you have to work as well. It's difficult to fit everything in.

A number of the players and coaches also emphasised that playing and coaching sport continues to be of low value within many South Asian families. Instead, these families emphasise the value of getting a quality education and working in a 'professional' occupation, such as a doctor or accountant:

The only thing they are more concerned about is the kids educating. The common roles we have is accountant, doctor, barrister, professionals and just because they are economically migrants and they want to see somehow the kids their future being secured, because we Asians if I may say, we just don't think ourselves. Our social set up, the way we think, we think us, our kids, their kids, generations down, okay. That's how we tend to ... we play God in a way, but that's how we make provisions, okay. (Coach L1)

The idea that playing and coaching sport is low value within South Asian cultures was linked strongly with generational differences between the respondents. Given the circumstances in which different generations of South Asians have come to be resident in the UK it is not surprising that there are differences in their perceived value of sport and other leisure activities. For example, it is widely understood that the first generation of migrants that arrived en masse were labour migrants, whose stay was intended to be temporary. Their intention was to work, save money and then return 'home'. Sport and leisure were almost antithetical to this ambition and, as a result, were neither valued nor prioritised.

This notion of cricket being low priority and of low value has been maintained, to varying degrees, by South Asian families in the intervening period(s), and has resulted in a culture of non-support in many families for those boys and girls who want to pursue sport. Instead, as is argued by a number of academic studies, South Asian families prioritise education over

anything else, meaning that many South Asian youths are not given the support they need - for example, assisting them to get to competitions - to advance their abilities in sport, including converting into coaching.

Coach Y2: The biggest problem for South Asian background is the backing. I've been backed 100% by my parents for whatever I wanted to do but there's a lot of cases still in 2014 out there that don't have the backing. They'd rather their son be a dentist or a doctor or something else. They don't see coaching or even being a professional footballer in South Asian background as being a good job. If your son's not a doctor ...

Coach L2:[Y]our parents are not happy with you playing cricket. Every parent wants the kids to go to school, college and university, and get a good education, because they don't think if you go back 25 years or so, they think if you get a good education then you have a good future. If you're playing cricket you don't have a good future, you are doing stupid things, and you don't get a good job if you're not educated. That's why the whole interest for parents is that you go and get higher education.

Many of the players and coaches interviewed identified the lack of parental support and involvement in many families as a major barrier to South Asians entering coaching. The coaches in particular said that lack of parental involvement made their roles as coaches much harder:

...when I see the other communities such as English or the West Indians or so, their parents come out and support their children when they're playing matches or things like that. When it comes to South Asian children, I just don't know. It's really concerning for me on that. It seems like when we're taking on the coaching of South Asian kids, it looks like we are becoming their parents in a way of making sure that we're taking them there and bringing them back. It's very concerning. (Coach L2)

Another concern was the argument that the lack of involvement of many South Asian parents is a self-perpetuating cycle. That is, if children are told by their parents cricket is not a valuable activity then they are less likely to socialise their own children into an environment that attaches value to cricket playing and/or coaching. This view was shared by players and coaches alike.

Coach Y5: I remember a lad that played for Yorkshire ... He had no backing from home. He used to come to the ground himself ... [Sometimes] he couldn't get there. He was 16-17, a vulnerable age and he stopped playing cricket. It goes back to how you're taught at home and if they're (family) passionate at home and they're taking you everywhere and they're teaching you these things and they're getting you there on time ... If you're not getting taught that at home then when they turn up they're going to be just as bad as the people at home.

Player Y3: Parent participation is key and there are some parents who drop their children off, don't know or care what they do and then come back, pick them up at a given time and they think they've done their parental duty which is a sad step. Even now, that shouldn't happen. They should be there.

As is emphasised throughout this report, it is important not to homogenise South Asian cultures, nor to assume that the people interviewed in this research are representative of wider South Asian communities. Indeed, whilst the narrative identified here was more negative than positive in terms of familial support and involvement there were individuals with very positive experiences.

I've been very lucky in that my parents have put a lot of time and effort into me as well. If I need to go to a training session, they've taken me there. I played county as well for about two years. I had games in Durham and Edgbaston and Dad would wake up at six thirty in the morning to take me to those games. (Player Y4)

Similarly, it should be noted that lack of parental support and involvement does not automatically mean an individual will not pursue coaching or discourage their own children from it, and vice versa. Coach L3 said that, as he had received limited support from his parents, he was more determined than ever to support his own children.

...because of that lack of it [support from parents] I do that with my son. He's chauffeured everywhere, to his trainings, his practices, he gets the latest kit, he gets everything and that's something I'm trying to fulfil psychologically which I didn't have when I saw what my counterparts, the English family is doing.

Religion was also identified as a barrier to the pursuit of cricket and cricket coaching.¹ Mainly, respondents said that their everyday commitments to attending the mosque restricted the amount of time they could devote to sport.

It's a difficult one because any club, the training starts at six o'clock but as a Muslim family, we have commitment to school and we have to go to mosque so by the time we get back at seven o'clock, you're late so you're back of the queue already. Because of your religion, you have to go to mosque. (Coach L2)

For those who attended mosque on a daily basis, becoming a coach had very little value because their everyday commitments to Islam meant that they were unable to attend regular scheduled training sessions to actually coach. Similarly, others identified the challenges facing Muslims during the period of Ramadan. Some said that it was possible to balance the demands of Ramadan and still be a coach, but also acknowledged that, for some, it would be a deterrent to becoming a coach.

In Ramadan during the fasting month, the [cricket] season still carries on. As a coach, I might be going to bed at 3 a.m. to wake up at eight, fasting to get to the ground to take the kids to a game, to come back thirsty as hell because it's summer but then go home and go to sleep. It impacts my life but I'm committed to that. But if someone else sees that, they think it's hard work. (Coach Y1)

¹ The vast majority of the players and coaches in this study were Muslims and therefore, some of the barriers identified here are specific to them and are not necessarily applicable to other South Asian groups.

In addition to the family and religion, work was identified as a strong and recurring barrier to entry into coaching. South Asians' commitment to education and developing a career, as opposed to progression in sport and coaching, has been noted elsewhere (Burdsey, 2007). Interviews with the South Asian players and coaches here reinforced the notion that within South Asian culture(s) there is a strong emphasis on developing a career. Pertinently, and as emphasised by both players and coaches, as many South Asians are not affluent, they tend to prioritise paid work, which means that they have very limited time and financial resources available to invest in coaching.

Some of them work, that's all they do. They work, sleep, eat... A lot of them are bus drivers, shift workers, restaurant workers. So what we would constitute working class. So for them to a) volunteer is very difficult because they don't know what hours of the week they are working and when. That is the first challenge and second volunteering isn't a high priority in their lives. They don't get the concept of volunteering. For them it's a headache rather than a rewarding process. So those are the challenges you will face culturally. (Coach L3)

Social class was a barrier for two reasons. Firstly, as above, many of the South Asian cricketers have to work long hours in order to provide for their families, which leaves very limited time for either playing or coaching. Secondly, their limited income restricts access to coaching qualifications on the basis that they cannot afford to attend them. The price of coaching courses was identified as major barrier to entering and progressing in coaching. Both the players and coaches said that it is hard to justify spending £200-500 on coaching courses when there is no guarantee of recouping this fee through paid work. Very few of the players believed that their clubs were in a position to subsidise their attendance on courses, meaning that the entire fee would have to be paid by them. This view was reinforced as the vast majority of the coaches had personally paid their own attendance fees. Given their already tight finances, the majority of players and coaches said that (additional) coaching qualifications were a long way down their list of priorities. As Coach Y6 states:

It's [the price] ridiculous. I think if you're a white lad or whatever, it's still a lot of money. It's a lot of money. It doesn't matter what colour you are, money's money, and it's hard to come by for everyone. But there'll probably be more pressure from somebody with a South Asian background, working-class, to make better use of that money than to put it on a coaching course.

Others said that, culturally, South Asians tend to be very outcome oriented, meaning that the likelihood of an individual entering, or taking the decision to progress within coaching will be relative to what (mainly financially) they get out of it (see section 4.1.2). As Coach Y3 stated:

More players do want to go into coaching, but then I say 'Well, it will cost you £250.' So they say 'That's a lot of money to pay, what do we get in return?' You know, there's a cost prohibition. When I've paid out of my own pocket and done a course and then consolidated and learned the benefits of that, I think 'Well, that was a good investment of my time and money.' Whether other people see that, the long-term vision, I don't know.

Some of the current coaches were aware of existing schemes facilitated by county boards and local councils that help to sponsor individuals through their qualifications. Coach L8 said that there is support currently available, but that it is not ethnicity specific, or well marketed. Nevertheless he believed that these schemes are essential to enable them to access courses.

These bursaries are important because finances are a big issue. The course cost between £200-250. The areas that I am working in East London are quite deprived and this is just too much.

In other words, these cricketers enjoy playing but may have more 'important' commitments which means that they do not convert playing interests into coaching. Many of these findings are well documented in the academic literature and policy circles on sport and South Asian communities. Given that they are recurring themes we must take notice as they are evidently core within the lives of South Asian cricketers and thus, core in contributing to our understanding of the barriers facing their entry and progression into cricket coaching.

4.1.2. There is no perceived career in cricket coaching

As identified in the previous section a major barrier to South Asian cricketers becoming involved with coaching was the issue of whether they would be able to make a living out of it. It was important for both the players and coaches that more formal (paid) coaching positions become available so that they could commit to this role. The majority of the coaches we spoke to were principally coaching informally with young people from within their immediate community or their own clubs. Some were paid for their work (for example, via a contribution from parents), others did it voluntarily. A very small minority was actually coaching as their primary occupation. This reinforced the perception that coaching cricket is not perceived to be a valid (or accessible) career choice for South Asian players. This finding has interrelated class as well as cultural ramifications. A number of our respondents emphasised the importance of job security and said that if there were more paid coaching positions available, they would be more likely to try and access them.

Coach L5: If we want to get more people involved then we definitely have to show them that there is a lot of work available and we have to promise them work as well. Because the process of them going for all these courses and going through hours and hours of voluntary work, there has to be something at the end that is rewarding.

Coach L8: Security of a job is very important to South Asians. South Asians need to know that if they do these qualifications that they will get something back.

Coach L2: We need properly paid positions.

Indeed, Coach L3 said that one of the main barriers to South Asians entering coaching is the fact that the majority of roles are unpaid and 'voluntary'.

The biggest restriction I would say is the word 'voluntary.' Within an Asian community they still don't get that word 'volunteering.' They still don't get why people do stuff for the kindness of their heart outside of giving money to charity and stuff like that. And therefore, if I am volunteering why am I paying 350 quid for a level two coaching qualification?

The perceived lack of career was also a barrier for some existing coaches' progression in coaching. Some said that they had no ambition of going beyond their current Level 1 or Level 2 qualification as they saw limited opportunities beyond them.

Coach Y4: I don't see the point. What's the point in doing it when I've done my Level 1? It's not as if I'm going to make money out of cricket. I've never seen it as a point where I'm going to make any money from - I know some coaches do. They charge but I've never seen it as a money making exercise.

Coach Y5: Practically I'd never seen myself going on to be a higher standard coach and realistically a couple of hours here and there a week isn't going to pay the bills later in life.

Coach L6: I need to know what's right on top. Is it worthwhile getting up there? Level 1 was only for my portfolio but Level 2, Level 3, I need to know what doors [would open].

Clearly then there is a need to change perceptions of the value of coaching as a career, and the availability of paid coaching positions. Both the players and coaches said that having South Asian people in coaching positions at county level was vital in changing these perceptions. This theme is analysed further in section 4.3.2, but it is important to highlight it here also as it was thought that having South Asians in these roles would have a number of longer-term impacts on the development of cricket within South Asian communities more broadly. For example, it was also noted by some coaches that having South Asians as part of a county club's coaching workforce might facilitate a positive relationship between the club and the region's South Asian communities.

Potentially having an Asian coach at a senior level within Yorkshire would impact massively. They would be able to network into their groups and just to create some awareness that would go down within the leagues and be passed on to the players, that in itself would create a great opportunity for people who are interested to give them the push. (Coach Y1)

As we identify elsewhere in this report (see sections 4.2.1 & 4.3.3), a major barrier to coaching for the interviewees was the perception that it was something that only white people did. In spite of the recognition by some of those interviewed that efforts have been made to make cricket more inclusive, there was still a very strong perception that cricket is a white man's sport where racism is institutionalised. Coach L1 for example, said that he did not think white people wanted to extend the opportunities that they have in cricket to other ethnic groups:

It's [equality] not going to happen in my lifetime, I wish it could. If the branch is infected, you remove the branch, but here the whole root is infected, okay and you're a wise man, you're intelligent and you can sum things up from there. That's my overall, okay. But for the sake of

actually saying something, I would say we need to be given more than an insight, more than ... we need to be given an opportunity. (Coach L1)

On the subject of opportunity a number of players and coaches believed that there are limited opportunities for South Asians to coach at a higher level than league clubs.

If you're a non-player [professional player], I don't think you'd see one of our guys in Headingley coaching ... There's nothing there for you. You're all right at ground level, at club level, but after that, there's nothing. (Player Y2)

This view that South Asians are systematically excluded from coaching roles was not shared by all the interviewees. Coach Y2 believed that cricket had become much more inclusive over recent years, and that as a result of this, South Asians had better access to both playing and coaching opportunities. He said that many of the institutional barriers that had previously existed had now been lifted.

[B]ack then there wasn't much opportunity [with county club]. I reckon if I was in there now, I'd have got looked at a lot more. [What do you think is different now?] I think there's a lot more ... especially the South Asian, they're bringing it through now, there wasn't much involvement [with South Asians] when I was younger. If you weren't exceptionally good, they wouldn't look at you. [What changed? Is it more of a scouting network or are there more South Asian guys..?] I think it's a bit of both. People are now more open-minded than they were back then. (Coach Y2)

4.1.3. Coaching is misunderstood

This theme links quite strongly with the theme above - i.e. that there are limited possibilities for a career in coaching. For the majority of the aspiring coaches there was a perception that to be a coach meant to coach as a profession, that is, to be making some money out of it; if not making an entire living out of it. Very rarely was it recognised that one could be a coach voluntarily, or for personal fulfillment. In the case below, the player was evidently a volunteer coach, but refused to see himself in that role. A number of other players were clearly in 'helper' roles rather than true coaching roles.

I give [advice] all the time... I just say what you did wrong, what we can do better and what the plan the other team is doing. I'll say "okay this is what we did, so we could have done it this way, we could have studied, calm, concentrate, we can play a different way". [See I would call that coaching.] (Player L6)

4.1.4. Coached players value coaching

Throughout the interviews a clear pattern emerged about the value of coaching for those who had received coaching as players and those who had not. In short, players who had received coaching themselves were more likely to value coaching and therefore, become coaches. There were a number of reasons for this, which can broadly be sub-divided into: 1) *a desire to give*

something back; and 2) *education*. Those players who had received coaching, via county or other representative pathways, said that due to having benefitted from being coached themselves, they wanted to help others gain the benefits of those experiences.

Coach Y2: Just giving it back. I've had coaching all my life and that's what I wanted to give back. Obviously it's the future for me, I want to get my qualifications.

Coach Y4: Maybe I felt obliged to put something back into cricket because the club I was at helped me so much as a junior. There was probably an expectation that we [the club] expect you to do the same for the next generation, we expect you to do that ... That's probably what's rubbed off on me. People helping me ... That's what's rubbed off on me.

Interestingly, and as is discussed in section 4.2.2, this desire to give something back to the club by contributing towards player development was stronger amongst those interviewees who had been brought up in 'club' structures - those with a stronger identity and volunteering tradition - as opposed to those who had grown up in a 'team' environment.

In terms of education, the players and coaches believed that due to having been coached as part of a pathways scheme themselves, they were in a better position to enter and progress in coaching than someone who had not received formal coaching. All those who had been coached spoke positively about their experiences and this translated into them seeing more value in in the activity.

Coach Y3: A lot of the players that don't go into coaching ... probably because they were talented players who basically played on talent and don't probably understand coaching, don't understand the ethos behind it.

Player Y4: I was part of a Level 3 coaching scheme [as a player], I was doing the demonstration and I saw what these guys were doing. I was quite enjoying it as well, I was like I want to do this one day. It's one of those things when someone says to you, "I've got Level 3 coaching" that respect's already there. Obviously you're going to start at Level 1 but I used to hear these Level 3 coaches, you automatically become engaged with that person. This guy is already high level, listen to him, he knows what he's talking about and that's something to look forward to.

Coach Y5: If you get 11 Asian cricketers that have been brought up in English clubs or have played representative cricket they won't have to be told. It's imbedded within them. Whereas all the other Asian cricketers that are very talented and seem to be coming through into the Bradford leagues ... These guys have never been taught. They've played no representative cricket. They're basically from villages and they're not [coach] educated. Education teaches you a lot. They just seem to think it's all there, just turn up. They don't see anything wrong with it. Whereas because we've played this representative cricket you feel ashamed not to train, you feel ashamed to warm up in your whites, these sort of things.

Crucially, whilst Coach Y5 above noted the existence of a different approach to the game between coached and uncoached players, he recognised that these differences are not the

result of South Asian cricketers (or South Asian culture(s)) not valuing the benefits of being coached per se, rather that their perceptions of coaching are contingent on the fact that many do not have (or have not had) access to it. This point is well illustrated by the fact that, historically, South Asians have been under-represented in the English county system. Coach Y5 reiterated:

This is the mentality because even very talented Asian cricketers have not played a good level of cricket. They haven't been brought up playing a good level of cricket. [Therefore] they still have the mentality of it's a ball and you just hit it or here's a ball and you just bowl it. They've got the ability to do what they're doing but they actually don't know what they're doing. Really to them, to play, you don't need to coach.

Inevitably, there were exceptions to this rule as a few of the coaches had not received coaching themselves. Though these coaches regretted not having received the benefits of coaching they wanted to ensure that others were not deprived of the opportunity. This idea of ensuring that opportunities were available for particularly vulnerable groups was incredibly important for some of the coaches. Coach Y7, for example, noted that as a player during the late 1970s and early 1980s, South Asian cricketers were overtly discriminated against when attempting to access predominantly white clubs, and in terms of overt racism on the pitch. He believed he had been denied access to coaching due to these factors, which ultimately hindered his progression as a player. Thus, one of his main reasons for becoming a coach was to ensure that such instances did not happen to new generations of South Asian cricketers.

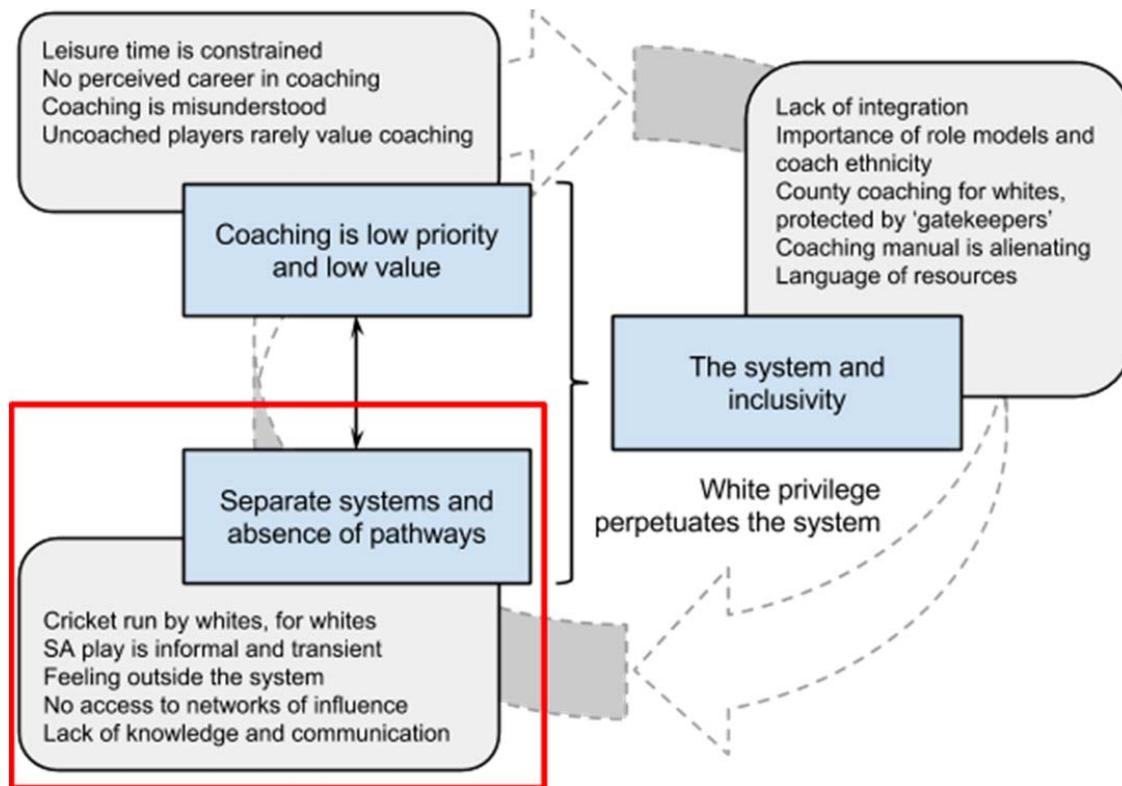
There's an element of me, I came from inner-cities ... I was good at cricket ... [with coaching] who knows where I could have got to? The question I always look back on is: were we deprived, were we denied our rightful entitlement to proceed and progress in sport? ... and I see the same situation in inner cities again, and this is 40 years later. Very little has changed. I just thought maybe as a coach ... maybe part of my motive as well to start pushing some of these Asian youngsters, just leading them in the right direction, giving them coaching and giving them skills.
(Coach Y7)

It should be noted here that our sample was specific to coaches and players with aspirations of becoming a coach. Therefore, whilst not everyone will have been coached themselves, they all recognised the value of coaching. To better understand the relationship (if any) between coaching ambition and experiences of being coached a broader sample to include players who are not currently considering coaching is needed.

4.2. Separate systems and the absence of pathways

Many of the South Asian players and coaches we spoke to clearly felt that they were part of a different system and embedded a particular style of cricket. The established system, to them, is run by white cricketers, for white people which, consciously or unconsciously systematically denies opportunities to South Asian cricketers and other minority ethnic groups. These racialised inequalities are felt by South Asians at different levels of the game but, for the sake of this research, is potentially most important in denying opportunities for accessing higher level

coaching qualifications and roles. The South Asian 'system' (as depicted by participants in this study and certainly not generalisable from this study), by contrast, is typically informal: it is established early in life - both in the UK and the Asian sub-continent - through 'street cricket', and is characterised by enjoyment and a fast, flowing and attacking, yet often transient, brand of cricket. As part of a separate system, South Asians lack access to formal networks and understanding of pathways into coaching. Also, because they play in clubs and teams that often eschew a traditional club structure and identity, there are simply fewer opportunities and incentives to take up coaching.



4.2.1. Cricket is run by white people, for white people

This idea was most frequently raised by qualified coaches who had most experience in dealing with county boards. The notion that cricket is controlled by white people, in the interests of white people, was pervasive, and was perceived to exist at different levels of the game: from individual officiating decisions, to talent selection and league administration.

Player Y1: And like I said to you, it's a bit different when we play; umpires, they'll trigger us. Whether that's a genuine mistake or they're just under pressure, when we're playing there it's two different games because they [white players] swear at the umpires and everything.

Coach Y4: I don't think they were racist but I didn't think they gave enough of a chance to some of the

players that didn't come from private schools, what we call the 'blazer boys'. The blazer boys were getting all the chances because the coaches that were coaching were from private schools so they'd get selected.

Coach Y6: But honestly, in terms of the Bradford League, I think... I mean, they're changing now, but historically they've been very right-wing in their views, they've never encouraged it, they don't like having Asian teams in the league. [Why not?] (a) because some of them are disorganised, and (b) because they just don't... they're middle-class white people, aren't they, they think they're hoity-toity, they want to have a premier league of supreme white race and all this lot, you know what I mean?

In addition to these specific experiences, there was a deeper and more general feeling that opportunities were being denied (bluntly) on the basis of race. Some felt that their voices were being ignored by county boards and others, or, worse still, that attempts to reach out and listen to South Asian views were little more than tokenistic 'box ticking' exercises on the governing body's behalf.

Player L2: ...we don't have a problem because obviously we speak the same language, we have similar ideas, we do put our voices across, but it seems like when we do do that, it seems like it's not heard.

Coach L1: So that's an issue for me, my colour of skin - I don't want to go down that route, I've had a good time here growing up with the English friends, neighbours, lovely, brilliant, wouldn't change it - but when it comes to that hierarchy, pushing up, I really feel... compressed, that you want us, you want us involved in the game, just for that box ticking. I'm very strong on that, and that's how it is.

When applied specifically to coaching, both coaches and aspiring coaches felt that their chances of progression into county roles would be denied (or heavily restricted) on the basis of their skin colour. This point is stressed again later in section 4.3.3.

Coach Y2: [Can you progress as a coach?] I can but I don't think I'll get in with Yorkshire because I still think Yorkshire pick their coaches from their skin colour.

Player L6: I also think there's a kind of, I mean all the clubs prefer white coaches. They don't prefer South Asian coaches for the county. I mean they have a different value for white coaches

Given the seriousness of these views, we pressed our interviewees for an explanation of how such discrimination worked. In addition to some personal and fairly subtle modes of exclusion, a number of coaches also referred to the mechanism(s) by which they might access higher level coaching qualifications, specifically how the nomination/endorsement system is open to abuse². Again, this point is extended in section 4.3.3, but was illustrated well by Player L8:

² This system is widespread in coach education and has been criticised as a mechanism of exclusion and for maintaining a homogenous workforce (Piggott, 2012).

It is like a recommendation. If you want to get into Essex, someone has to recommend it you know, so I don't know anybody from Essex.

4.2.2. South Asian cricket is informal and transient

Many of the coaches and players, talked about their informal introduction to cricket and its influence on subsequent experiences. An important feature of this experience was the complete absence of coaching.

Coach L2: No, we played on our own, no coaches there [Pakistan]. You have to do really hard work, not like here. Here is every age group and very good qualified coaches here, and they pass experience and when you are 13 and 14 you know everything. But, in Pakistan and Asian countries you have to work hard and learn things, no coaching, nothing.

Player L5: I did not have the coach right, because we start from street cricket, and then school and then college. Wherever we have chance, or in clubs. But when we have club, you know local club, we don't have a coaching system.

Player Y3: I can't put my finger on it but there was an attraction there to cricket and every spare minute in the summer we used to have, we were on the field. We only used to come home when it got dark, when you couldn't see the ball any more and you knew you'd get a bollocking when you came home! We'd play it all day long.

As noted in section 4.1.4, players were more likely to see the value of coaching if they have had positive experiences of being coached. Some of our participants went on to connect this informal, unmediated introduction to the game with the similarly informal and transient way in which team and club cricket occurs in South Asian communities, which was often starkly contrasted with the traditional English village club structure. The reasons for South Asians starting separate teams and leagues has been well-documented³ and was rehearsed again here.

Coach Y3: They couldn't get into any mainstream Caucasian [sic] teams at the time, you just couldn't do it, there was just no infrastructure to get in, so they just thought 'We've tried everything, we can't get in, we'll just create our own team.' And they were quite successful, they did really well, and they started to attract players. And the best thing about the club was it never had any barriers, so there was no – if you were a good cricketer you were in, it was as simple as that.

Coach L3: My cousin would not allow his son to join a traditional English cricket club because there is a bar on site and their coach is white. When they get to 16 all of these colleagues will be having a pint, or 18, and he would feel underprivileged.

Other participants spoke about the influence of club bars and drinking culture on their ability to create an effective club identity and retain players as committee members and coaches after

³ See Fletcher and Spracklen (2013) and Fletcher and Walle (2014) for more on this subject.

they had finished playing. This was captured best by Player Y3 who explained the problems faced by predominantly South Asian clubs (though it is important to note that his club, despite the struggle, were clearly beginning to change their situation).

The club model doesn't exist, it's a team model whereas in the white communities it's a club model so you will be part of that club. You and your kids will be part of that club for a long time because it's your club, whereas here we don't have that. We have a team, you'll be part of the team but the club doesn't matter... The guys before I was at this club were predominantly white guys and they had a real sense of belonging, and of club. They'd come in every Tuesday night to the clubhouse and those that were handy with a hammer and nail would be fixing everything, they'd be doing what needs doing and they'd do that because they'd been there a long time and their father had been there. That was their community, that was their club and the other thing is the social aspect. When I first started, after the game I didn't go to the pub. Those that drink will have a drink so that was a social aspect. Unfortunately where we play cricket, there's no social aspect at all so you play cricket, you get here for one o'clock and the game starts at two. As soon as the game finishes, everyone runs off.

Without a tradition of volunteering, and without a strong club identity (linked to, amongst other things, socialising and a drinking culture), it is unlikely that some South Asian teams and clubs will be able to consistently engage ex-players in coaching roles or develop effective club structures (e.g. junior squads) as vehicles for coach development. Where clubs were managing to do this, it was often strongly connected to the work of a few exceptional individuals.

The previous Chair who was there and the Vice Chair were fantastic, really supported me, wanted me to help them out and it just went from there. Next thing I know, I'm cutting the outfield and I'm opening the gates for people to come in and out, I'm painting and decorating. I need to put my sleeping bag in the clubhouse. (Coach Y1)

Such work by a few, whilst incredibly valuable, does not lead to sustainable solutions to club development, and the risk of such volunteers becoming overworked and leaving the game is very real⁴.

4.2.3. South Asians feel outside 'the system'

The feeling that cricket is run by white people, coupled with the notion that South Asians play a different style of cricket that occurs in clubs and teams with transient membership and a lack of identity, leaves many South Asian cricketers feeling outside 'the system' (interpreted here to mean: the white, English, system). Whilst we have already noted some of the causes of this perception, the following comments illustrate in more detail *how* it feels to be on the outside.

Player Y1: Yeah, because don't forget, we are always the underdogs. We don't have the revenue, we don't have the bar and the umpiring standard is very poor to us. Maybe if I didn't go to a different club, I wouldn't realise but I went to a different club. I played with English players and it's a big difference.

⁴ A recent report from the Sport and Recreation Alliance on sports clubs suggests that 68% of work is being done by 18% of volunteers, creating increased stress and likelihood of burnout (SARA, 2011).

Coach Y6: And I say... 'You sithee our kid' and all that lot. Because it shuts 'em up, because they go 'You're all Asians, you lot.' I say 'No'. Because a lot of lads that play with us ... when you get an all Asian team together 'Oh, it's just an Asian club.' I say 'What are you on about, there are eight Yorkshire men, a lad from India, that lad's from South Africa, and an Indian, that's what we are We're born and bred in Yorkshire.

Player L2: It's a different league, different game, everything is different... Yes, it's a 45 over game, white clothes, red ball, you know. It's a different league ... It's English. Very few Asians play there you know.

The feeling of being the underdog, of always having to be “twice as good” to get the same opportunities was a recurring theme. Many South Asian players were actively trying to resist and challenge negative stereotypes about South Asian cricketers lacking in temperament, being ill-disciplined etc., but many others were less active; feeling rather that they were unable to alter the current system, and tending as a result to retreat away from more formal structures and formats. In addition to these individualised experiences, in a more tangible sense, being outside the system means these South Asian players often lack the social networks and relationships with influential people needed to develop their clubs and access coaching.

4.2.4. South Asian coaches have little access to networks of influence

In terms of coaching and access to courses, we have already noted the existence of a perception that white gatekeepers deny access to South Asians via the nomination/endorsement mechanism (see section 4.2.1 above). However, the significance and influence of this network was believed to be more challenging as coaches tried to move up the system. This point is also made later in the report with respect to access to county coaching roles and the importance of role models (sections 4.3.2 & 4.3.3).

With regards to the specific question of if anything has hindered my coaching opportunities, I think that the initial early levels I have been fine, but the more elite level a certain amount of networking is required and again this network/mind-set/opportunity may not readily exist for the South Asian community and this could be a point to note. (Coach Y3)

Findings from this report would contend that the number of South Asian coaches is inevitably linked to the development of South Asian players who, in turn, would have access to county squads (thus gaining access to the ‘network’ of influential people and developing their knowledge of the ‘system’). It was widely believed that future South Asian coaches would likely be current or former high-level players. Therefore, it was impossible to separate strategies for diversifying coaching from strategies for diversifying the player base (and likely vice-versa, with more “culturally aware” coaches (see section 4.3.3)).

As we have identified elsewhere in this report, there was a popularly held view that South Asians are still not being given equal opportunities within county clubs as players. A number of reasons for this were proposed; namely that scouts are disproportionately targeting mainly white

(often private) schools; and alternative spaces for cricket (e.g. sunday and/or mid-week competitions) are not considered.

It's the players who are going to go on to coaching so you've got to sort the players out first and then go on to coaching. But player wise, how many players are selected through the ranks because they're from our background, don't go to boarding or private schools, can't go forward. I know people who represent Yorkshire on the averages but can't go forward because they go to a normal school. (Player Y1)

Without higher-level playing opportunities South Asian players struggle to develop the influential social networks that seem to be crucial in becoming a coach and progressing through a development pathway. Clearly, without South Asians having access to the 'right' networks, the ability of the ECB to communicate with these communities will be impaired.

Player L4: So when I moved to this country, and first thing you need to look for a job, so I was looking for a job, and five years I was just trying to, do you play cricket, do you play cricket, and I didn't find any platforms to be honest.

Player L7: [So like the social network or something?] That's right. Even I think the same thing, correct, because the people they don't have much connection with the white people and they don't socialise much with the white people, that's what I think.

Coach Y6: I know they've got in Bradford the Bradford-based development group that try and do it, but again I still think it's very cliquey, whether it's Asian or non-Asian I think it's cliquey. These guys are cliquey – I'm just going to point at that – but not necessarily... they are very cliquey. Very cliquey.

4.2.5. There is poor knowledge of 'the system' due to poor communication

On the whole both players and coaches did not think that the ECB was doing enough in terms of helping South Asian communities gain access to coaching. The majority of respondents said that this study was the first (and only) time they had heard of the ECB being proactive about communicating with them regarding their under-representation.

Coach Y7: I know nothing, I'm not aware of anything. I don't see... I can't say I look into it in any great depth, but the things I read on the websites I look at, the coaching websites, and the material they send, there's nothing in there about any initiatives or anything special that they're doing, or even if they particularly recognise the problem, or if there is a problem.

Coach Y3: I don't know of any ECB drive that's ever gone on to say 'We need more Asian coaches.

Many of the participants did not know anything about the coach education pathway, nor how to access information about it. However, there was clearly a latent demand for coaching courses and a feeling of potential to recruit, if communication from the ECB was improved.

Coach Y1: Why aren't there more Asian coaches? Probably a number of different reasons but I would

say if there was a course run for Batley or Dewsbury, you would get 50 people saying, "I want to be a coach." If you left it to them, you'd get half a dozen. If there was a course run right now and you said I've got 20 places, Level 2 course, six weeks, Sunday all day, can you get people on, I'd fill that all day long, we could do that every month. There's that much interest potentially ...

Coach Y6: At our cricket club down there, there's a number of players, if you say 'Do you want to be a Level 2 coach?' I could guarantee you now nine out of ten of them wouldn't even know where to start. Or 'Am I good enough?' or 'Can I do it?' [But] you've got to educate people, and encourage them more, and it's not just people around... or the system, or whatever, you've got to go down to grass roots and say to people, go to clubs and say 'Do you know what? We can actually put you through coaching.'

Continuing this theme a number of respondents reiterated the value of having access to a network of people who were knowledgeable about the coaching pathways. Many of the coaches we spoke to said that they first became involved with coaching through recommendations from existing coaches. Rarely had they accessed information about coaching via the ECB or other information sources and become interested that way. Thus, access to the courses was easier for some than others. Those who knew people in the system (e.g. other coaches, sport development officers/managers) revealed a much more positive attitude than those who did not.

I'm lucky because I've got two guys here that I can tap into, but had they not been here, then it's a different question because then it would be difficult for me to do that. But because I've got [name] and [name] here, I'm connected but if I'd not been part of this club, for example, I suppose it wouldn't be clear what route to take, it wouldn't be obvious to me. I'm only confident that whenever I want to I can, because I know these guys are here and they'll do whatever. (Player Y3)

The importance of this observation is that the majority of respondents believed that the ECB should be communicating information about the courses much more effectively, rather than relying on the current 'word of mouth' system.

Related to this, the players in particular were also unaware of what opportunities would open up once they were qualified. Given the financial outlay on the courses, coupled with a lack of affluence within large parts of South Asian communities, many emphasised the importance of a tangible outcome following successful completion of the courses. Indeed, very few were aware of what their qualification could do for them, or what they could do with their qualification.

I think with south Asians ... [you have to] enlighten them of the scope. We have a passion [for cricket], but we're also very aware about if I go there (on the course), does it benefit me in some way? If I do the coaching, I'm thinking, you know, what is after that? If I do it, what is after that? (Player L7)

As stated elsewhere in this report (see section 4.2.2), it should be noted that targeting these communities means being flexible about the forms of cricket being played and the spaces in which play is taking place. In other words, in order to expand the coaching base, it must be acknowledged that cricket is being played in a variety of forms and in a number of different spaces, in addition to the formal leagues affiliated to the ECB and county boards.

I think if a county board representative or a business development manager from the county boards turned up at a park's pitch on a Sunday and said 'hi, I'm from Yorkshire county board, do you have any of your guys here who would like to become coaches? If so, we would love to see you at this venue, at this day, and this is how much it will cost you'. Now I don't think that approach or that conversation has ever happened ... I think that the main point really is to make them aware that these opportunities are there ... You know they don't get literature, they don't probably have a website, they don't get mailshots from the ECB, and they don't get mailshots from the county boards, these are park cricketers who just pay their... pay their fee as such and go home after a game. (Coach L4)

We acknowledge that change and development needs to be a reciprocal process where representatives of cricket's governing bodies and South Asian communities work together. In the spirit of enabling and breaking down barriers, respondents in this research suggested that the ECB needs to be more proactive in their attempts to communicate with and actively recruit South Asian coaches. The most common way of encouraging communication identified by the respondents was for representatives of the ECB and county boards to physically go into South Asian communities and share the message first hand.

Coach Y1: We need our Asian guys who are cricketers looking to coach to stand up and say that's what I want to do. If there was a bit of a middle ground where there was some structure that came out from YCB (Yorkshire Cricket Board) across the clubs and said who's interested, they'd get inundated and maybe that's why they don't do it.

Coach Y4: I think [the ECB needs to] get more involved in the community really. If you're seen to be involved in the community ... Come out into the communities; ask, 'where can we do a course?' They need to be out, more out into the schools and go around the schools.

The importance of communicating the value of coaching to parents and other family members was also identified. As we have discussed elsewhere in this report (section 4.1.1), a low value has been placed on coaching as a potential career or additional paid employment. If there is to be a change in perception in this community towards to value of coaching, this needs to be communicated directly to those who can influence or make decisions on behalf of others, such as parents and guardians.

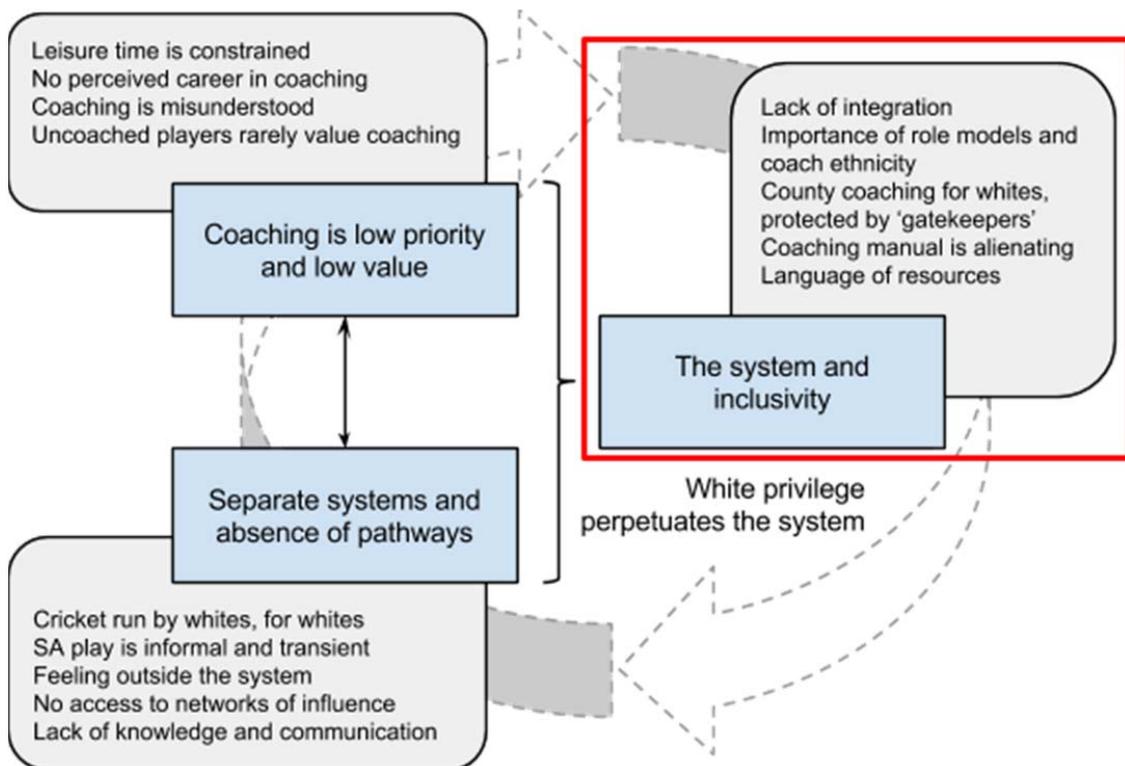
It was also suggested that, not only do the ECB and county boards need to improve their communication with clubs, the ECB and county boards should also be encouraged to communicate more openly with one another over issues of diversity and inclusion. We were reminded consistently that communication involves both telling *and* listening.

I don't think they do enough. They're trying to do something but they've not really sat down and said to people, 'what do you really want, how can we develop it?' ... Why haven't you got ECB coming down and saying 'what can we do to help? What does Bradford need?' [So what would you like to see happen?] I'd like more consultation. I'd like them [ECB] to come and speak to the people of Bradford. Maybe they could organise a little conference thing as to 'what's the future of

cricket in Bradford?'. We've got the ECB, we've got the YCB, we've got the (Bradford) council ... the strategy, we've got all this. What can we get out of it in the next ten years? (Coach Y8)

4.3. The system and inclusivity

Many of the players and coaches we spoke to had aspirations of entering and progressing in coaching. However, they did not necessarily think that the 'system' - that is, formal structures and representatives (existing coaches, development officers/managers) - was providing them with the resources or opportunities to do this. This resulted in a feeling that the system was systematically excluding South Asians from progressing as coaches. This perception was multi-layered and was informed by: 1) historical accounts of white racism and prejudice at grass-roots levels; 2) views highlighting the current lack of South Asians in higher coaching roles (i.e., role models); and 3) claims towards the existence of institutionalised racism and systematic privileging of white people.



4.3.1. Historical lack of integration

The way the players and coaches perceived their level of integration in British society was a strong influence on how they viewed the importance and accessibility of cricket coaching. Interview data showed a notable difference in perception of integration based on the respondents' age. Younger respondents were more likely to view themselves as integrated in

British society compared with older respondents. A simple illustration of this can be seen in the terminology respondents used to describe their ethnicity. Younger respondents tended to refer to themselves as British Pakistani or British Indian, whilst older respondents tended to describe themselves as Pakistani or Indian. Naturally, inclusion or omission of the British signifier is not a truly accurate way of measuring one's level of integration. In fact, the use of self-identification as a method for tracking ethnicity has been noted as problematic in a number of academic studies. In saying this, it is a pattern worth noting in this study on the basis of knowledge contribution to the ECB's existing ethnic tracking methodologies.

Older respondents were much more likely to report that they had experienced racism as players. This is no doubt indicative of the changing contexts in which cricket is played. Many of the older respondents noted that, as youths they were excluded from formal structures and networks within the game by white people. As a result, and as identified in section 4.2.2, they played informally, in the streets, in parks and on wasteland. These individuals spoke critically about the 'system' and the 'institution' of cricket. Many felt like they had been both let down by and excluded from formal structures of cricket, including coaching. Coach Y7 believed that the ECB and other organisations had an uphill battle to change perceptions of cricket's inclusivity amongst South Asian communities on the basis that many South Asians hold a strong view that, within cricket, there is a strong 'us' and 'them' narrative that intersects with ethnicity:

There's still a big divide. Even on the ethnicity front, there's still an 'us and them' attitude. If you had to interview most Asians, their immediate reaction to lack of privilege and disadvantage is 'It's racism. It's because we're Muslims, it's because we're Pakistanis, it's because we're this...' So you've got that problem already, you know, it's in their mindset and nobody's sort of spoken to them to say 'Well, if you go to X and Y establishments it will be a level playing field.' They're not convinced. (Coach Y7)

As a result of their negative personal experiences as young players many of the respondents actively separated themselves from the system. This would manifest itself in a number of ways, including: playing their cricket in non-ECB-affiliated leagues and teams; and not pursuing formal coaching qualifications as set out by the 'system'. We have discussed the former point elsewhere in this report. It is important to note it again here though as an indication of how early negative experiences of cricket may have longer-term consequences in terms of personal engagement with the wider institution of the sport.

It was certainly evident in the interviews that the situation was currently much better for South Asians than it was three-four decades ago. The older respondents spoke openly about how overt racism was a normal feature of the sport when they first began playing in the late 1970s-early 1980s. They also noted that the creation of separate Asian-specific leagues and teams was a direct response to this racism. Some had continued to represent teams with high South Asian membership ever since. In contrast, the younger respondents spoke positively about the

relative decline in racism during their lifetime, and noted that opportunities in cricket for younger South Asian players were better than ever.⁵

Player Y7 and Player L1 played for majority white teams, had grown up in majority white areas and had attended majority white schools. As a result, they believed they were well integrated in white spaces, including cricket. This meant they felt enabled to access opportunities and progress within the sport as both players and coaches. They believed that due to their upbringing they had easier/better access to playing and coaching 'networks' because they were relatively familiar with predominantly white social networks.

Player Y7: We went to a school that was mainly white people. So we've mixed with white people all of our lives. Being around white people is normal for us. This is the same for most Asians in their twenties.

Player L1: To be honest [club name] was an English club so I've been brought up with an English white ethnicity so I'm comfortable playing anywhere. I'm comfortable anywhere.

They did however think that players from a majority Asian club/area etc., may perceive there to be barriers because they were not routinely engaging with white people/culture/spaces and therefore, may feel more distant from significance social networks. Coach Y7 and Coach Y6 for example, drew on their own experiences of struggling to access (white) social networks in Yorkshire. Both were brought up in inner city Bradford and said that, due to initial racisms, they found it very hard to gain access to the 'system'.

Coach Y7: We learned English and things at school, but we felt ... we were never comfortable knowing how to access it [the system], for one thing. If you did ever make any approach to a white club, you always felt you weren't accepted. You didn't quite fit in, there were always excuses made. It's now you begin to realise those excuses weren't based on your ability, it was basically you weren't part of their [white] set-up. [Do you think that's changed, then?] In some ways it has... in some ways it hasn't. In some ways it hasn't changed, I don't think. That deeply ingrained mindset of not allowing access I think is still there in a lot of clubs, probably.

Coach Y6: I went training there two or three times, and I knew I was as good as the white kids, if not better, but I never got a look in. All they wanted was money, and we didn't have much money ... people were getting picked, and they'd only pick one Asian, two Asians at the max. That was at junior level. This is, you're talking '78, '79, summat like that. So I became disillusioned, played a couple of games at school ... Never even thought about it, just played back street cricket.

The majority of respondents believed that to access coaching at any level one had to be part of, or at least known to, an existing network of influential people. If a player was part of that network or knew people within it, their access and progression was much clearer.

⁵ For further discussion of the formation and significance of Asian-specific cricket teams and leagues, see Fletcher and Walle (2014).

[What was your route into coaching like?] You've got to do a bit of research, find out what's out there, what's running. So that's a bit tricky really, you've just got to try to get hold of other people or anybody that's been through any sort of formal coaching, say 'What did you do, where did you go, where did you need to write to? ... That's basically how it worked. I think I just... through a network of people I just sort of asked 'how do I get into coaching?' (Coach Y7)

Whilst this coach was able to seek advice from existing coaches he knew, some of the respondents believed that access to these networks was (still) reserved for white people (see section 4.2.4). Both players and coaches also noted that the level someone has played the game to will strongly influence the level of access to these influential networks. For example, if a player has played the game at a representative level (e.g. county schools) they will likely have gained better knowledge of the system compared to someone who has not played to this level. In short, lack of access to networks as players translates into a lack of knowledge about how to access coaching. Given that South Asians have historically been under-represented as players at these levels of the game, this may partly explain their lack of representation as coaches (see section 4.2.4).

4.3.2. The importance of role models and coach ethnicity

Many respondents identified that role models play an important part in recruiting and sustaining the influence of South Asians in coaching. This notion was most prominent, though certainly not isolated to, their influence on younger people. In the main, it was suggested that South Asian cricketers would take confidence from South Asians having greater representation within coaching. In other words, having South Asians in coaching positions would reinforce an inclusive ideology within cricket. Crucially though, respondents stressed that whilst representation by numbers in coaching positions was important, ultimately, it is the *visibility* of South Asian coaches that will have the most impact. Coach Y7 partly linked the current under-representation of South Asians in coaching to a self-fulfilling prophecy and stressed that young South Asians need to see other South Asians in coaching positions in order to give them the confidence to do it themselves.

The role model factor does help. There's no doubt about it, it does help. Because, you know, you've got to remember that in this society, if all the Asian kid sees is a white teacher all his life, he's simply not used to seeing a black or ethnic minority teacher, then in his mindset as well he maybe just associates passing on skills with any white person. So in the end when he grows up he might not feel that he's ready for that position to pass knowledge back down the chain, because that's what he associates with... So it's important to see more ethnic minority coaches.

For many of the coaches we interviewed, a coach's visibility was synonymous with more higher profile coaching positions. As the following narratives suggest, having South Asian coaches in influential coaching roles may have a stronger impact on South Asians accessing coaching.

Coach L4: I think ultimately that the success will come in the future. I mean it's all about sowing the seeds at the moment. But I think if we were able to get an Asian coaching in the professional game, I know we've got Asians playing in the professional game, but if we would eventually get five, ten, fifteen

years down the road an Asian... I don't know, an Asian county coach, or even an Asian... British Asian England coach then, you know, that's something that would have a big impact in terms of motivating a community or a particular person.

Coach Y5: You don't see Asian guys ... coaching. That's how the barrier will get broken, if somebody walks in and starts doing coaching at Yorkshire or maybe England then maybe ... That's the only way of breaking the barrier. If you don't see Asians in those positions then how are you going to try to want to become a coach of Yorkshire?

It was also believed that South Asian coaches have an important role to play in developing cricket more generally within South Asian communities. Many in this research endorsed the view that young South Asians are attracted to environments where there are South Asian coaches. The reasons for this are multiple and will be discussed below. As identified in other sections of this report the potentially positive contribution of role models was often rooted within historical notions of racism. A number of the respondents believed that South Asian youngsters are attracted to clubs with South Asian coaches on the basis that the South Asian coach will give them more opportunities than a white coach would.

[You said that a number of these Asian players may well have been attracted to [club name] because there was this Asian coach?] Yeah.... Well I don't know. Maybe they thought it would be a bit more fairer... [Other clubs aren't fair towards South Asians?] That's right.... maybe they'll think we'll get a fair crack of the whip here. (Coach Y4)

Another theme emerging out of the interviews was the potential 'pull' of current and former professional South Asian cricketers. A number of respondents believed that high performing individuals would automatically have the respect of many South Asians and therefore, they would be able to attract future coaches by acting as a conduit between South Asian communities and the governing body. Coach L8 was a former international player for Bangladesh at u19 and u21 level, and had also coached at a national level in a number of countries. He said that his first involvement of coaching in the UK had been via a county board where he had been invited as a 'special guest' coach, as a form of inspiration to the younger players.

I was brought in to act as a role model to the community; to show them that someone from a similar background to them could coach at a high level (Coach L8).

These sentiments were reinforced by a number of others:

Coach L3: I think I'm very, very fortunate on both sides which helps and I think this is where the role model... I definitely can use that. More clubs need them. I have become the first point [for many clubs] because of my background, what I have achieved. You come with a reputation, everybody knows you and therefore the first reaction is that excitement to meet you.

Coach L5: On one level ethnicity probably does inspire someone, because if there's a person who is

from the same ethnic background and being able to do this much from the community and has been successful then it definitely motivates them and lets them think if I can do it as well why not?

A number of the respondents believed that the ECB and county cricket boards were missing an opportunity by not utilising the pulling power of current and former professional South Asian cricketers.

You've got to tell them that it's possible. You've got to get people who've gone through it, Asian lads, as your role models, get them on a little video or something, 'Listen, you know you can do this, you can do this, this and this.' ... Like promotional videos, leaflets, whatever. Role models. 'I did it' you know what I mean ... Because if their [ECB] aim is to get Asian people into cricket they could be doing a lot more than they are doing. But again I think that will change... like Moeen Ali and all these lot that are playing for England – That'll encourage youngsters to come and play, honestly, it will. It really will. And young people like Moeen Ali – use these lads that have broken into the England team, don't cocoon 'em. Use 'em to break your barriers, to prove to people it can happen. (Coach Y6)

Continuing this, Coach Y5 stressed that as many South Asians attach a huge amount of social capital to playing cricket to a high level; meaning that a 'normal' South Asian coach (i.e. well qualified, but someone who has not played to a high level) would not automatically gain the respect of younger South Asian players.

If they've played to a good standard the lads will listen to them. If for example you are 15-16, at that age kids start shining through. The kid knows if this coach has played a decent level of cricket. He's not going to listen to him if he thinks he's just anybody. Whereas if he's a decent level of cricket they're going to sit there and they're going to listen to him. Now I listen to [player] because you know he's a good cricketer so if he tells you something you should listen to him. Whereas if some league Asian came up to tell me I probably wouldn't listen. (Coach Y5)

The view that professional or other high level South Asian cricketers would have the greatest influence on the current crop of South Asian players and prospective coaches is significant. As we stated in the Background section of this report, it is only within the last two-three decades that South Asian communities have begun to access the higher levels of cricket in England as players, and many of these players may not have converted to coaching themselves. What this means is that a large number of current South Asian coaches will not have played cricket to a high level themselves. Naturally, this is not to say that they cannot be excellent coaches, and the data in this research supports this view. Nevertheless, the significance of this is twofold. Firstly, as above, non-high performing players may not immediately command the respect of South Asian youngsters as coaches; and secondly, given their lack of experience within the higher levels of the game, they may not be as aware of the 'system' (e.g. how to identify young players for trials for representative sides) as someone who was part of that system as a player.

So in Bradford there's quite lot. If you go around Bradford you will actually find a lot of qualified coaches that are Asian. You'll find a lot of them. It just tends to be that some of them don't know how to push the younger lads through because they've become coaches but they've not really

played good cricket themselves ... I think it's more important the Asian coaches have played some sort of cricket, a good level of cricket. (Coach Y5)

A number of other, arguably more nuanced, reasons why there is a need for there to be more South Asian coaches were also proposed. The majority of existing coaches said that South Asian coaches are vital for developing cricket in South Asian communities.⁶ This influence was thought to be twofold. Firstly, a South Asian coach was believed to understand youngsters with a similar biography better than a coach from another ethnic background on the basis of 'shared heritage'. Secondly, South Asian coaches can educate coaches from other ethnic groups about their cultural background, life experiences and their potential challenges (e.g. support networks) and thus, could be influential in ensuring that South Asian communities are given the best opportunity(ies) to progress in cricket.

[A]n Asian coach could possibly understand the Asian kid if he's got problems or anything because of the sort of families that they might have been brought up in or they might have a similar upbringing ... at the same time it's important that these coaches are there so then the English coaches can understand, to make them understand. Without the Asian coach to make them understand how are the English coaches going to understand that Asian kid? (Coach Y5)

Coach L3 suggested that shared culture - the ability to speak in Urdu, Gujarati or Hindi (amongst others) for example - would be a valuable asset for opening doors within South Asian communities; particularly with first and second generation migrants.

Also I think first and second generation Pakistani, Indian, Sri Lankan, it's the undermining. If I spoke to them in English they would feel as if you are telling them what to do. If you have the ability to take a step back and speak in their language you get a lot of respect ... Culture ... you cannot spend enough time, enough research, enough energy on getting to know people's cultures. They go 'You've made the effort to understand me.' I'm sure [name] will say this openly and honestly. The reason why he was extremely keen on me to work was I was the access point. I am a British Pakistani, I live in the local area. I have been involved in cricket all my life. Stuff like that. The point I'm trying to get to is get the right people to go in and do the talking.

The ability to understand South Asian culture(s) and speak languages commonly used by South Asians is certainly not confined to South Asians, but will undoubtedly be more readily accessible in these communities.

Continuing this, Coach Y7 said that one of his main motivations for getting into coaching was to help young South Asians from within inner cities progress in cricket. He said that such opportunities had not been available to him as a youngster, and believed that his experiences had encouraged him to make a positive contribution:

Somebody, somewhere, at the age of 11, 12, has to throw a load of bottles at them, give them that advice, give them that encouragement, give them that support. Make them believe they're

⁶ Note here that they believed the influence of South Asian coaches extended into other ethnic communities, but for the sake of this report, discussion has focused on South Asians only.

not inferior to their white counterparts at that age group, just because they come from more disadvantaged circumstances, because otherwise they could easily give up.

We should stress however that being a positive role model was not automatically linked to shared ethnicity. Rather, instead, all respondents were aligned with the idea that all coaches must possess a nuanced understanding of cultural diversity. Coach Y7 went on to emphasise that it should be remembered that South Asians are different to any other ethnic group in terms of their culture, background, and also their personal challenges/barriers to participation as players and coaches. He said that rather than pretending that everyone is the same, coaches and others should instead acknowledge (even embrace) difference:

...they are different. You've got to remember they are different as well – partly from some of the stuff we said earlier – their culture, their religion, their faith, their attitudes, and their family structures.

Many of the existing South Asian coaches were largely unconscious of the potential influence of their own ethnicity. Indeed, when questioned about the anticipated impact of their ethnicity, they acknowledged that it may be a factor, but also stressed that they coach people from a variety of ethnicities, and therefore, their role and influence extends beyond South Asians. Moreover, not everyone agreed that South Asians need ethnicity specific role models. As we identify elsewhere in this report, some emphasised that regardless of the presence of role models, some South Asians will pursue coaching and others will not. This latter point was emphasised by a number of players and coaches, who identified that emerging players will be inspired mostly by the quality and enthusiasm of the coach, rather than their ethnicity.

Coach Y3: Do I want an Asian coach? Do you want my honest opinion? No. I just need somebody good. [So it's the quality, rather than...] Yeah. It doesn't matter whether they're black, white, pink. It doesn't matter, I just need people that are, I think, passionate.

Player Y3: It's more on what he or she does or says or the way he or she utilises their communication skills. I don't think the colour of their skin or background matters, I don't think that's a hindrance at all. It's how that person executes their delivery, the knowledge. Young people are impressed by the knowledge.

Player Y4: With people from a South Asian background, it's a confidence issue. If they think all the coaches are going to be white and they won't employ me, you aren't going to get a job. If you go out there with the attitude that I'm going to get the job, I don't care whether I'm South Asian or not and you're determined and committed, I don't see why there's an issue at all.

Some respondents presented more nuanced accounts, stating that, in favouring ethnic matching, there is a danger of encouraging separation and essentialising ethnic difference between South Asians and other ethnic groups (mainly whites). There was a belief that views on ethnic matching were very generation specific, that is, that the older generations (parents and grandparents of juniors) would favour matching the ethnicity of the player and coach, whilst the young player would be less concerned about coach ethnicity; favouring the quality of the coach

instead. As we have discussed elsewhere in this report, such generational differences are likely linked to their respective experiences of (in)equality at different historical moments.

I think, ultimately, kids will be kids and they'll come in for the love of the game and wanted to go to their local club or a club that's got a good reputation ... I think where that question comes into mind actually is with parents. If parents are willing to go and mix, or go to a club that is predominantly Asian or predominantly English ... I am sure there are parents who go to a club where there are Asian coaches because of their Asian backgrounds, and I'm sure it's similar the other ways where, you know, there are English coaches where English parents will come to around. (Coach L4)

In terms of accessing the system, there was a view expressed by a minority of individuals that those South Asians who have broken into the system should be doing more than they currently are to enable other South Asians to access the same opportunities.

Coach Y6:[I]f I was weighing the scales I'd say it's still tipped in the favour of... people are still blocked because of their colour, I would say. It's got better, and the barriers have been broken down, but then I blame the people that have broken through as well. If you've broken through, if you're a minority and all this lot, you get out there and tell people 'Right, brother, you can do this.'

Coach Y7: You hear this sometimes. It's a very controversial idea. You know, even ethnic minorities sometimes, who pull the last rung of the ladder away, who achieve and then they forget their own identity ... sell out themselves.

Coach Y7 articulated his ideas further by suggesting that some ethnic minorities are complicit in the exclusion of other ethnic minorities on the basis that they allow discrimination in an organisation to pass by unchallenged.

Instead of joining in with quite ignorant propaganda that goes round, and the stereotyping. And it's easier to go along with that and not challenge it ... sometimes it might be difficult for an ethnic minority to challenge it, because then he might feel his position might be weakened, or he's not part of that network any more, so you have to be part of the boys, so to speak. So you have to ... Politically, you have to work out how it operates and how you stand, to ensure your own survival as well. Sometimes you might see it going on, but you think 'I'm not strong enough', or 'I'm not courageous enough yet' or 'I don't feel I have enough power', or 'I can't handle the stress'. Yet if I expose that person – and that person might be a senior figure of the establishment and you might just simply not feel brave enough in your position or at your time in life (Coach Y7)

4.3.3. County coaching is for whites, and roles are protected by gatekeepers

Whilst it was acknowledged by both the players and coaches that more South Asians are beginning to access entry level coaching qualifications there was a perception that the higher up the system you go, the whiter it becomes. What the respondents meant by this was that as individuals move from Level 1 to Level 2 to Club Coach and so on, there is a marked whitening

of both attendees and the coach educators. When asked about the coach educators, the majority of the South Asian coaches argued that, currently, too few are of South Asian descent.

In terms of attendees, level one was a healthy mix Level two, there were a few Asians, but not to the same level as whites – I think it would be 60-40. Club Coach was predominantly “white white”, much higher than level two. I don’t think there are many, if any, Asians on the level three. [What about the coach educators?] There was one Asian ... He was on the level two. The others were all white. (Coach Y3)

The lack of South Asian coach educators was seen to pose a number of challenges for aspiring South Asian coaches. These were linked heavily to our findings in section 4.3.2 on role models. There was also a perception that entry to higher level qualifications - e.g. Level 3 - and subsequently, access to higher level coaching jobs were restricted to, and guarded by, white people.

Coach L3: As a [South Asian] coach options are very limited, okay, it’s a closed door scenario ... Last year, when I was going from a level three, apparently my application never got there to be countersigned ... He’s [the white coach] got to watch his own interests as well ... This is what I feel and there’s other [South Asian] coaches in the system, there’s a friend of mine, it’s the same thing. He said to me three years ago, “Any different down your end?” He talks about it, I go, “No”. It’s just like here, it’s not you, but it’s me. It’s the same.

Coach L1: I’ve asked ECB, I’ve asked, “Can I volunteer”, I’ve applied for job with the English deaf cricket team from the ECB website. Now okay they said, “Thank you very much we’re not interested”, then I replied back to the human resources, “Can I, at my expense, so I can learn, can I shadow the selected or appointed official, the coach?” Didn’t hear anything. MCC, I’ve tried, didn’t get anything back. It’s a closed door, it’s a closed door ... I feel that I’m a threat.

As articulated earlier in section 4.2.1 number of the interviewees were suspicious of how open and fair the selection and recruitment processes for higher level courses are. This was particularly evident when respondents spoke about the ‘nomination’ process required for Level 3. Coach L7 in particular highlighted how the process is largely self-perpetuating, in that, to gain a nomination, one would likely need to be part of an established network, but as we highlighted earlier, the participants do not feel included in that network:

Level 3 is the next stage where I think you do need ... I’m not exactly sure how it works, but it seems to me it’s not as easy to break into. My perception is that there’s some sort of little network system there where you need some sort of nomination. It goes to some sort of board meeting ... they make you send your CV, and they say yea or nay. What’s all that about? I think part of the course means you have to be involved with folk at [a higher level]. I think that would make it far more difficult to even access the course, and it becomes a bit exclusive. I don’t know how fair the selection and recruitment process is.

Coach Y3, who had ambitions of gaining his Level 3 qualification noted that he was finding it difficult to get on the course. He was reluctant to identify the existence of racism, but it was evident from his interview that he had doubts about whether his application was treated fairly:

[Do you think it's accessible to people regardless of their ethnic background?] I think so. I believe so. I think, though, when you get to a certain level – I don't know – because I don't use positive discrimination, I don't use the race card. At work for example, being the only Asian ... I've always sort of thought if you have to be twice as good it doesn't matter, because that means you're going to be a better person. So I've always taken that as a positive thing rather than somebody saying well, you know ... I put in for it [level three]. I put in for it and I didn't hear back. Did anybody actually bother to look at my application? ... And so then I just thought 'Well, is it worth...?' ... I thought 'I can't see myself getting a look in.'

In contrast, Coach L1, who was also struggling to access the Level 3 course spoke openly about how he believed he had been held back due to his ethnic background:

I was discouraged at every opportunity, by one of the gentlemen I worked with here at the district. [So what kind of things?] Undermined, you're not good enough, basically ... I'll break it down to you ... it's kind of indirectly, it's wrong. I mean, recently there's another English chap who plays first team cricket, hasn't got a clue about coaching but he's qualified ... I see these coaches and think, 'I do it for a living. I do it daily!' Come on, I will have more insights than this guy. It's [discrimination] evident and it breaks my heart. To those people in the hierarchy, again, we are a threat, you see. We guys are hard working ... we are ambitious, which is seen as a threat, we are capable which is another threat, right I personally I want to get this level three done ... don't pay me, I'll waste my own money and go to Loughborough, it's a trek. I'll go there but let me warrant it because I'm ambitious, I want to be seen, I want to move forward but there aren't any opportunities. Unfortunately it's a closed door.

The lack of visibility of South Asians, both as attendees on the courses and running/facilitating the courses as coach educators, gave the impression to some that the courses are exclusionary and reserved for white people.

Coach Y7: Well, it's [coaching] like a lot of roles in terms of professionalism and responsibility in society. They've always been dominated by white people. And that's just kind of white... political thing, you know. They've always been regarded as a kind of superior race. So anybody who's different from that – and I've heard this from doctors, extremely well-qualified ethnic minority people, who simply don't feel they're accepted, wherever they are, their true potential isn't used in that organisation or they've been looked over for promotion constantly. And eventually they can't put it down to anything else other than it must be a racial issue, because they see their counterparts progressing.

Player Y2: If you want to be up there, you need to make sure there's doors opening for you. If there's no doors opening for you, then I'm not going to be bothered wasting time. It's not guaranteed, you're not going to get anything in your hand, you've got to work for it but you've got to see the view and is there something there.

4.3.4. The ECB coaching 'manual' is too rigid

We have already noted how a distinctly different 'style' of cricket has evolved in South Asian communities, due mainly to the legacy of the shorter format game on the Asian sub-continent, the inability to access formal clubs (or to develop new clubs due to limited access to facilities),

and the historical lack of formal coaching (see section 4.2.2). More than half of the participants spoke about the differences between typical South Asian and English (understood here to mean 'white English') styles of play and the consequences of this distinction for coaching. Specifically, respondents noted that the English style, as enshrined in the ECB coaching manual⁷, was too restrictive, and that the expectation of having to coach 'in this mould' was alienating (therefore, a potential barrier to accessing coach education courses).

Coach L3: One of my biggest criticisms, and again I strongly believe why a lot of South Asian people don't necessarily like coaching qualifications is their attitude is 'Why should I play like that? If I can hit a ball from outside or mid-wicket for six, why should I then be playing that through the offside because the coach and manual says that's what you're meant to do?'

Player Y1: [Would you regard that as a barrier for you to get into coaching, if the ECB says 'this is how we're going to make everybody coach?'] Probably yeah, stopping me. I think if a player's talented, obviously the player doesn't use his front elbow or whatever, when you've got say you've got it from this crap textbook. That's the coach is going to assess the situation because a good coach is going to say 'you're fine how you are'. It's just about runs. You can't teach them out of a book.

In addition to being a perceived barrier to accessing coach education, it was also clear that those coaches who had completed a Level 2, clearly felt constrained in their ability to pass the course and were uncomfortable in that environment⁸.

Coach Y5: You learnt a few things but having played cricket yourself it's always hard doing a Level 2 course, when they're teaching you basics, when cricket's changed so much. But you've just got to learn it the way they teach it in the book.

Coach Y2: Yeah, when I did my Level 2 assessment, he said one of the kids didn't have the right technique for playing the off drive. I said, "Yeah, but he's played it nine times out of ten and he's hit it perfectly along the floor like everybody else who's put their foot down and across, so why am I going to change it?" [How did the tutor respond to that?] He agreed with me and he disagreed. He was saying the ECB do it this way. They've got the coaching cards how to play a shot so you've got to follow it to an extent! [To what extent?] To the extent that if the kid's playing the shot without doing it, I'm going to leave him, I'm not going to change it (laughs).

The overriding belief expressed by many was that there are elements of cricket that simply cannot be coached, in the formal sense; that cricket is best played utilising one's creativity and imagination. Others went further and suggested that over-application of 'the manual' would fundamentally constrain player development.

Coach Y3: So the coaching has moved on. When we coach the kids very young – my kids grew up playing in the back garden – the first thing we taught them was basically just love hitting the ball. Have no fear, just hit the ball as far as you can. Because that's something you just can't teach. That gut

⁷ We recognise that there is no longer a single technical touchstone published by the ECB, such as a single coaching manual, but this idea of a 'style', encoded in a textbook, was pervasive among our South Asian respondents.

⁸ This is a common finding in the research on formal coach education, with many coaches harbouring private disagreement, yet 'going along with the official approach' proffered by NGBs (Cushion et al., 2010).

instinct. You can teach somebody a defence... to plod and defend all day, and not get out, but you can't teach that instinct to be able to see a ball and hit it a mile.

Coach L1: Now [Sachin] Tendulkar is a legend, [Brian] Lara's a legend, Imran Khan is a legend, Sunil Gavaskar's a legend, Sir Gary Sobers is a legend. They've done it against everyone and their flair ... oh it's incorrect. But how come we don't produce any legends then, if that textbook is so wonderful and that picture perfect kids from Durham or Glamorgan, wherever, who's actually in that shot, how comes we're not producing cricketers? You're producing robots... The problem we've got with English cricket is that mould, that ECB guideline, that ECB manual.

The points made here are clearly related to the nuanced discussion in sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.3 regarding gatekeepers and the denial of access to higher level courses and roles. More explicitly, the language of the resources can also deter some South Asian players from undertaking coach education.

4.3.5. The language of the resources and courses can be alienating

Building on the findings from section 4.3.4, this section draws upon the South Asian coaches' experiences of the coaching resources provided for the courses. There was general agreement that the resources themselves, in terms of the depth and clarity of information, examples, visual support etc., were fit for purpose. However, given some of the communication and English language difficulties experienced by some South Asian cricketers there was some debate over whether resources could be made more accessible by, for example, being adapted into different languages. There was a widespread belief that lack of ability in the English language was a barrier for some South Asians. This was identified as an issue lying principally with first and some second generation South Asians who have not been educated in the UK. However, given that many South Asians may opt to become coaches after they finish their playing careers, this is an issue that will likely affect the current generation of older players.

[W]ith some of the South Asian community ... work that I've done ... there are many, many player's parents who say actually we would love to become a coach but the language is a barrier, the understanding is a barrier. (Coach L4)

There was also evidence that some South Asians do not feel comfortable on the courses because they do not fully understand what the coach educator is saying. When asked about his experiences of the courses Coach L3 said that some South Asians would be uncomfortable questioning/challenging a white coach educator due to language or communication issues:

There weren't enough trained... what are they called? They're teachers, guys who run the courses, that come from a South Asian background. So their big thing was it could have been because it was a cultural barrier or a communication barrier. So when they went to a course when someone very English spoke from a white middle class background they felt undermined because they will tell them what to do. They don't understand. It could be a first or second generation person. They felt very awkward in saying 'Could you just slow down a second?' We spoke about the language barriers and this was another challenge that was said to me. 'We struggle with your

traditional white English lead tutors. We don't understand them. They are lovely people but their demonstrations we don't get. Why we have to do it that way, we don't get. Their questions we don't get.'

Similarly, Coach L4 identified that language could also be a barrier when South Asians are expected to perform skill demonstrations as part of the course:

When you've got 10, 15 other people on the course watching you, and how do you describe a forward defence, or how do you hold a grip on a bat, you know, these are potential things that put people off.

Moreover, some respondents went on to say that in order to overcome some of the barriers with the English language facing South Asians it would be worthwhile if the courses and resources could be available in alternative languages or at least with co-cultural tutors. Coach L8 for instance, referred to the example of the NHS where the majority of leaflets and literature are available in multiple languages. Whilst he acknowledged that South Asians need to be able to communicate in English as a coach, he said that their major struggle with the English language was in reading and writing, rather than speaking. Therefore, providing resources in alternative languages, and perhaps even allowing the written test to be done in another language, would encourage more South Asians into coaching.

I think making packs in other languages would be much better ... At least giving them the option to have access to another language ... They need to be able to coach in English, but they need to be able to understand the packs. The younger ones are ok because they have come through the English school system, but there are adults, who came to England when they were teenagers or in their twenties, these people will find it more difficult because they haven't been educated in England. They understand how to coach and they can communicate (verbally) in English, but they might struggle with the reading and the writing. I know personally of some Indians and Bangladeshis in East London who are struggling. They're not confident currently. (Coach L8)

Other interviewees went further by suggesting that putting on courses in other languages may enable more South Asians to access the courses on the basis that it would alleviate anxieties about communication barriers.⁹

Could we get ECB qualified coaches that speak the language, so do they speak Urdu, do they speak Gujarati, do they speak whatever language, that is, you know, the people that are out in the audience do we do, again, a horses for courses approach that if we can get ten South Asian guys from the streets as such, or the parks, to become ... or want to become coaches should the tutor speak the language that they understand? (Coach L4)

Coach L3 in particular said that making courses available in multiple languages could provide much needed confidence for those who completed it. In fact, he was facilitating a course in the near future, which will be delivered in Punjabi:

⁹ This suggestion is double-edged in that, there is a probable assumption that the person delivering the course in another language would be South Asian themselves.

We are going to do one in Punjabi coming up. We haven't finalised the date but in the near future. That will run by a guy who obviously speaks Punjabi because its supply and demand and that's what they want.

The view that the resources and courses should be adapted to suit the English language needs of some South Asians was not shared by all those we interviewed. Some, predominantly younger respondents argued that such adaptations were unnecessary because the vast majority of South Asians have good enough English skills to meet the demands of the course. Player Y3 for instance, thought that translating resources was an outdated idea.

If you're speaking a different language, they're going to struggle so I don't think that's going to make much of a difference, saying we'll put it in Urdu or Punjabi. Fifteen years ago perhaps but not now.

Another idea for enhancing the inclusivity of the resources and courses more generally was to make visual/video resources available in different languages. The idea, which was proposed by a minority of existing coaches, was that if someone was struggling with content following attendance at a course, or after reading the existing packs, they could access additional resources that would provide explanations to demonstration in another language. The aim of such resources was that South Asian coaches could attend the scheduled course, presented in English, but would be able to follow up on any queries with culturally specific resources.

I understand from a qualification/certification process the courses have to be English. You can't do them in different languages. I would go one step further. Not just the information packs, I think the DVDs. I think sometimes the visual. My former coach said visual is more powerful than talking. If I do a really good demonstration, I know I've got all the kids' attention. If [coach] stood and did a fantastic four hour session on the level two or coaching a start-up session and half of them were like 'I don't have a clue what you are saying' but they can actually go online or with a DVD and actually listen to an Urdu or a Punjabi or a Tamil or a Gujarati sort of recording I think they will get it. I think they will look at the two and go 'Oh yeah, that's why he did that. That's the reason behind it.' (Coach L3)

Whilst clearly some respondents were divided on the issue of whether courses and resources should be made available in languages other than English, it was widely acknowledged that producing educational resources in other languages would enable South Asians with poorer language proficiencies to prepare for the sessions and assessments more effectively, thus ensuring that the courses are more accessible and inclusive.

We should stress that, in spite of those who clearly advocated the need for adaptation, there was an overriding feeling amongst both players and coaches that the assessments themselves need to be completed in English. This was on the basis that everyone accepted that an ECB qualified coach must to be able to communicate their knowledge in English. Thus, calls for resources and courses to be more diverse in terms of how information is communicated should be positioned within a wider context of enabling South Asians to be successful in this environment.

4.4. White privilege (invisible to those who have it) perpetuates the reproduction of racialised differences and inequalities in cricket

The presence and privileging of whiteness has been a consistent constraint or barrier for many of the cricketers in this study. *Whiteness*¹⁰ is a concept used to describe how social processes and practices privilege some people within sporting organisations/institutions, and even society. Many of those who benefit from such processes are white, however most of these privileges are unwittingly received due to institutionalised or seemingly benign 'everyday' practices. Those most conscious of the privileges of whiteness do not receive these privileges so easily, though there are many others critical of their own whiteness privileges. Whiteness (process) does not refer to white people (social identity). Privileges, even within cricket, often accrue to white people in a number of ways; many have been identified by the South Asian cricketers in this study. For example the South Asian cricketers felt that players were more likely to be nominated or endorsed for coaching positions/courses if they were part of networks containing influential white gate keepers. Whiteness can also be manifest in cricket hierarchies that consistently lack diversity and retain a white, male superstructure. Similarly, if county scouts continue to prioritise predominantly white schools and avoid informal cricket spaces they are not likely to increase the number of South Asian players in development and county squads. Consequently there will continue to be only a small number of coached South Asian players progressing into coaching and therefore minimising the pool of role models for others to aspire to. This is exacerbated further by South Asian cricketers self-excluding themselves from formal structures because of their lack of acceptance in these structures and systems.

Whiteness can be manifest in privileges of being scouted, entry to clubs, communication about courses, just as the outcomes of such racialised processes can result in predominantly white structures such as the constituency of clubs, organisational hierarchies and even attendees on higher level coaching courses. Proactive NGBs are likely to identify these patterns to endeavour to disrupt them through early interventions.

¹⁰ See Long, J. and Hylton, K.(2002) Shades of White: an examination of whiteness in sport, *Leisure Studies*, No.21, pp 87-103.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

Over the course of section 4, we have tried to describe as clearly as possible the potential mechanisms of exclusion relevant to South Asian cricket coaches. The picture is complex, and it is clear that there are multiple interacting mechanisms and barriers: some deeply embedded and cultural; others more obvious and policy related.

5.1. Conclusions

Our conclusions are formulated in response to the initial objectives of the project.

1. Understand South Asian male players' experiences of playing cricket.

The South Asian experience of playing cricket was marked by informality and variety, and originated in 'street cricket' (see section 4.2.2). Many of our interviewees played in less formal, non-affiliated competitions and were part of teams, rather than clubs (i.e. distinguished clearly from English, village clubs with stable identity - often based around a drinking culture - and strong tradition of voluntarism). The South Asian 'style' of cricket - attacking, instinctive and technically flexible - was also distinguished from the (white) English style, which was often characterised as slow, deliberate, highly technical and rigid (4.3.4).

2. Examine, describe and analyse the conditions which enable South Asian male cricket players to become cricket coaches.

Many of the 16 South Asian coaches we interviewed began coaching due to direct facilitation from their club. These clubs tended to have a stronger tradition of volunteering and had qualified South Asian coaches who acted as role models. Players with experiences of being coached are much more likely to see the value of coaching (4.1.4). These clubs, through better contact with county boards, were able to discover suitable coach education courses and locate funding to subsidise costs.

3. Examine, describe and analyse the conditions which constrain South Asian male cricket players from becoming cricket coaches.

There were a complex series of constraining conditions, starting with a low value attached to coaching by South Asian families and the primacy of work and education (4.1). Many players had no experience of receiving coaching and saw no value in it as a result. The fact that coaching was viewed as predominantly a voluntary activity was a further constraining factor (4.1.4). As many South Asian clubs and teams play cricket outside of formal structures, the knowledge of coach development pathways tends to be poor (4.2.5). Some also saw the (white) English 'style' of cricket - and the expectation of having to coach in the manner prescribed by the ECB 'manual' - a deterrent to taking up coaching (4.3.4).

4. Understand existing South Asian male cricket coaches' experiences of entering and progressing through cricket coaching.

Whilst we heard many positive reports of coach education courses and coaching experiences, we also found that some coaches perceived that they had been the victims of direct and indirect racism in applying for higher level qualification and coaching roles - e.g. deterred from applying, applications not acknowledged etc. (4.2.1). There was general agreement that county coaching roles were surrounded by an institutional sense of white privilege, meaning that these roles were 'off limits' to South Asians. This sense of white privilege was further articulated through the view that the nomination/endorsement system prevented South Asians from accessing Level 3 awards and, as a consequence of this, they were also excluded from coach educator positions. The subsequent lack of South Asian role models in visible positions was viewed to be an insidious problem that had a range of interrelated impacts on young South Asians in particular (4.3.3).

5. Evaluate the relationship between the participants' experiences of playing cricket and their coaching aspirations.

As noted above, since playing experiences often occurred in informal environments, sometimes entirely outside of affiliated competitions, experiences of formal coaching were rare (4.1.4). Consequently, many of the players in this project had limited direct experience of how beneficial coaching could be and attached limited value to it as a result. With limited access to the social networks of cricket (e.g. knowing other coaches, having links with county development managers), the pathways into and mechanisms for progressing in coaching were unknown to many of the interviewees (4.2.4 & 4.2.5).

6. Present recommendations to the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) towards establishing an action orientated programme to enable more South Asian players to enter into and progress through cricket coaching.

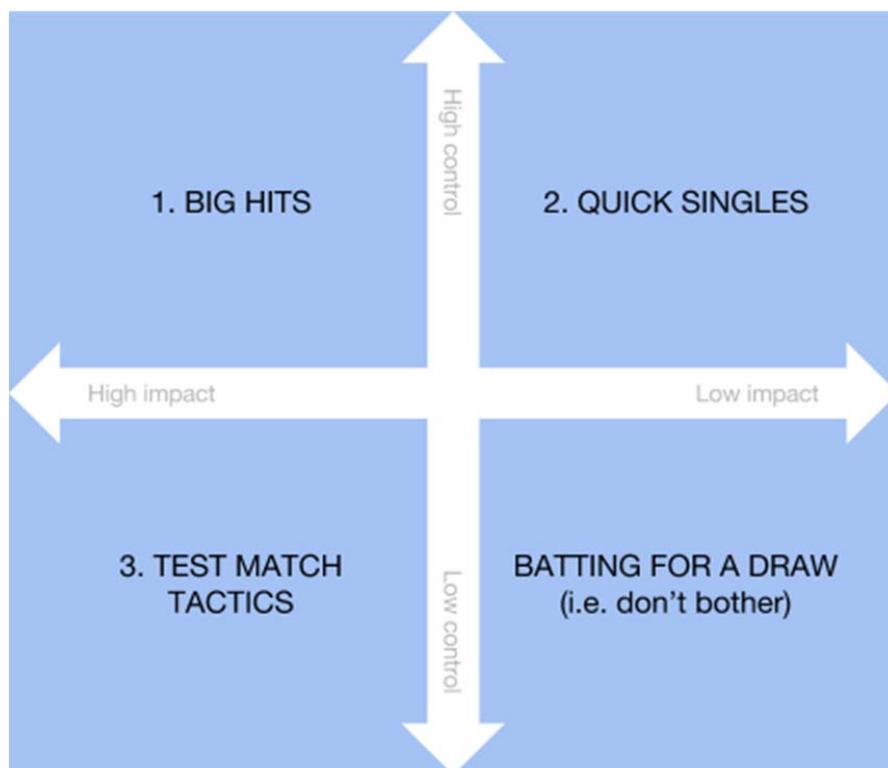
See below.

5.2. Recommendations

Given the interconnected nature of the barriers and mechanisms of exclusion, we stress that the recommendations listed below are of an ‘all or nothing’ character. We therefore refer to ‘chains’ of recommendations, rather than single recommendations, since this better captures the idea that a series of interrelated actions, applied collectively should have the greatest impact¹¹. Put simply, a chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

We have also tentatively categorised the individual recommendations along two axes denoting the degree of control the ECB may have over each, and the likely impact on increasing the numbers of South Asians entering and progressing in coaching.

Figure 5.1. Categories of recommendations according to impact and control



¹¹ This links to the philosophical idea of *necessary* and *sufficient* conditions for social change (Lewis, 2000). We believe that these recommendations, only when taken collectively, will be sufficient to have a significant impact on increasing the numbers of South Asians entering and progressing in coaching. In other words, each ‘chain’ is necessary, but insufficient to achieve the desired effect.

Recommendation chain 1: modifying 'the system' (demo-cricket)

No.	Recommendation	Cat.	Findings section
1	Proactively identify white privilege and processes and seek to disrupt them with early intervention. The ECB as an organisation should also look to present itself as being more progressive and inclusive to different ethnic groups. It is recognised that the ECB may well have attempted to recast the game and itself in this way but the messages are clearly not getting through to many in the South Asian community involved in this research.	3	4.4
2	Establish county-wide BME forum(s) for sharing ideas and good practice, with the requirement to meet or interact at a national level.	1	4.2.1 4.4
3	Encourage and enable more South Asians into influential, decision-making positions, including coach educator roles, thereby widening the 'network' (e.g. cricket development managers).	3	4.2.1 4.2.3 4.3.3 4.4
4	ECB needs to open up to and reach out to more informal spaces of play and recognise and value a greater diversity of playing and competition formats. Opportunities to coach are not obvious in teams without youth structures, nor are players likely to remain invested in cricket upon retirement unless they feel part of a club (with a community identity). The ECB must explore how they can help South Asians to develop clubs of their own, or integrate them in others.	3	4.2.2 4.3.1
5	Provide cultural diversity and equality training to all coaches and coach educators to increase sensitivity to important cultural and religious differences.	2	4.3.2 4.4

Recommendation chain 2: promoting the value of cricket coaching

No.	Recommendation	Cat.	Findings section
6	Promote the value of cricket and coaching as legitimate activities (career, part-time or voluntary) to parents and senior community leaders (e.g. 'Elders' and religious leaders). This includes providing information about coach development and education and using innovative communication approaches.	3	4.1.1 4.1.2
7	Promote the value of coaching to players via enhancing club structures (i.e. to 'put something back in') and relationships with county boards.	1	4.1.4 4.3.3
8	Create more full-time paid coaching roles (and workforce development roles) that are accessible to South Asians (i.e. careers in cricket coaching).	1	4.1.2 4.3.3

Recommendation chain 3: making coach education and coaching more accessible

No.	Recommendation	Cat.	Findings section
9	Increase the visibility of South Asian coaches - in the county system where possible - to act as inspirational role models to aspiring coaches (i.e. dispelling the glass ceiling myth). This may encompass a degree of positive discrimination in recruitment practices. Where candidates have similar experiences and expertise choose the South Asian candidate especially for county level or more senior positions.	1/3	4.3.3 4.2.4 4.4
10	Establish a strategy aimed at engaging with a potential 'missed generation' (i.e. players in the 35-45 age bracket coming to the end of their careers, likely to have experienced overt and covert racism and may be disillusioned with the system).	3	4.3.1 4.2.5
11	Undertake a review of coaching resources and course material in terms of: a) their form, language and accessibility; and b) the technical scope and flexibility of 'the manual'.	2	4.3.4 4.3.5
12	Increase funding available for coaching qualifications and increase local delivery of courses.	2	4.2.5

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