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A Bourdieusian Investigation into Reproduction and Transformation in the Field of Disability Cricket

by

Paul Kitchin

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

October 2014

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Abbreviations

ACCF	Arundel Castle Cricket Foundation
ACUS	Association of Cricket Umpires and Scorers
BACD	British Association for Cricketers with Disabilities
BCEW	Blind Cricket England and Wales
C4C	Cricket for Change
CCB	County Cricket Board
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFPD	Cricket Foundation for People with Disabilities
CSD	Community Sports Development
CSP	County Sports Partnership
DCDO	Disability Cricket Development Organization
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DDA	Disability Discrimination Act 2005
ECAD	English Cricket Association for the Deaf
ECB	England and Wales Cricket Board
EFDS	English Federation of Disability Sport
LCCA	London Community Cricket Association
LSF	London Sports Forum for Disabled People
MCC	Marylebone Cricket Club
MLD	Moderate Learning Difficulties
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NEET	Not in Employment, Education or Training
NGB/(s)	National Governing Body/(Bodies)
P&LD	Physical and Learning Difficulties
PESSCL	PE, School Sport and Clubs Links Strategy
PESSYP	PE & Sports Strategy for Young People
RDT	Resource Dependency Theory
TCF	The Cricket Foundation
TLT	The Lord's Taverners
SCT	Structural Contingency Theory
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SIS	Single Investment System
SSP	School Sports Partnership
UKSAPLD	United Kingdom Sports Association for People with Learning Disabilities
VI	Visual Impairment
WCA	Women's Cricket Association
WSP	<i>Whole Sport Plan</i>

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Abstract

Disability cricket in England and Wales exists within a constant state of change. This thesis is an organizational analysis of how environmental factors foster reproduction and/or transformation within the field of disability cricket. It is important to examine how these factors are translated across multiple levels of analysis; institutional, organizational, and individual. A layered analysis is important because it attempts to overcome the limitations of previous micro- and macro-approaches to change. A reflexive ethnography that involved three years of fieldwork allowed perceptions and meanings of change to be examined in real-time. This approach is novel in studies of institutional and organizational change. Data was collected through formal and informal interviews, active-member observations, and document analysis. The findings reveal a series of structural and cognitive consequences, which included a greater number of playing opportunities for disabled cricketers and the establishment of an economic market for disability cricket which ensured organizational commitment to accepting accountability and managerial pressures. While change occurred, the nature of organizational responses to these environmental factors varied. Drawing on the theoretical insights of Bourdieu (2005) and the institutional theory of translation (Czarniawska & Sevon, 1996), I demonstrate that these responses varied between organizations because of the relationship between the field, the organization's doxa and the habitus of the individuals employed within. It concludes empirically that the translation of environmental factors is dependent on the interlinking relationships between institutions, organizations and individuals. The use of Bourdieu extends previous institutional analysis in sport management by providing a unique perspective on the role of organizations in reproducing inequality. As this thesis demonstrates institutional change is a recurrent theme in British sport organizations and further work is needed to examine the impact of these changes on the relations between sport organizations and the participants, employees and volunteers within them. As such it reinforces interdisciplinary calls to link sport management and the sociology of sport.

Key words: ethnography, institutional/organizational change, translation, field, doxa, capital, habitus, hysteresis

Chapter 1: Thesis Introduction

Introduction

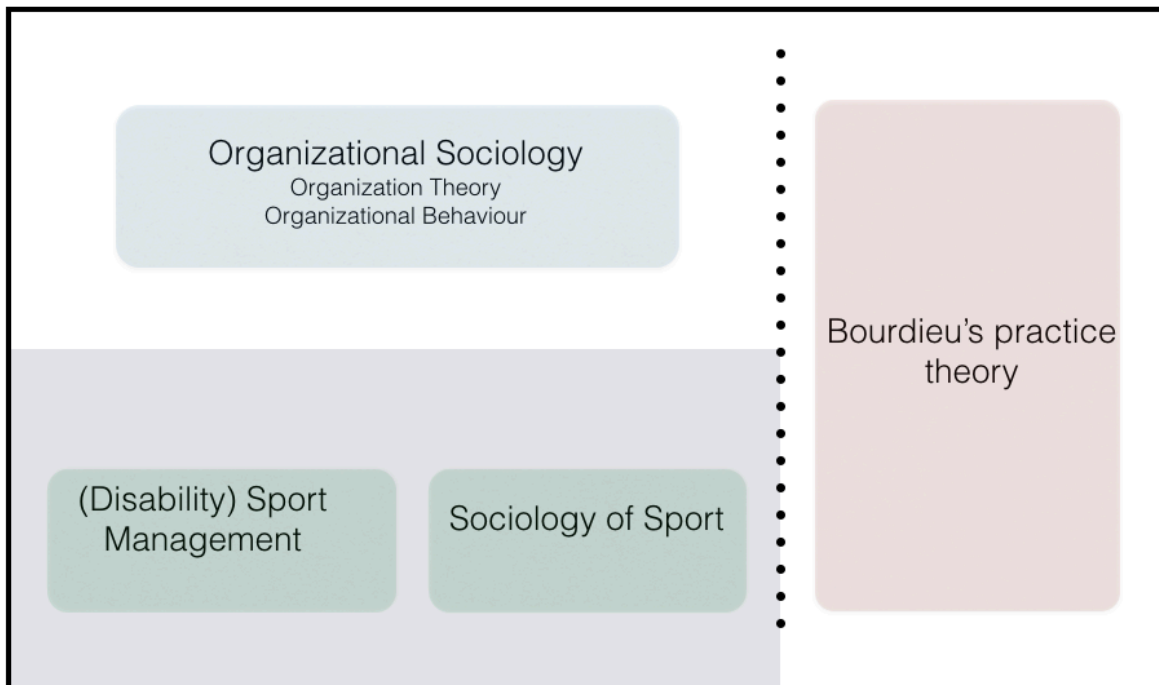
Following his passing in 2002, Pierre Bourdieu's social theory gained increasing attention from organizational theorists (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, Everett, 2002). How structure and agency interact to facilitate the what, the how and the why of organizational change is a long-running debate in the sociology of organizations. Despite the breadth of Bourdieu's social theory and the variety of research settings he studied, there have only been a few attempts to examine change through the lens his work provides. While this lack of coverage is surprising, a possible reason could be the density of his social theory, which may have discouraged scholars from using his oeuvre. When Bourdieu has been used in previous studies, some academics have drawn out one or two concepts from his theory in order to guide their analysis (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Sieweke, 2014). A full relational analysis is one which uses his master concepts (Swartz, 2008) of field, habitus and capital to examine organizational change as either reproduction or transformation. Hence, this study of change is important. All organizations are subject to environmental factors from exogenous and endogenous sources. It is the relations between these factors and the resultant implications for organizational and individual strategies that are of interest in this thesis.

What follows is a complex argument. It aims to demonstrate that the dominant modes of change research are incomplete and boldly suggests an approach that can assist in creating a more holistic understanding of change. This holistic approach is warranted as the dominant approach to change research, institutionalism is considered to be overly deterministic and attempts to bring in voluntarism have resulted in "built-on'...theoretical corpus" (Beckert, 1999, p. 778). As yet, no published study has drawn on Bourdieu's full opus to examine reproduction or transformation. In order to perform this I adopted a reflexive and relational approach that allowed me to conceptualize the multiple levels of analysis and thereby explain how environmental factors facilitated reproduction or transformation. To elaborate further on the aims and purpose of this thesis, the remainder of this chapter will achieve three aims. First I provide an overview of the purpose of this thesis. In order to provide a suitable context in which to base this investigation I then briefly introduce the background. Following this, I highlight the aims, objectives and research questions that guided this thesis. Finally I conclude with an overview of how the thesis is structured.

There is a hierarchy of literature that this thesis uses. I mention it here as I am keen to stress that this thesis, while complex, is not attempting to be all things to all readers. In the first instance

this thesis contributes to a sociology of organizations in so far as it concerns aspects of organization theory and organizational behaviour. It also contributes to research on the disability sport management and the sociology of sport by focusing on the experiences, perceptions and consequences of change in the management of disability cricket. Change in this thesis emerges as a result of a series of complex relationships over time. These contributions are facilitated by the use of Bourdieu's critical and relational lens. I have attempted to demonstrate this hierarchy in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: A conceptual overview of the potential academic contribution of this thesis.



Research Purpose

This research project is a sociological investigation into how a group of organizations involved in the management and delivery of disability cricket translate and adapt to, conform to, or resist various environmental factors. The organizations under examination belong to the field of disability cricket which will be presented and critiqued in this thesis. Despite a significant amount of literature examining change, some gaps remain in our understanding of the process. The first is accounting for how change occurs between and within organizations operating in the same field simultaneously. The second is the paucity of methodological approaches that can access these accounts. Bourdieu is used because his version of practice theory and his recommended methodology are well suited for dissolving dichotomies of structure and agency, the macro and micro, and quantitative and qualitative. This study implements an ethnographic methodology designed to address the methodological limitations found in the change literature (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009) and to

provide a rich account as opposed to a structural view of change. By occupying an internal position within the field and both participating and observing as practice was reproduced or transformed, I was able not only to gain real-time data on change between and within organizations, but also to reveal power relations across the field. My findings indicate that external initiatives designed to increase accountability in the sport were often translated in a manner that matched the sport's existing value system. Nevertheless, this account is written from the perspective of a researcher who was embedded in the process and who himself was subject to power relations within the field. Thus, in the production of this thesis I am not independent as instances of change are the focus of my investigation and allied to my active-member role within the field (Adler & Adler, 1987). This is accounted for by adopting Bourdieu's reflexive approach.

The inter-relationship between Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital and doxa provided a model for interpreting the multi-layered meanings that influenced reproduction or transformation within these organizational settings. While this thesis contributes to a range of literatures, these are predominantly organizational sociology and also general applications of Bourdieu's practice theory (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Kay & Laberge, 2002a, b; Swartz, 2008; Vaughan, 2008). Nevertheless, it was partially inspired by a series of articles published in the *Journal of Sport Management* throughout 2005 calling for more critical approaches to the study of sport management (e.g. Amis & Silk, 2005; Frisby 2005; Singer, 2005, Skinner & Edwards, 2005). Although Bourdieu was not discussed in these articles it is this purpose that drives the reflexive approach adopted in this investigation.

Research Context

In recent years there has been an increase in critical approaches taken to the broad practice of managerialism in terms of its impact on the policy process in sport and how sport organizations manage as a result of impending change. Various examinations concerning the impact of government pressure on sport have progressed through two different but complementary schools. The first school has been led by Slack and Kikulis (1989) and colleagues in their critique of the modernization of Canadian national governing bodies (NGBs). Drawing on institutional and patterning approaches, these studies have explored the organizational change process between and within organizations. The second school has used critical approaches, often drawn from social theory or policy analysis, to examine how the modernization of British sport has been used as a tool for achieving government objectives led by Green & Houlihan (2006). Although related to the first school, the second has focused on how managerialism has created tension and has impacted on the practices of sport

managers and coaches (Grix, 2009; Lusted & O’Gorman, 2010; Taylor & Garratt, 2010). This thesis focuses on disability cricket as it is managed and practiced in England and Wales. I position this thesis as an alternative approach to the first school and their examinations of change while making a contribution to studies related to the modernization of British sport. In other words, this is a sociological investigation into reproduction and/or transformation brought about by environmental factors impacting upon the field of disability cricket, and not the policy process itself. That said, the following section introduces the sport and recounts a number of changes that have occurred to it in light of various British policy developments.

The organization and management of disability cricket

The sport of cricket within the region of London and the South-East provides the context for the current research study (and is referred to as ‘the region’ hereafter). The area of activity is represented in Figure 1.2 in which all relevant organizations deliver their activities (pseudonyms are used in the findings). Despite its origins as an independent sporting practice, the increasing politicization of sport (Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nødland, & Rommetvedt, 2007; Collins, 2010a; Houlihan & White, 2002) cricket has remained self-governed, but in a manner that is more responsive to Sport Council areas of priority. Cricket is an institution¹ whose practice is guided by a set of rules, traditions and rituals. Dating back to 1840, the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) was the chief administrator of the sport. Recently however, the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) governs cricket by an increasingly managerial approach (Marqusee, 2005).

Figure 1.2: A map of London and the South-East Region.



(Source: Adapted from Wikipedia, 2013)

The structure of cricket in England and Wales is multifaceted but essentially the sport consists of a number of associations spread across 39 counties. Of these, 18 counties are considered ‘First-Class’. First-class status is a form of distinction (Wright, 2009) which indicates that the cricket played by in that county is of the highest domestic standard. The ‘Minor’ counties comprise the other 21 areas across England. Operating nationally alongside the ECB are also two large cricket charities, The Cricket Foundation (TCF) and The Lord’s Taverners (TLT). The former is an independent charity operating in Great Britain and formerly the charitable arm of the ECB. TCF is responsible for the implementation of the *Chance to shine* programme which aims to regenerate cricket in English state schools. TLT is a United Kingdom-wide youth charity specialising in the provision of sporting opportunities for marginalized youth, and is also the ECB’s official charity for the provision of recreational cricket.

The ECB, the national charities and the counties share the goal of developing cricket. Nevertheless, tension between the regions and the central administrators is a long-standing feature of the sport (Birley, 2000). The county organizations are responsible for the development of cricket in

their geographic region but have often required subsidy from the governing body to deliver non-elite cricket programmes (Birley, 2000; Williams, 1999; Wright, 2009). Particularly those programmes that do not contribute to developing able-bodied, male cricketers. This central-regional tension has led the ECB to launch strategies to ensure that the counties develop a wider range of programmes for all abilities, in part as a response to Sport Council pressure to make the game more available, effective and efficient. The ECB recently divided England and Wales into five administrative regions to better manage the grassroots development of the game from players in clubs, through to the county structure and onto international representation if required. Cricket clubs are the sport's grassroots unit; their members play cricket either recreationally or through organized leagues that operate across the country. Following the ECB's 2005 strategy *Building Relationships*, efforts have been made to formalise club operations and increase affiliation to their counties. Assisting in the promotion of community and disability sport, a variety of County Sports Partnerships (including the London Sports Forum for Disabled People/Interactive) operate in this region. At the outset of this study they assisted in the funding of community coaches in local authorities or in not-for-profit sports organizations that deliver community cricket – which includes disability cricket.

The focus of this thesis is primarily on disability cricket which operates nationally, and can be conceived as an aspect of developmental cricket. Cricket development includes non-elite cricket and is the sub-unit of the ECB responsible for grassroots cricket. Four Disability Cricket Development Organizations (DCDO), which are not-for-profit organizations, operate classification systems in order to organize cricketing opportunities for disabled cricketers. Although technically they operate nationally, each DCDO has areas where playing participants are concentrated. London and the South-East have a concentration of junior and adult cricketers with physical, visual and learning impairments. At the outset of this study the London Community Cricket Association (LCCA), now known as Cricket for Change (C4C), was a London-based charity that used cricket to engage marginalized young people in social development activities. Its main focus was on developing urban cricket programmes and delivering disability cricket for young people. All of the organizations outlined above are involved in some fashion with the development of disability cricket within this region, hence their selection as the focus of this investigation.

In 2007 the ECB launched an initiative called One Game. This initiative is discussed at some length in the chapters 5-9, however at this stage it can be viewed as an attempt to bring all the various organizations that were responsible for delivering cricket under a united banner. Since its formation in 1997 the ECB has been incorporated, thereby becoming a more democratic model of governance for the sport. Since this time it has enveloped the Women's Cricket Association and the Association

of Cricket Umpires and Scorers, and the One Game approach is a continuation of these moves. Arguably, the restructure of the game into five regions, the bureaucratization of grassroots clubs and the significant funding support offered to TCF to develop *Chance to shine*, an initiative designed to re-launch cricket in England's state schools demonstrated a willingness on the part of the ECB to reenergise cricket. That these efforts coincided with England beating Australia in 2005 for the first time in 19 years provided a platform for the game's development, one particularly linked to elite success. Nevertheless, these developments can be seen as adhering to Maguire's (2014) *performance efficiency model* in which the effectiveness of organizations is determined by their ability to either provide elite success or mass participation in the most efficient manner possible. At the outset of this investigation in January 2008 disability cricket was not part of the performance efficiency model managed by the counties, as the DCDOs self-managed the grassroots to elite aspects of their specific classification. However, prior to this investigation the appointment of a Disability Cricket Manager in 2007 marked a starting point for a period of continual change that this thesis examines.

Aims

The central aim of this thesis is to analyse the process of change (reproduction and transformation) across a field of organizations involved in disability sport. In doing so this thesis will complement the burgeoning literature on the relational sociology of organizations (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

Objectives

- To examine how environmental factors are interpreted and translatedⁱⁱ within organizations.
- To demonstrate the suitability of ethnography for studying change in organizations.
- To map the field of disability cricket as a distinct organizational area of sporting and managerial practice.
- To highlight the implications for those engaged in policy, management or research into disability sport.

Research Questions

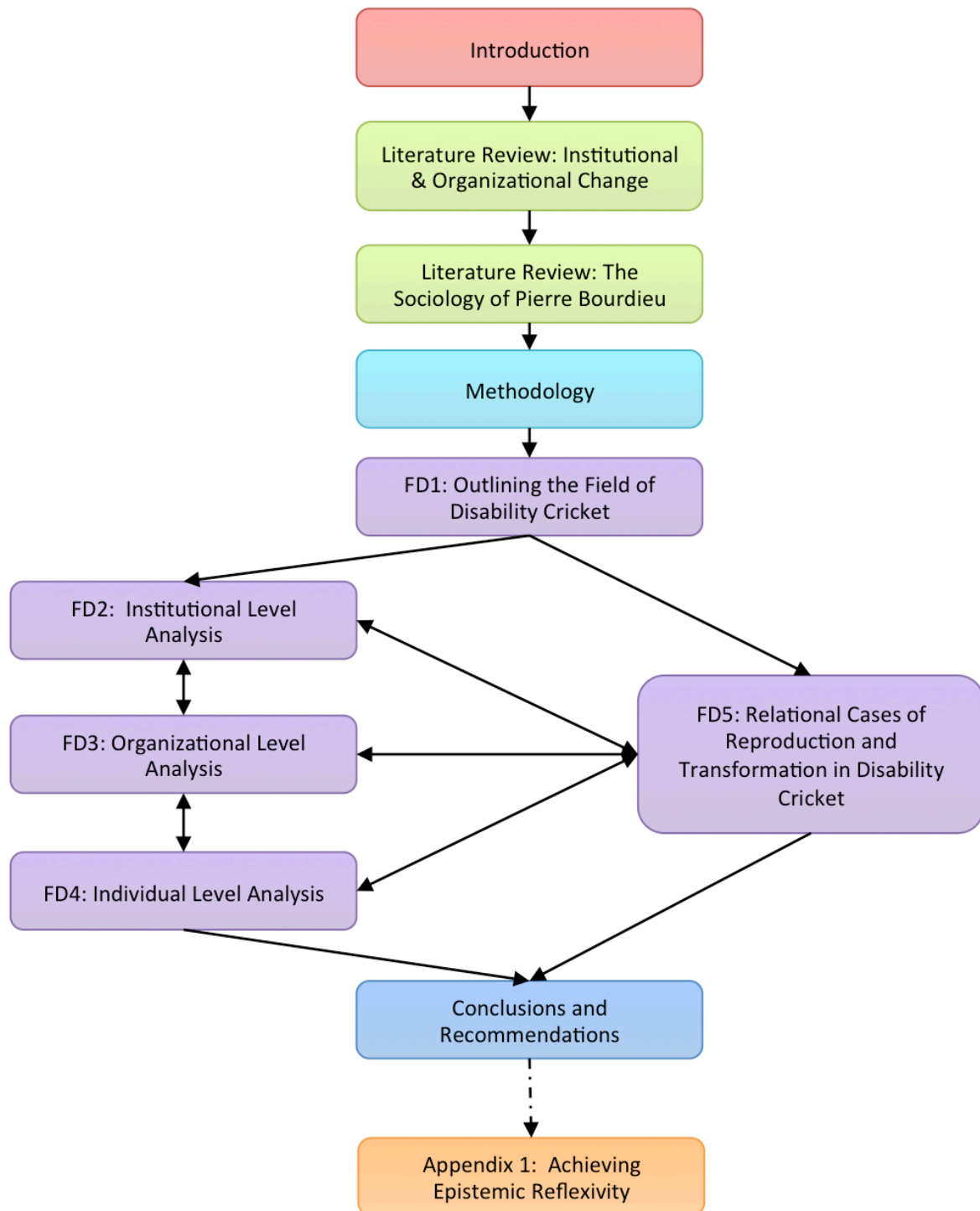
1. What are the most significant environmental factors acting upon organizations and individuals managing disability sport?
2. How do these environmental factors impact the management and practice of disability cricket?

- a. Do certain environmental factors have a greater impact on organizations and individuals?
 - b. Why does change vary between organizations?
3. How can reflexive sociology better understand reproduction and transformation in sport and organizations?
4. What are the implications of this investigation for those interested in sport and organizations?

Thesis Overview

This thesis consists of ten chapters (see Figure 1.3). Chapter 1 introduces the purpose, aims and background of this research study. The following chapters will expand on some of the issues mentioned above, first by critiquing the literature on institutional and organizational change (Chapter 2), with particular focus on the dominant mode of institutional theory which provides the justification for Bourdieu's conceptual approach. Chapter 3 examines the use of Bourdieu's sociological theory and outlines the potential benefits of a relational examination of reproduction and transformation. Chapter 4 examines the philosophy, design and analytical tools used to examine data captured through the ethnographic approach undertaken. The data are then presented and critiqued in a series of five findings and discussions chapters. Much of this study is based on changes to the field of disability cricket, and Chapter 5 (Findings and Discussion 1) presents and explains the genesis and existence of this field as a nested field within the wider field of cricket, which itself is nested within a number of fields. This space of possibilities will provide the context for the shifting environmental factors to be analysed in the next four findings chapters.

Figure 1.3: A conceptual overview of this thesis' structure.



In this thesis I have crafted a multi-layered analysis of institutional change and its consequences upon the field of disability cricket. In Chapters 6-8 I present and discuss findings relating to the institutional (Chapter 6), organizational (Chapter 7) and individual (Chapter 8) levels of

analysis. Not all of the findings gathered can be articulated in distinct levels of analysis, hence the final chapter of the findings section (Chapter 9) focuses on a full relational analysis (i.e. one that draws on the relation between field, capital and habitus) of specific cases. The findings presented in these cases exist across the multiple levels of analysis. This investigation concludes with a discussion of the salient points, the contributions to relevant literature, and avenues of further research (Chapter 10). Implications for policy makers, NGB professionals and disability sport practitioners are outlined. Following Chapter 10 the appendices contain various information relevant to this study. In Appendix 1 I offer a critical re-examination my personal background and its role in the interpretation of data, as per the epistemic principles central to a Bourdieusian reflexive sociology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Institutional and Organizational Change

Introduction

The previous chapter sought to establish the purpose and proposed outcomes of this thesis. The first step in achieving this is to establish why a Bourdieusian, relational approach is required to address the research problem. Despite an increasing number of studies using critical concepts and methods to investigate institutional and organizational change, most of the literature on the topic has arisen through more interpretive approaches. These approaches focus on the why, what, and how of institutional and organizational change. In this chapter I will first introduce the concepts of change and address the role of culture in facilitating or blocking change within an organization. I will then discuss the key theoretical issues and debates concerning the relationship between an organization and its environment. Thirdly I will critique the most dominant theory (institutionalism) and finally, I will address the critical limitations of the methodologies used to examine change. From this review it will be clear that the engagement of organizational analysis with Bourdieu is still in its infancy. Hence, this engagement with Bourdieu is afforded a brief review. Based on these collective limitations and analysis I then propose why this Bourdieusian approach has been used to address the research problems.

Defining Organizational Change

Before a discussion of the major issues within this chapter it is pertinent to outline the types of organizational change and then provide an overview of the literature's three main approaches to change: the functional, the interpretive and the critical. Although this thesis adopts a more critical view of change as a multi-level, continual and often messy process of either reproduction or transformation, in order to arrive at an understanding of the mechanisms of change it is important to outline key developments and terminology. Organizational change can vary by its scope and nature (Balogun & Hope Hailey, 2004; see Table 2.1). The scope refers to whether or not an organization undergoes small (realignment) or large (transformation) change. The nature of change refers to whether the change is incremental (individual organizational units) or dramatic (the entire organization). This model therefore presents four types of change. The first type of change is an incremental *realignment* of the organization. This is the most common form of change and involves adaptation of certain aspects of an organization, such as shifting staff from one department to another. The second is *evolution*. As the name suggests it refers to the incremental development of the organization over time. As the organization evolves, sometimes over many years, it is transformed

into a different being from what it was when first created. Both of these types of change are considered first order changes. The third form of change is *realignment* caused by an institutionally- or organizationally-specific ‘big bang’. This can occur rapidly and cause a reconstruction of the organization. An example of this might be the discovery of a new source of technology that changes industries, for example the access to mobile email provided by Blackberry devices. The fourth and final type of change is a revolution. This is brought about by a combination of a big bang and the transformation of the organization. *Revolutionary* change does not only alter the way the organization operates; it does so rapidly. It is an extreme form of change.

Table 2.1: Types of change.

		Scope of Change	
		Realignment	Transformation
Nature of Change	Incremental	Adaptation	Evolution
	Big Bang	Reconstruction	Revolution

Source: (Balogun et al., 2004)

Given the varieties of change that can be examined, change as a concept is very difficult to define. For the purposes of this thesis, which attempts to capture all types of change, change can be defined as the process of becoming different. Byers, Parent and Slack (2012) noted that our early understanding of change viewed it as a logical, linear and sequential process through which problems were identified, solutions were created and then problems overcome. This, however, is an oversimplification.

Change research occupies three main styles: functional, interpretive and critical. *Functional* approaches to change views periods of change as discrete and manageable. This contrasts with the view that change is a continual state, and that change of any size contributes to the gradual evolution of the organization. Functional approaches focus on the interaction between dependent and independent variables in change. However, this viewpoint places too great an emphasis on mechanistic views of change as a phenomenon that can be managed through an isolated set of processes (Balogun, et al., 2004), thereby affording greater significance to the agency of organizations and the individuals within them.

An *interpretive* understanding of change, by contrast, focuses on the meaning of change from the viewpoint of the managers and staff as change occurs. Methodologies employed to interpret change have favoured elite individuals (managers) from within the organization who lead the process, and as such are criticised as lacking a critical angle (Clegg, Rhodes & Kornberger, 2007; Morgan & Spicer, 2009, Mutch, Delbridge & Ventresca, 2006). *Critical* approaches attempted to situate the role and function of change theories within the actual process of change, and suggest that they exhibit ideational and performative effects (Czarniawska & Sévon, 1996; Fleetwood, 2005), i.e. that they influence change and award primacy to agency perspectives when performance is strong, but suggest environmental (structural) limitations when performance is weak (Smith, Evans & Westerbeek, 2005). This final approach attempts to develop a level of political engagement in the change process that includes more individual agentsⁱⁱⁱ (staff, stakeholders) than are currently focused upon. Both interpretive and critical approaches have attended to more sociological theories of change, in contrast to the business economics approach taken by functionalist researchers. One important concept in change research is organizational culture.

The Organization, Culture and Change

Of central importance to this thesis is the relationship between an organization and its environment. Exogenous and endogenous changes are often facilitated, or blocked by organizational members. One theoretical concept often examined in studies of change is *organizational culture*. There are numerous types and approaches to organizational culture that have been examined. Briefly, this form of culture is a multi-faceted concept that links the structural, social and symbolic dimensions of an organization into a sociocultural system (Pettigrew, 1979). Two schools of theory exist on the role of culture within the organization, the first argues that culture is a binding concept, a strong culture provides members of the company to identify with and rally around in the achievement of goals (Peters & Waterman, 1982; Schein, 1985). This functional view is challenged by a more interpretive approach that considers culture as a contested element, one that is open to debate and the possibility of change (Meek, 1988; Pettigrew, 1979). Central to culture, and to this thesis is the ideational components (shared values, beliefs and meanings) that guide acceptance and/or resistance to change (Kanter, 1983; Schein, 1985).

Changing culture is important for achieving change within the organization. Organized sport has provided a useful ground for establishing the role of culture in change. Slack and Hinings (1992) used culture to examine change in Canadian NGBs. External stimuli pressured NGBs to change their organization and practices of operation from an autonomous and volunteer driven existence to a more

professional and bureaucratic model. This case of change was not limited to Canadian sport. Generally it involves two cultures, the traditional volunteer and the emergent professional clashing regarding the future of the organization. These differing cultural perspectives are central to discussions on the rise of managerialism in sport (Houlihan, 2001). Subsequent studies have revealed that change was facilitated by the professionals. As these professionals were the implementers of these changes, adoption ensued as the rationale for these changes met their cultural expectations. For the volunteers, these changes were met with a mixture of commitment and resistance. When certain changes met the cultural expectations of the volunteer workforce change occurred, however when other changes threatened their culture resistance arose (Kikulis, Slack & Hinings, 1995a, b; Stevens, 2006).

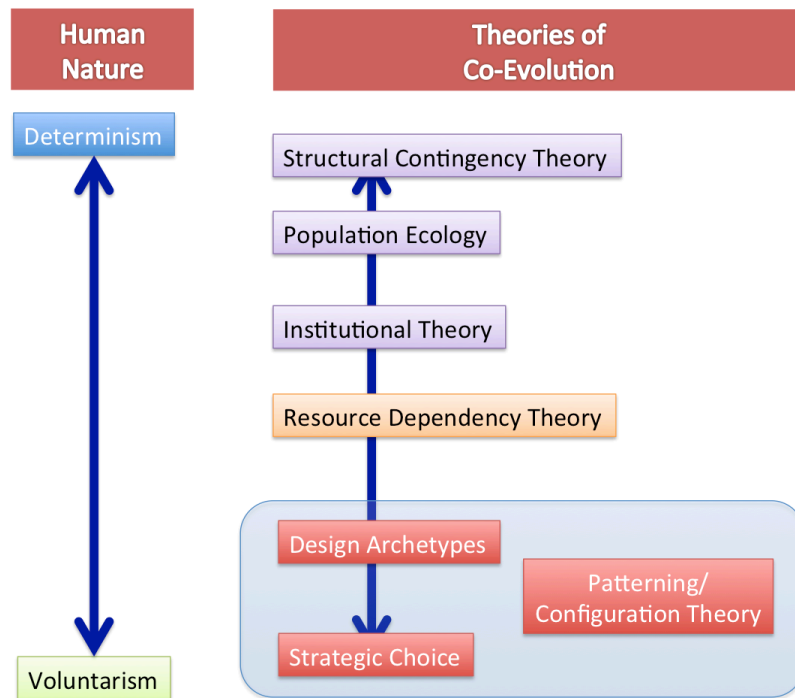
In the discussion below, and in much of the institutional/organizational change literature organizational culture is conflated within more voluntaristic perspectives on the relationship between an organization and its environment. This thesis does not ignore organizational culture as a concept, yet Bourdieu's theoretical framework (see Chapter 3) has a series of concepts that account for the role of culture in change. Bourdieu is used as the basis of a more holistic sociological approach, that places organizational considerations centre stage. This sociological approach is one that considers the structural, social and symbolic conditions imposed by the environment and the agency of organizations, or more specifically the individuals within them. Within these approaches there has been an interdisciplinary and pluralistic approach taken by management scholars and organizational sociologists. One of the longest running debates in this interdisciplinary approach is over the relationship between the organization and its environment during change (Sturdy & Grey, 2003). The more sociological understandings of change are most relevant to this thesis. The next section will review how theories have arisen to explain how organizations interact with the environment in change.

The Organization and its Environment

One of the key issues in organization theory is the relationship between organizations and their environment, termed co-evolution. Lewin and Volbreda (2005) argue that underpinning each of the theories are assumptions about the existence of agency within organizations. Specifically, these theories attempt to explain how contrasting concepts such as determinism or voluntarism, and also structure or agency influence change. In this discussion a deterministic approach is one that suggests actions within organizations lack autonomy (Crossley, 2011). Figure 2.1 outlines these theoretical perspectives on change and the suggested level of voluntaristic free-will proposed by each. Each of these theories will be briefly introduced below. Of these theories, structural-contingency, population

ecology, and institutional theory have prioritized the environment in influencing change. In contrast, an approach that combines configuration theory with strategic choice theory (configuration/patterning) has proved popular for explaining an internal view of change. The theory of resource-dependency perspectives has then occupied the theoretical middle ground.

Figure 2.1: Theories of co-evolution and the determinism/voluntarism divide.



Structural Contingency Theory (SCT) (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967) views coevolution as necessitating organizational-structural innovation in order to respond to shifts in the environment (Parsons, 1960). As the organization strives for a state of equilibrium, it has the opportunity to respond in a mechanical and structurally-oriented manner (Demers, 2007). Proponents argue that if an environmental fit is achieved the performance will increase, and *vice versa*. Despite its sociological foundations SCT has been criticized for being overly rational and reductionist. This is because the model employed to explain change focuses on structure as the preferred unit of analysis. By focusing only on structure it prioritizes the idea that success is linked to how well an organization’s structure fits its environmental conditions. Hence, it provides a limited view of the wider complexities of change (Demers, 2007; Reed, 2005).

Population ecologists considered a Darwinian approach to coevolution. Like the biological theory from which it is drawn, it suggests that organizations are heavily influenced by the

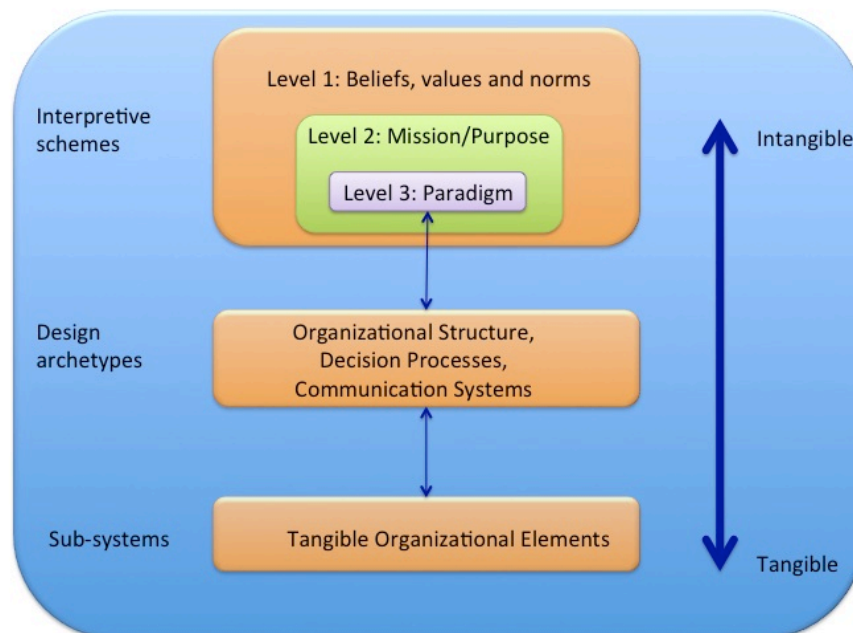
environment and by a process of selectivity which will ‘weed-out’ organizations unfit to survive (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Slack and Parent (2006) outlined three stages in this process: variation, selection and retention. As organizations evolve a myriad of forms come into existence. As competition for resources increases, certain forms of organizing gain a greater share of the market, and thus are considered the most effective. On witnessing these benefits flowing to certain forms of organizing, other firms mimic them. Organizations which do not recognize the most effective forms, or which cannot make necessary changes to their organization, can cease to exist. One of the limitations of this theory was presented by Whittington (1988), who found that in certain environments, organizations of similar form did not in fact achieve similar levels of effectiveness.

Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) attempted to occupy a middle ground between determinism/voluntarism, structure/agency (Demers, 2007). This theory advocated that most organizations are not autonomous units but vary in terms of their dependence on resources from the external environment. These include human, financial, physical, intellectual resources. How important a resource is to the firm is dependent upon two criteria: the magnitude of the resource, and its importance to organizational sustainability. RDT recommends that organizations should attempt to balance their dependencies on the various resources they require. In an uncertain environment where an organization draws heavily on external resources, this theory explains exogenous change well (Slack & Hinings, 1994). RDT also considers the dynamics of power relationships that resource providers can exhibit over other organizations. If an organization is unable to find a resource, or does not possess the capabilities to find a substitute, they are more exposed to exogenous pressures than those which can. However, if an organization is able to wean itself off its current dependencies by attracting new resources or by joining partnerships and alliances, it can enjoy greater levels of autonomy (Robson, 2008; Slack & Kikulis, 1989). One limitation of this theory is that while it can explain the level of resource dependence in organizations, it does not explain how change occurs within organizations (Slack & Hinings, 1992), hence its application to institutional change is difficult.

From this brief review of SCT, Population Ecology and RDT, it is clear that the major weakness of all three is the lack of attention placed on the manager leading or responding to organizational change. Even RDT which attempts to straddle a middle-ground cannot sufficiently highlight how change occurs. In order to explain this, another theoretical approach has attempted to focus on a cultural and internal view of organizational life.

Byers, et al. (2012, p. 3) has claimed that a more contemporary approach to understanding change arose by studying ‘patterns of organizational elements’. *Patterning* sought to overcome the shortcomings of coevolution theories by affording primacy to the holistic design of organizations, by adding meaning systems (design archetypes) to structural configurations. A *design archetype* is an arrangement of organizational elements defined as ‘clusters of prescribed and emergent structures and systems given order or coherence by an underpinning set of ideas, values and beliefs, i.e., an *interpretive scheme*’ (Hinings & Greenwood, 1988, p. 22, emphasis added). These archetypes provide the operating logic for those within the organization (Ranson, Hinings & Slack, 1980). Figure 2.2 presents Laughlin’s (1991) model of organizations, which outlines the relationship of various organizational elements upon a continuum of the tangible and intangible. Tangible elements are those that can be detailed on an organizational chart, while intangible elements can be seen on paper the concepts are harder to define accurately. Although this theory was developed through an examination of how legal and accountancy firms instigate change, this model has proved useful in organizational explanations of how culture impacts on change (Miller & Friesen, 1980; Stevens, 2006).

Figure 2.2: Laughlin’s model of organizations.



(Source: Laughlin, 1991, p. 211)

Strategic choice theory (Child, 1972; Hrebiniak & Joyce, 1985) is focused on the political process within organizations, and has provided the context for how and why dominant groups make their decisions. While agency is possible, strategic choices are influenced by interpretive schemes. A cognitive structure is formed within the organization which changes incrementally. Hence, strategic choice theory challenges the deterministic view of change by arguing that strategic forces and interpretive schemes interact, with each informing the other (Child, 1997; Silverman, 1970). This approach conceives that decision makers within the organization have a much greater say in how the firm will respond to the environmental contingencies it faces, but along the guidelines provided by the interpretive scheme. If the interpretive scheme supports the proposed changes then change can be facilitated, and *vice versa*. While many change theorists draw data from the experiences of elites (managers in leadership positions), decision making can be a more social process (Clegg, et al., 2007; Morgan & Spicer, 2009, Mutch, et al., 2006). For this reason, the full explanatory power of patterning can be limited, depending on the methodology employed.

While this section has provided an understanding of organizational and environmental co-evolution, the change literature focuses further on the what, why and how of change. It is clear from a review of these approaches that, apart from patterning, few theories can address questions of internal culture and endogenous and exogenous change simultaneously. One approach that has received significant attention in the literature is institutionalism. I argue that the Bourdieusian relational and reflexive approach undertaken in this research contributes in a similar fashion to the eclectic concepts offered through institutional approaches. My point of departure is expressed below, but first it is important to highlight why institutionalism has been so popular as an explanation for what, why and how organizations change.

Institutional Approaches to Continuity and Change

Of the theoretical models used to explore the relationship between an organization and its environment, the most dominant is *institutional theory* (Connolly & Dolan, 2013; Ciomaga, 2013). Institutional approaches originated from scholars seeking to understand ‘how organizational structures and processes acquired meaning and continuity [above and] beyond their technical goals’ (Suddaby, 2010, p. 14). The following section offers a critical review of the theoretical issues that have arisen through the use of institutional theory to examine change.

The tenets of institutional theory involved the analysis of habitualization and institutionalization of organizational practices (Zucker, 1977). Institutional theory arose through the

work of Selznick (1957) who conducted an internal examination of a large public utility firm in Tennessee. Selznick observed that functions and practices originally designed to manage processes became value-laden over time. These values enabled some practices to endure, while others were replaced. Additionally the term institutionalism was conferred on organizations as they themselves became value-laden over time. A series of 'new' institutional theories were premised on a number of the original concepts from 'old' institutional theory concerning the practice of organizational institutionalization (Zucker, 1977) and myth making (a cultural perspective) within organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This 'new' approach focused on changes between organizations, departing from the 'old' institutionalisms' preoccupation with internal matters. New institutional theory evolved into one of the key contributions to the literature examining the relationship between the organization and its environment.

New institutional theory downplayed the importance of competition as both the rationale for existence, and the means for organizational survival. Instead of competition driving industry, this theory viewed institutional legitimacy as the central goal of organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Under this framework, a legitimate organization is one with a desired identity, conferred upon it by other members of the organizational^{iv} field, i.e. its competitors. To gain legitimacy organizations need to adhere to the rules by which the field cooperates and competes. The organizational field concept has proved useful as a conceptual device and for developing and delimiting an area of examination. A field of organizations is defined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as consisting of:

...those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar products and services (p. 143).

Scott (2008) developed this further by linking a field's structural elements to his work on cognitive systems. He demonstrated that within institutions, organizations have a more substantial relationship with each other than with those operating in other fields:

The [organizational field] connotes the existence of a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than actors outside of the field (Scott, 2008, p. 86).

The *organizational field*^v concept has proven popular in research in the setting of organized sport (Augestad Bergsgard & Hansen, 2006; Cousens & Slack, 2005; O'Brien & Slack, 2003; O'Brien & Slack, 2004; Washington, 2004; Washington & Ventresca, 2008; Wright, 2009).

Like the interpretive scheme within the patterning perspective on organizations, each field possesses an *institutional logic* that prioritizes certain values, systems and practices over others (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Although multiple logics can exist within an organizational field (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), certain logics dominate (Bettis & Prahalad, 1995). This domination acts to impress upon field members that certain value-laden practices are legitimate. As a result, organizations within a field attempt to isomorph into institutionally prescribed and legitimate forms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Change through this isomorphism therefore is relational as the process alters the organization through environmental factors that can arise inside and outside of the field. The means by which *isomorphism* diffuses across a field is by either *coercive* (direct pressure), *normative* (regulative pressure) and/or *mimetic* (copying to conform) means. Isomorphism has been revealed as a common mechanism for change in organized sport (Cunningham & Ashley, 2001; Paramio-Salcines & Kitchin, 2013; Phelps & Kent, 2010; Silk & Amis, 2000).

As new institutional theory developed, scholars discovered that its ability to conceptualize and evidence organizational change was weakened by two key limitations. First, while institutional theory was able to explain the why and what of change, it was much less effective at explaining the how (Caza, 2000; Zucker, 1977, Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). Examining isomorphic change across an institutional field revealed how pressures induced change, as well as the results of that change on the structure and practices of the organization, but how these changes were managed internally could not be identified (Slack & Hinings, 1994; Paramio-Salcines & Kitchin, 2013). Secondly, new institutional theory did not afford sufficient attention to agency within the institutional setting (DiMaggio, 1988; Oliver, 1991). Much was spoken of organizations responding to the deterministic whims of the institution, but the role of the individual was absent. Institutional approaches could only provide a homogenous explanation for change, in that what impacts on one organization therefore impacted on all (Skille, 2011).

To address these limitations in sport management, patterning was applied to examine the change phenomena in organizations within institutional settings. By focusing on how the structures and systems of the organizations dealt with environmental factors, it became possible to view change by monitoring certain tracks left in the structures of organizations before and after change. Combining institutional theory with patterning helped in part to address institutional theory's first limitation. What was found was that change was occurring inconsistently across the institution (Kikulis, et al., 1995a, b). Change was recorded in some areas of the organization but not in others. Upon further examination, culturally specific organizational values were revealed to be important. As discussed above, some structures and practices that were value-laden were resistant to change, while

those that were not could be changed relatively easily (Kikulis, et al., 1995a, b). Design archetypes were found to deal with contingencies (organizational problems) by using collective meanings to adapt strategy, structure and/or systems (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

This merger of institutionalism and patterning was also able to conceptualise resistance in the change process. Resistance to change was often concealed with decoupling tactics (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) where a gap would appear between what the organization said they did and what really occurred. This occurred because some managers who resisted change wanted to appear to be conforming, by adopting superficial change (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990; Kikulis, et al., 1995b). These findings revealed that despite its deterministic limitations, this approach could show that senior decision-makers could exhibit some form of resistance, and demonstrate a level of agency during change (Amis, Hinings & Slack, 2002; Hinings, Thibault, Slack & Kikulis, 1996). This evidence of agency was termed *the paradox of embedded agency* and highlighted that although institutional theory was deterministic in orientation it could permit agency. This paradox is used to describe the structure-agency debate in institutional theory (Garud, Hardy & Maguire, 2007). To explain how this paradox could be overcome, a series of concepts were developed and tested which led to the development of neo-institutional theory.

Neo-institutional theory is a merger between the old and new institutional theories that sought to bring agency back in (Skille, 2011). It focused on an organization's external dependencies while simultaneously considering their internal strategies (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Skille, 2008). Neo-institutional theory rejuvenated the institutional approach and added a range of new concepts which emerged to consider embedded agency. In each of these the role of the individual within the institutional context was developed from advances found from patterning. The first concept, *institutional entrepreneurship* (DiMaggio, 1988), articulated the importance of certain individuals being able to 'imagine alternative possibilities' rather than viewing only the possibilities prioritized by the field (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 963). Institutional entrepreneurs skilfully use institutional logics to create or change institutions, in order to realize an interest that they value highly (DiMaggio, 1988; Haveman & Rao, 1997). By connecting these possibilities with past actions and the present context, institutional entrepreneurs could chart new directions for all members of the organizational field in order to facilitate institutional change (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002). Responding to DiMaggio's call to reintroduce agency, Oliver (1991) suggested a range of strategies that organization could implement, including acquiesce, compromise, avoid, defy and manipulate.

Scandinavian institutionalism arose as an alternative to the heavily quantitative and mechanistic North American school. Czarniawska and Sévon (1996) developed a revised concept of interpretation known as *translation*. Translation attempts to address the environment-organization dichotomy in organizational change by focusing on the meanings associated with change. More specifically, it focuses on how environmental factors are interpreted by managers who occupy a certain institutional and organizational context. The relation between context and the individual leads to a translation of environmental factors that then informs practice. While isomorphism suggests a mechanically oriented process of diffusion, translation focuses more on the social construction of meaning. Translation has been developed to consider issues that can arise when organizations undergo mimetic isomorphism, such as copying practices that have been sheared of time, place and context (Skille, 2009, 2011). This approach afforded primacy to qualitative methodologies and critical issues, such as the performativity of change. To this end the term translation is used in the interpretation of environmental factors by individuals within the field of disability cricket.

Another stream of work has conceived translation as acting in tandem with an organization's identity. *Organizational identity* is formed through a relational process whereby organizations modify practices in a way that they perceive is appropriate for organizations within their social groups (Glynn, 2008). The merger of translation and organizational identity was proposed by Stenling (2013a) as a conceptual framework for viewing policy implementation that necessitates change, or 'non-change' (Stenling, 2013b). The existence of self-identification was shown to influence the translation process implying that the variation of identities across the organizational field ensures that environmental factors are interpreted differently. The development of neo-institutional concepts has in part addressed the second of the key limitations of institutional theory.

Despite the ability of institutional entrepreneurship to address the second limitation and bring agency back in, Suddaby (2010) argues that risks remain. He contends that the inclusion of agency, and particularly institutional entrepreneurship, creates a situation whereby:

....organizations [are seen as] as hyper-muscular supermen, single handed in their efforts to resist institutional pressure, transform organizational fields and alter institutional logics. Any change, however slight, is "institutional" and any change agent is an "institutional entrepreneur" (Suddaby, 2010, p. 15).

This over-extension of one concept has shifted institutional theory's focus from its original purpose of explaining how processes are imbued with meaning so that it becomes a multi-level and multi-conceptual theory of change. According to Suddaby & Greenwood (2009), any variant of institutional theory used for change must explain how meanings of institutional practice shift in relation to internal

and external stimuli. Care is taken in this thesis to adhere to this recommendation. Nevertheless, despite the new theoretical contributions presented above, understanding the how of change, and specifically Suddaby and Greenwood's point above, is crucial. Developments in theory can only get us so far. What remains is to examine how we approach the problem methodologically in order to address any pre-existing issues. These issues are presented in the next section.

Methodological concerns regarding the use of institutional theory to explain change

In recent critiques on the uses and abuses of institutional theory a number of conceptual and methodological issues are explored (Suddaby, 2010; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009). Given the dominance of this theory a review of methodological issues is appropriate. The methodologies used to examine institutionalism have progressed through a number of epistemological phases (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009). Originally, multivariate and quantitative approaches focused on the analysis of institutional and organizational structures in order to demonstrate how environmental factors led to change. Suddaby (2010) argued that these approaches failed to examine how meanings altered as change occurred. To address this, Suddaby and Greenwood (2009) presented three alternate approaches developed from the contribution of the original multivariate and quantitative studies. They suggested that more interpretive, historical and/or dialectical methods were required to explicitly focus on the meanings attached to the processes involved in institutional change. This, they argued, would reclaim the focus of institutional theory back to its original purpose of examining why and how organizational structures and processes acquire new meanings as change occurs (Suddaby, 2010), and the consequences of this change for institutions, organizations and individuals.

Determining which approaches to choose from a range of interpretive, historical and dialectical options depends on what an investigation is seeking to find. Suddaby and Greenwood (2009) state that if research aims to understand how institutional values are received and translated, then interpretive approaches are valuable. If change is viewed as a complex phenomenon in which multiple political and economic pressures coincide, then it is best studied through historical methods that permit both pressures and organizations to be monitored over time. Finally, if change is a conflicted struggle over ideology and meaning, then dialectical approaches are well suited. While this thesis will not address all three areas comprehensively, elements from each approach are evident in the theoretical and methodological approach employed in this thesis. Before highlighting these, I outline how these elements have been used previously in change research.

Ethnography is an appropriate methodology for researchers seeking to adopt this internal perspective. An ethnographic approach permits an understating of change as it occurs because the researcher inhabits the organizational field. As Suddaby (2010) explains:

To appropriately understand how institutional meaning systems are understood and interpreted within organizations, institutional researchers will have to adopt an internal perspective. (p. 16).

Fine, Morrill and Surianarain (2009) go further, suggesting that ‘in perhaps no other substantive area is ethnography more suitable as a method than in studying the dynamics of organizational change’ (p. 608). Indeed, ethnography is also important because managers, staff and customers/participants from across the organization can be accessed. This overcomes other methodological limitations whereby accounts are restricted to managers in positions of power (Clegg, et al., 2007; Morgan & Spicer, 2009, Mutch, et al., 2006).

An internal perspective allows the researcher ‘to attend to meanings [*sic*] systems, symbols, myths and the processes by which organizations interpret their institutional environments’ which Suddaby (2010, p. 16) feels has been lacking from most methodologies used. Some prior examinations of change have adopted ethnographic approaches (Bate, 2000; Zilber, 2002). Bate (2000), for example, used ethnography in the medical industry to explain how the complexities of change were influenced by cultural aspects. Additionally, Zilber’s (2002) ethnography observed changes in an Israeli rape crisis centre, providing her access to the real-time translation of environmental factors within an organizational setting. Zilber’s analysis was distinctive because she linked alterations in organizational meanings to the specific outcomes that occurred as a result of change. This effectively highlighted a missing link between meanings and change that the multivariate and quantitative approaches had not been able to achieve (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009).

In order to sufficiently establish *historicity*, a longitudinal design enables researchers to conduct a temporal examination of how environmental factors affect organizational and individual meanings over time. A number of studies of change in organized sport have used historical narratives and case studies (Connolly & Dolan, 2013; Washington, 2004; Washington & Ventresca, 2008; Wright, 2009, Wright & Zammuto, 2013). Historical analysis permits the researcher to focus on ‘turbulent periods that usher in new epochs’ (Meyer, Gaba & Colwell, 2005, p. 471) which permit a more nuanced understanding of institutional formation and change (Washington, 2004). One important question concerning historical longitudinal examination is how long is longitudinal. Pettigrew (1985) stated that ‘without longitudinal data, it is impossible to identify the processual dynamics of changing, the relationship between forces of continuity and change, and therefore the

inextricable link between structure and process' (p. 61). Pettigrew (1990) stated that up to 10 years in the field with double that time in retrospective analysis would be 'ideal', which incidentally was the time spent in his seminal work on change (Pettigrew, 1985). As was used by Pettigrew in his research, I combine ethnographic fieldwork with a retrospective historical analysis. Given the funds required to conduct extended fieldwork and full-time requirements in the academy, sufficient time to gather an appropriate historical picture of the phenomena was in this study negotiated, as discussed in chapter 4.

Dialectical methodologies draw on critical theories to reveal power relations within institutions. Suddaby and Greenwood (2009) suggest that the primary goal is to reveal power relations, hidden interests and forms of domination and inequality. Oakes, Townley and Cooper (1998) reveal that language is used as a control system to ensure the reproduction of certain forms of business practice in museums that had not before employed these planning tools, which in return reinforces certain dominant interests. Likewise, Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) showed how large accounting firms interpreted environmental factors and adopted new practices that ultimately served the organization's own interests. These studies highlight how change can occur if the values and interests of the proposed change match the dominant values and interests of the organization. However, dominant interests do not always prevail in all circumstances.

In contrast to the above examples of reproduction, Wright (2009) combined historical and dialectical methods to examine multi-level change within the social, organizational and individual fields and their role in facilitating and/or resisting change in English cricket. She revealed that the catalyst for change came not from within the sport but from the wider societal field that the sporting practice and administrative associations of cricket were nested within. Change arose due to individual players reconsidering their dominated positions in the aftermath of the Second World War. Changes in societal perceptions of socio-economic class were instrumental in altering cricket's values from those of the amateur, who had operated from a dominant field position to those of the professional players who had until then been dominated. Hence, it was possible for environmental factors from the external field of power to shift organizational policy despite it not matching the organization's original values and interests.

By implementing dialectical approaches to change research, notions of power is considered in the analyses. A combination of ethnographic, longitudinal and dialectic approaches could be well suited to a multi-layered examination of change as reproduction and transformation. However, one approach is not to adopt institutional approaches but another theoretical model that can encapsulate the essential elements identified above. Although neither a dominant force in general organizational

analysis, nor in the specific area of institutionalism, the conceptual oeuvre and methodological approach of Pierre Bourdieu could achieve these ends. Following this chapter Bourdieu's concepts will be introduced in greater detail, however at the present time it is pertinent to discuss the engagement of his theory of practice with organizational analysis. This discussion provides a necessary step to show how his theory could benefit an examination of change.

Bourdieu and Organizational Theory

There is a vast array of literature on the sociology of organizations. Bourdieu's inclusion in the literature has grown dramatically following the translation of many volumes of his work and the publication of his approach to reflexive sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Although the following section does not provide a full introduction to his concepts (this is the purpose of the next chapter), it does provide a critical overview of his treatment within the literature of organizational analysis. His major concepts such as field and capital have been used predominantly by scholars. These tools have also informed conceptual advances in a number of organizational research settings. At this stage the former dominates the relatively sparse literature on Bourdieu and organizational analysis. The aim of this section is to reinforce the argument that at present, a need exists for further research using Bourdieu's concepts to examine the role of organizations in their social and political contexts.

DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) introduction of organizational fields into new institutional theory was influenced by Bourdieu's approach to *field theory*. A number of new institutionalism scholars drew upon the work of Bourdieu in an effort to 'bring society back in' to their analysis, something they felt had been missing from old institutionalism and its focus on the internal organization (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Field theory is the most frequently used of Bourdieu's concepts in organizational analysis. Benson (1999) outlined the critical benefits of examining journalism through field analysis by examining the broader conceptualisation of how power works to erode a field's autonomy. Comparing European and American broadcast news, Benson theorized that there are differences between the two because of the homology that exists between news production and commerce in the U.S. Lounsbury and Ventresca (2003) also embraced field theory as a key element in their conceptualisation of a '*new structuralism*' for organizational analysis. Like Benson, they stressed the importance of analysing the meanings attached to every day practices, and how an analysis of these practices can reveal overt and covert systems of power.

Power in Bourdieu's work is expressed as *capital*, the forms of which are field-specific. Certain types and volumes of capital are required by agents to contest for field positions from which power can be wielded over those they dominate. Corsen and Costen (2001) argued that women and minorities' lacked certain types of capital, which helped to explain the existence of 'glass-ceilings'. The corporate field, as they conceived it, required a set of dispositions that could only be realised through the formation and refinement of a habitus that could permit knowledge of how to accumulate the right forms of capital. This therefore permitted few women and minorities through the glass-ceiling but instead worked to ensure that certain groups who possessed a certain habitus remained in power. Leca and Naccache (2006) argued that Bourdieu's view of sustainable power (capital accumulation congruent to a field's dominant logic) would benefit research into institutional entrepreneurship, and, together with Battaliana (2006), they used capital as a mechanism to address the dilemma of embedded agency in institutional theory.

Cibora (1996) viewed *habitus* as an essential part of the intangible meaning systems that structure organizations. The habitus in Cibora's case prioritized opportunistic approaches to managing environmental change. The importance of power through the possession of capital is a frequent theme, however as Mezias (1990) has highlighted, once established it is the habitus that is of primary importance for the reproduction of that power system. Zippin and Brennan (2003) demonstrated that certain managerial positions in Higher Education depended upon the possession of an appropriate habitus, and that elevations in rank without a commensurate habitus would diminish a manager's authority. Alvesson (1994) drew on habitus to examine organizational discourse and reveal how values were reproduced to foster within-group identity formation and differentiation of an advertising agency from other types of organizations.

Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) argued for a relational use of Bourdieu's field, capital and habitus within organizational analysis. Despite Bourdieu's growing use as an aide for conceptual advances they outlined a paucity of actual research testing Bourdieu's tools. Prior to the publication of their paper, few studies had examined organizational change through a Bourdieusian lens. The few exceptions include Oakes et al. (1998), who, as mentioned above, examined business planning pedagogies, and Everett and Jamal (2004), who examined the role of power in consensus decision making that then shaped official discourse. Also as mentioned previously, Wright (2009) used Bourdieu's field theory to explain the precursors to change in the field of English County Cricket. Shifting expectations occurred outside the sport in the wider-societal field which subsequently pressured the organization of cricket into alleviating the second-class status of the working-class professionals employed within. In all these instances, existing field practices were altered by

environmental circumstances that effected change. However, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) stated that what was missing from organizational analysis was sufficient coverage of habitus, and its relationship with field and capital.

Following Emirbayer and Johnson's (2008) paper there has been an increase in the literature examining habitus and organizational change (Kerr & Robinson, 2009; McDonough & Polzer, 2012). Bourdieu's concept of *hysteresis* is a process whereby values from an emergent field cause an individual to experience a crisis because his/her habitus cannot adapt to the changing conditions. This crisis occurs as the meanings associated with the original field that one exists within are altered. Personal anxiety results as the habitus no longer relates to the newer, emergent meaning system of the altered field. Difficulties in adapting to the new practices of the altered field are prevalent, particularly if doing so means abandoning former, now out-of-date practices. This was applied to settings in the former soviet states post-independence (Kerr & Robinson, 2009) and in the professionalization of the local government sector in Canada (McDonough & Polzer, 2012). Emirbayer and Johnson note that:

...as one of the most satisfactory solutions yet put forth to the sociological problem of how micro-level processes result in macro-level phenomena, Bourdieu's approach is likely to prove particularly useful in addressing a perennial concern of organization theory: namely, the process by which organizational change or organizational reproduction emerges out of individual actions (2008, pp. 29-30).

It is clear that the practice of using Bourdieu to examine institutional change is still in its infancy. Vaughan's (2008) study on the Challenger disaster and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is an example of one that has previously implemented such a relational examination of habitus, capital and field. While Vaughan's study drew primarily on historical methods, her focus revealed that the disaster occurred not from one mistake but rather as a result of a complex process of errors. This series of errors was exacerbated by previous experiences of individuals within the institutional field of NASA. It is along this focus that I direct this thesis. Specifically, I adopt a relational use of habitus, capital and field to examine institutional change within the field of disability cricket. My use of practice theory in this thesis attempts to provide an alternative formulation to the body of literature that has examined institutional change from a neo-institutional theoretical perspective. Indeed, as Emirbayer and Johnson explain,

We do not claim, however, that this Bourdieu-inspired perspective will lead in every instance to substantive findings that are totally new to the organizational literature. It will be seen, rather, that a good part of the appeal of such a perspective lies precisely in its ability to draw together ideas and insights that have already been explored by others – particularly by those working in the neo-institutionalist and resource dependence traditions – but now within a more unitary, elegant, and encompassing framework of analysis (2008, p. 5).

Hence, while institutional theory remains relevant, Bourdieu's practice theory allowed me to conceptualise the multi-level relationship between the individual, the organizational, and the institutional in the process of reproduction and transformation. By using ethnography and by adopting this Bourdieusian critical approach, I was able to focus on domination and subordination that feeds reproduction, while maintaining that the possibility of transformation can exist. I believe this, in part addresses Suddaby's (2010) call for more dialectical approaches that focus on the uses and abuses of power which are hidden in systems of development and are central to an examination of reproduction or transformation.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has significance in the development of this thesis. The relationship between an organization and its environment is a key determinant in change, with institutional perspectives dominating the literature. Suddaby (2010) highlighted the conceptual and methodological issues that remain notwithstanding this dominance. To address these issues conceptual and methodological innovation is required and that is what this thesis proposes. As yet the use of Bourdieu's opus in examining change is minimal, which is related to the lack of his application in organizational analysis in general. From this review of literature a foundation is set that can provide the theoretical justification for the following chapters. Moving forward, the following chapters will outline the benefits of a relational use of Bourdieu's opus for a this conceptual foundation (Chapter 3) and the methodological considerations (Chapter 4) required to implement this multi-layered analysis.

Chapter 3: Literature Review: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu

Introduction

The review of the literature discussed in the previous chapter established the merits of a Bourdieusian approach. This chapter aims to build upon that brief overview of Bourdieu's implementation in organizational analysis and to further introduce his sociology and explain how a relational approach is suited to the aims of this study. A relational use of Bourdieu's work to examine change can contribute to the literature on organizational sociology. In order to establish the case for why a relational approach is well suited, I will address three areas. First I introduce the major themes of practice theory then outline the principles of Bourdieu's version of practice theory, presenting its limitations and stating why a relational approach is required. I then critically review a range of concepts from Bourdieu's opus that are relevant for deployment in this current study. Finally, I will attempt to articulate the benefits of a Bourdieusian relational approach to the advancement of research in organized sport.

The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu

An overview of practice theory

'Practices are the embodied sets of activities that humans perform with varying degrees of regularity, competence and flair' (Postill, 2010, p. 1). Rouse (2006, p. 499) claimed that practices can range from every day, mundane activities to 'highly structured activities in institutional settings'. In this thesis the practices under examination are a range of tools used by staff and managers for the management of disability cricket, which itself is an institutionalized practice among organizations and individuals involved in the delivery of the sport. Central to this examination is an exploration of how certain practices are maintained while certain new mechanisms emerge and the impact they have on workers. Practice theory attempts to explore the relationship between these practices and the environment in which they occur. Social theorists who examine practice theory seek to understand how the structures of social spaces create practices and how practices create social spaces (Dougherty, 2004). These social spaces are occupied by agents of differing status and trajectories and are therefore spaces of inequality and domination.

Postill (2010) describes two generations of practice theorists. The first generation of scholars such as Bourdieu and Giddens sought to overcome what they viewed as the limitations of

methodological individualism and holism, and to ‘liberate agency... from the constrictions of structuralist and systemic models while avoiding the trap of methodological individualism’ (2010, p. 7). Postill (2006) highlights four social theorists as central to the development of the second generation of practice theorists. Like Bourdieu and Giddens, theorists such as Ortner (1984), Reckwitz (2002), Schatzki, Cetina, and von Savigny (2001), and Warde (2005) view the ‘body as the nexus between people’s practical engagements with the world but have attempted to focus on the cultural and historical links that surround the body. Despite Postill (2010) claiming that their efforts have revitalized practice theory, scholars from this second generation were not selected for this thesis because of my personal desire to go into depth on a key theorist and view the potential application of this theory to my niche subject area, sport management. Hence, I will limit my discussion to a brief overview of Giddens before embarking on a more extensive review of Bourdieu.

In response to the denigration of agency in French structuralism, Giddens (1984) developed a theory of ‘*structuration*’ where social relations are developed across space and time. Through this theory, Giddens attempted to demonstrate that although structure imposes rules, these rules must be ‘mobilised’ if they are to work (Crossley, 2011). Hence, all social phenomena are outcomes of the mixture of structure and agency in a form of mutually constitutive duality. The features of the social structure form modalities known as interpretive schemes, facilities and norms which are then interpreted by agents that ‘draw upon in the production and reproduction of interaction’ (Giddens, 1984, p. 29). For relational sociology the key limitation of Giddens’ approach is that the structure applied is individualised. This means that the structure in the dialectical relationship is static and void of social relations (Crossley, 2011).

In this thesis practice theory is used to examine the relationship between the objective structures and the subjective agents that comprise the field of disability cricket. From the above discussion practice theory is deemed suitable because it is suited to examining multi-level processes of reproduction and transformation.

The principles of Bourdieu’s relational practice theory

Bourdieu’s sociology takes a relational approach to agency and structure by focusing on linked practices. This means that every decision or action that an agent may take is situated within a ‘universe of substitutable practices’ (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 7). Free will is conditional upon the position an agent occupies in the social space (*field*), their dispositions (*habitus*) and the choices they can make (*position-takings*). Field is a specialist, social space of practice that consists of a structured

system of social positions in which agents both exist and compete with other agents for resources, stakes and access (Bourdieu, 1990). Any field position an agent finds themselves in is largely determined by ‘two principles of differentiation’: *economic capital* and *cultural capital*. As multiple agents may possess similar volumes of capital, the social space reveals a ‘class of positions [that have] a certain class of habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 5). The social conditioning of dispositions produces a ‘unity of style’ in that the practices and goods they possess are similar (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 8), which differentiates this group of agents from others. These dispositions form the habitus.

Habitus is a ‘generative and unifying principle’ (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 8) which imbibes and embodies the characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle. It includes not only our practices of action, i.e. the manner in which we perform our roles, but also a series of classificatory schemes that determine our perceptions, i.e. the way in which we make sense of the world. These practices and schemata create a language based on symbolic differences. Hence, ‘to exist within the social space, to occupy a position, or to be an individual within a social space is to be different’ (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 9) when this distinction can be recognised by others within the social space. This form of practice theory lays bare the intricate relations between the objective structures and subjective constructions, allowing them to reveal the mechanisms of reproduction that occur within the social space. It is designed as a relational and generative reading that can be applied to other cases and domains, such as analysing reproduction and transformation in the field of disability cricket.

The justification for a relational approach

Many previous studies of organizational change have focused on either a macro-level of analysis or a micro-level analysis. In examining reproduction and transformation I am interested in the relationship between multiple levels of analysis. Consequently another approach is required, one that considers the connections between related agents (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Crossley, 2011). A relational approach provided me with a more complete understanding of the two-way relationship between the objective structures of social fields and the incorporated structures of habitus (Bourdieu, 1998). Emirbayer (1997, p. 295) defines relational analysis as ‘a sociology of occasions...that takes as its unit of analysis gamelike [*sic*], unfolding, dynamic processes’ like those seen in organizational transformation. This approach fosters a systematic and multi-layered analysis. It accounts for temporal considerations while examining multiple levels of the social world simultaneously. Time permits organizational and institutional developments to be observed in relation to their wider social context. At present there is an over-dependence on analysis of static, cross-sectional data from managers who are embedded within organizations (Mutch, et al., 2006). For instance, sport and taste

have a temporal relationship. Sports such as golf and cricket which were created originally by the upper classes have been adopted over time by other socio-economic groups (Bourdieu, 1998).

Limitations of Bourdieu's practice theory

Given the central role of practice theory in addressing the objective and subjective debate in sociology it is pertinent to acknowledge the limitations of Bourdieu's approach. While there have been a number of criticisms about many areas of his work, the most pertinent for my thesis concerns the relationship between habitus and field and the supposed restriction of free will. Some scholars have suggested that habitus implies social determinism (Jenkins, 2002), which is a result of Bourdieu conflating agency and structure (i.e. the flattening of the social world into one single dimension) (Archer, 1995; Layder, 2006). This is where individual actors are assumed to have little choice in governing their own actions.

In attempting to address this criticism I would highlight that since Bourdieu first imported habitus into his work on practices and customs, he has attempted to articulate how these deterministic concerns are misplaced. Bourdieu (1990, p. 53) attempted to demonstrate that habitus, although a 'structuring form of structure', still permits the agent to actively plan for future action, albeit while heavily influenced by previous experience. When Oakes et al. (1998) examined change within Canadian public services they found that although the organizational planning system was heavily structured by organizational values there was still room for subjective interpretation by individual agents. It was possible for managers to influence the reproduction of the planning system around values that they felt were valid. Hence, while there is a link between the objective structure and the subjective agent it is a framing of perceptions that permits a range of options and evidently a certain level of free will.

Jenkins (2002) argued that the unconscious nature of habitus is tautological. To address both of these concerns I draw upon Emirbayer and Mesche's (1998) proposition that agency can exist within habitus. They suggested three dimensions to agency: *iterational*, which links habitus to the past; *practical evaluative*, which links habitus to the present; and *projective*, which links habitus to the future. Mutch et al. (2006) highlighted that recent scholars such as Emirbayer and Miche (1998) have imported George H. Mead's notion of 'internal conversation' to enable reflexive practice that informs the habitus. In an organizational context, the collective nature of the habitus and the repetitive nature of many organizational activities (e.g. team meetings) ensure that this internal conversation is not merely cerebral but practical. I interpret this to mean that individuals within an

organization can reflect on their practice and revise it. For this reason, within organizations the limitations outlined above place fewer restraints on the concept.

Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit

Bourdieu's social theory can be used by researchers as a toolkit to help provide explanations of everyday life (see Table 3.1). The most frequently used concepts in the literature on organized sport are those of field and capital. Habitus, by contrast, has not been used as extensively in organizational analysis, as raised in the previous chapter (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, Kitchin & Howe, 2013). The inclusion of habitus as well as field and capital in this thesis is important as it indicates an attempt to use a full relational analysis of reproduction and transformation in a chosen field of sporting activity. Although these terms are well used in examining organized sport they have been used as concepts either in isolation or deployed in couplets, such as practice and habitus, habitus and field, or field and capital (Rawolle & Lingard, 2012). There are a number of reasons for this, including the fact that journals place a word limit on articles submitted for publication. It is also true that the tools themselves were developed gradually, over time. Bourdieu's initial thoughts on practice, for example, evolved from his examination of the Kabayle people in Algeria; after further research he introduced the concept of habitus in his 1977 text, *Outline of the Theory of Practice*, from which the practice-habitus couplet was created. Field, habitus and capital are considered Bourdieu's 'fundamental', 'key' or 'master' concepts, and yet they are only three tools in his repertoire. It is through the relational implementation of these concepts that I seek to offer a more nuanced understanding of reproduction (and resistance) and transformation.

Table 3.1: Key terms of Bourdieu's Practice Theory.

Term	Definition
Field	Networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over resources, stakes and access (Bourdieu, 1990). These networks can exist within any social space existing across societal, institutional, organizational or within informal groups.
Doxa	'A set of core values and discourses which a field articulates its fundamental principles and which tend to be viewed as inherently true and necessary' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p. xi).
Habitus	An open system of dispositions, appreciations and perceptions that provides meaning. These meanings are constantly subjected to experiences and therefore go through an ongoing process of refinement (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).
Capital	Capital is possessed by those within a field space. It can be inherited or accumulated and then embodied by agents. The possession of specific types and volumes of capital permits access to certain field positions.
Illusio	A tacit accord by agents that the stakes are valuable and the game is worthy of contesting.
Hysteresis	A term used to describe an agent's dissonance over emergent field opportunities that their current dispositions do not permit them to understand (Bourdieu, 1990; McDonough & Polzer, 2012).
Practice	A process through which an individual is repeatedly exposed to structuring systems that hone his/her dispositions, appreciations and perceptions that form their meaning schemata.
Misrecognition	The masking, or forgetting of the true nature of a phenomenon (Taylor & Garratt, 2010).
Symbolic Violence	The violence which is exercised upon and accepted by individuals in a symbolic, rather than a physical way. It may take the form of people being denied resources, treated as inferior or being limited in terms of realistic aspirations (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, p. xvi).

Field

A field is a distinct and objective social space (field space) that consists of networks of relations between agents; it is the setting which agents occupy. Within this social space agents contest for resources, stakes and access that permit them to execute a range of strategies. The field concept has flexible boundaries that are defined by both the complexity of the relations between agents and the desire of agents to accept the field's rules. Bourdieu (2005) viewed fields as either restricted or unrestricted. A restricted, autonomous field (the field of restricted production) is isolated from wider social forces and operates on self-determined principles. This field is concerned with producing goods intended for other producers of cultural goods. A widespread, heteronomous field (the field of large-scale production) produces goods for the public at large and is concerned more with colonizing autonomous fields to create field heteronomy. Once a heteronomous field subjugates an

autonomous field colonization occurs. Where this has not occurred a field can still be considered autonomous (Everett, 2002).

Field is the most commonly used of Bourdieu's concepts. DiMaggio and Powell's (1991) and Scott's (2008) institutional interpretations of the organizational field have provided the foundation for much academic attention that can be related to the discipline of sports management. Their definition for the organizational field was presented in the previous chapter (page 19). This emergent term, derived from Bourdieu's notion of field and drawn from Kurt Lewin's (1951) notion of force-field analysis, has been used to describe the above collective of organizations within an industry. However, it is not only organizations that comprise a field; individuals and groups of individuals can also exist as field agents. Rather than focusing on demarcated boundaries, Bourdieu argued that the field was determined by the limits of that which agents feel is at stake in the field that are worthy of contest (*illusio*), and that activities within are guided by an underpinning logic, or *doxa*.

Doxa

The objective, structured system that characterises a field means that any given field, for example, disability cricket, possesses an *institutional doxa* that differs from other fields of human activity, for example, the doxa that guide the fields of health or education (Davey, 2012). Doxa are 'regimes of truth' that represent values and discourses which represent the fundamental principles of a field and are thus taken for granted. The notion that the level of field can vary between groups, organizations, institutions and societal levels is important as it suggests that doxic attitudes (an internalised submission to a field's values and logic) can differ depending on the field, or even the organization the individual finds themselves within. Doxa differentiates the field and can pre-determine an agent's perception of which stakes are valuable (the ends), and how one should attempt to acquire them (the means). It determines the characteristics of power relations in the social order, and how resources are distributed across the field. The social conditioning of the doxa is a shared experience for each agent within the group. This experience creates an illusion of spontaneous understanding and a tendency to conform to a specific set of values and discourses which, if applied to the dominant group within the field, are viewed as inherently true and necessary (Chan, 2004). Shifts in doxa can lead to change and/or resistance from agents within the field. It is common for these dominant perceptions to be seen as the orthodoxy, which 'reflects the official history of the field'. Contrasting orthodoxy is heterodoxy. Heterodoxy seeks to challenge the common sense of the field (Webb et al., 2002). The *organizational doxa* therefore comprises values, beliefs, taken-for-granted assumptions and systems of knowledge that exist within the organizational space (Harrington, Warren & Rayner, 2013). Shared understandings are constructed from the sediment meanings of the

individuals who, over-time comprise the organization itself. To understand these values certain dispositions are required, and these dispositions form the habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Habitus

Habitus is the central concept in Bourdieu's attempt to overcome the binary distinction between structure and agency. He did this by reconsidering the relationship between agents and their social worlds (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Howe (2007) has stated that habitus 'is the embodied sentiment of every encounter [agents] have had in the social world' (p. 137). Habitus is an unconscious process through which wider culture is imbibed and embodied in individuals in the form of dispositions, which consequently inform their actions. The dispositions that compose the habitus are shared amongst individuals regardless of their class, gender, ethnicity or ability. Habitus is linked to field. Habitus produces rules and regularities that work to condition field practices which are reciprocally constructed within the social space. These dispositions reflect the field's doxa, and also form values that reflect what is and what is not considered acceptable. Despite receiving guidance from the objective, structured systems of the field, habitus does not direct human action. Essentially, habitus acts as another structured system, one that is unconscious and subjective, and which permits various modes of agency. Bourdieu explained how habitus is informed by the field's objective structured systems to ensure that certain subjective aspirations and practices are prioritized over others:

[An individual's] habitus, [is] inculcated by objective conditions [that] engender aspirations and practices [that are] objectively compatible with [such conditions], the most improbable practices are excluded (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 77).

Bourdieu argued that while structures created a class of conditions that generated preferences for certain practices it was the generative process of engendering aspirations and ensuring that practices are compatible with the field that enabled a person to consider the most appropriate future actions.

Jenkins (2002) deemed it contradictory that we can exhibit agency and not be ruled by the deterministic structures of the field. However, habitus works by structuring our preferences towards social practice. Hence, we are still able to determine our own course of action. Nevertheless, the more deeply immersed agents are within a pronounced and well-articulated field doxa, the greater the likelihood they will wish to maintain and replicate these values by making choices that are compatible with both the field and their habitus. Examination of the habitus in formal sport settings has found that organizational values and practices can influence the perceptions of social actors within. These perceptions reproduce what is accepted practice and discard those which are deemed unorthodox and

unfamiliar to the field (Howe, 2007; Howe, 2008; McGillivray & McIntosh, 2006; Taylor & Garratt, 2010). Christensen (2009) exposed the doxic system of talent identification in elite football coaching where “seeing” was knowing and knowledge was related to taste. As habitus and field aligned within the club, ‘the embodied structures and objectives structures are in agreement.... everything seems obvious and goes without saying’ (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 81). Coaches rated young players as talented upon seeing their demonstration of skills alone and these perceptions went unchallenged within the club despite the fact that Christensen (2009) found that the coaches misrecognised that ‘talent’ was actually related to a player’s experience and age. In contrast, when field and habitus do not align tension can result. Respondents in Taylor and Garratt’s (2010) examination of the professionalization of coaching in the UK felt that the continually shifting regulations, and the manner in which they were handed down by governing bodies did not suit the practice of sport at the grassroots level. This incompatibility between existing individual habitus and the new, emergent professional field doxa can lead to hysteresis, and/or resistance (see also Grix, 2009). Hysteresis indicates a mismatch between an individual’s habitus and any emergent rules and regularities of the field in which they inhabit. This can lead to an individual crisis, cause conflict, and could even lead to the marginalization of agents (McDonough & Polzer, 2012). When the field’s doxa shift and a new orthodoxy prioritises a new, ‘privileged’ habitus, agents who still possess a ‘deprived’ habitus are repositioned into a subordinate position and can experience personal anxiety or stress in relation to their new situation.

If agents are deeply immersed within a pronounced and well-articulated habitus there is a greater likelihood that they will wish to maintain their current condition and resist change (Taylor & Garratt, 2010). Perceiving organizational and institutional change is more likely when the changes fit within the range of plausible actions that an individual’s habitus allows (McGillivray & Macintosh, 2006; Stewart et al., 2011). It is important to note that this concept has similarities with the values and interests developed by institutional theory. However, while institutional theory views values and interests as relevant to the inner workings of the organization, the relational approach adopted here argues that habitus is commensurate with the field position of the agent. Wherever the agent is located in the field, the available capital at her disposal is related to her habitus.

Capital

Originally, Bourdieu conceived two types of capital: *economic* (i.e. an agent’s actual or potential finances) and *cultural* (i.e. an agent’s embodied, objectified or institutionalized cultural resource, which can take the form of education level or expertise). In Bourdieu’s work an agent’s position in the field is determined by the type and volume of the capital they possess (Bourdieu, 1998, 2005). This capital is a relational signifier of taste; hence the right mix of economic and cultural

capital permits agents to differentiate themselves from others. Capital is also an embodied resource. Over time it can be accumulated through *practice*. In sport, athletes develop their physical capital (a form of cultural capital) to suit game conditions. Cricketers practice their skills in order to develop more robust forms of capital that can be achieved on the playing-field or within the wider cricket field. However, if innovation and brute strength replace technical skills and mental concentration as the sport's dominant capital^{vi}, players must either retrain to acquire the skill, play the game at a lower level or exit the game completely.

Subtle variations in capital exist when viewing capital as an organizational asset. Economic and cultural capital are expanded to include other forms of capital, for example, technological (a portfolio of scientific resources), juridical (legal regulations), and commercial (sales power) capital^{vii}. Bourdieu also developed work on social and symbolic capitals, not as variations of cultural capital but as distinct aspects of his opus. This expanded set of capital forms the strategies used by organizations in seeking and sustaining competitive advantage. While Bourdieu is renowned for his work on capital (Bourdieu, 1984) he is not the only theorist who has used the term, nor is he the only one that sport scholars draw upon.

Since 2000 *social capital* has become of increasing importance to the study of sport management. The term has featured in over forty articles across the four main sport management journals (Shilbury, 2011). An influx of social capital narratives has increased in tandem with a modernizing agenda for sport and this agenda's acceptance that sport and leisure build social capital (Putnam, 2000; Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008). Modernizing ideals have proven very difficult to argue against (du Gay, 2000) and increasingly difficult to measure quantitatively or qualitatively. Skinner et al. (2008) argue that sport organizations in Australia should increase their efforts to develop social capital as a means of justifying their ongoing community significance. While the researchers drew on evidence that sport contributed to the development of social capital, Crabbe (2007, p. 39) suggests that many studies overstated a 'conventional functionalist interpretation' that leads to the assumption that sport does good for people who play it, and therefore this leads to the development of social capital. The work of Coleman (1988) and Putman (1993, 2000) on social capital has been used extensively across other academic areas (Hughes & Blaxter, 2007).

Using theorists such as Coleman and Putnam is not problematic *per se* but I share the concerns expressed by Sempel (2006) and Spaaij (2009) that isolating any type of social capital limits its explanatory power. Social capital can be placed into a relational analysis with other forms of capital to develop a greater critical awareness of its impact in sport. Bourdieu's social capital has

been examined as a relational construct in relation to field and also to other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Sempel (2005, 2006) showed how sport existed in a relational structure in which certain sports are populated by individuals with certain levels of cultural capital. The space between these sports practices was labelled 'cultural distance'. For individuals and organizations to cross this cultural distance certain types and volumes of capital are required, which is not always assured (Sharpe, 2006). Spaaij (2009) also has examined the interplay between economic, social and cultural capitals in sport. He found that previous studies had divorced social capital from other types of capital. As a result they failed to demonstrate how sport developed economic and cultural. Despite finding that social capital was developed through sport in certain communities, it was constrained to a more functional use of social capital, and hence missed the opportunity for a relational understanding.

Another form of capital which can provide a more critical lens for viewing organizational actions within the field is *symbolic capital*, the ability of an agent to achieve mastery over any of the other forms of capital:

Symbolic capital resides in the mastery of symbolic resources based on knowledge and recognition, such as...brand loyalty, a power which functions as a form of credit [and which] presupposes the trust...of those whom it bears because they [who know about it] are disposed to grant it credence (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 195).

Rather than being a form of capital in its own right, the symbolism is applied to either economic, cultural or social capitals. In its symbolic form, capital enables agents to both define and influence the reproduction of certain values (Oakes et al., 1998). The conversion of any capital to symbolic capital occurs when one form of capital is afforded greater importance than another form of capital within the field. This importance is arbitrary across fields as the possession and accumulation of this symbolic capital is often misrecognised (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For example, the title of 'Professor' carries a level of symbolic capital within institutional education. Outside this social field, however, it may not be understood to represent the same level of symbolism as it is afforded inside.

Bourdieu's view is that this symbolic capital can be deployed by dominant agents to conceal the networks that assisted in its accumulation, which is important for creating and sustaining *misrecognition* (Bourdieu, 1977). For example, if an individual claims that their personal success in sport arose through will-power and determination alone they may conveniently side-line the possible economic and social stakes (social class, race or gender) that supported their ascension. This implies that economic and cultural capitals are not merely terms of description for the accumulation of finances and knowledge but tools that are used to maintain position within the field. Thus, symbolic capital can be wielded as a weapon in the contest for stakes. Domination and subordination can

occur through the wielding of capital but also by the habitus of agents recognising that they lack the same capital as others. *Symbolic violence* can be wielded by agents to castigate the efforts of others, however the key to this violence is that the dispositions of the habitus permit the dominated to see it as natural and acceptable.

The section above has introduced a range of concepts from Bourdieu's toolkit that provide the conceptual basis of the social theoretical element of this thesis. Although field, habitus and capital dominate the literature, the additional terms will assist in providing the links between concepts for the relational analysis in later chapters.

The Benefits of This Approach to Sport Management

Currently there are some key issues that highlight the negative underbelly, or 'dark side', of sport and of those who manage it. The threat and practice of corruption, for example, is an issue that involves many stakeholders across the business of sport, as highlighted in the work of Jennings (2011) and Mason, Thibault & Misener (2006). Likewise, a number of authors have recently claimed that gender inequality is a practice which is woven into the very fabric of sport (Anderson, 2009; Cunningham, 2008, Shaw, 2006). Research is needed into how to enlighten practitioners and encourage them to work towards practices that overcome these and other problematic practices so that positive change can be achieved. Whether sport management has used the theoretical and methodological tools within its possession to fully comprehend the consequences of these issues is debatable.

There is a growing demand for an increase in cross-fertilisation between the sociology of sport and sport management (Bryant, 1993; Doherty, 2012; Kitchin & Howe, 2013; Love & Andrew, 2012). This cross-fertilization could potentially achieve greater benefits for both fields. While this call is important it is not new. Indeed it was first outlined by Slack and Kikulis (1989), who critiqued the way in which organization theory had been ignored by sport management research at that time. Although organization theory has since informed the study of sport management through the multitude of studies that followed Slack and Kikulis' critique (Amis, Slack, & Hinings, 2002; Kikulis, Slack, & Hinings, 1992, 1995a, b; Slack & Hinings, 1992, 1994; Skille, 2011), some theorists have called for a critical turn in the study of sport management (Amis & Silk, 2005; Frisby, 2005; Shaw, Wolfe & Frisby, 2011; Skinner & Edwards, 2005). These scholars urge a deeper engagement with social and critical theory in order to provide a more robust framework in which to investigate complex

phenomena, such as corruption, the marginalization of minority groups, how inequalities are reproduced with sport and how organizations change in light of these issues.

To demonstrate that a relational approach drawing on field, capital, and habitus can provide a multi-layered analysis that positions organized sport within its wider social and institutional context depends on showing how these master concepts work in a relational sense. I believe that explaining this process is essential to explicate its value to sport management research. Work by Sempel (2005) and Spaaij (2009) highlighted above shows that social capital can be better understood when positioned in the context of other types of capital. These authors view capital as a relational concept; when compared to other phenomena it becomes more readily understood. My point of departure from their studies is to apply this relational approach vertically between field, habitus, and capital.

To further demonstrate the benefits of relational analysis I draw on the work of Kay and Laberge (2002a, b) which represents two of the few studies that demonstrate a vertical, relational link. These studies encapsulate how Bourdieu can be used to analyse organized sport and demonstrate how a relational use of his master concepts can aide our understanding of multi-level forces at work in organizational change, or even across broader issues involving corruption, inequality, and marginalization. To premise this example few in sport management would argue against the fact that increasing participation is a common goal shared by many, if not all sports organizations. However, the functional benefit of increasing participants can affect the organization in different ways than originally conceived. Kay and Laberge (2002a, b) noticed that a shift in the collective habitus of the sport was the result of macro, meso, and micro level changes. I intend to use Kay and Laberge's (2002a, b) example to highlight the logic of this argument.

Change in the sport of adventure racing was a multi-faceted process (Kay & Laberge, 2002a, b). First the ever-increasing corporatization/commercialization of the macro environment positioned the sport as a site rich for certain types of capital acquisition. Traditional participants held values that represented the original logic of the sport. These traditional participants occupied an elevated field position. The cultural capital sought by these participants was awarded through the successful maintenance of peak performance. Over time these participants were crowded out by the interrelationship between the corporate value of the sport on broadcasting networks, and the influx of new corporate participants whose values reflected an emergent, professional and corporate logic. Due to the economic capital that these new participants brought to the sport they rapidly adopted an elevated field position. Instead of success being defined by peak performance, these new entrants gained capital through participation alone. Participation in adventure racing provided corporate

participants with an opportunity to use capital gained in racing as a symbol which was valued in their corporate field. Nonetheless, it was not just environmental factors that facilitated these changes. Kay and Laberge (2002a, b) have demonstrated that at the micro level the sport's governing body implemented strategies to make the sport more appealing both to these new participants and to broadcast and commercial partners. These macro- and micro-level shifts effectively necessitated the changing habitus. This altered habitus within the sport was an outcome of increased corporate participation yet contributed to the marginalization of the sport's traditional participants. In summary, Kay and Laberge's (2002a, b) work demonstrates how levels of analysis are interrelated and can provide a more holistic approach to understanding change in sport.

In this final section I will highlight how practice theory can be modelled to address complex phenomenon. Table 3.2 outlines the various conceptual devices and indicates at what level each is deployed in this thesis. As there are multiple levels of analysis, a number Bourdieu's concepts are aligned with each level. At the individual level, for example, managerial strategies that seek to take new positions through an increase in capital or by avoiding direct conflict are of interest. The volume and types of capital possessed by organizations and the individuals within them (including the strategies that staff/managers use to increase their personal capital) are of interest. Indeed strategies to acquire new capital result in position-taking within the field and thus alter the relations between agents. At the organizational level the informal, contested nature of stories, symbols, values, rule systems and other organizational phenomena comprise an organizational doxa. How individual agents within this organization's doxa fit within the objective conditions of the institutional field is an interesting area of analysis, particularly when organizations are performing above or below industry expectations. Finally, at the institutional level, the institutional field of sport development is a field of forces with an institutional doxa that is undergoing change (Bourdieu, 1998). Components that comprise the institutional level may include aspects such as the policies and strategic documents of sports councils and national governing bodies. Mapping the field through these tools can provide an important snapshot of the conditions that sport organizations operate within.

Table 3.2: Bourdieu's practice theory for a relational analysis of organizational reproduction and transformation.

A relational model for this thesis		
Level of Analysis	Practice Theory	Components <i>Orienting concepts (Layder, 1998)</i>
Institutional	(Institutional) field,	Policies, sport council policies, NGB policies, institutional structures and

	capital, doxa, illusio.	programmes.
Organizational	Organizational doxa, habitus, capital, illusio, symbolic violence.	Structures, symbols, routines and rituals, control systems, stories, power structures, values, interests, programmes.
Individual	Field, habitus, capital, misrecognition, hysteresis.	Types and volumes of capital. Capital-oriented practices and rationales for the accumulation of capital. Rationales for capital acquisition.

The relational link between the individual and the institutional levels exists through a combined analysis of doxa within the organization-as-field and its dialectical relationship not only with the habitus of the individuals that comprise the organizations but also with the institutional doxa (Davey, 2012). Hence, this conceptual framework comprising numerous aspects of Bourdieu's practice theory permits me to develop a relational model of reproduction and transformation that examines the why, what and how of change, which, as the previous chapter sought to establish, other holistic models cannot provide. Table 3.2 also highlights the various components that comprise the levels which will be used as 'orienting concepts' (Layder, 1998) to assist the research design.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter Bourdieu's key concepts have been introduced. It is clear that these tools are numerous and can appear complex. As demonstrated, the quality and manner in which these concepts are used within the literature varies widely. Hence, it should be clear to the reader that this opus is yet to be used in its full, relational manner and as shown this has limited its explanatory power in organizational analysis. This thesis seeks to address this shortcoming. It was also established that power is central to Bourdieu's work hence for this thesis I critically reposition the term change as either reproduction and/or transformation of institutions, organizations and individuals. Like the theoretical foundation provided in the previous chapter the relational model devised in this chapter is the conceptual basis for this research. It expresses how various practice theory concepts correspond to each level of analysis undertaken in this study. As yet sport management has not benefitted from this approach even though it offers many positives. It has been suggested that Bourdieu's conceptual tools are most appropriately used in a conjoint fashion with a certain methodology. To establish this the next chapter will provide an overview of the philosophical and operational principles of the ethnographic approach used to address the research questions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

The chapter outlines how the philosophy underpinning the application of Bourdieu's opus governs the methodological choices made in this thesis. A social praxeological research approach was adopted to examine reproduction and transformation in disability cricket (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Everett, 2002; Everett & Jamal, 2004). This approach permitted me to analyse both the objective and subjective structures, thus avoiding the limitations arising from either an overly objective or an overly subjective reading of the data. The dualisms that Bourdieu's concepts seek to dissolve are matched by a suitable methodological practice. Guiding the implementation of these methodological choices is an adherence to certain philosophical principles, such as epistemology, ontology and methodology.

These philosophical issues are examined in the first section of this chapter, after which I will outline and justify the use of an ethnographic research design to examine reproduction and transformation in disability cricket. I then explain how this design has been implemented by discussing pertinent topics such as, managing my access and exposure within the field and how this access allowed the use of certain data collection tools, and concluding with a critique of the data analysis procedures employed. Because ethnography is not a dominant approach for researching organizational sociology or disability sport management, in the penultimate section I outline some tactics I used to increase the quality of the analysis. As per the previous chapters, this chapter concludes with a summary.

Philosophical Foundations

The situated nature of individual and collective practice is one example of the subjectivist and objectivist divide that Bourdieu's work sought to dissolve (Goodley & Lawthom, 2005). Bourdieu attempted to overcome a number of binary opposites that he felt had plagued ontology, epistemology and methodology. Each of these philosophical foundations is addressed below. In considering ontology, my concern was to understand the *nature of being*, and the manner in which I attached meaning to the phenomena I explored. Our understanding of the social world is segmented into many different, and at times opposing, beliefs. This has placed researchers upon a continuum that has resulted in objectivists and constructivists occupying positions toward opposing poles. Objectivists focus on real 'things', such as structures that exist in the world. To objectivists these 'things' can be measured or observed. Conversely, constructivists focus on the existence of multiple, local and

specific realities (Goodley & Lawthom, 2005). Adopting the middle-ground are pragmatists who believe that ‘there is an objective reality that occurs outside the individual, but this reality is grounded in the environment and experience of each individual’ (Goles & Hirschheim, 2000, p. 261). As introduced in the previous chapter Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field sought to dissolve this distinction by suggesting that field structures are revealed through an analysis of the layered practices and experiences that form the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Although he felt an objective reality could exist across a number of fields, Bourdieu (1990) rejected the notion of macro-social structures (such as society), and instead called on a ‘fuzzy’ logic of practical sense that is relevant to the field it exists within. Hence, the ontology adopted by Bourdieu and that is used in this thesis explores notions of agency and structure by considering a dialectic relationship between field and habitus. Operationally, this means that while institutions and organizations are distinct entities, it is the individual habitus that is field specific and can explain the inter-relationship between the multiple levels of analysis.

Bourdieu attempted to overcome binary distinctions that challenged epistemology. By refusing to completely take the objectivist or constructivist side Bourdieu offered an epistemological break in the creation of knowledge. His method required a two-fold examination (termed the social praxeology) of the social world that attempted to critically examine the manner in which knowledge was acquired within a field. An understanding of the objective structure (objectivity of the first order) of the field and also the subjective meaning-making properties (objectivity of the second order) of the agents within the field required a double reading (and as such a number of techniques to gather this data). This double reading has been adopted in this thesis. The first reading mapped the research area by examining relationships between agents (see Chapter 5). The second reading required an understanding of the social phenomenology that examines aspects of the taken-for-granted (doxic) assumptions of organizational life (Chapters 6-9). This included an analysis of the symbolic practices and meanings of the institutional life by agents within the field of disability cricket (Everett, 2002).

Taking a Bourdieusian approach to reproduction and transformation within the field of disability cricket is, I contend, a novel use of his theory. As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) have found that few scholars adopt a full-relational approach to organizational phenomena. Nevertheless, in order to implement Bourdieu’s work in organizational analysis, three assumptions must be addressed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The first assumption is that the social and the cognitive are linked in cognitive systems. These cognitive systems are none other than the embodiment of social divisions that are ingrained over time. Thus, by studying structures such as the field of disability cricket we can derive an analysis of the field’s various dispositions. The second assumption is that correspondence between social and mental structures

fulfils political functions and permits symbolic systems to become instruments of domination, categories which ‘transform the world by transforming its representation’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 14). These symbolic systems can include sources of funding, and/or the legitimacy of an organization within a field of agents. The third assumption is that categories and classifications are sites of struggle between agents within a field. Social taxonomies ‘are the result of, and at stake in social power relations’, hence understanding the importance of the influence of symbolic power on the ‘reproductions and transformations of structures of domination’ is essential for organizational analysis (Everett, 2002, p. 58).

I interpreted Everett’s call for *methodological polytheism*^{viii} as one justification for combining the various data collection tools used to address the research questions. These tools remained true to the ontological and epistemological principles established below. It suits these first and second order readings. Data collection tools were chosen because of their suitability for addressing the research questions rather than any strict adherence to a specific philosophical approach (Everett, 2002). Bourdieu was similarly pragmatic in his approach to data collection. He attempted to combine qualitative and quantitative data to create a clearer picture of the phenomenon under analysis (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Previous studies in this vein have adopted this pragmatic approach using document analysis, self-reflection, interviews and observations, and as such have revealed the taken-for-granted nature of business processes (Everett & Jamal, 2004; Oakes et al., 1998). Rather than adhering strictly to any one tool Bourdieu stressed that what mattered was the rigorous implementation of any tool chosen (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), the details of which for the current study are explained below. However, before addressing these points it is pertinent to outline how Bourdieu’s opus will be operationalized in this investigation.

Operationalizing the research

What do these philosophical principles mean for the interpretation of phenomena in this thesis? Table 4.1 highlights the link between the research questions, the level of analysis and the method by which theoretical aspects will be examined. This research used methodological polytheism, which prioritizes no one data collection tool above the other. Although I argued in the previous chapters that Bourdieu could complement institutional approaches to reproduction and change, few institutional terms are used. Of those included is *translation* (devised by Czarniawska, & Sevón, 1996 and operationalized in community sport by Skille, 2011) and *organizational identity* (refined by Glynn, 2008 and operationalized in community sport by Stenling, 2013a, b). In both field theory (Benson, 1999) and in sport management (Skille & Skirstad, 2007) it has been argued that

institutional approaches would benefit from greater engagement with Bourdieu’s opus. It is in this vein, and with this justification, that this merger is created.

Table 4.1: The operationalization of a relational approach.

Research Questions	Level of Analysis	Practice / Institutional Theory	Components	Data collection tools employed
1, 2	Institutional field of disability cricket	Field, doxa, capital	DCMS, Sport England policies and strategic documents, ECB policies and plans	Formal interviews, active member observations, document analysis
1, 2, 2a, 2b	Organizations	Organizational doxa, systems and practices, organizational identity	Organizational values, interests, stories, cherished symbols, routines and rituals	Document analysis, participant-observations, formal and informal interviews
		Habitus of individual staff, misrecognition, translation	Personal values, interests, stories, cherished symbols, routines and rituals	Participant observations, informal interviews
1, 2, 2a	Individuals	Field, habitus, capital, misrecognition, practice, hysteresis, translation	Individual strategies for capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic) accumulation	Active member and participant observations, formal and informal interviews

Research Design

Bourdieu’s Approach to Ethnography

A multi-level analysis required the adoption of various data collection tools that permitted me to inhabit a position within the field of disability cricket. While embedded within one organization, I was able to inhabit and observe other organizations that also were involved in the partnership to deliver a disability cricket programme. The rationale for the decision to adopt ethnography to examine reproduction and transformation in disability cricket was made during the research, and not at its outset.

As a volunteer with C4C, I had some working knowledge of the organization. After hearing participants chatting about how change was occurring around them, I decided to investigate the literature on organizational change. I uncovered a wealth of studies which helped to put these field-related ideas in an academic context. The end result of this secondary survey can be found in the first review of literature. And while some *organizational ethnographies* (Bate, 2000; Pettigrew, 1985; Zilber, 2002) are outlined above, it became apparent that two gaps existed. The first was a lack of research into change as it was taking place, and the second was the relative absence of the ethnographic approach in the sport management literature. Although ethnography was relatively common in social-scientific examinations of organized sport (Cushion & Jones, 2006; Howe, 2007, Howe, 2008; Kay & Laberge, 2002a, b), a review of the key sport management journals (as outlined by Shilbury, 2011) contained few studies using organizational ethnography. Despite this lack of organizational analysis, the benefits of this approach for the study of management and sport are numerous. Skinner et al. (1999) have used ethnography as a means of entering the cultural field of rugby union in the aftermath of professionalization. They argued that this approach enabled in-depth data collection and a temporal validity for their findings. Silk et al. (2000) used an ethnographic approach to see how environmental factors were mediated and interpreted by individuals. From their embedded position within the research setting they were able to witness this interpretation occur (for a similar approach see Silk & Amis, 2000). Caza (2000) used participant observation to examine the receptivity of an amateur boxing organization in adopting technological innovation. There is potential for increasing the use of this approach in organizational analysis and also in the sociology of sport.

The second reason I adopted ethnography was because of its flexibility. This flexibility permitted me to shift the focus of the research as my field experiences developed (Riemer, 1977). I also adopted ethnography because I wanted to study individuals (initially) and then organizations involved in sport in some depth. Although when I started I was not absolutely sure what that would be, the access I was granted by field members encouraged me to consider a more engaged and prolonged examination into the organization and management of disability cricket. I selected this approach as I felt it would provide two important benefits: first, it was appropriate for examining a small cultural group such as Cricket for Change and their partners in delivering the *Hit the Top* programme (Howe, 2008). Second, this flexibility allowed me to ‘reconnect with a sport that gave meaning to my early life and shaped my identity’ (Trujillo, 2012, p. 74). As an academic, this was important because it provided me with a more contemporary understanding of organizational life, particularly of not-for-profits. This was important because I had spent a number of years outside of industry employed within academia. The internal position also provided me with a more nuanced understanding of how organizations manage in response to a range of environmental factors.

As with all research designs, ethnography presented limitations that had to be overcome and must be acknowledged here. Ethnographers should try to understand but not judge the populations under their gaze (Bhaskar, 1989; Hammersley, 1992). This was difficult because initially I was new to disability cricket and the management of their sessions was less formal than that which I would have organized during my brief experience as a physical education teacher (details regarding my own habitus in the interpretation of data is discussed in Appendix 1). One of the benefits of performing a reflexive sociology was being able to explore the social and political aspects that influenced the organization of disability cricket within its wider context. This led naturally to some evaluation, which is presented in the findings below. Skinner and Edwards (2005) have observed that the approach I have taken contrasts with dominant managerial and technical approaches previously employed. The evaluative and critical elements intend to lead to a greater appreciation of organizational phenomena from those who experience it.

Another limitation of ethnography was that it does not actively empower participants' understanding of the research issue under investigation, or equally consider the practical relevance of its findings (Singer, 2005; Skinner & Edwards, 2005). The research issue relevant to the managers and staff of various organizations within the field was actually understanding their role in the process of reproduction and/or transformation. Many respondents viewed change as an alteration to one or two components of their practice; for example, change was manifest in a new structure or a new monitoring procedure. What was not readily understood was that these changes were part of a larger project to transform organizations and their priorities. Although time has progressed since much of the data was collected and organizations have evolved in that time, an initial ambition of this investigation was for staff to reflect on their roles, their organization and how they have experienced change.

By working actively with members from the research setting I feel I reduced the risk of a *crisis of representation* during the write-up of this thesis. In this instance, the findings reflect the interpretation of a white, able-bodied and middle-class academic, who could potentially marginalize people by virtue of gender, race, ability and/or class in his writing practices. Clifford noted that even 'the simplest cultural accounts are intentional creations that interpreter's constantly construct themselves through others they study' (1986, p. 10). One strategy to make apparent this 'intentional creation' was to be reflexive about the research process (Alvesson, Hardy & Harley, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The first appendix addresses these concerns and is designed to add another level of credibility to this writing process. The various observational roles I adopted over time made me

‘one of the group’, but I sought to remain a sufficiently detached observer. As an active-member tasked with evaluating the social outcomes of one of the programmes on disabled young people this process of *reflexivity* made me more aware of my role. I realise that any critique made about the failure of the charity to adopt better evaluation processes could be misinterpreted as ‘sour grapes’, however I am happy to acknowledge my own failure in that area to influence a change in monitoring and evaluation practices.

A further criticism of ethnography is that it is not a perfect description (i.e. not a full rendering) of the realities they attempt to describe (Erickson, 2006). The *crisis of legitimation* occurs when doubts are cast on the accuracy and truth of an ethnographic text. As indicated below I have attempted a range of strategies designed to increase the quality of the final text and guard against this second crisis, but not all the data collected is represented in this piece of writing. Rather, this is a representation of the most significant and consistent theme, some excluded data formed interesting areas for further analysis which could have been explored in greater depth. In the interests of creating a coherent argument, however, these discussions were not included.

Two further limitations are common for many part-time research students, and also for those examining small cases as part of a wider system. A major limitation of ethnography is the time and support required to engage in fieldwork. My exposure to the field was rationalized early on to manage the process. While the process was a mixture of self- and workplace-funded, the bulk of the support I received was more emotional than financial. However, I feel that it was only through this PhD process that I was able to take the time to engage in a study of this duration. As I am employed in academia, I can see the pressure on post-doctoral academic staff to publish sufficient quantities of quality work. This makes these types of prolonged engagements exceedingly difficult – and difficult to justify in my current role. Finally, the focus on the field of disability cricket limits the generalizability of the findings to other research and other experiences in organizations. The inductive approach undertaken to explore the disability cricket field positions the work as separate to other work in community sport that examines the pressures placed on voluntary sport clubs. While voluntary sport clubs and the charities examined in this investigation are both not-for-profit, there are marked social, organizational and cultural differences between them^{ix}.

Despite the above limitations I chose ethnography because it satisfied my own personal understanding of the role of research in organizational analysis. Drawing upon the epistemological approach of Bourdieu, ethnography allowed me to critique and situate organizational reproduction and transformation within the institutional-organizational-individual context. It also provided some

critical explanations of how levels of analysis were related. Because of the unconscious nature of the habitus, the revelation of how inequality is reproduced by those who manage sport may enlighten practitioners to work toward practices to overcome this. If practice theory and ethnography can lead to an exposé of conditions that create marginalization in sport, then together they could form a device for academics to assist managers and staff to affect change. Brown (2005) did just this when he demonstrated how Bourdieu's conceptual and methodological approach could facilitate practical steps toward change in organized sport. In the context of my own research, Bourdieu's ethnography provided an alternative to traditional ethnography, one that could assist in attempting to improve practices within the field of disability cricket, and also contribute to interdisciplinary studies between disability sport management and the sociology of sport (Kitchin & Howe, 2013; Love & Andrew, 2012; Skinner & Edwards, 2005).

Research Implementation

This thesis represents my first attempt at ethnography. As a learning experience it had a significant impact upon my research skills and provided a more nuanced outlook for my continuing professional development. I followed Hammersley and Atkinson's (1995) approach for detailing the implementation of the research by discussing how access to the field was gained, how field relations were managed and how insider accounts were accessed by various data-collection tools, and then analysed.

Accessing the field

Access for the full study was granted fairly easily as I had a pre-existing relationship with the organization. My voluntary involvement had preceded the start of the MPhil/PhD process. My key contact was David, a junior manager within C4C, designer and programme manager of *Hit the Top*. His support throughout the process was very important as it provided me with management support and access to complete the task. As a member of the disability community he also had a personal perspective on the rationale for the programme and where he wanted it to go. This support provided me with a route to overcome some barriers I encountered. This, I felt, was a mutually beneficial relationship, as I was able to provide him with advice and he was able to guide what he wanted from this access. What David sought was information that would determine the impact of the programme. David also provided me with access to organizations who were participating in the delivery of the programme.

Managing field relations

In contrast to the ease with which I secured access, managing my engagement was much more challenging. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) recommend that the ethnographer should maintain a working presence within the setting. While this is self-explanatory it was at times difficult to achieve. Once access was granted by senior management it was taken as a given. However, in my experience the actual engagement was more about developing relationships with the managers and staff employed within the organization and the external partners that supported it. Negotiating and gaining access for fieldwork was vital for my engagement across the multiple levels of analysis. Although the focus of the investigation and my participation levels changed throughout the study, there were a number of distinguishable phases (see Table 4.2). These phases were influenced by my deliberate choices but also determined by situations presented (such as moving from London to Belfast for work). These changes of course can be seen as marking the shifting phases of the investigation.

Table 4.2: The phases, roles and data collection methods employed during the fieldwork.

Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
Dates	May 08- Oct 08	Nov 08 – Sep 09	Oct 09- May 10	June 10- September 10
Role	Direct Observation	Participant Observation	Participant Observation Active member role	Full-time Participant Observation/ Active member role
Data collection methods	Field Notes Reflective diary Document collection	Field Notes Reflective diary Informal interviews Document collection	Field Notes & Images Reflective diary Informal interviews	Field Notes & Images Reflective notes Formal interviews Document analysis
Researcher Location	London	London	Belfast	London
Phase	Detached	Phase 5	Phase 6	Phase 7
Dates	October 10- March 11	April 11- September 11	October 11- December 12*	July 13 – June 14
Role	Transcription and preliminary analysis	Active member role - withdrawal from the field	Follow-up interviews	Final write-up
Data collection methods		Field Notes Reflective notes Document analysis	Semi-structured interviews Document analysis	
Researcher Location	Belfast	London	Belfast	Belfast

* For personal reasons a year of absence occurred between July 2012 and June 2013.

Doing ethnography on organizational phenomena allowed me to combine formal data collection methods with fieldwork. Participant observation had been used effectively by scholars in sport education and the sociology of sport (Light & Kirk, 2000; Cushion & Jones, 2006; Frew & McGillivray, 2005; Swanson, 2009; Howe, 2008; Sharpe, 2006). To an extent it was essential for

gaining insight into the nuances of the doxa that exist within the various organizations in the field. Observations from the field were combined with interviews and document analysis. This allowed me to 'pick apart' certain aspects of the institutional field and certain organizations that other methods could not (Skinner & Edwards, 2005, Greenwood & Suddaby, 2009). Indeed, Bourdieu felt these settings were ripe for examination:

...it [is] possible to inhabit institutions, to draw on them practically, enacting their organizing principles and thus reproducing them but at the same time allowing for revisions and transformation (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 57).

Over time the managers and staff asked me to get more involved in the organization's programmes. This greater level of engagement allowed me to participate in the administration and management of programmes, as opposed to supporting individual disability cricket sessions. I found myself adopting a range of tasks that allowed me to research and participate at the same time. This role conformed to Adler and Adler's (1987) active-member role which Misener and Doherty (2009) have shown can benefit community sport management. This approach is a variant of participant observation, but rather than general participation in any activity it enabled me to use my skills to contribute to organizational activities. This approach can be attractive to sport organizations and for sport research as both parties can mutually benefit. Building upon the advantages of participant observation, this method allows the researcher to adopt 'a more central position' (Adler & Adler, 1987, p. 50). In the context of this research project, it provided me with the ability to be participative and co-construct knowledge with and for the organization (Frisby, 2005; Misener & Doherty, 2009), thus allowing me to continue researching the field over an extended time. I doubt the fieldwork would have lasted as long as it did without this shift from general participant observation to a focused, active-member approach. The distinction between these two approaches is clearest when examining the field notes. Over time, there is a shift from commentary on general delivery issues and their (mis)management towards an examination of the organization of disability cricket. Nevertheless, managing this participation and co-creation of knowledge raised some issues.

A limitation of this active-member approach was observing, when observation was difficult to perform. Observable activities in this organizational setting included internal and external meetings, planning and evaluation sessions and the delivery of programmes. However, management in action was difficult to observe. The more I demonstrated my potential value by undertaking a range of activities (even at times washing up) the more my relationship evolved from outsider to insider. Although a relatively anecdotal example, I found that simply doing small tasks enabled the staff and participants to get around any potential power issues between researcher and subject. For example:

I spoke with Barry and he clearly did not want to have the interview, so I said straight away that it was absolutely fine and I think he felt happy about that. Later when I was washing up (note to define all the tasks I have done in my fieldwork) he came up and thanked me for clearing up - which was nice and shows he is aware of what is going on around (Field notes, August 2010).

Participants, particularly the younger ones, were often appreciative of these small gestures, and it helped to lower the young person/adult barrier, thus creating a greater chance of informal interaction (Christensen & Prout, 2002). For me, this role involved a multitude of activities, such as carrying and setting up equipment for training sessions, minute taking at steering group and staff meetings, scoring and supporting staff with event management at the tournaments, amongst others. Crabbe, Bailey, Blackshaw, Brown, Choak et al. (2006) have suggested that adopting a participant role is appropriate for a researcher who lacks expertise in programme delivery. However, it was not my lack of expertise but my previous experience in physical education that provided the contrast.

During my engagement, the observational techniques I employed shifted (see Table 4.1). Silk et al. (2000) suggest that this is beneficial for gaining multiple angles on the phenomena under examination. For instance, assisting the cricket sessions during Phase 2 would not have provided me with sufficient exposure to the managers at the partnership level. Conversely, the active-member role I used to minute-take during the steering-group meetings (in Phases 3 and 4) did provide this (Silk et al., 2000). The active-member role allowed me to assist in the delivery of the inaugural year of the *Hit the Top Peer Leader* programme^x. While assisting, I was able to continue my observations and collect valuable data relating to the organization of the programme, particularly relations between the various stakeholders. During this time I witnessed some of the disconnection between the design of, planning for and delivery of disability cricket and the potential reasons for lack of congruence. (For a further discussion see Chapters 8 and 9.)

As the active-member role yet again was taken in Phase 4 in which I renewed various participant roles in order to assist the management of the programmes. Essentially I was working full-time in the field throughout the period which included the bulk of the formal interviews. This phase also marked the first phase of data preparation and analysis. Initially, I started to transcribe the interviews myself but this became extremely laborious. While I can appreciate the benefits of transcribing your own data (Silverman, 2001), my academic workload made this difficult. The final phase involved winding up my involvement with the charity. My active-member role provided an opportunity to evaluate the *Hit the Top Peer Leader* programme and also to propose an evaluation model for the national expansion of *Hit the Top*.

Managing this relationship was difficult and at times uncomfortable, particularly when providing aspects of the programme's evaluation. Not even 12 months into my fieldwork, Ernest and David asked me for an objective view on a certain staff member's performance. Upon reflection they over-stated my position as a consultant with the 'silver bullet' to solve evidence creation and collection issues. Throughout the engagement I was concerned with reducing the power dynamics between myself and the participants (and junior staff). Assisting on the *Hit the Top* Peer Leader Programme through an active member role was very worthwhile as it allowed me to form concrete relationships with the peer leaders. I think that for them to see an older volunteer in the organization flummoxed when managing certain tasks enabled them to see me as fallible, and thereby led them to a better understanding of who I really was. Developing trust and becoming close to these participants was important as it helped reduce any potential for a crisis of representation. During this phase, I deliberately positioned myself within the group to ensure I was not isolated from the experience and avoiding Tierney's (2000) 'ethnographic voyeur' (p. 547). Guiding this fieldwork was a desire not only to play an active role but also to develop rapport with the programme participants, an objective which is seen as appropriate and ethical when working in an environment with young people who have a disability or impairment (Davis, et al., 2008; Stalker, 1998; Walmsley, 2004). I felt that the more participatory role satisfied this ethical responsibility, and prevented the uneasiness I had experienced during direct observation in Phase 1.

Accessing insider accounts

Undertaking a multi-level analysis, particularly one that was developed as the fieldwork progressed, meant adopting multiple observational positions and also selecting the most appropriate data collection tools to address the research questions. In addition to the observations gathered in the field notes and reflective diaries, a series of semi-structured interviews and document analysis was undertaken. While beneficial to the creation of this ethnography, each data collection tool used presented its own challenges that required due consideration. Issues such as what to record and how to go about recording the data systematically were not addressed at the outset of the study. As data was generated through some tools, others were developed and refined over time. This was done to address gaps in the data as they appeared. These design issues in data collection are reviewed in the next section, which goes on to outline their rationale and subsequent limitations.

Design issues

As the fieldwork began, my research ideas were quite rudimentary. I was primarily interested in performing (at that stage) an examination of young people's involvement in disability cricket and how this influenced the development of their individual identity, a strand of the research which would continue until July 2010. Initially, the management and organization of disability cricket was a secondary research idea, positioned more as a functional investigation that would contribute to my teaching in this area as part of my academic role. Participant observation afforded me a great deal of flexibility to incorporate other data collection tools. Nevertheless, the implementation of these data collection tools was shaped by my experiences during fieldwork in conjunction with considerations for time, people and context (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

I was embedded within the host organization from May 2008 through September 2011. During this time I experienced direct, face-to-face interaction with the external partners. As I was initially working full-time at London Metropolitan University, and then the University of Ulster while conducting the PhD part-time, there was little opportunity to embed myself full-time within the field as can be common in other fieldwork situations. The scope of the programme across the region also restricted my ability to cover all their work; for this reason, early on I limited myself primarily to weekly observations of Saturday/Sunday sessions in certain areas, and as many tournaments and meetings as possible. Low teaching hours in the third semester of the university calendar (July, August, September) presented me with the best opportunity to engage more deeply with the field on a full-time basis. Furthermore, as it was the warmest part of the year, the majority of the cricket tournaments were held during this period, enabling greater involvement on my part and more observations to occur.

My ability to obtain insider accounts was strengthened by the time I had spent in the field. By the time more formal data collection tools were required, I was confident in my role in the field. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) stress the importance of drawing participants from an adequate representation of the social setting. For each participant I was able to gather a range of observer-identified categories such as gender, race, staff/manager, occupation and educational qualifications. At the same time, through the fieldwork and interviews participants were able to inadvertently offer their own categories, which in the process of data analysis proved to be quite revealing. These member-identified categories used distinctions such as "business-savvy" and conversely "not-business-minded people". Comprehensive profiles of C4C's staff were created in the field notes and permitted me to gain some insight into their history and their trajectory in the organization over time. The more transactional interaction was negotiated with external partners, and although relationships

and trust were developed I was not present with them for sufficient quantities of time to create similar profiles.

One issue with ethnography is outlining how the process of *sampling* takes place (Aull-Davies, 2008). Balancing the convenience of being close to the participants with the need to ensure a diverse range of views was difficult. Sampling from C4C and their programme partners was managed through convenience (Silverman, 2001). During the fieldwork I was able to formally interview every staff member of the charity. Each staff member had a very different reason for joining the charity. The team's diversity in terms of the ethnicity, education and social-class^{xi} of individual team members and the importance of gaining insight into the dispositions of each warranted such an extensive coverage of the host organization. From the programme partners I was able to interview the national charities, every County Development Manager with responsibility for disability cricket (and some of their assistants), and three of the four DCDOs. Each of these participants was selected because of their organizational responsibility for the development or coordination of disability cricket. Unfortunately, I was unable to secure an interview with the Disability Cricket Manager of the ECB, despite numerous requests. However, in late 2012, I was able to interview Dylan, the newly appointed Disability Support Officer at the ECB. A full list of interview profiles is detailed in Appendix 2.

As a setting for the capture of data, the context I occupied played a significant role in the formation and justification of the key focus of the research. Changes in staff behaviour when partners were present and also when delivering their outreach sessions first demonstrated to me some of the tensions within and between the organizations. Staff would behave very differently when operating individually at the delivery sessions, at events and competitions, when representing the charity in public or when stationed at the facility. Upon further discussion it was revealed that C4C was very defensive of itself and its operations when around partners, and the partners did not always appreciate the attitude of C4C's staff. The interaction between staff and managers, charities and other cricket organizations highlighted the importance of context, not just for observations but for the quality of data collection; for example, one formal interview took place in a car on route to a sporting event. Upon reflection, I believe it was this private space that enabled expression of an honest and unguarded review of the positives and negatives of life within C4C and the relationships it enjoyed with its partners.

Data collection tools

I used a variety of data collection tools in order to gather insider accounts. Fieldwork enabled me to use a mixture of formal and informal data collection tools. It also allowed me to approach issues from within the research setting and avoid the barriers that I previously had experienced when performing research from outside the organization (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Suddaby, 2010). Hence, I enjoyed flexibility in the tools I used. Formal methods included semi-structured interviews and document review. Data was drawn from informal records which included notes from conversations with field members, observations and reflections in a diary. This diary was used to build a more holistic, and contextually-rich picture of the social environment as it was created (Aull-Davies, 2008; Fetterman, 2010). The following discussion attempts to provide the rationale for, and critique of each tool, and thereby to demonstrate its contribution to the overall methodology.

While *participant/active-member observation* was an important mode of data collection, I altered the mode of observation to suit the context in which I was positioned. As I got more confident with the role of observer I would develop in to a more active role. The advantages of this approach enabled me to develop a level of trust in myself, and between myself and the participants in the research setting (Waddington, 2004). Indeed, as my own confidence grew I felt able to contribute to more areas within the host organization. Another advantage of participant observation was that it provided a tool to cross-examine the difference between rhetorical strategies and actions. This applied to their promotional literature, their worldview and the verbal justification for their approach.

Managing the relationship between myself and the research participants was difficult as I developed an affection for the work they were engaged in and the aspirations they strived for. As a qualitative researcher I had a preference for wanting to understand the true meanings of participation, and whether this participation could contribute to social and community outcomes. While the ability to empathize with the charity's cognitive/emotive processes was another advantage of this tool, it was difficult to remain detached. However, with every tool there are advantages that can also lead to disadvantages.

I believe that at times during the end of the 4th phase of fieldwork I struggled to remain detached from the organization. Waddington (2004) addresses researcher bias, and although I attempted to always be aware of my personal biases they were difficult to eliminate from the process. Indeed, data analysis of my field notes, which occurred after completion of the fieldwork, highlighted my lack of detachment at the time. A related disadvantage was the effort required to disengage from

the field. A change in my personal circumstances meant moving from London to Belfast following the birth of my daughter. In September 2011 I was able to bring her down to the facility to meet the staff and I used this as a farewell. They knew that for me life had moved on a little, and the withdrawal seemed a natural point of departure.

I used *interviews* throughout the investigation flexibly. By this, I mean that I was flexible as to how the interviews were delivered^{xiii}. Interviews were particularly effective at collecting a broad range of data, from general organizational priorities for disability cricket down into specifics such as the personal backgrounds of individual staff members and why they were involved in the work they did (King, 2004) (An overview of each interviewee and their interview details can be found in Appendix 2). This permitted the interviewees to focus on the issues in a setting they were comfortable with (Fetterman, 2010). The in-depth nature of the formal interviews focused on the common experiences of the various members of the partnership and their views on the pressures that each faced in relation to the organization and management of disability cricket. They also generated a more useful insight into the struggles between organizations in the field (for sample interview schedules, see Appendix 3). These interviews were informed by, and also complimented, the informal data collected through various conversations at training sessions, tournaments, in the pub or on route to matches. From my internal position, I was able to conduct multiple formal and informal interviews with managers and staff and then develop the relationships that allowed me to follow up after the field work was complete. This allowed me to check and re-check the ideas and issues raised, which I felt ensured a strong coverage of any points of misconception. The duration of my engagement in the field allowed me to overcome the usual constraints of time when interviewing. As many of the interviews took place during the fieldwork phases it was easier to manage, although the travel involved in the process was extensive. While a certain level of trust and rapport was developed during fieldwork, a number of the partners saw my close involvement with C4C as an indication that I was one of them. A number of queries that were raised from the interviews. To follow up on these queries the full transcripts were returned to the participants (for a sample transcript, see Appendix 4). However, few took the opportunity to clarify and offer further information. This barrier was relatively insignificant as the quality of data from other programme partners was much higher only because as I had already established some rapport with them through the charity's programmes.

Document review was a secondary source of data collection that assisted in gathering the official positions, perspectives and expectations of many field organizations. It was instrumental in enabling a more nuanced account of the formation of the field of disability cricket presented in Chapter 5. Aull-Davies (2008) has noted the importance of a systematic approach to sampling

documents from publically available information. The specific details of the documents used as data in this thesis are contained in Appendix 5. The process of data analysis was consistent with the approach taken for the field notes and interview transcripts. Documents were also useful to fill gaps in the data, particularly when piecing together the strategies of more reluctant conversationalists. At the beginning of the investigation, for example, I made contact with Sport England and the ECB, but was unable to find participants from these organizations who had sufficient experience in or knowledge of the *Whole Sport Plan* (WSP) or *mainstreaming*. The staff member at Sport England responsible for this area would discuss only the technical aspects of how funds were spent and contract details were met. The participant felt unable to comment about broader issues, and although I was provided with contact details of those at a higher level with whom to discuss the matter, my efforts to secure other interviews with them did not succeed. As a consequence, although Sport England is a key funder, my analysis of that organization, its motives and involvement in the programme is limited by my reliance on its documents and third party accounts as the key sources of information.

Kikulis et al. (1995a) also use document review in their work on change in Canadian sport. They describe a useful advantage of document analysis as a verification-check upon the accuracy of interview data. While my study, unlike theirs, has not focused on patterning, it did allow me to map change over time using field analysis. Significant change occurred about 12 months into this study when the LCCA rebranded itself as C4C. Document analysis provided a systematic and historical, contextual layer for a deeper analysis of the organization prior to my first-hand involvement. For instance, the promotional material from the LCCA from 2006 through to 2011 indicates significant changes in style possibly reflecting other key themes, not from disability cricket, but from sport for development. In documents such as annual reports where the style is set, the change is less marked, but there is clearly still some refinement in the language used to position the charity's work within the field of disability cricket. Indeed, being positioned inside the organization gave me access to a range of internal business documents that were an important source of internal data^{xiii} (Suddaby, 2010). The range of documents analysed dated between 2004 and late 2011 was important also in providing this investigation a longitudinal examination of the field. From the above critique of the tools used to gather data, it is apparent that a significant volume of data was created. The following section will address how the procedures for managing this data and the process of data analysis took place.

Sampling methods

In order to collect appropriate data for this study a convenience sampling approach was performed. This applied to the selection of both interviewees and documents. My embedded field position, and

the relationships I had established enabled me to sample a broad cross-section of managers and staff from organizations within the field. I used the convenience approach to interview every full- and part-time manager and staff member who had a direct role in the management and delivery of disability cricket within the region. These responsibilities were the key criterion for the initial selection of a candidate. In addition to this convenience approach I also used snowball sampling (Oakes et al., 1998; O'Brien & Slack, 2003) to allow interviewees to recommend other relevant individuals, which lead to interviews with other relevant stakeholders (the full list of interview participants is included in Appendix 2). This process was followed until saturation occurred (Silverman, 2001). The one missed opportunity was an inability to interview the Disability Cricket Manager, despite numerous formal and informal approaches. The documents that contributed to the data were sampled also by a convenience approach that again, strove for saturation. The criteria for selection were documents that discussed the promotion, strategy/policy and/or procedure regarding the management of grassroots, community and disability cricket applicable to the region. Internal documents were gathered during fieldwork and public documents were accessed from the organization's websites or provided by interviewees themselves. These documents covered the period from 2004 through to 2013. Two public databases were used to collect company and charity specific information that provided annual reports and financial information (<http://www.companieshouse.gov.uk/> and <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/charity-commission>). These documents were gathered for a number of organizations in the field and covered a time period between 2008 and 2012 (a list of key documents is included in Appendix 5).

Data analysis

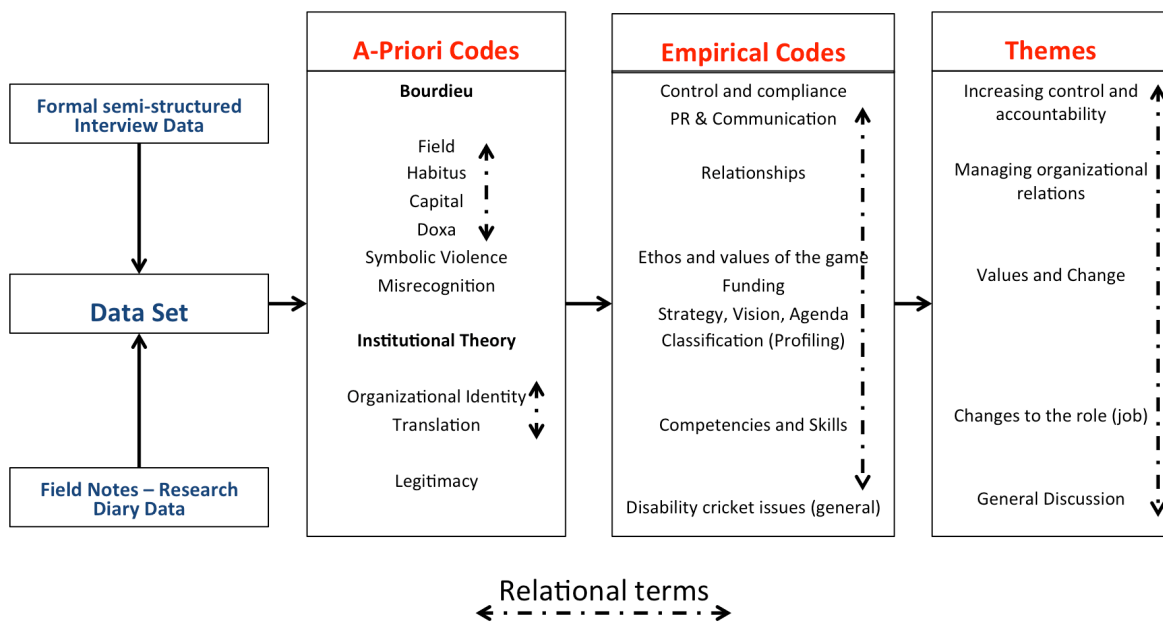
One of the main limitations of this qualitative approach was managing the amount of data that it produced (Silverman, 2001). In anticipation of the move from London to Belfast in September 2009, the amount of data collected increased so as to prevent any loss of information from relocating. As a result the data to be analysed increased as a response. The complexity of the thesis up to this point has aimed at providing a robust platform with which to collect the data. Once this was done, managing the data analysis process was important to ensure a true ethnography was recorded. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggest that the process of analysing qualitative data should involve three steps. The first step seeks to establish the codes, the second to display the data and the third to carry out axial coding in order to arrange the topics covered into a multi-layered examination.

Step 1: Establishing the codes

Before the data was collected I devised a number of a-priori codes developed from the two literature reviews. However, it was important not to shut out the possibility of empirical themes that

arose. I began to consider the organizational themes participants were discussing and placed them within Bourdieu's relational framework. The initial codes were used 'as a preliminary to a more detailed analysis' (Coffey & Atkinson 1996, p. 45) and can be seen in figure 4.1. I reviewed each verbatim transcript following the interview and made initial notes. Although software to assist data analysis is becoming increasingly common I felt more confident with manual data analysis. The transcripts were coded line by line searching for a-priori codes and allowing empirical codes to emerge. Relationships formed between codes that were then detailed further in nodes once the line by line coding was complete.

Figure 4.1: Diagram demonstrating how themes were derived from the data.



Following this, I developed detailed subcategories which corresponded with the intent of the research questions. This allowed me to identify segments and interactions between the data, these relations were linked together through concept maps (an example can be seen in figure 4.2 with resultant themes listed on the right hand side).

Figure 4.2: An example of concept map at the completion of the first reading.



Nodes were used to elaborate on certain codes to ensure that subcategories included examples from a wider range of data. These summary statements were not only useful in the following steps but also in the review of the findings following their early drafts.

The move from coding to interpretation was a crucial one (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). While some initial data analysis occurred during the fieldwork as a tactic to inform and improve the interview process, the bulk of the analysis took place following the completion of the fieldwork. An exploration of how the categories and codes related was then undertaken. This was a challenging process which involved grouping the codes into categories and then explaining where some codes overlapped (amongst these multiple categories). Preparing the data for the next step, however, proved to be even more problematic.

Step 2: The data display

I created various forms of data display to ensure that I could explore a category throughout the data set, however deciding the key pieces of information was difficult as the number of empirical themes numbered into the twenties. For simplicity, the data were divided into codes from the interviews, codes from the field notes and codes from the documents. The process of transforming

the coding data into meaningful data involved balancing information from these sources. For instance, a significant amount of financial data was obtained from the annual reports but this informed only a few key areas of the discussion. By balancing the information between a series of key themes I was able to see gaps between the rhetoric and the reality of certain issues. This step also involved asking questions about the data. This was aided by a reflexive process whereby I critiqued my position within the field and its implications for the approach I took to collect the data (outlined in Appendix 1).

Step 3: Axial coding

A process of *axial coding* sought to separate the core themes that arose in step 2. In this process I took a topic and attempted to identify its dimensions, consequences and relationships with other phenomena. One such topic was compliance and control. Within this theme there were a number of different meanings associated with the increasing number and variety of control mechanisms required to monitor and evaluate disability cricket. While some participants were apprehensive about the process, others viewed this increasing accountability as natural and unproblematic. Control and compliance was also related to other themes such as funding and strategy, revealing the inter-related nature of codes. The axial coding phase also allowed me to realize that I needed more data on certain issues (hence the follow-up interviews) and that the annual reports that provided a useful source of evidence over and above their strategic and marketing communications documents.

Ensuring Quality

Reflexivity was an important part of performing this ethnography. Reflexivity is the realization by the researcher that their participation in the research process has an impact on the social world under study (Alvesson et al., 2008; Aull-Davies, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In order to develop a well-managed, reflexive process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) I provide evidence on the *trustworthiness* of the process to ensure that despite drawing heavily on participant and active-member observations the data are not simply presented at face-value but at a level of quality commensurate with academic publishing in the relevant literature areas that this study contributes towards.

Quality procedures

Lincoln and Guba (1985) base their critique of quality procedures on the limitations of positivistic research tradition. Their argument centres on the unsuitability of positivistic quality principles to define a coherent perspective for qualitative and constructivist research. As values between research paradigms differ so too do the principles they hold to be important. Lincoln and Guba re-framed the traditional positivistic concepts of research quality and adapted them for qualitative studies, as outlined in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Quality and trustworthiness.

Traditional Positivist Quality Principles	Principles Used in This Thesis
Trust value (internal validity)	Credibility
Applicability (external validity)	Transferability
Consistency (reliability)	Dependability
Neutrality (objectivity)	Confirmability

(Source: Lincoln & Guba, 1985)

Ensuring *credibility* was managed by implementing three tactics (Shenton, 2004). First, I attempted to provide a reflexive account of my role and its impact on the processes used in this research (Chapter 11). While these experiences can be criticized by positivist-leaning scholars, sections of the qualitative research community find such accounts important for credibility to be established (Silverman, 2001). The findings of this thesis were viewed through my own set of values regarding the topic, the field of sport organizations, the choice of data collection tools and the data analysis methods I employed. As my confidence developed through the process so too did my willingness to engage in a more in-depth and critical analysis. Appendix 1 makes explicit how my values, my position in my institutional field of sport management academe and practice, and my role within the research setting impacted on the representation presented here. This appendix also intends to strengthen this project's *dependability*. My second tactic for establishing credibility was only to collect data once I was familiar with the research setting. In other words, I established an understanding of the research setting well before the formal interviews took place. Having spent nearly 15 months within the field prior to the start of Phase 3, I was familiar with many of the organizations and staff. My initial immersion allowed me to form stronger relationships with the research participants than could have been leveraged if I had opted for a detached interview-focused data collection strategy. To ensure the credibility of the data collected, each participant received their formal interview transcripts. Few raised issues with the data, however there was little indication that

each participant actively read through their document. With the exception of some queries on terminology and ensuring confidentiality, there were no disagreements with the received transcripts.

The field of disability cricket is a niche area. Even upon completion of this study it is unlikely (based on estimates by the ECB; Dylan, April 2014) that more than 2000 people across England and Wales actively play cricket in this field. Whether this niche aspect limits the findings of this study and makes it less applicable to previous findings is debatable. Although generalizability is not the goal, I do address *transferability*. The findings presented in the following chapters will attempt to provide a full account of the research context, both of the focus organization and of the wider partnership. While lack of generalizability is a common criticism of qualitative case analysis, Bourdieu recommends that in order to increase our understanding of phenomena, such as how environmental factors infiltrate organizations, a cumulative case-by-case analysis process should be undertaken (Bourdieu et al., 1994; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Vaughan, 2008). This thesis will complement the burgeoning literature on a relational sociology of organizations (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). As this is the first step of my formal research career I plan to develop future cases by building upon any findings from this study. Finally, *confirmability* is achieved through ‘technique triangulation’ from the multiple data collection methods used (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The reflexive journal that I maintained over the course of the fieldwork is another tactic designed to reduce the risk of any potential crisis of representation.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research foundations for this thesis which coincide with the theoretical and conceptual foundations presented in chapters 2 and 3. It has shown how the research design necessitated a methodology to both critically examine the research questions and overcome the limitations of previous studies. The reader should note the suitability of the ethnographic approach to theoretical and conceptual issues raised previously, and the paucity of such an approach in organizational sociology and sport management. By employing a range of data collection tools this methodology permits shifts across the units of analysis between objective and subjective structures. This adds a robustness to the analysis. This chapter has also demonstrated how access was negotiated and gained, and the implications this had for accessing insider accounts and designing the research study. These discussions can act as a reference point for further studies in this area.

The chapters that follow this one reveal the findings of this investigation. Drawing on Bourdieu’s conceptual framework from the previous chapter, an outline of the field of disability cricket (one of the objectives of the study) is outlined next. This provides the contextual starting point by which to map reproduction and/or transformation as it occurred. Following this, examinations of

the institutional level (chapter 6), the organizational level (chapter 7) and the individual level (chapter 8) are conducted. These chapters are followed by a final findings chapter (chapter 9) that draws on a series of specific cases that highlight the relation between field, capital and habitus in the reproduction and/or transformation of organizations and their systems.

Chapter 5: Outlining the Field of Disability Cricket

Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined the importance of a reflexive and longitudinal methodology designed to address the research questions that guided this thesis. My deployment of Bourdieu's conceptual and methodological approach has resulted in the following five chapters that will contextualise and critique the major findings. In this first chapter in this series of findings and discussion chapters, I outline the field of disability cricket. It is important to note that the field is presented as it was at the start of this investigation (i.e. 2008). This is important because a delineation of the field of investigation provides not only a context for the study and a presentation of the stakes and struggles that define the field, but acts as a baseline for examining reproduction or transformation over time. I begin, however, by presenting a critical review of the history of cricket, and of disability cricket as part of this history. The field of disability cricket is nested within a number of other fields. The practices of disability cricket are located within the wider field of cricket, which is itself located within the field of sporting practice (sports development). Because sport does not exist in isolation, I present a series of external fields that to various degrees influence the field of disability cricket. Following the overview of these myriad, nested fields I critique the stakes and struggles that define the practice of disability cricket.

A Brief History of Cricket in England and Wales

Cricket's history has been well documented (Birley, 2000; Marqusee, 2005; Sandiford, 1988, Velija, 2012, Williams, 1999, Wright, 2009, Wright & Zammuto, 2013) and a full account would require more space than I have here. My intention in this section is to provide a brief overview of the historical developments that fostered the establishment of the field of disability cricket. Competing beliefs and values within the game have defined the social construction of the sport. Although this thesis focuses primarily on disability cricket the genesis of cricket practice is relevant for constructing the object of study, the field of disability cricket (Emirbayer & Williams, 2005). In constructing the field to create a special case of what is possible I provide an analysis of the field's relationships with other related fields over time. This serves as:

...an 'instrument of rupture' to help the analyst make strange the social world he or she after all also inhabits and takes for granted and to show more clearly how the current state of the field is due to complex historical changes (Benson, 1999, p. 488).

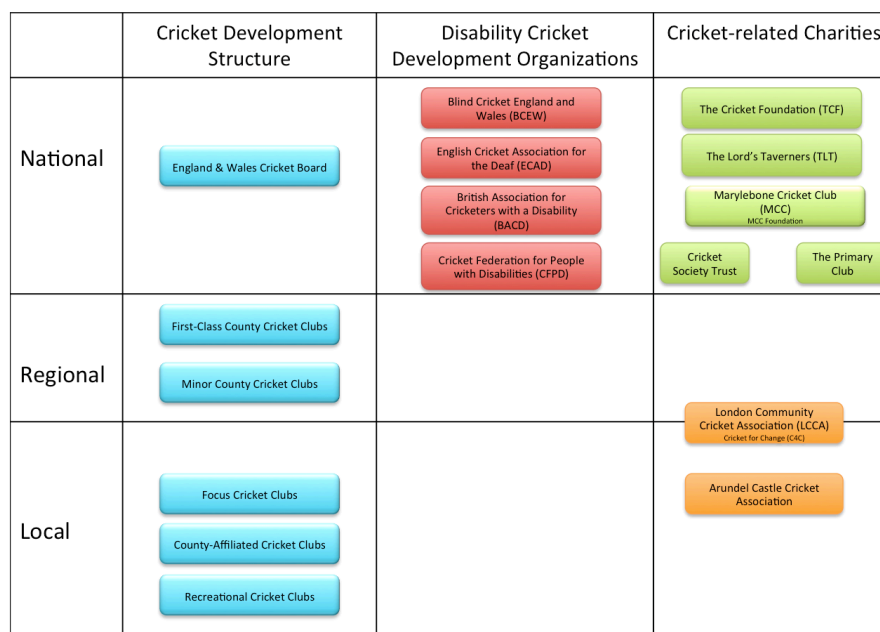
Cricket is a game of many distinctions (Wright, 2009). The sport's most significant historical organization was the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) which was established in the 18th century. By the 1840s the MCC's rules of cricket set out how the game was to be played. So-called first-class cricket is the very highest level of the domestic game, distinguished from all others by its title. First-class cricket is played between County Cricket Clubs (18 counties of England and Wales). To maintain this first-class, elevated position of the sport (and its administrative bodies), the MCC and the counties deployed certain strategies that made use of their stocks of economic and cultural capitals. For many years the organizations which played and administered first-class cricket legitimized the dominance of an amateur ethos that prioritised playing the sport for the love of the game. This contrasted heavily with another style of cricket (professional cricket) which was played by cricketers who played to supplement their incomes (Wright & Zammuto, 2013). While other sports struggled to maintain a distinction between amateur and professional, cricket was one of the most successful in maintaining the dominance of the amateur version, linking its amateur values to the dominant societal values of the time (Sandiford, 1988). This distinction was maintained by the sport until the 1960s. While this system permitted the development of the sport across England and Wales (and across the British Empire), it did so through an administrative system that elevated amateur play. The nature of change was incremental and changes that did occur were merely realignments of the existing systems (Balogun et al., 2004). The diversity of administrators was minimal, and as most were chosen from former amateur players, the values of newer administrators aligned with the existing order (Wright & Zammuto, 2013).

Other forms of cricket developed below inter-county, first-class cricket. Birley (2000) documented the development of cricket leagues in the north of England organized around professional values and structures. Amateur clubs in the south, aligned with the Club Cricket Conference, contrasted with these professional leagues in that while matches were organized, league tables were not deemed important. In 1926, the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) was formed to formalize opportunities for women to play club cricket, which dated back to 1745 (Williams, 1999). While the WCA provided an alternative to the masculine, able-bodied game, it did not challenge it, and in practice it maintained many of the amateur values of the southern clubs and first-class counties (Williams, 1999; Velija, Ratna & Flintoff, 2012).

The ECB's existence occurred as a result of the MCC commissioned *Griffiths Report* (1994, cited in Greenfield & Osborn, 1996). This report recommended that cricket adopt a more democratic national governing body than had existed before 1996. It argued that this body could provide better development pathways and adherence to the priorities expected of National Lottery funding recipients

(Greenfield & Osborn, 1996). The ECB is a merger of former cricket associations that were responsible for different elements of the game, the Test County Cricket Board and the National Cricket Association, which were responsible respectively for elite cricket and recreational cricket. Their merger into the ECB in 1997 marked the beginning of a more interventionist role on the part of the British Government in relation to sport in general, and cricket in particular (Houlihan & White, 2002; Thomas & Smith, 2009). The creation of the ECB ushered in a period of constant change in the management of cricket in England and Wales. Some of these changes have been structural, with other cricket organizations coming under the ECB's umbrella of responsibility. The WCA, for example, could no longer afford to exist as a separate governing body and merged with the ECB in 1998 (Velija, 2012). Efforts by the ECB to create 'One Game' resulted in a strategy that aimed to affiliate cricket clubs to their counties and to also adopt administrative, quality-mark practices. The One Game initiative, launched in September 2007, was an effort to gain greater control of cricket as a whole. Figure 5.1 provides a functional and hierarchical map of the institution of cricket as it existed in 2008. It outlines the key organizations and highlights the existence of a cricket establishment, i.e. dominant organizations who possess economic and cultural capital from their long history in the administration of cricket in England and Wales – noted in the left-hand column at the national and regional levels.

Figure 5.1: A hierarchical model of the organization of cricket in England & Wales in 2008.



The genesis of the field of disability cricket

Following the Second World War, British Blind Sports was formed for ex-servicemen with visual impairments. Cricket was central to a range of sports offered by the association (BCEW, 2011). During the post-war period, rehabilitative sport opportunities increased (Howe, 2008), however no

formal competitions for cricketers with hearing, learning or physical disabilities existed until the latter part of the twentieth century. Since 1989 a group of volunteers that would become the Cricket Federation for People with Disabilities (CFPD) has been organizing recreational cricket for disabled people. In 1991, a group of these volunteers who were experienced in disability cricket formed the British Association for Cricketers with Disabilities (BACD). The BACD was established to capitalize on the growing number of disabled people who had an interest in playing more organized cricket, as opposed to the recreational focus of the CFPD. As numbers increased across the country a league structure was established to foster competition between various teams that had emerged at the county level by using the county structure of the first-class game. However, initially the organizations felt they received little support from the governing authorities in cricket:

We managed to get the BACD attached to the National Cricket Association, as it was then, and they didn't want to know us (Sean, August 2010).

The CFPD was officially formed in 1994 as a breakaway from the BACD. The final association to form in 2002 was the England Cricket Association for the Deaf (ECAD) which represents cricketers with hearing impairments.

Classification schemes are used to organize each facet of disability cricket. While the tensions caused by these classification systems are not new to disability sport (DePauw, 2009; Howe, 2007; 2008; Thomas & Smith, 2009), they have marked the relatively brief history of disability cricket. As participant numbers were scarce, opportunities for other disabled cricketers to play in this fledgling inter-county competition were made possible. Cricketers with learning difficulties, for example, began to participate in the BACD competitions. Over its brief history, the classification of people with learning difficulties has proved troublesome in cricket. Without modification to the game the barriers faced by people with learning difficulties were deemed lower than those faced by disabled people with physical impairments; for this reason the *inclusion* of cricketers with learning difficulties in the BACD leagues were resented by some cricketers with physical disabilities (Robin, January 2009). Issues involving classification systems, plus concerns over the reimbursement of expenses, provided an incentive for volunteers to break away in 1994 to form the CFPD. Both the BACD and CFPD included players with learning difficulties but the complexity of multiple disabilities in certain individuals proved a breaking point for the organization. The breakaway was also a result of concerns for “the amount of opportunities for cricketers with any level of disability or impairment” rather than competition just for competition's sake (Sean, August, 2010). Even at this early stage, an individual's values and experiences in their habitus played a role:

We formed the BACD and we got all players, we got people on the committee that were ex, you know cricket, we thought that was the answer, get cricket members on, [but] it

wasn't, you need people that know disability and understand and to be honest it was a disaster but it's alright now (Sean, August 2010).

The breakaway centred over the inclusion of people with complex and severe disabilities that could not sustain their involvement in the BACD's competitions. Despite the ECB's recommendation of a merger, these organizations remained separate. The ECB's concerns over this were not to do with the issues of classification and inclusion but the potential threat to the long-term development and funding of the game (ECB, 2004).

The priority of disability cricket within the ECB has increased since the late 1990s. The Disability Cricket Development Organizations (DCDOs) are not currently part of the ECB, nor were they at the beginning of this investigation. From 1999-2009^{xiv} they worked with the NGB through a 'disabilities sub-group', which also included other disability sport organizations such as British Blind Sport and Special Olympics. In 2005, disability cricket was placed under the ECB's 'Development' section. In order to grow the sport the ECB and the DCDOs launched the first strategic plan for disability cricket that same year. A 5-year development plan aimed at increasing participation and excellence through increased funding. At the time it was estimated that over 1000 people participated in disability cricket across England and Wales (ECB, 2005). As of 2012 there is no clear estimate of the number of disabled people playing cricket, but the indication is that they exceed the 2005 figure by some way. The development of disability cricket is sporadic and heavily dependent on the interest shown by the county board:

Some county boards are just starting out with their plans, others are yet to start. I think once we have all counties somewhere along the road with their respective plans, it might be an idea for us to collect some real participation figures in order to help monitor the progress (Dylan, April, 2014).

At the elite-end, disabled cricketers compete through various international teams for cricketers with physical, learning and/or sensory impairments. Although the CFPD have no international version of their game they continue to operate regionally.

Inter-school cricket has enjoyed a long history within the game, and in this thesis school cricket is included within the field of grassroots cricket. The application of the term 'grassroots' to sport has been used to refer to a fundamental level of organizing sport that provides opportunities for participation at any level of competence. In a policy context, grassroots is used to describe a range of organizations that are the implementers of the sport development policy system, often local authorities, national charities and voluntary sports clubs (May, Harris & Collins, 2012). Grassroots sport has

been given increased focus by funding agencies such as Sport England and the Sport Council for Wales. Following changes to the strategic priorities of these councils since 2005, common missions now include increasing participation rates (Collins, 2010a). The health of the grassroots is determined by participation numbers, an increasing amount of work is focusing on developing this area. Critically this work is interpreted as merely the means to the end of increasing elite level success. In this thesis the uncritical implementation of NGB initiatives is therefore interpreted as contributing to a *performance-efficiency model* (Maguire, 2014). This equates to a *performance-pathway* development with the grassroots level of participation is Stage One. I argue that performance-pathway development is part of the same elite cricket system, in which grassroots, performance and elite are points along the same continuum of the performance-efficiency model (Maguire, 2014). While grassroots, performance and elite may compete for resources they essentially complement each another in the sense that investment in one can benefit the other.

In contrast to this performance-pathway approach are more community-oriented programmes that seek emancipation and enlightenment and therefore could conform to the other model proposed by Maguire (2014), the *human development model*. Under this model sport is used as a tool to bring people together, or to achieve wider, more social and community-oriented objectives, such as increasing the employability of young people from areas of disadvantage (Collins, 2010a, b). This model is an alternative to the performance-efficiency approach and could provide a strong rationale for the development of disability cricket to encourage emancipation and enlightenment. Hylton & Totten (2013) have argued that community sports development (CSD) involved a philosophy of delivery that sought to overcome inequality, with aspects like inclusion being a core value. In contrast to the development of performance-pathways (which seem to be the responsibility of the governing bodies and delivered by cricket clubs), a higher degree of variance was seen in the range of organizational types that delivered CSD. A characteristic of all CSD activities, however, was the notion of outreach, getting outside the club or the facility to where the participants were located. One successful example of CSD was Action Sport. This was a programme of community sport delivered in the wake of civil and social unrest, particularly in inner-city urban areas in London and the West Midlands. Action Sport targeted hard-to-reach groups such as women, the over 55s, ethnic minorities, and disabled people (Collins, 2010a).

Disability cricket was often delivered within the auspices of the community cricket section within the region. This community cricket was designed to engage young people from marginalized target groups. Projects such as the Haringey Cricket College in Tottenham and housing estates programmes delivered by the LCCA demonstrated that cricket could be taken to non-traditional areas

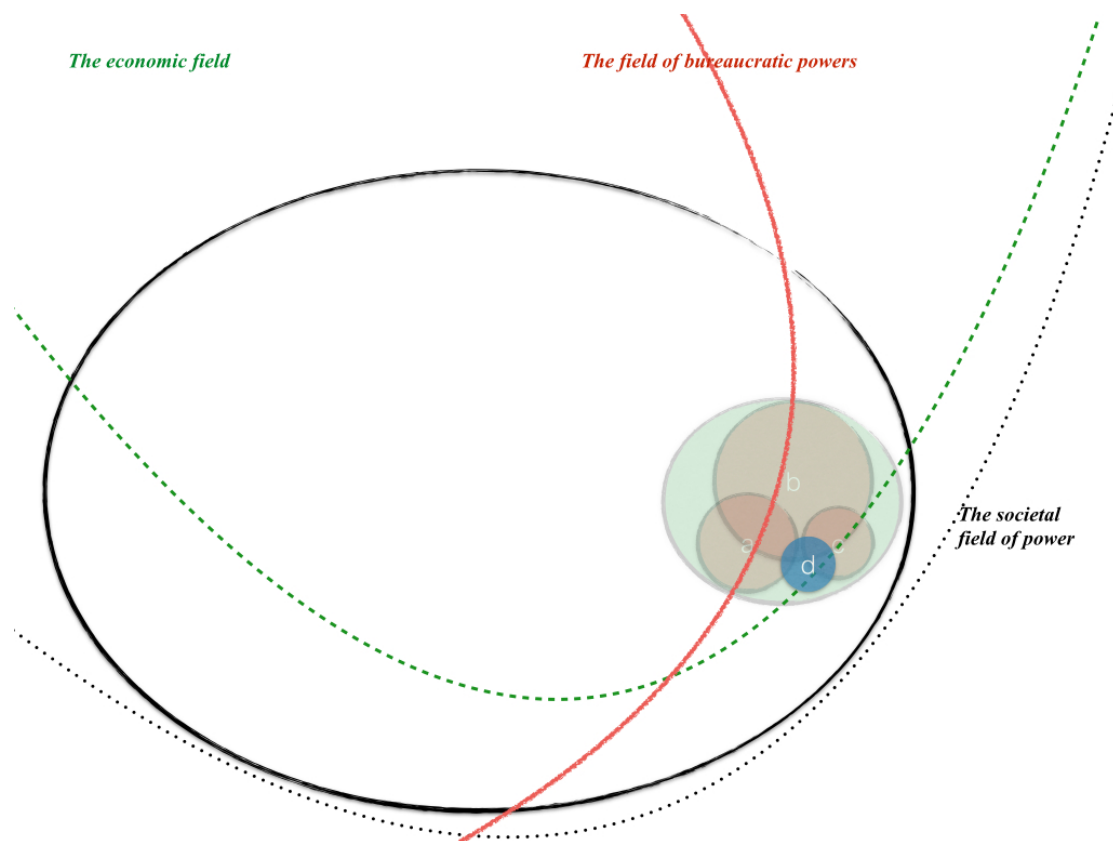
and used to develop young people’s coaching knowledge and skills, thus providing a potential pathway to casual employment as a cricket coach. Likewise, the LCCA’s disability cricket programme, launched in 1988, delivered cricket sessions in ‘special’ schools across the city (Cricket for Change, 2014). Cricket was also delivered in England and Wales by a range of local authorities, and charitable providers that sought to address gaps in provision left by the counties and clubs by providing opportunities for disadvantaged youth. Table 5.3 lists the charities launched to provide these opportunities. Each of these organizations has a specific focus. Many of them either directly or indirectly target disadvantaged disabled young people through cricket.

Table 5.3: Human-development charities delivering cricket for disabled young people (1945-2008).

Organization	Circa	Registered with Charity Regulator	Focus
Cricket Society Trust	1945	1992	playing opportunities for disadvantaged target groups
The Lord’s Taverners	1950	1964	playing opportunities for disadvantaged target groups
The Primary Club	1955	1982	playing opportunities for people with visual impairments
Arundel Castle Cricket Association	1975	1986	playing opportunities for disadvantaged target groups
London Community Cricket Association	1981	1995	playing opportunities for disadvantaged target groups
The Cricket Foundation	1981	2008	school opportunities for young people to play cricket
MCC Foundation	1993	1993	playing opportunities for international disadvantaged target groups

The field of disability cricket is therefore focused on the provision of multiple forms of out-of-school cricket targeted at disabled (young) people. It is a field nested within the ‘wider cricket field’, defined as the space of sporting practice that includes all cricket-related activities, including the additional sub-fields of performance-pathway cricket (the field of grassroots cricket), the field of community cricket and the field of elite cricket. I have drawn on Kay and Laberge’s (2002) approach when designing Figure 5.2 (below), which positions these sub-fields in relation to the wider field of cricket. Cricket itself is then positioned in relation to the larger field of sporting practice (sport development).

Figure 5.2: The field of disability cricket in relation to the field of sporting practice and external fields.



Legend

a - The field of elite cricket

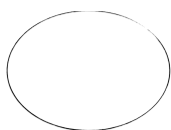
b - The field of grassroots cricket

c - The field of community cricket

d - The field of disability cricket



- The wider field of cricket



- The field of sporting practice (sports development)

Positioning the wider cricket field as a field of sport practice

Bourdieu (2005, p. 193) stated that it is ‘the firms, defined by the volume and structure of the field-specific capital they possess, that determine the structure of the field that determines them.’ Surrounding the *field of disability cricket* and the nested *wider field of cricket* are many other fields, each with a specific set of valued capital and which are governed by their own doxa. The boundaries between all of these fields are fluid and each field shares a relationship with another. In some cases these relations influence each other’s doxa (Purdue & Howe, 2013). I use the term *nested fields* instead of *sub-fields* to demarcate that smaller fields are fields in their own right, with their own stakes and struggles. Nested fields are also appropriate for multi-level analysis (Hitt, Beamish, Jackson & Mathieu, 2007; Wright, 2009).

The *field of community cricket* espouses a recreationally-focused practice whereby participation and enjoyment of the game are paramount, competition is important and there are opportunities for both inclusion and the possibility of achieving social goals. As there are numerous other mechanisms (non-cricket) to achieve community and social development objectives, this field of agents is relatively small. Practice within the *field of grassroots cricket* is related to that of community cricket but contrasts with it to the extent that the dominant values are the development of the participant as a cricketer. Guiding this performance-pathway is a competitive logic that in Darwinian fashion excludes more and more cricketers the higher they rise, as a result of which many either remain, exit or progress into the elite field. The sheer number of counties, clubs, colleges and schools that provide agents in this field make it the largest space within the wider field of cricket. The *elite cricket field* is focused on competitive success in first-class cricket. Although this field shares some of the performance values of the grassroots field, it is by definition an exclusionary practice. In the sport of cricket the elite field is the key commercial driver of the game’s finances, predominantly through the commercialization of the international able-bodied men’s team, hence although the number of agents within the field is limited, its organizations possess capital and values that dominate the wider cricket field. Since 2003 the advent of a domestic Twenty-20 league (a short form of cricket) has allowed the counties to diversify their funding streams away from their reliance on distributions from the national team (Kitchin, 2008).

The *field of disability cricket* is situated in relation to all three of the above fields. Players can participate in community cricket, or in performance-pathway cricket, or in elite (international) cricket because this field is positioned so as to overlap all three. Many of the organizations that exist within the field also exist within others. These fields are therefore intertwined. Although only two community cricket coaches were employed by local authorities in this region (Pro-Active London,

2009), most community and disability cricket provision is carried out by coaches employed by organizations who inhabit the field of grassroots and elite cricket. Although the CSP funded ten full-time and six part-time coaches in 2008, all but four of these were in these types of organizations. This means that much of the community and disability cricket provision is subject to the habitus of the individuals working within the fields of grassroots cricket. Each of these fields comprises the wider field of cricket (as seen in Figure 5.1).

Links to external fields

To perform a Bourdieusian analysis, the social universe of the institutional field under examination needs to be linked to its broader historical context (Everett, 2002). To build upon the historical context above, a consideration of fields related but external to the wider field of cricket is important. As seen in Figure 5.2 these fields include such spaces as the economic field, the field of bureaucratic powers and the societal field of power (Emirbayer & Williams, 2005).

Casting an increasingly significant impression on the wider field of cricket is *the field of bureaucratic powers*. This field consists of government and quasi-government agents (Sport Councils) who act as agents of public policy in the delivery of organizationally specific services. To increase the accountability of government spending, practices have been taken from this field and adopted in cricket. This aims to ensure that recipients of public funds assist the government to achieve government objectives (Coalter, 2007; Houlihan & White, 2002). Sport as a focus of British public policy has historically been the responsibility of education and culture departments. Before sport was placed into its current cultural area it was subject to the interests of education policy. For cricket this meant dealing with playing field sales and the lack of school sport policy which enhanced the gap between schools and local sports clubs. During the first eight years of New Labour's period in government, sport was positioned within a cultural department, a move made by the previous Conservative government. It was used as a multi-faceted tool to achieve a number of cross-governmental objectives and also to build and engage communities. Once the changes proposed in *Game Plan* (2002) were made by the Sport Councils (and subsequently the NGBs), each NGB was required to seek out efficiencies in their organization of sport. As a result many structures were changed and since then Great Britain has experienced much success at Summer and Winter Olympic Games (although these achievements are reducible to developments at the elite level than at the grassroots). This repositioning of sport policy towards the development of sport for sport's sake, was different to the 1997-2005 period which saw sport used as a tool for wider (sometimes non-sport) development. As a non-Olympic sport the ECBs involvement with UK Sport was minimal, however they were a national priority sport responsible to Sport England. The application of this participation

agenda to the fields of grassroots, community and disability cricket fields was embryonic at the outset of the investigation.

The economic field is a homogenous field that values the commercial utilization of goods and services for economic advantage. While the commercialization of sport is not a new phenomenon (Andrews, 2004; Slack, 2004), the homogenization of local cultural and sporting practices has continued apace since the 1960s. Even in English cricket, this period marked the full professionalization of players and an increase in the number of domestic products (competitions) available to secure resources (Kitchin, 2008). Previous research has examined this commercial homogenization across national (Cousens & Slack, 2005), institutional (O'Brien & Slack, 2003; O'Brien & Slack, 2004) and organizational levels (O'Brien & Slack, 1999). Cousens and Slack (2005) showed how heterogeneous fields of sport in North America were homogenized with a commercial logic from the economic field. In a series of studies, O'Brien and Slack (1999, 2003, 2004) revealed how the professionalization of rugby union ushered in a new economic logic that determined club priorities both across the institution and within the organizations that played it. In the case of cricket, despite some grassroots-focused commercial links, broadcasters, sponsors, stadium and equipment manufacturers seem more concerned with the elite field. The lack of specialised, adaptive equipment for disability cricket could mean that at this stage the field of disability cricket is not yet a target for commercial homogenization, as has been seen in higher profile Paralympic sports such as wheelchair basketball.

Cricket provides an interesting example of how the bureaucratic field and the economic field can interact. The growth of commercialization at the elite level of cricket makes it one of the richest sports in the country (Intel, 2006). The ECB broadcasting contract with Sky Television signed in 2004 designated 11% of the fee towards grassroots cricket opportunities. Arguably, this is a result of government plans to ensure that each of the most commercially successful sports reinvest their commercial fees in the grassroots development of their sport. This demonstrates that bureaucratic and economic interests can be coordinated through regulative processes. While agents from the bureaucratic field can exercise hegemonic power over sport organizations, dominance is only partial as many members of the bureaucratic field (e.g. governments) are answerable to societal pressures.

The societal field of power is a field where dominant agents are pitted against one another. Bourdieu, Wacquant and Farage (1994) defined the field of power as:

...the space of play within which the holders of capital (of different species) struggle in particular for power over the state i.e., over the statist capital granting power over the different species of capital and over their reproduction (p. 5).

Arguably then, even though the governing body of cricket is a financially well-off, it is still resource-dependent on government and therefore obligated to contribute to the government's sporting and cultural agenda. However, the government also acts in relation to other groups which possess capital and seeks to influence the key struggles in the wider field of sporting practice (sports development). The government's social agenda ensured the creation of certain aspects of legislation, most relevantly the *Disability Discrimination Act 2005* (DDA) (and the recent *Equality Act 2010*). This legislation formalized the advocacy work undertaken by disability rights organizations in Britain since the 1970s thus ensuring that organizations in receipt of public funds adhere in their practice to the social model of disability. This legislation impacts on all institutions and their organizations that require public funds. If this pressure does not lead to change, then advocates of these social agendas can organize, and if they have sufficient members can oust sitting governments.

The above section outlined the field of disability cricket as a nested field within the cricket field, which is itself nests within the wider field of sporting opportunities. Cricket's relations to external fields enable the organizations and individuals within to access certain stakes and struggles. These struggles determine what is considered valued symbolic capital (Kay & Laberge, 2002). These struggles are the focus of the following section.

The stakes and struggles in disability cricket

An appropriate form of cricket development

The field of disability cricket involves a variety of specific practices in the management and playing of the game. These practices are constantly refined through the habitus of various individuals who deliver them. As stated above, the delivery of disability cricket is performed by coaches that are also responsible for the delivery of grassroots cricket. To be employed by counties and clubs, these individuals may themselves have progressed through the performance-pathway system. Individuals who hold coaching qualifications have progressed through the ECB's coaching system, which in the view of one coach focuses on "pathways" (performance-pathway) and not on the more inclusive ideals of community or disability cricket (Interview, Anonymous Level 3 Cricket Coach, November, 2012). This could mean that an individual's habitus is more disposed to practices influenced by their past experiences in the field of grassroots cricket. This then could cause tension over how they managed the practice of delivery and the values that underpin it. To develop the sport, values such as

competition, exclusion and elite benefit are required to ensure participants progress along a pathway to excellence. It could be argued that efforts to develop the sport are aligned against efforts to develop potentially communal goals. For example, while developing elite players benefits the sport as a whole through the generation of economic capital, it is the elite and performance-pathway areas that receive a disproportionate percentage of this investment.

Capital is earned and distributed throughout the field of disability cricket by contests for symbolic capital. Symbolic capital in cricket is determined by an organization's ability to generate economic capital. Elite, first-class cricket (a symbolic title in itself) is the primary form of the game and has existed in its current domestic form since the late 19th century^{xv}. The historical importance of elite cricket gives the organizations that deliver it (and particularly those that are most effective at doing so) higher stocks of economic, cultural and social capital. This ability to generate economic capital affords an organization an equally high stock of symbolic capital proffered by other field agents. Agents who deliver grassroots cricket can accumulate capital if they can develop talent that can benefit the field's dominant agents. Targeted funding from the Sports Council has provided many cricket agents with streams of economic capital in return for delivering the government's grassroots activities that themselves contribute to the further development of elite cricket. At the outset of this investigation the same opportunities did not exist for agents in the disability cricket field.

Given cricket's focus on performance-efficiency, the existence of DCDOs as a separate and segregated collection of agents from the ECB implies that they have difficulty generating sufficient levels of cultural, economic or symbolic capital. At the outset of this investigation disability cricket did not have significant revenue generating potential. A lack of commercial revenue meant that it spent more economic capital than it earned. This inhibited disability cricket's ability to generate symbolic capital. A lack of talent pathways from grassroots to performance was seen as one of the weaknesses of disability cricket:

There was sort of some school-based provision and then there was more Special Educaiton Needs provision but there was nothing really in the middle [at the] county [level]. It was from schools up, so if you found young people, it was feeding them straight into England representative teams almost. Basically there wasn't any disability cricket being played at sort of county level, so it literally was from schools to right up, if you're any good you're into international representation (David, August 2010).

This lack of disability cricket provision between grassroots and inter-county (BACD, BCEW) levels could have positioned this version of the sport within the field of grassroots cricket, however the low participation figures required to sustain four national DCDOs necessitated a more inclusive approach to the selection of competitive cricket teams.

A contractual expectation for evidence

One of the features of the bureaucratic field has been the desire to increase the accountability of organizations using public funds. The New Labour government's policy documents, *A Sporting Future For All* (2001) and *Game Plan* (2002), sought to rationalize the delivery of NGB sport in Britain. Of the major recommendations was for the responsibilities of the Sports Councils to be rationalized in order to reduce any possible duplication that existed between the provision of elite and grassroots programmes. Once these changes were carried out, UK Sport and Sport England/Sport Council for Wales sought to redefine their relationships with the NGBs and make them more effective. The *Whole Sport Plan* (WSP), for example, was designed as a performance-related contract between a Sport Council and an NGB. This type of contractual, managerial relationship was already prevalent in the management of sport and leisure services amongst Local Authorities (Houlihan, 2001), and determined the details of the elite sport relationship between UK Sport and NGBs (Houlihan & Goodhead, 2013). Thus, managerialism had colonized key features of the sports delivery network, it can now be viewed through the development of sport, which carried out by NGBs and clubs. Sport England viewed these WSPs as the key for achieving an effective strategy. This was reflected in Lord Carter's introduction to the *Framework for Sport in England* (Sport England, 2004):

Together we have developed a balanced strategy, the core components of which are 20 *Whole Sport Plans*, nine Regional Plans and the building of a robust evidence base to provide the strategic context in which greater investment can be attracted into sport (p. 2).

Following a consultation process with members from NGBs the WSPs were charged with:

...increasing and widening the base of participation, developing sustainable and accessible clubs, improving coaching and volunteering structures, and creating the conditions for success at the highest level (p. 7).

Funds would be allocated to those NGBs that met mutually agreed targets aligned with Sport England priorities. Coinciding with this target setting was the launch of the Active People Survey (APS). The APS documented adult participation rates for all of Sport England's priority sports, including cricket. This APS would provide Sport England with a monitoring system through which to validate the progress of their funding initiatives. While this focused on increasing the number of people playing sport, the *Framework for Sport in England* accepted as a given that increased participation would create a number of social benefits, like improving education and economy benefits (Sport England, 2004). Nevertheless, these 'sport for good' goals have been found difficult to achieve consistently, particularly when they are delivered by an organization that is also responsible for creating the conditions for success at the highest level (Coalter, 2007).

Table 5.4: Stakes and struggles in disability cricket

Ethos of Cricket Delivery	Objectives of Delivery	Objective Values	Theory of Change	Theory of Action
Human Development	Development of the social individual	Recreation, social benefit, inclusion	Development through sport	Outcomes – personal and communal social impact
Performance-efficiency	Development of the sporting individual	Competition, organizational benefit, exclusion	Development of sport	Outputs – participation numbers, skill development

Mapping the field of disability cricket

Figure 5.3 reveals a field of relations for disability cricket. This is determined by examining the space of possibilities created from the stakes mentioned above. Although I have conceptualized cricket as consisting of multiple fields, the interdependence of disability cricket on grassroots-performance coaches means that competing values interact in the delivery of cricket. The horizontal axis represents the ethos of delivery. This ranges from the performance-efficiency model and the development of the sporting individual to a human-development model, which seeks the development of the social individual. The vertical axis provides a continuum concerning the rationale for evidence collection. At opposing ends is the importance of collecting evidence to satisfy government-related objectives (a deterministic measure), and evidence that is used for organizational and/or local objectives (a voluntaristic measure). It is envisaged that these two axes create the space for disability cricket in which agents find themselves positioned. I have modified Kay and Laberge’s (2002b) approach by detailing some characteristics of each pole to further explain these stakes (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: The field of disability cricket.



Furthermore, as per Kay and Laberge (2002b) and Purdue and Howe (2013), the model is not based on correspondence analysis as was used by Bourdieu; instead, a qualitative, interpretive approach is used to map the field of possibilities. Table 5.5 provides a legend for figure 5.3 and details the stocks of economic capital that each agent possesses. Data obtained from annual financial statements highlighted the variance in economic capital between agents. This is the primary reason for not mapping the agents along an economic continuum^{xvi}. In the interests of clarity individual cricket clubs are excluded from the field of disability cricket because below the county teams in the BACD league, there were no stand-alone disability cricket teams in the region in 2008.

Table 5.5: Economic capital of agents within the field of community cricket (January 2008)

<i>Position (see Figure 5.2)</i>	<i>Agents</i>	<i>Income 2008 £</i>
1	ECB*	14,620,405
2	TCF	6,038,000
3	TLT	5,312,249
4	CCB* – North County	1,145,409
5	LCCA	323,839
6	ACCF	198,808
7	The Primary Club	178,120
4	CCB* – North East County	84,644
9	MCC Foundation	60,281
4	CCB* – South County	27,634
10	BCEW	16,318
11	CFPD	14,488
12	Cricket Society Trust	6,744
13	BACD	-
14	ECAD	-
4	CCB* – West County	-
4	CCB* – East County	-
	Focus Cricket Clubs	-
	Recreational Clubs	-

* = the ECB Trust & First-Class County Board Charitable Trusts^{xvii}

- = no data for Jan 2008

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter provided an application of Bourdieu's sociological tools to create and demarcate the field of disability cricket. From this brief review of cricket's organizational history it is clear that social and political factors have had a considerable effect on the formation of the sport. The field of disability cricket is nested within the wider field of cricket, which is itself nested within the wider field of sporting practice (sports development). In addition to these sporting fields, there are a number of external fields that impact upon cricket's level of autonomy. Many agents contest the manner in which the sport is delivered and each possesses certain types and volumes of capital that position them upon the field of disability cricket. In the following chapter a more subjective reading

of the field of disability cricket will demonstrate how agents have accumulated or disposed of capital. As a result of these changes the composition of a revised field of disability cricket can be mapped.

Chapter 6: Institutional Level Analysis

Introduction

The preceding chapter outlined the field of disability cricket as a space of possibilities and stakes and struggles. As the first chapter of the findings and discussion section of this thesis, it outlined the genesis and context of the institution that is the focus of my research. In this next section of findings chapters I take the reader through each of the multiple layers of analysis institutional, organizational and individual, culminating with a fourth chapter that focuses on three fully relational cases of reproduction and/or transformation. This chapter aims to critique the institutional level which provides the setting for reproduction and/or transformation to occur, and the impact of environmental factors upon the trajectories of organizations within the field of disability cricket. To better understand how these trajectories are determined I then examine the possession and exchange of various sources of field specific capital.

This analysis is important because it outlines the continually shifting field boundaries that organizations and individuals find themselves within. Environmental factors may have a common name but they are open to a wide variety of translations by individuals who inhabit organizations. In this chapter I will first review the three initiatives that impacted upon all organizations in the field of disability cricket. I will demonstrate the rationale for each initiative and review observations from individuals within the field regarding their translation of these environmental factors and the consequences of these upon their practice. Following this, I will examine the impact of these initiatives upon the field of disability cricket which has resulted in continued organizational conflict regarding the possession and accumulation of valued capital. The chapter will conclude with a diagrammatic representation of the revised field of disability cricket as it appeared in early 2012, which will reveal the trajectories of organizations and any resultant alterations to their field position over time.

The Institutional Context for Transformation: Toward an Increased Accountability in Disability Cricket

The wider social environment surrounding disability cricket can be characterized as one of constant flux. Document analysis revealed a context for reproduction and transformation within the field of disability cricket. Both the bureaucratic field and the societal field of power have slowly steered improvements in the provision of public services for disabled people. Legislative

developments like the *DDA 2005* and the *Equality Act 2010* have obligated many organizations to address their organizational systems in order to eradicate the possibility of discrimination toward disabled people, and encourage diversity. While the *DDA 2005* aimed to reduce discrimination in the workplace, the *Equality Act 2010* aimed to ensure that protection from discrimination extends beyond the workplace and into other elements of social life, including sport. How these requirements were satisfied in cricket are detailed below.

Two strategies were launched during the research period that significantly impacted upon organizations. Both of these strategies occurred at the institutional level and were initiatives of Sport England. However, the effects of each initiative varied. This difference was due to the variety of implementation efforts enacted by various organizations. The first was the ECB's response to mainstreaming disability cricket into able-bodied cricket and the second was the implementation of the WSP (2009-2013). Effectively, both of these initiatives are one of a number of social processes designed by Sport England to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness from sporting organizations with the aim of increasing participation, not just within cricket but across the wider field of sporting practice. I argue below that these two initiatives accurately demonstrate how institutional level developments can impact on organizations and individuals.

External: Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming (Thomas, 2004; Thomas & Smith, 2009) sport was intended to ensure that Disability Sport Development Organizations worked alongside NGBs when developing sporting opportunities for disabled people. On the 18th of March 2009 the ECB signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)^{xviii} with the English Federation of Disability Sports (EFDS) and four major DCDOs: Blind Cricket England and Wales (BCEW), Cricket Federation for People with Disabilities (CFPD), English Cricket Association for the Deaf (ECAD), and the British Association for Cricketers with Disabilities (BACD). This agreement aimed to ensure that 'all disability cricket falls under the strategic development and delivery of the ECB' (ECB online, 2009). Rather than subsuming each of these organizations within the organizational structure of the ECB, the MoU promoted an 'arms-length' relationship. The MoU provided benefits for the DCDOs, such as the use of the ECB logo and funding to support each signatory. This was in return for annual reporting that provided the data that contributed to the realisation of the ECB's disability cricket vision. These benefits were welcomed by DCDOs and in some cases made significant contribution to their annual finances:

We're happy with the situation because we're getting £5K for junior cricket now and perhaps a little bit more for equipment and stuff (Sean, August 2010).

This approach to implementing mainstreaming permitted the DCDOs to retain their independence as organizational entities, something that did not occur following the ECBs merger with the WCA in 1998 (Velija, 2012), or the Association of Cricket Umpires and Scorers (ACUS) in 2005 (Dylan, November, 2012). As the ECB continued to bring more cricket entities under their One Game banner, the decision to introduce the MoU may have indicated that they were drawing on their previous experience of what not to do. The ECB had learnt from the 2005 ‘take-over’ of the ACUS and were keen to prevent similar issues arising:

The ECB took over ACUS...and in the early days...the communication wasn't brilliant. Well we don't want to fall down that hole, we have to manage...the steps [to] implementation so that we don't lose a whole load of people because we've not thought of one particular area....And indeed, we've used that as an example, we're hoping, well we hope that we've got most bases covered (Dylan, November 2012).

The 2005 appointment of the BACD chair as the ECB’s first Disability Cricket Consultant, and then two years later the appointment of the next BACD chair as the first Disability Cricket Manager fostered a close relationship between the ECB and the BACD. The BACD’s competition was open to cricketers with either a physical disability and/or a learning difficulty (P&LD) and was organized around an inter-county structure, not dissimilar to the domestic, first-class competition played between the counties. Although representing the top teams of each county, compared to first-class cricket the league was quite informal and given its fully amateur status it included players who had the time and resources to participate. This similarity to the inter-county structure fostered closer links with staff at the counties as both sets of organizations seemed to share the competitive values of developing talent and winning competitions.

Along with its efforts to mainstream, the ECB has bought in outside agents (the EFDS, and UKSAPLD, the United Kingdom Sports Association for People with Learning Disabilities) to improve the classification system that operated within the sport^{xix}. The BCEW and ECAD both use classification systems in their respective versions of disability cricket. However, the ECB cited the failure to implement quality classification systems in P&LD cricket as an integrity issue^{xx} and a possible reason for participant drop-out (ECB, 2011). The creation of more robust classification standards by the ECB in P&LD cricket represents the development of an institutional classification system that changes the meaning of disability cricket participation. While it can be argued that improved classification can create a more equitable product, it can also be argued that the desire to create a level playing field is not necessarily about inclusivity. Improving classification for the stated reason is difficult to argue against, however it does add an extra layer of formality to this version of the game. The ECB also aimed to establish themselves as the symbolic, international leader in

disability cricket classification by lobbying for a universal classification system for physical disability cricket (which lacked an international competition) to ensure that:

....“Everyone knows where they stand and there can be no complaints about one team having an unfair advantage over another.” (Disability Cricket Manager, ECB online blog, 2011)

At the time the fieldwork was conducted the various DCDOs each operated their own classification system; for example, players participating in blind cricket must adhere to the ophthalmological rules of the International Blind Sport Association which has established categories of B1, B2 and B3. A player is categorized as B1 if they experience an impairment that ranges from no perception of light in either eye, up to perception of light but an inability to recognize the shape of a hand at any distance in any direction. A player is categorized as B2 if they experience impairment from the ability to recognize the shape of a hand up to a visual acuity of 2/60 and/or a field of 5 degrees or less. A player is categorized as B3 if they experience impairment from a visual acuity above 2/60 up to 6/60 and/or a visual field of more than 5 degrees and less than 20 degrees. British Blind Sport also includes a B4 classification for national purposes. Athletes included in this category experience visual impairment from 6/60 to 6/24 that does not take into account field considerations (adapted from British Blind Sport, 2012). The laws of blind cricket are detailed but effectively ensure that each team has a minimum of four athletes who are categorized as B1, thus ensuring a level playing field and only secondly an inclusive game.

Classification presents some quality control issues for organizations in the field of disability cricket. Given the limited resources available for disability cricket, some disabled cricketers have benefited whereas others have not. Critically, some classifications of disability have fewer barriers to participation than others. This presented a possible reason why certain DCDOs have seen greater benefits under the MoU. Some DCDOs also benefitted because there was an international version of their modified game which provides both an elite platform for success and a further area where the ECB could support development through enhanced funding and athlete services. These international fixtures also provide the ECB and the DCDOs with a shop window in which to attract greater media interest. Additionally, some DCDOs do not have to manage the complexity and multiplicity of severe disabilities within their activities. Sean from the CFPD, for example, reflected upon the difficulties of including people with severe, and multiple learning and/or physical disabilities within a performance-efficiency approach when he observed that “the [ECB] don’t want to know high levels of disability” (Sean, August, 2010). It is likely that the resources required to facilitate participation increases from these groups could be both difficult and costly to secure. Hence, while improving the classification system for certain versions of disability cricket can be seen as a positive move, doing so raises a

number of questions. For example, how far should cricket manipulate itself to become truly inclusive? Should it aim to provide a limited range of services for a limited range of disabled cricketers, or should it be truly inclusive for all disabled cricketers regardless of the complexity of impairment?

Despite the above developments, able-bodied cricket and disability cricket are still separated by the coaching education framework. The attention given to disability cricket at Level 2 is limited, and at Levels 1 and 3 it is non-existent. What exists at Level 2 focuses on adaptations and general modifications that coaches could make to ensure that individuals can play the mainstream game (Caitlin, June 2010). In addition:

I think it goes back to training, I think when you look at coaches' accreditation there is equity, first aid in there, I do think there needs to be mandatory training for inclusion. It absolutely needs to be in there and I can't understand why it is not... and on our Level 2 there is not even one module there is only one part of one module. I just can't fathom why it is not there (Caitlin, June 2010).

If not addressed, this lack of interest and attention could further the marginalization of disability cricket over time, despite significant efforts to increase participation numbers. Hence, while mainstreaming may present an opportunity lost, another pressure is targeting increased opportunities for disabled people.

External: *Whole Sport Plan*

The activation of the WSP for cricket on the 17th of July 2009 provided the cornerstone for all future cricket development opportunities. The WSP aimed to deliver a range of grassroots sport outcomes for a defined period of time. These outcomes were categorized as Grow, Sustain and Excel, indicating that all funded activity existed along a performance-pathway (Sport England, 2009). To monitor performance against the WSP, internal data were collated by funding recipients. Funds were allocated from the ECB to the clubs through TCF and the counties. In order to receive these funds, clubs were expected to deliver against certain outcomes. As part of their administrative relationship with their county boards, focus clubs^{xxi} were required to submit a four-year development plan and receive funds on this basis. An annual evaluation report against the plan's targets was collated and delivered up the hierarchy of the sport to feedback to the ECB.

To ensure that WSP targets were achieved a contractual relationship between the funding provider (Sport England) and the governing body (ECB) was established. This method was similar to

the one used by UK Sport and NGBs to manage elite performance (Green & Houlihan, 2006; Houlihan & Goodhead 2013). To establish whether or not various NGBs would support such a shift, Sport England undertook consultations before devising their *Framework for Sport in England*. Although common in the management of elite performance, the change from receiving entitlements through grants to a contractual business relationship was considerable. Sport England justified this approach with feedback from its consultation process, which typically included “comments such as ‘rewarding achievement and encouraging risk taking’ and ‘withdraw funds from those who don’t achieve’” (Sport England, 2004, p. 17). Sport England’s most powerful argument for this shift was that the NGBs themselves had requested it. Unfortunately, no data was available to indicate the number of respondents taking part in these workshops who originally supported this notion.

Although the contractual details of the ECB’s WSP were unsighted, an overview was obtained from Sport England (2009) that shows all of the ‘outcomes’ that were identified. Interestingly, however, these were quantitative outputs rather than outcomes (Coalter, 2010). The following statements revealed that the interventions suggested were quantitatively based. Some concerned growing various types of clubs, for example:

Focus Clubs are identified based on strategic need, resources and club commitment. There are currently 1375 Focus Clubs identified who work with approx. 7,000 schools. County Cricket Boards have produced long term County Development Plans identifying a further 125 focus clubs. A total of 1,500 Focus Clubs will achieve full national coverage across all 49 CSPs/450 SSPs and Local Authorities (Sport England, 2009, p. 2).

Others address areas of inequality in the provision of pathways of talent (implying that participation programmes would generate more players), for example:

For boys the player pathway supporting the elite player development programmes is mature... However, for Women and Girls and for People with a Disability the talent player pathway is sporadic and offers little by the way of a coherent and consistent level of quality. As the participation programmes accelerate and the critical mass of women, girls and people with a disability grows a nationwide player development pathway is required (Sport England, 2009, p. 3).

The lack of qualitative measures by which to establish integration or the enhancement of services is not identified in 2009. Although it cannot be said that the initial WSP was unconcerned with quality, the above examples illustrate the ambiguity of qualitative outcomes and the lack of defined responsibility for their collation.

In 2002, the *Sports Equity Index* (Sport England, 2002) outlined the multiple barriers to participation in sport (i.e. ability, demographics, gender and ethnicity). Some of the groups experiencing these barriers required more support to get active than others. Intriguingly, this complexity was not reflected in the WSP's outline statement for cricket. What was present was limited to Focus Club targets by classification (physical, Deaf, VI, MLD) (Sport England, 2009). This may have reflected the shift in Sport England's priorities post-Game Plan (2002) in the lead up to the London 2012 Games. Even within the ECB's own Disability Cricket Vision (ECB, 2009) these classification outputs are also used. By adopting these general categories Sport England has effectively reduced the onus on cricket to target the hard-to-reach segments noted by the *Sports Equity Index*.

While disabled participants were a key target group of the WSP it was observed that the monitoring of participation, along with the streamlining of duplicate disability cricket programmes, was prioritized over inclusivity. Observations from a variety of events and from management meetings suggested that most organizations were satisfied to focus on white, middle-class, well-educated men who have a disability. Focusing on this group whose members face fewer barriers to participation has allowed cricket to adopt a pragmatic response to the requirement to increase participation rates without expending the resources required to be fully inclusive.

From the document analysis and observations it is likely that the ECB integrated disability cricket into the NGB to advance the One Game agenda and simplify the coordination of cricket in order to conform with the *Equality Act 2010* rather than a genuine attempt to achieve *true integration* (Howe, 2007; Sørensen & Kahrs, 2006). Hence, the wider initiative of One Game can be seen as an umbrella approach covering (and controlling) all of cricket, although one that does not seek to bring about true integration at the county level or to establish one actual game which is open and accessible to all. A fuller discussion of the limits toward true integration in this case will appear in Chapter 9.

Internal: *Chance to shine*

As noted in Chapter 5, TCF was formerly the official charitable arm of English cricket until the formation of the ECB in 1997. In May 2005 TCF launched *Chance to shine* which was a programme seeking to re-establish competitive cricket in state schools across England. *Chance to shine* was funded by annual grants from the ECB and TLT, with match-funding from Sport England and smaller private donations from across the country. Prior to this, the ECB and Channel 4 had launched Howzat. Howzat was an educational initiative designed to support learning in schools that

would complement the existing Kwik Cricket^{xxii} scheme (Nalapat, 2004). A feature of the *Chance to shine* programme, which went over and above any previous initiatives, was the deliberate focus upon education and personal development through cricket:

Chance to shine is not primarily a campaign for cricket. Rather it is a campaign for the education of young people, one that recognizes that competitive sport – and cricket in particular – can play a vital part within the education of young people by assisting their personal and social development. It is also a campaign for social cohesion, one that recognizes the part that competitive sport can play in encouraging our diverse communities to come together – through clubs, schools and other partners – at a time when the need to do this is of paramount importance (TCF, 2008, p. 6).

With its aim of development through cricket rather than developing cricket itself, the programme was positioned as a contributor to the human development model of sport (Maguire, 2014). While TCF were external to the ECB it was clear that *Chance to shine* contributed to the agenda of the ECB by developing junior cricket in schools. The sporting-end game of *Chance to shine* is really the same as the responsibility of the ECB. Since the launch of the programme, TCF not only fund the school sessions but also the *StreetChance* programme that delivers sessions in out-of-school locations. *StreetChance* began in London in 2008 and went national in 2010. While neither programme is solely focused on disability cricket both record the number of disabled participants and use this information in their progress reports (hence, their relevance to this investigation). TCF has since developed links with the MCC in order to assist in the promotion of the latter's *Spirit of Cricket* initiatives and other projects to target specific areas, such as the *Girls on the Front Foot* initiative (2012) which aimed to sustain the involvement of young women in cricket.

The *Chance to shine* initiative funds clubs through the county structure to deliver junior cricket. Counties are required to submit annual plans addressing areas such as school participation, competition, pathways from school to club and school engagement. Once the plans are approved, funding is released, with 20% withheld until the outcomes are achieved. Performance is measured through a prescribed monitoring system through which data is fed back from the clubs, through the counties up to TCF. A programme evaluation approach seeking the social and educational impact is carried out by independent researchers. The system has a potential weakness in that the monitoring system does not feed into the evaluation model. Monitoring examines output figures such as the number of children engaged, the total number of schools participating and socio-demographic data. Evaluation examines outcomes through a mixed methods approach (see Jeans, Musson & Kay, 2009 for an example). While these reports record extremely positive results, the methodology is dominated by teacher's interpretations of pupil achievement. This involves measuring personal/social change through surveys and focus groups rather than theory-based evaluation (Coalter, 2010; Coalter & Taylor, 2010). These results should therefore be treated with caution.

Impacts on Organizational Field Positions and Trajectories

Between 2008 and 2012 a number of changes occurred within the field of disability cricket. Both mainstreaming and the introduction of the WSP impacted upon field agent positions and trajectories. This section will discuss key changes that occurred to the field positions of certain agents. Although the scope of the DCDOs has not increased post-MoU, at least three of the four organizations have increased their income sources^{xxiii}. This has been assisted by funding from the governing body. The direct actions of the ECB in funding competition, elite training and the DCDOs themselves have consolidated their vision for disability cricket.

The provision and extent of financial capital provided by the ECB to achieve this networked strategy aligned many organizations' goals to those of the governing body. This has created a situation whereby organizations that have good relations (through individual and organizational social capital) with the ECB or with one of the counties benefit more than others. The close relations enjoyed by the BACD and the Disability Cricket Manager, for example, are a result of the latter's previous position within the BACD; in other words, the contacts and relationships existed previously. Although this is only one example of how individual networks foster development, the lack of such networks could prevent other organizations from benefitting to the same extent. Indeed for a cricket club that is not a Focus Club, exclusion from this network may not be down to personal choice, but to a lack of resources to meet the administrative requirements.

Since the appointment of the Disability Cricket Manager at the ECB, each DCDO has benefitted from central marketing, promotion and publicity. No longer are the DCDOs "out on their own" (Dylan, November 2012); they are now an essential part of the One Game working to provide more opportunities for disability cricket. Each DCDO indirectly has benefitted from the national programmes delivered by the TCF and regional programmes of C4C. C4C has attempted to get more young people to take up the game by participating in their TCF-funded programmes *Hit the Top* and *StreetChance*, thereby increasing the talent pool for the DCDOs.^{xxiv} The BACD has also benefitted from the resources dedicated to the revision of the P&LD classification systems, and from lobbying by the Disability Cricket Manager to foster more international physical disability cricket. These activities have effectively elevated the DCDOs from their former positions that had been commensurate with low economic and cultural capital. The MoU has effectively repositioned three of the DCDOs. It has provided a voice for those that manage disability cricket, but as yet it is not

substantiated whether this has provided a genuine voice for the players themselves within the ECB. It would appear that the future of these organizations is tied to that of the ECB.

The WSP has also impacted upon field positions and trajectories of other organizations. The streamlining of the ECB's funding through a *Single Investment Scheme* has prevented all organizations, with the exception of the governing body themselves, from lobbying Sport England for cricket development funds. However, it is still possible for charities such as TCF, TLT and C4C to access Sport England funding because their programmes focus on development through cricket, rather than the development of cricket itself. Along with this centralized funding system, there is a need to ensure a return on investment. The adoption of performance reviews, periodic reporting and monitoring and evaluation practices by organizations aimed to ensure that the cricket development 'system' was accountable. Some organizations welcomed this, as the introduction of the WSP reduced the level of micro-management:

Before the *Whole Sport Plan*, seriously, I had to go back and report on every penny. I spent £6.50 on cups, £4.22, now they go 'here's your half a million and here's some figures, as long as you hit those figures we don't wanna see the money, we don't have to do that anymore'. So I think it's great, the WSP (Niamh, July 2010).

The shift from micro-management to a broader system where funds are linked to a suite of responsibilities was an institutional level change. To others, whose usual pot of funds from Sport England had been blocked, it seemed that new tactics were required:

The counties seem affected by the WSP and that everything must go through the ECB onto Sport England. Caitlin (South County) was stating that she was approaching Comic Relief and other funders instead of the ECB (Field notes, June 2010).

Indeed even for organizations which followed a human-development model, applications were blocked and resources diverted to other areas:

Frank mentioned that Sport England were willing to give £90,000 to the development of their indoor sports centre. However, Sport England required the ECB to agree to any developments, which they did not do. The decision for this was made in Manchester, much to the irritation of C4C. Frank believes it is because they did not approach the ECB first (Field notes, April 2009).

In order to deliver the WSP's required outputs, the counties worked on their relationships with the traditional clubs and also with the TCF and C4C. Focus Clubs were crucial for the transfer of information up the performance-pathway to the county board. This information informed decision-making and allowed investment to be targeted.

All focus clubs write a development plan, so there'll be 69 development plans, more of an extensive working plan, and from that we will formulate our disability strategy, our facility strategy and our strategic plan. We take all the information from their plans (Liam, October 2010).

To implement these plans the clubs received assistance in the form of funding and development so they could develop more inclusive clubs (i.e. clubs that included teams for adults, children, men, women and players of all abilities). Not all clubs were Focus Clubs however, and the non-affiliated clubs were excluded from field developments, seeming to exist only to provide recreational services to their members.

Field conflict and position-takings

The field is also characterized as an arena for the struggle of agents over capital. This struggle is unequal as different agents possess different types and volumes of capital. There is seldom sharing of information by clubs as to how one goes about attracting, retaining disabled cricketers or how various organizations overcome the barriers to participation. In relation to the *Hit the Top* programme it is the schools that the participants belong to, or their parents that are responsible with getting participants to a training session or a match day. The inability of partners to share best practice, despite the focus on relationship building possibly reflects the competitive nature of many of these organizations, and given the scarcity of disabled players information flow is scarce. It falls to the schools or the parents to recruit the young people to *Hit the Top* or *StreetChance*.

One of the most keenly contested struggles arose from a partnership between the TCF and C4C. Following the publication of the ECB's *Building Partnerships* (2005) strategy, a number of joint initiatives between the TCF, the counties, clubs and other charities have provided cricket products that sought to satisfy latent demand for disability cricket. The fact that these initiatives have arisen from gaps in provision left by the counties prior to these initiatives was not seen as problematic. *Chance to shine* and *StreetChance* sought to get more young people playing cricket. While both had social objectives (i.e. education and inclusion), the main focus was on participation numbers. Since the introduction of the WSP in 2009 high participation numbers have to be seen by many as an indicator of organizational effectiveness. The funds provided for delivering a single *Chance to shine* or *StreetChance* project were generous, and in the case of C4C this delivery was crucial to its increase in income throughout the period (see Table 6.1).

While *Chance to shine* was a TCF creation the development of *StreetChance* was more contentious. The creation and expansion of *StreetChance* caused a struggle between TCF, C4C and TLT. According to C4C, they created the programme in conjunction with the Metropolitan Police, and then joined with TCF and Barclays Bank to provide the funds by which the project could be expanded. An internal document obtained during field work, however, notes that TCF expanded its community cricket programme without the knowledge or permission of C4C:

Approximately one year ago The Cricket Foundation started delivering StreetChance in Birmingham and Dewsbury without inviting Cricket for Change or the Metropolitan Police to be involved although Cricket for Change remained as the main delivery provider for StreetChance in London and the Metropolitan Police remained as a partner in the London programme (TLT C4C Business Plan, 2011, p. 24)

The document dismissed the possibility of partnership --

Cricket for Change made it clear that they are fully committed to the partnership with The Lord's Taverners (TLT) and do not think it is appropriate to be involved with the delivery of two UK wide programmes (TLT C4C, 2011, p. 24).

-- the informal language observed was even more negative. This struggle arose from a general field-level misrecognition concerning the ownership of cricket programmes. Tensions increase because funders believe that as they provide the funds to make a programme happen, they own it, while delivery agents, who may have created the programme in the first instance, see it as theirs. From the field notes, disabled young people associated the programme with whoever was delivering it, much to the consternation of some county board funders:

N: We pay [them] to deliver on our behalf, these kids should realize they're playing for North County or they're playing for a club in North County, where [they] are setting up clubs...

A: I think it's awareness... they maybe need to be told, or encouraged to promote, you know, what North County do or don't do or where this money's coming from and that it's not all just [them] (Niamh and Aoife, July 2010).

One consequence of this conflict was that both funder and delivery agent would record the participant numbers and both would claim the figures, thereby doubling the apparent number of participants, albeit inadvertently. Organizations could also promote themselves and their work at cricket tournaments without giving recognition to the funders that made that work possible.

We have event have people who will help us out at certain events across the county, although I think if their funders found out they wouldn't be too happy but it's just a one off event, they come along and help us and help us spread the word really (John, July 2011).

The ambiguity over programme ownership was related to an issue of competing agendas. A competing agenda arises when a delivery agent uses a programme (which is funded by another) to achieve the delivery organization's aims and objectives without acknowledging the funder. Individual cases of success are a symbolic resource; whether it involved engagement in a session or a story of personal development this evidence of impact was retained by the delivery partner and not shared with or attributed to the funder. The expectation of the funders, however, was that when funds are provided through a MoU, the programme belongs to the funder; although it is delivered by a local partner, any evidence gathered should be transferred up the reporting chain back to the funder for their own uses. Conflict in this area threatened the possibility of future funding:

A: Yeah, I think that's why we have the MoU... They have a very clear criteria in writing about what they need to do in order to get that delivery fee and that effectively takes care of a lot of that because there's a financial motivation there. If they're doing those things that allows them to get a delivery fee it's unlikely that I'll have too many issues with them unless they're more qualitative issues around, you know, you're not actually delivering what [it] is that you're asked to do, [or] you're doing it for a different agenda.

I: A different agenda?

A: Yeah, using our project for their [own] ends and giving us little credit. Not an ideal situation and it puts us in a bad position (Aiden, July 2010).

As a consequence of this conflict, partnerships and subversion around the use of evidence was common. It was also a two-way street. Little mention was made of delivery partners by funders when they were promoting successful stories. As conflict increased with TCF, the counties and C4C, the latter formed a partnership with TLT to launch national versions of *Hit the Top*, *Street-20* (a version of *StreetChance*), and *Street Team*, an initiative for young people in London targeting NEETs (those Not in Employment, Education or Training). These initiatives provided both partners with an opportunity to work together on a larger scale, and challenge the dominance of TCF. TLT was able to offer national cricket delivery and C4C was able to draw upon the significant financial resources of their larger, national partner. This enabled C4C to expand programmes that had succeeded in London from 2008 through to 2010. As noted previously in Chapter 1, TLT is the official charity for recreational cricket in the UK. The growth of *Chance to shine* and its related programmes shifted the institutional meanings and doxa in the various fields of developmental cricket. The effect was to reduce the importance of general, recreational participation in favour of one that prioritized a performance-efficiency approach. Since this shift the status and role of TLT in the field has diminished (The Lord's Taverners Limited 2008; 2009; 2010). Until 2010, TLT were a founding funder of TCF. Their investment in C4C coincided with ceasing to fund TCF. Although their financial position strengthened throughout the period, some within TLT were concerned about their loss of profile within the sport, particularly when combined with the de-prioritization of recreational cricket by the governing body. For TLT to re-establish itself within the field of cricket

and also within the emerging sport for development and peace (SDP) field, new programmes were required:

We joined with C4C to offer a suite of cricket programmes that could make a contribution to not just cricket but also to social development through cricket (Alain, informal conversation, July 2011).

In late 2011, the Disability Cricket Development Forum drafted proposals concerning the future of disability cricket in England and Wales (Disability Cricket Development Forum, 2011). In these plans the document outlines TLT as an important and on-going partner with TCF, the ECB and the DCDOs. Despite the successes of the *Hit the Top* programme in increasing junior participation in London (the initiative has involved an estimated 5000 young people since its launch in January 2008; Cricket for Change, 2014) the future position and role for C4C is likely to be less prominent. Like *Street-20*, *Hit the Top* is set to be adopted nationally, but as with the expansion of *StreetChance* in 2010 it will be “without C4C’s involvement” (David, December 2012). However, discourse, strategies and programmes launched by C4C in 2010-2012 suggest that the charity is positioning itself as an agency that sees itself as a member of SDP. While it continues to deliver in the community and disability cricket fields, its leadership seems aware that they lack some of the social networks enjoyed by other, more established cricket organizations.

Shifting Sources of Valued Capital

Although the previous discussion has centred on the composition of the field and relevant position-takings, fields also can be examined in terms of the distribution of specific capital. This cyclical relationship between field position and capital does exist in a regulated environment like sport. Although position takings are possible it is extremely unlikely that the ECB’s field position would ever be genuinely challenged, as it is the sanctioned and official NGB for the sport. The following section will review the exchange of capitals within the field of disability cricket by examining how finance is deployed and how a mixture of other capitals can create symbolic capital for exchange.

Financial capital

Due to the onset of the WSP the volume of financial capital^{xxv} that entered the field of disability cricket increased dramatically throughout the period of investigation. Bourdieu (2005, p. 194) defined financial capital as ‘the direct or indirect mastery (through access to banks) of financial resources, which are the main conditions (together with time) for the accumulation and conservation

of all other kinds of capital.’ Arguably we could position Sport England as the chief funder for sports development and the regulative structure of the field, the ECB occupies the dominant and unchallenged position as the distributor of financial resources to achieve its goals. Although agents possess various amounts of financial capital the funding opportunities provided by the WSP could allow resources to be developed over time.

Many of the field’s organizations (43%) recorded a greater than 100% increase in income; one of these, in fact, increased its income by over 600% between 2008 and 2012. These increases occurred despite the effects of the global financial crisis, which reduced the interest earned on their capital savings. During the same period, the ECB doubled its income from £14m to £30m (see Table 6.1) and financially speaking, was considerably more powerful than any other organization. As the dispensers of funding to cricket clubs through the counties and TCF, the ECB occupies a dominant field position in the upper left quadrant, unchallenged by other agents (see Figure 6.1). This position was reinforced when the ECB began to control the field of disability cricket by directing the flow of resources through the *Single Investment System*. The ECB is the dominant entity that defines how mainstreaming, the WSP and even *Chance to shine* are to be adopted by organizations within the field. This acts as regulations (a form of rulemaking) to ensure all cricket is enshrined in certain competitive values. Little discussion regarding alternative forms of cricket exists in this space of possibilities. Although other sources of funding were available to the organizations within the field, the relative-ease by which funds were accessed from the ECB meant that arranging alternative funding was resource intensive. The structure of the sport meant that the ECB could use its dominance to determine how and where it allocated its funds, and also use funding as a reward for compliance with the One Game agenda.

Table 6.1: Economic capital of agents within the field of disability cricket (March 2012)

<i>Position (see Figure 6.1)</i>	<i>Agents</i>	<i>Income 2008</i> £	<i>Income 2012</i> £	<i>% Change</i>
1	ECB	14,620,405	30,705,935	210
2	TCF	6,038,000	4,855,000	-20
3	TLT	5,312,249	6,241,418	117
4	CCB – North County	1,145,409	805,584	-30
5	LCCA/C4C	323,839	946,448	292
6	ACCF	198,808	188,638	-5
7	The Primary Club	178,120	173,394	-3
4	CCB – North East County	84,644	65,758	-22
9	MCC Foundation	60,281	404,158	670
4	CCB – South County	27,634	86,115	312
10	BCEW	16,318	41,052*	251
11	CFPD	14,488	23,874	165
12	Cricket Society Trust	6,744		
13	BACD	28,512^	38,142*	35
14	ECAD	-		
4	CCB – West County	-		
4	CCB – East County	-		
0	LSF (Interactive)	613,382	394,501	-36
	Focus Cricket Clubs	-		
	Recreational Clubs	-		

^ 2009 figure

*most recent figures

- no data

Likewise, the funds allocated to the TCF which are then be distributed to clubs to deliver *Chance to shine* also placed TCF in a dominant position. Although subordinate to the ECB, the TCF wields significant financial resources that allow it to dominate most other agents. Despite recording a decline in revenues between 2011 and 2012, TCF was financially strong and wealthier than all other organizations (with the exception of the ECB and TLT). Interestingly, many first-class counties did not see a rise in their finances during the period. However, as they formed a conduit for the distribution of finance to clubs, they retained legitimate power within the field.

Smaller, dominated organizations such as the DCDOs and other charitable cricketing groups operated on significantly lower incomes, with none raising more than £1m per annum. This positioned many of them as resource dependent on dominant agents or overly reliant on donations and external funders from outside the field of disability cricket. Notably, following introduction of the MoU, each of the signatories (BACD, CFPD, BCEW) reported healthier levels of income.

Other sources of capital

While financial capital was a significant indicator of field position, other forms of capital could be deployed to differentiate organizations from one another. These sources of capital were generally used in combination to generate symbolic capital that may increase future resources for field agents. The first additional form of valued capital was social capital. Bourdieu (2005) saw social capital as resources activated through social connections which allow the bearers to achieve an advantage over others without such resources or connections. The ECB's *Building Partnerships* (2005) strategy identified four pillars of a successful sport, one being to increase participation. The success of this pillar relied upon cricket organizations working in partnership with multiple stakeholders:

To succeed in delivering our enthusing participation and following targets, we will build partnerships with stakeholders including the Cricket Foundation, the Lord's Taverners, media partners, clubs, schools, parents, Sport England and the Government (ECB, 2005, p. 12).

This emphasis was encouraged by the use of funds to facilitate programme development in partnership with schools and community groups. The creation of the *Hit the Top* and *StreetChance* programmes which were to be shared with partners and focused on both school and community engagement was initially beneficial to C4C in attracting the attention of the ECB and the Disability Cricket Manager. Not unlike the financial return given by TCF to participating clubs, efforts by dominated agents to contribute to the ECB's agenda were rewarded with intangible benefits. These benefits included profile, prestige and social capital in the form of direct communication channels with these larger organizations. However, maintaining these over time proved difficult for C4C, particularly when the talent identification pathway (a hallmark of *Hit the Top*) did not produce sufficient players.

Cultural capital existed in both organizational and individual forms. For organizations that competed in international level disability cricket, extra resources were allocated by the ECB to facilitate these international competitions and cover the travelling expenses required by officials and participants. A lack of international physical disability cricket meant that representative teams from

VI, Deaf and learning difficulties cricket enjoyed greater investment in their elite level activities than efforts by cricketers with physical disabilities. Nevertheless, at an individual level disabled cricketers possessed a form of embodied cultural capital that could be exchanged for resources from the interaction between the field of elite cricket and the field of disability cricket. The international competition provided an overlap between these fields. Individual, elite-level disabled cricketers were able to access and avail of elite-performance services to support and sustain their involvement in the sport:

Since I started playing the level of support has increased ten-fold. There are still issues with how they assess us on our vision but it's a great time to be playing for England (Robin, January, 2009).

These performance services were distributed equitably across all-abilities of the ECB's elite squads.

Bourdieu (2005) viewed symbolic capital as the mastery of certain resources that are afforded greater credence by other organizational field agents. In this study, organizations that could demonstrate their proclivity for attracting greater participation numbers into the game, particularly from various under-represented groups, were able to trade this symbolic achievement for financial capital. Symbolic goods in the form of national newspaper stories and case studies of engagement in education and inclusion from cricket activities also benefitted various agents. The benefits of good public relations could assist in raising profile and generating donations and additional funding from outside the disability cricket field. Agents such as TCF, TLT and C4C were adept at playing the 'PR game', i.e. they acknowledged and understood the importance of publicity in an increasingly cluttered and competitive marketplace for cricket provision. That said, the standard of evidence required to validate these case studies of good practice was low. Evidence of this achievement was generated internally and seldom verified by external consultants. Little attention was given to the methodologies employed when it did occur. What seemed to matter was the headline statement and accompanying photos that suggested that participation increases, and social development arose from the work carried out.

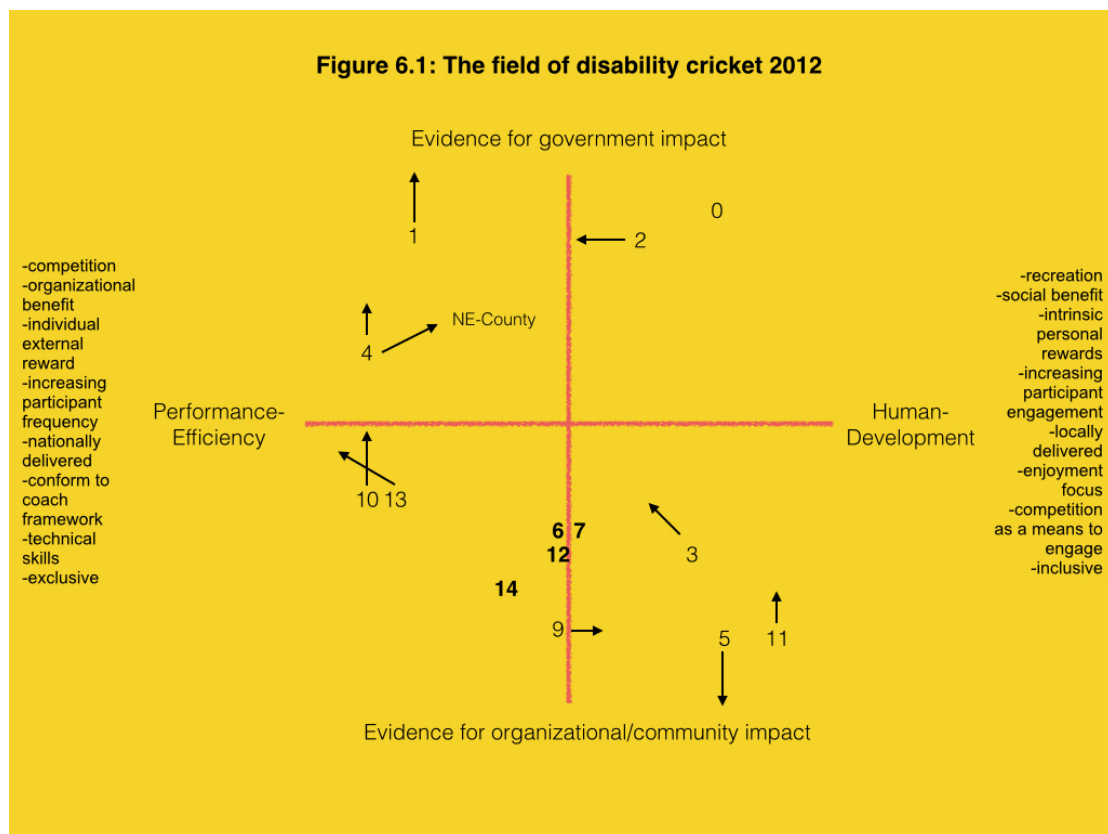
We've got to keep progressing, developing that's how we maintain our edge. The Cricket Foundation have a great programme, but it does the same thing every year. They cant sell it anymore because the media are tired of it. We're incredibly creative and that innovation keeps us fresh (Ernest, July, 2010).

While this was unique for C4C within the field of disability cricket, it has been noted of characteristic of how charities offer evaluations of their work (Ellis & Gregory, 2009).

The Field of Disability Cricket (Revised)

Drawing on the above analysis, Figure 6.1 outlines the field of disability cricket at the start of 2012 (see Table 6.1. for the detail on each organization’s economic capital). This diagram has been created to represent the position of organizations within the institutional field at the completion of the field investigation. The field has transformed since 2008, when both Sport England and the ECB provided funds for the development of cricket, the onset of WSP has realigned Sport England as the funder of the ECB which now funds other organizations within the field. Whereas in 2008 both Sport England and the ECB provided funds for the development of cricket, the onset of the WSP has realigned Sport England as the funder of the ECB, and then the ECB as funder for the other organizations within the field. There is sufficient data to suggest that ten organizations have shifted, with seven of these adopting strategies to ensure that greater amounts of evidence are collected to satisfy government objectives. Only one organization, C4C, has attempted to increase the evidence it collects to stress organizational and/or community impact.

Figure 6.1: The field of disability cricket (2012).



While the MoU has increased the economic capital of the BCEW, CFPD and the BACD it is their *accommodation* within the cricket establishment that has facilitated their shift toward more government-focused evidence. With the reconfiguration of classification methods the BACD has become more focused on the performance-efficiency model, moving it away from the position of the BCEW. Despite an increase in their economic capital, the CFPD has not sought to modify its classification system and is still infused with more inclusive ideals that position it in direct contrast to the other DCDOs. The desire of a number of staff associated with TCF to see one of their participants one day make the England, able-bodied men's or women's teams belies their expressed sport-for-development goals. While publically they are committed to more human-development objectives, these views demonstrate a willingness to create a system that is more performance-efficiency oriented.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how environmental factors have impacted upon the trajectories and field positions of a number of organizations in the field of disability cricket. The increasing accountability of disability cricket is a consequence of the longer-term changes that have defined the sport for a number of years. The value of this thesis is that it highlights the consequences of this increasing accountability on the field positions of cricket organizations involved in disability cricket. These findings have demonstrated the utility of Bourdieu's practice theory in explaining how powerful, dominant agents use capital to facilitate institution-wide changes and promote the adoption of prescribed practices. It reveals that in the resource-dependent world of disability sport, governing bodies can essentially throw money at issues to generate activity. Nevertheless, these actions do not appear to be making the game more inclusive, but more aligned to a performance-efficiency model of sport. While change has clearly occurred it has merely reproduced cricket's existing competitive, institutional values. The next chapter shifts attention from this wider institutional level to the organizational level, thus exploring the consequences of the information presented in this chapter for individual organizations in the field of disability cricket.

Chapter 7: Organizational Level Analysis

Introduction

In the previous chapter I demonstrated how Bourdieu's conceptual tools reveal how capital facilitates environmental factors to flow throughout an institution impacting on the trajectories and positions of field members. Environmental factors have attempted to increase the accountability in both disability and community cricket, altering organizational trajectories as a result. In this chapter my analysis shifts focus to explore how organizations experience and translate these environmental factors and to assess the resultant implications for practice. Managers within different cricket organizations have varying interpretations and translations for these initiatives. However, an organization's field position, its doxa and the individual habitus of the manager in charge of community and disability cricket combine to determine how these initiatives are interpreted. This suggests that while managers are free to choose their own approach, the organization they inhabit has a contextual role in determining this choice.

To explain this process in more detail this chapter will cover the following areas. I will consider organizational perspectives concerning environmental factors and the consequences of these for organizations. First, organizations that I have determined are oriented to the performance-efficiency model will be contextualized and critiqued. Following this, I will consider an organizational perspective on an organization oriented to the human-development model. The ethnographic approach employed in this thesis enabled a triangulation of data that outlined and verified these differing perspectives. Third, I will provide an analysis of how these contrasting organizations appeared to follow these initiatives. The congruence between the values fostered by each initiative and the doxa of individual organizations appeared to play a major part in whether or not these initiatives were adopted as intended or modified to suit an alternative agenda.

Impact on County Organizations

Background

Chapter 5 highlighted how County Cricket Boards have long been responsible for the coordination of cricket clubs across their respective geographic regions. To ensure that these voluntary clubs contribute to regional plans, an administrative reporting system was established in 2005. The ECB's *Building Partnerships* (2005, p. 9) strategy emphasized that to achieve a 'vibrant

domestic game' investment in the participation of women and girls and disability cricket was required:

We will set challenging goals for the achievement of international success, whilst continuing to support programmes targeted at increasing participation amongst Women's and Disabilities players [*sic.*] (ECB, 2005, p. 9).

This administrative reporting system was initiated two years before the launch of the One Game agenda, which aimed to create clubs that met certain quality standards known as Focus Clubs. The benefit to clubs of attaining this mark was an enhanced level of administrative and financial support from their county:

Daniel said the Focus Club [status] allows them certain benefits, such as funding, machinery grants, ground testing for quality - all this for carrying out the club mark scheme. So it appears West county and the ECB very much support the Focus Clubs with assistance and funding but expect commitment to their broader ideals in return (Field Notes, August 2010).

In return for this quality mark, the counties influenced club strategies that in effect increased the counties' level of control over their respective domains. From a county perspective, the system worked effectively, although it required some division of labour to manage the number of clubs and the amount of reporting being fed back to the county:

It's all of our Focus Clubs that do the reporting. It's only the Focus Clubs that report, not the affiliated clubs, so all the Focus Clubs that report are split up between each individual person within our team.... It's our opportunity to get close to the Focus Clubs and find out 'what is' so a big part of the process is that we meet with the clubs a minimum of four times per year and really buy into the fact that we can check and challenge what we want to put into those figures, and then it is our job to try and see those through (Caitlin, June 2010).

Once established as Focus Clubs they were then obliged to contribute to the other aims of *Building Partnerships*, namely, to enthuse participation, particularly among young people.

Increase active participation in the game. At the grassroots of cricket, we will create a baseline measure within the first year of club members and target an increase in such members of five per cent by 2009.... [The] ECB will expand the number of Focus Clubs from 165 to 1000 by 2009. Underpinning this will be an increase in the number of school and club coaching sessions – to 20,000 per year by 2009, encompassing boys, girls and disabled participants. This will be delivered primarily by the Cricket Foundation (ECB, 2005, p. 14, emphasis in original).

For this reason, the adoption of the administrative reporting system was deemed essential by the ECB to ensure its ability to extract information from voluntary cricket clubs, even before the WSP was implemented. Clearly the ECB saw these as genuine priorities of the One Game agenda.

Chance to shine

The development of the *Chance to shine* programme in 2005 relied on this administrative reporting system to implement its programme nationally. Clubs made use of the “lucrative” funding^{xxvi} in return for delivering *Chance to shine* within schools (and from 2008, delivering *StreetChance* in out-of-school hours^{xxvii}). The *Chance to shine* programme introduced many cricketing organizations to this administrative reporting system. The system included information and advice on how to monitor performance. For some organizations, such as C4C, this was the first formal monitoring system they had used to accompany their delivery. These monitoring practices were part of the TCF package, and intended to be provide a basis for control and feedback. The monitoring processes and systems for *Chance to shine* evolved over time, and feedback from the clubs led to continued refinement.

Originally it started out as an Excel spread sheet so you had to fill the spread sheet in and I thought ‘that’s quite cumbersome emailing that around so could we get this online’, and then obviously it’s gone online and then we’ve tried to improve functionality, you know, [to make it] easy to use for club managers. We’ve tried to make it easy for county boards as well, we’ve tried to make sure that there’s some statistical stuff on there but also this year particularly, some qualitative questions around what we do but it has been a really organic process, it’s an ongoing process, each meeting, you know, whether it’s a meeting with the county board and they’re saying ‘well, could you change this, could you try this’ or whether it’s our team meetings, we’re just constantly trying to develop the system. But the system that you see today, I can certainly answer this bit, the system that you see today was not a system that was envisaged in 2005 (Aiden, July 2010).

Over the three year period preceding this investigation, this administrative reporting system also facilitated the flow of funds from the ECB to the grassroots (often through the TCF and counties). These funds required clubs to deliver cricket sessions in schools and community areas, and in return for that funding the TCF required that monitoring data be sent back from the clubs.

The *Chance to shine* programme would not work anywhere near as effectively as it does if it wasn’t for the ECB structure and obviously underneath that, the county cricket board structure (Aiden, July 2010).

As previously mentioned, the funding for the programme was generous given the number of delivery hours required by each club. However, each club had a limited timeframe in which to access the funds (3-5 years). At the conclusion of the fifth year clubs were required to be self-sustaining. Once the assistance from the TCF and the counties ceased, issues were raised regarding the sustainability of voluntary cricket clubs:

Daniel mentioned that the bulk of the funding goes to paying the coaches and there is little left over for the administration and management of the club - which is a voluntary

activity (maybe that it is felt by some that anyone can do it - as opposed to coaching) - also apart from the admin there is the public relations in the meeting people and answering queries sense - Daniel reckons he spends about 12 hours per week administering the club and receives nothing for it. At a certain point they will have to start charging [disabled] members to attend the sessions and they are currently working out ways of doing that. It will be interesting to see how that transpires as it will be a culture change from the usual free services (Field Notes, August 2010).

Clearly, *Chance to shine* has provided a significant investment in the development of junior cricket. Nevertheless, despite this investment some capacity and finance issues persist for a number of voluntary cricket clubs. The introduction of another exogenous initiative provided some additional resources to assist clubs in developing disability cricket.

Whole Sport Plan

As the WSP was implemented in 2009 this administrative reporting system was adapted to manage WSP-funded activities. The signing of Sport England's WSP by the ECB obligated the counties to achieve its targets. Some respondents felt that the WSP brought about a cultural shift in the relationship between sports bodies in general and Sport England:

I suppose this plan is probably going to force the [counties] to actually grow and look at themselves and say if our sport's going to grow we're the ones who've got to lead it rather than Sport England all the time (John, August 2010).

If achieving targets in grassroots development was seen by some counties as Sport England's responsibility, the WSP ushered in a change in the way that counties went about approaching disability cricket. Subsequently, an increased number of programmes were developed and implemented. Four of the five first-class counties in this region continued their partnerships with C4C to deliver programmes (such as *Hit the Top*) for women, girls and disabled young people in order to sustain their figures.

There are clear similarities between the objectives of *Chance to shine* and the WSP as both are oriented toward mass provision. One question that could be asked is whether the *Chance to shine* provision contributes to the WSP targets. By implication this could mean that the counties were using two pots of money to fund the one programme. A staff member for TCF claimed this was not the case, as least not in the initial stages of the WSP:

I: Have you noticed anything from the ECB saying 'we need to change this [to work] with what *Chance to shine* is doing'?

A: ...[the] ECB will work [with] counties to say 'in order to meet the targets of the *Whole Sport Plan* these are the overall generic targets that you must meet, these are the

things that you must deliver in your country'. And often *Chance to shine* may help with... some of those [targets]. We never really get into a situation where it's counterproductive for boards to be delivering *Chance to shine* because [the WSP] doesn't meet what they're trying to meet, they have other, other avenues, other resources such as ECB funding that they receive to help them to achieve what they need to achieve.

I: Okay.

A: So obviously the money that's given to ECB that ultimately ends up in county boards is there to fund them to deliver their *Whole Sport Plan* [targets].... I think the *Chance to shine* and our funding from The Cricket Foundation is a real extra bonus for the boards that they have this fantastic scheme that no other sport has... and so they'll get some knock on benefits which help them, help contribute towards *Whole Sport Plan* targets... And the boards are able to, you know, get on and do that because they've got the money from ECB to deliver the *Whole Sport Plan* targets as direct and as funded by Sport England/The National Government... our money is that little bonus and so they don't have to use that to hit those targets, they have to use our money to deliver [*Chance to shine*] (Aiden, July 2010).

Although the response does not outline mechanisms to ensure that this was not occurring, as an independent charity their responsibility was to ensure that funds distributed were accounted for and verified through the monitoring system. When discussing this with a county respondent, evidence of double counting was less clear but the conversation did open another perspective on how responsibilities are moved around to enable the acquisition of scarce funds:

N: Aoife is meant to support me in [women & girls and disability cricket] areas this year but like I said, [it's] not Aoife's fault it hasn't gone as well as we'd hoped. Because she's had to do some more hands on work.

A: No, I think it's just on our roles, you know, we're having to do lots of other things that, you know, there's not enough staff for really, so sometimes that role that I was put down to do is different .

N: Yeah, the idea was [for] Aoife to come in and take on those two roles, yes, it was gonna be a learning curve for the year for me but also a Cricket Development Officer, which is how I started, would be more 50/50 maybe coaching, yeah, you've got a coach as a COD but you coach only in those areas.... So you coach where you need to coach, whereas Aoife was told to coach 100% in a certain area so she didn't have time to do all the other bits, it's a financial thing.

I: Ok so was that all the coaching was Women and Girls and Disability or was it --

A: (interrupts) It was actually mainly Disability but it was more a case of it wasn't necessarily in a specific area for a specific need of ours, you know...

A: It was to do with the budget and things.

N: Aoife had to deliver a *Chance to shine* project, so a whole project because of finances which she shouldn't have been doing. She should have been supporting what was going on in London with Disability, maybe certain projects in North around the clubs, not just delivering a whole project financially just because we needed the money to support the role, so that was a shame... (Niamh and Aoife, July 2010).

These funds were required to pay the wages of the development officer whose wages were linked to community cricket funds raised previously by her county. Paradoxically, the officer is employed to

develop specific aspects of community cricket (Women and Girls and Disability Cricket) but spends her time delivering *Chance to shine* projects in order to boost the income of her department, and also to justify her existence. The WSP demonstrated that it could create a financial justification for the delivery of disability cricket. Furthermore, Aiden's observation (above) that "it's counterproductive for boards to be delivering *Chance to shine* because [the WSP] doesn't meet what they're trying to meet", is correct. However, he is referring to the end missions of each initiative and not necessarily the means which counties have to use to achieve them. More specifically, the WSP aimed to provide more opportunities for women and girls, and disability cricket. *Chance to shine* aimed to get competitive cricket into schools, or in the case of *StreetChance* to engage young people in areas of social disadvantage through cricket. Although these end points are complimentary they are also separately funded programmes. However, the monitoring data collected can provide information that is relevant for both. As the administrative reporting system for the WSP relies on the county to validate the information passed up from the clubs, the sheer number of clubs and projects means that this is prone to error and creates an opportunity for double counting^{xxviii}.

Although the WSP outlined targets that the sport as a whole should achieve, each county took responsibility for their own area once the money was received. Once these funds enter the county they can effectively be spent on anything. In some counties, women and girls and disability cricket provision was delivered on a shoestring and had to fight for attention with other internal priorities:

The trouble with the WSP is you get a certain amount of money, you sit down with the team and this is what we're gonna do for the next 12 months but actually, we just do the same thing, we spend the money on the same thing, so even if we say to ECB we're going to concentrate on Welfare for example, we don't put any extra money towards it cos that money's still gotta pay for what we do anyway so it doesn't kinda work. So all the money for disability is from external sources. The North's Board won't put anything towards that. So... Women and Girls [gets less than a thousand pounds] from the Board, [while] Disability [gets] nothing (Niamh, July 2010).

At the time this data was collected, the WSP had been in operation for just over 12 months. Nevertheless, rather than offer any evidence to the contrary, other development managers stated that they were not aware that much had changed under the WSP. Indeed, one manager saw the WSP as just another strategy handed down from above:

I: So, has [the WSP] had any impact on your role?

L: I don't think so, I don't think so, I'm pretty much the same, I think it's probably gonna take a bit of a turn now the way you sort of look at things, certainly School Sports Partnerships and who do we talk to about the areas of interest...It's interesting that we talk about *Whole Sport Plan* and Sport England and does cricket have one, we do but I guess it's not called the WSP and we have our building partnerships strategy we work through, [the Disability Cricket Manager] was brought in about 3 years ago and now the next one is the coaches pathway and our facilities and from playgrounds, there used to be strategy now it's playground, I can't remember what

it's called now it's changed so much. So yeah, it's not really changed the way I work I wouldn't say, no (Liam, October 2010).

After the completion of the first WSP in 2012/13 John found that the target focus has raised some concerns about creating a culture of short-termism:

I think that is the big difference between the first WSP and the next one. The first was focused on achieving targets and while we did lots it was all a bit short term. The fact that we're focusing on outcomes will hopefully... and specific criteria with those outcomes, will hopefully be more long-term focused (John, November 2012)

While this was only one opinion, it is likely that the impact of the WSP on organizations within the field of disability cricket will be revealed in further research.

Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming had an impact at the national level through the partnership of organizations and flowed from there to the counties and clubs. In 2007, the appointment of a former BACD chairman to the post of Disability Cricket Manager marked direct action by the ECB in managing disability cricket. The subsequent March 2009 signing of the MoU (partnership agreement) between the ECB and all four cricket DCDOs (along with the EFDS) attempted to convey a united approach to mainstreaming. The approach adopted by the ECB was indeed unique. It avoided the tensions and issues that plagued other NGBs in British sport (Thomas, 2004). Thomas, for example, cites a number of previous cases in which Disability Sport Development Organizations were reluctant to hand over responsibility for managing disability sport to their NGB; in this case, by contrast, the ECB approach was less of a take-over and more of a partnership. The ECB had learnt from their experience from the ACUS and WCA mergers (Velija, et al., 2012). The Disability Cricket Manager proposed a disability cricket vision for England and Wales and the previously discussed modifications to the game's profiling systems. While many development managers at the county level felt they had little involvement in or even knowledge of the development of these initiatives, this particular region was considerably more advanced in terms of disability cricket provision than many areas across the country (Riach, 2014).

Across the region, each first-class county reacted to mainstreaming differently. Some county respondents assumed that the flurry of activity was due to a realization that they 'have not done enough' to develop disability cricket. In January 2010, the West County appointed a specific development officer responsible for disability cricket. This was the first full-time, disability-specific cricket position in any county across England and Wales, and perhaps mirrored the appointment of the Disability Cricket Manager by the ECB three years earlier. Although the post was 80% externally funded, the appointee's mission was to develop disability cricket across the county. The network

structure in this county was enhanced considerably by the launch of the West County Disability Cricket Association, a DCDO operating at a regional level. The staff member responsible stated that following these developments participation numbers had increased and other counties had sought to adopt this approach as a model of best practice (Field Notes, July 2011). Other regions sought to add such a resource to their staff, but the position was seen, even by the ECB, as “a luxury resource” and therefore beyond their reach, given the minimal resources the counties allocated for disability cricket by counties (Dylan, November, 2012).

At the club level additional funding was given to clubs that completed the Club Mark scheme (a quality accreditation scheme for clubs who have junior sections) and attempted to become more inclusive by being open to all ages, abilities and genders. This integration was generally well received by clubs, young people and their parents. Concerning the benefits for his son, one parent commented:

For the young people like Geoff the benefits of being in this sort of club is that [*Hit the Top*] takes place alongside The Colts, and Geoff could see them and wanted to play the hard ball game (Parent, August 2010).

The creation of inclusive cricket clubs enabled C4C to increase the penetration of *Hit the Top*. By working in partnership with West County and some cricket clubs on the urban/suburban fringe, C4C was able to support the establishment of three inclusive clubs that offered some evidence of true integration. Nevertheless, in some counties, development managers felt that some clubs had expanded their operations not to become more inclusive, but in order to attract new revenue streams.

Mainstreaming created a significant upsurge in activity relating to disability cricket provision. Whether mainstreaming has led to a reproduction of the existing game or a genuine transformation of the game’s values can be determined through analysis of organizational doxa. The doxic rules and values that exist within an organization are related to and also influence the collective dispositions of individuals who deliver disability cricket (Harrington, et al., 2013). Where the doxa is inclusive mainstreaming has sought to build upon accommodation. Where the doxa is competitive it has sought to reproduce disability cricket as another, separate aspect of the county’s cricket provision. Differences were observed between the rationales and potential outcomes for disability cricket. In one county that boasted a number of developments, a key factor was the CEOs support of the wider-community and disability team. In contrast, some managers saw the development of disability cricket as yet another theatre for inter-county competition, while others saw it as a way for disabled people to engage in recreational sport:

A competitive league across England is the desire of some of the counties. Indeed the lack of competitive focus [caused the bewilderment of some:] “It’s not even in the strategy!” [a reference to the then-recently released ECB disability cricket strategy]. I thought Jack from the North-East board was pretty insightful when he redirected their complaints about this lack of competitive focus with his desire to simply increase mass participation in his county. Actually the difference in the approach to mass-disability cricket approach in the North East county and the competitive logic that drives both North (Niamh) and East (Liam) counties is clearly apparent. John from West County was non-committal, choosing to sit on the fence during the debate, he chose to focus on the positives like [a successful club that accepts disabled cricketers] and how the county, the club and the charity came together to slowly build a system. David re-stated the charity’s emphasis on changing the lives of the young people involved which not many of the counties seemed to be concerned about - but I guess that’s the difference between them and the others (Field Notes, June 2010).

Some others saw the development of disability cricket as a market expansion opportunity. Any lack of disabled cricketers was simply a communications problem, which resulted from the assumption that disabled people ‘don’t know about us’ and that this could be addressed by more effective communication. The same managers saw the increase in number of injured personnel returning from war in Afghanistan as another potential market opportunity;

N: When you’re writing a physical [disability cricket] strategy it is those bits you’re looking for, it is amputees and illnesses, maybe car accidents, that type of thing which is sad, but that’s the type of thing you’re going to focus on first and then the others can sneak in. So big learning curve for us, [The Centre] should be big for us that week.

I: Is that a local school, is it?

N: [The Centre] is [an] amputee centre for servicemen [from] the Afghanistan war, Iraq, this is where they all come, so every serviceman who’s injured who has an amputee goes to [The Centre] and the good news for us, sadly is it’s in North County..... So we can attract, and we hopefully can give them something out of it by teaching them to Level 1 coaching, be role models, give them a new role in life, so that’s the plan this year to go and meet them, but then also we did say in our strategy the other night, if that’s where the servicemen go, where do the amputees go that are not servicemen, so probably somewhere else and probably just their normal hospital, so we need to advertise in hospitals, so we need posters up in hospitals that amputees and people can play cricket. So it’s amazing where you can advertise in different places because probably mainstream cricketers don’t advertise in hospitals but we’re going to (Interview with Niamh and Aoife, July 2010).

This comment raised some discussion between the respondents about the need for tact in this approach;

A: The problem is, though, I mean advertising in hospitals, they’re not in any properly fit state of mind to sort of --

N: (interrupts) When they go back to rehab maybe, the rehab, physio (Niamh and Aoife, July 2010).

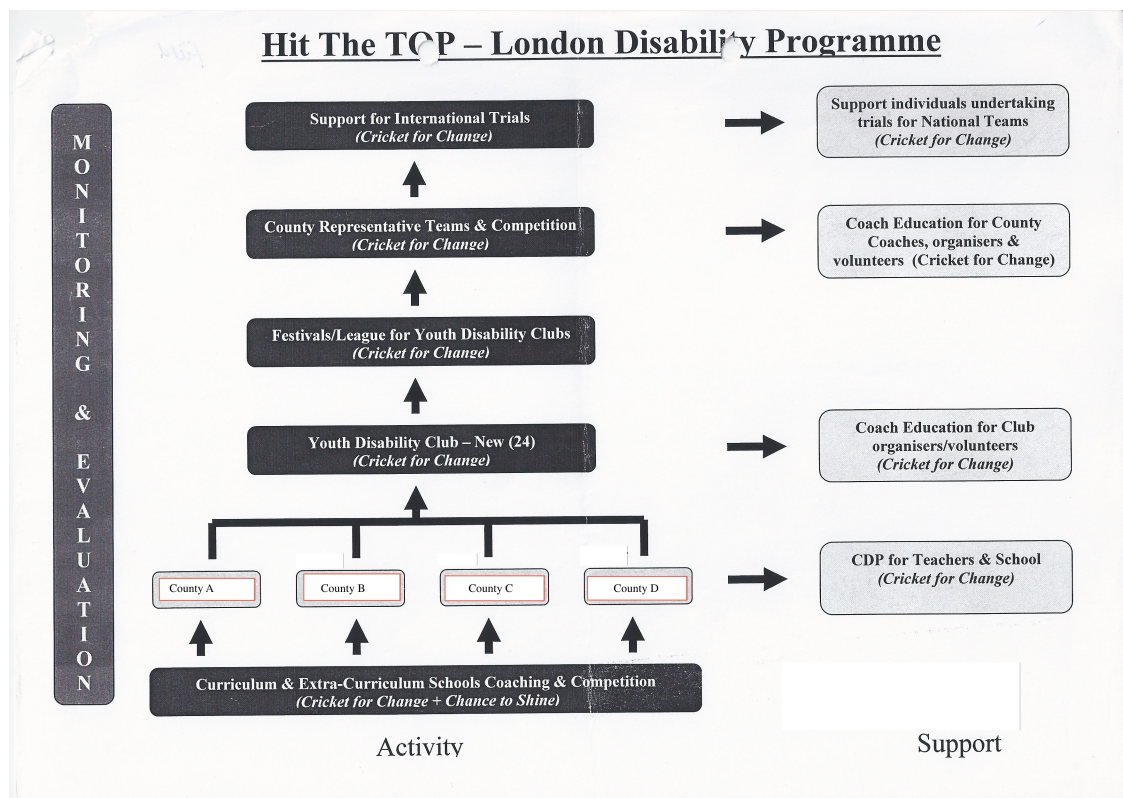
However, despite being seen as overly opportunistic, it is clear that Paralympic sport has benefitted for many years from such opportunities (Howe, 2008).

While such differences of opinion were based on individual managerial perspectives within the counties, their organizations also had an impacted on their outlook. The responsibility given to the position holder suggests that their personal beliefs and values influenced their rationale for developing disability cricket. At the same time, managers are positioned within organizations. Traditionally these organizations have been concerned with turning junior athletes into high-performing or elite sports people, aligned with the performance-efficiency model of practice. Indeed, this doxa runs through all but a few of the county organizations in this study; and all but one of the DCDOs. Even counties that demonstrated significant developments in the provision of disability cricket opportunities still prioritized an approach that was suited to performance doxa:

.... you say [to a potential venue] 'if you want we'll come up and do a cricket session once a month for you' and suddenly you've got 20 kids there who are interested in sport, and then you just link the pathway to the [local] club.... I don't like to be doing things that are just a one-off, you've got to have the relevance to the pathway. Sometimes organizations come to us and say 'oh can you come and do a coaching session?' The kids love it [and] I don't mind doing that but I don't want to just do that and walk away and say 'see you next year' sort of thing because all you're doing is just introducing them to something and then that's it... (John, August 2010).

When designing *Hit the Top*, C4C also adopted these principles. The *Hit the Top* outline diagram in figure 7.1 clearly shows the distinctive pyramid of the performance-efficiency approach. For an organization that aims to change lives through cricket this approach was interesting. Further analysis began to reveal more about the charity's rationale for participation in the field of disability cricket and less about the quality of the programmes.

Figure 7.1: Intended participant pathways for *Hit the Top*.



source: Cricket for Change (2008)

Impact on a Cricket Charity

Background

Uniqueness and differentiation have characterized C4C's identity since its establishment. From its beginnings as the LCCA in 1981 through to its rebranding as C4C in late 2008, the charity has always sought to differentiate itself from other sports providers (Ernest, July, 2010). Formed in the wake of the Brixton Riots, it prioritised social over sporting outcomes. In other words while the development of cricket was a goal, the specific development of elite cricketers was not. Building a community has been their stated aim. Early on, the organization built a reputation by delivering to marginalized communities that other cricket organizations left unattended^{xxix}. They sought gaps in cricket's provision. They worked in partnership with community groups, schools and Local Authorities to establish an inner-city cricket academy, provided cricket sessions for disabled young people in 'special' schools and delivered sessions on housing estates well before these practices became more common in cricket. In doing so they filled the perceived void for cricket development in the inner-city. Essentially, the charity gained local credibility with numerous stakeholders by delivering what others did or could not. Some of the counties even funded C4C's work for a number of years. However, rather than ingratiate the charity with the organizations they assisted, its activities

have generated wariness and resentment: “we are partners in action but essentially, we are tolerated” (Frank, September, 2008). Probably, the LCCA’s involvement in the *Anyone for Cricket* report (McDonald & Urga, 1998) (which was seldom discussed by the managers or staff at C4C) placed them in conflict with the cricket establishment and labelled C4C as political. Ernest, on securing the CEO role after Frank’s departure in 2010 stated “the charity is more like 8 years old, not 28, but we are moving onwards and upwards!” (July, 2010).

It is difficult to pinpoint when it dawned on the charity’s managers that the initiatives impacting on the field would have implications for them. The first inklings may have coincided shift in the PE, School Sports and Club Links strategy (PESSCL) by the DCMS in 2008 to fund out-of-school programmes, as opposed to in-school programmes:

Ernest mentioned that the share of charity revenue from schools had now dropped below 10% as the funding priorities had changed to promoting out-of-school programmes (which could be switched to but would stretch their resources). He identified the DCMS and their priorities and led a discussion on how they could re-focus their school work from fewer sessions to more networking in an attempt to drive participants to out-of-school clubs – where the funding was. He was very passionate about this but I gathered that he also realized it would be a major change for the organization as it would effectively mean that the delivery-led focus of the previous years was becoming less of a priority (Reflective Diary, September 2008).

Scanning the environment for changes that could impact on the organization allowed them to translate what these trends meant and prepare for outcomes that would suit the market (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996; Stenling, 2013b). Guiding the charity’s strategic direction was the CEO’s keen sense of identity and competition:

We are constantly looking over our shoulder, The [Lord’s] Taverners are getting better people in, but our biggest competitor is [TCF]. It has evolved slowly, but they are not visionary people. And the ECB... the ECB is not a partner, it’s a competitor (Ernest, July 2010).

In order to act upon these competitive instincts the organization emphasized ‘being flexible’, reading shifts in the marketplace and continually taking opportunities to benefit from them. Their tendency to compare themselves to others defined both how they could compete against them and how they could mimic their successful features while maintaining their uniqueness from other field members.

Chance to shine

It became clear throughout this study that in the eyes of TCF and the counties, C4C was just another cricket club. Importantly for this analysis, C4C were a club that were not familiar with the

ECB's administrative reporting system. The urban and disability work that they delivered was merged into the existing *Chance to shine* funding system. However, while many voluntary clubs had developed their administrative systems in order to gain accreditation, C4C was operating in their traditional manner:

The industry was inefficient before, and we were inefficient with it. Our productivity was low, our reporting was poor...but it was standard for the industry at the time (Ernest, July 2010).

A number of the staff reported that they felt the organization was very innovative compared to the counties, which they felt were producing few if any new ideas. However, rather than getting to grips with the administrative requirements of *Chance to shine*, they sought to develop new products that could be merged with existing ones. An opportunity to capitalize on a number of factors encouraged C4C to propose *StreetChance* as a joint initiative with TCF. These factors included C4C's history of work on housing estates, their relationship with the Metropolitan Police (forged over the years by raising awareness of sport as a crime prevention tool), the shift outlined above in relation to the funding of out-of-school provision and the success of *Chance to shine* in schools. Although there is some debate and lasting tension between the partners as to who actually was the inventor of the *StreetChance* programme, it was clear to me, as someone who was embedded in C4C at the time of its creation, that it was a C4C/Met Police concept, albeit one that was only injected with life by the funds that TCF and Barclays Bank Plc. (as sponsor) made available.

Launched in late 2008, the *StreetChance* programme was conceived to work in inner city areas, on housing estates and with community clubs to provide cricket sessions for young people at risk of social isolation. At the heart of the programme was C4C's tape-ball cricket (later renamed at *Street 20*) which positioned the charity as the delivery agent, with Barclays as the sponsor, the met Police as a major supporter and TCF as the main funder, through their provision of *Chance to shine* funds. The decision to be the delivery agent was to have significant ramifications for the charity. The monitoring system used for *Chance to shine* was adapted slightly for *StreetChance*, however the implementation altered the working relationship between the managers and the staff at C4C:

And all of a sudden your relationship becomes one which is around contacting to see if monitoring is up to date and to see if this is up to date and not about actually saying 'how's the project going', you know, and the sociable interaction that comes with it (David, August 2010).

The increase in *Chance to shine* and *StreetChance* projects was one of the key reasons for the dramatic growth (292%) in C4C's income (see Table 6.1). It also marked the early beginnings of the souring of the charity's relationship with TCF. The failure to monitor and report in a timely fashion

was consistent with their earlier practice with *Chance to shine*, something which did not go unnoticed by the TCF:

It's one of those things, isn't it, if it's something you're good at it's not a problem, it's not a pain, it's easy, you just do it, what's the problem? Why is that other bloke in the meeting whinging? A lot of club managers will feel like that but there are a number who, you know, whether it's because of them as individuals in the club or whether it's an organization like Cricket for Change who it had been more challenging for, and therefore it will always feel like a challenge, no matter how easy we make it (Aiden, June 2010).

Aiden's comments reflect the view in which some partners held for C4C. By doubting they would ever develop beyond a certain point, he reveals a performance-efficiency model perspective. Arguably human-developmentalists would disagree with this sceptical view. However, it was not just the administrative requirements that caused unease. A number of C4C staff misunderstood the relationship between those with the funds and those contracted to do the delivery. The charity's eagerness to handle the delivery relegated them to junior partner and therefore the one responsible for the graft. This caused organization-wide resentment, as one senior staff member explained:

With *StreetChance* we've got five partners, how many realistically do anything on the project? Met Police, seen them once; Positive Futures, never seen them; Barclays Bank put up the dosh and Chance to Shine take all the credit.... No problem. If that's like, if that is how the hierarchy works for us, fine... They need to get all the other partners in line, they need to help recruit kids, they need to look in charge of the school stuff, they need to get more coaches on board. Why should we do it? (Conor, July 2010).

Possibly more could have been done internally to inform this senior coach that *StreetChance* could be considered TCF's programme by virtue of its having funded the project. After two years of delivery C4C received the unexpected news of the national launch of *StreetChance* without C4Cs involvement. The essence of the game was their product, and now it was lost: "Unfortunately for us with *StreetChance*, we sold them the crown jewels" (Ernest, July 2010).

Whole Sport Plan

The expansion of the *StreetChance* programme and the growing stature of TCF within the field of disability cricket were not lost on C4C. Neither were these developments lost on TLT. Although the official charity for recreational cricket across the UK and a founding funder of the *Chance to shine* programme, TLT was not in as prominent a position within the field as it had been previously. For both TLT and C4C, WSP presented a very good opportunity to combine the deep pockets of the former with the programme development and delivery skills of the latter. From July 2011 *Hit the Top* and *Street 20* were launched across the country. The use of these two programmes to target similar groups of young people offered some counties a mechanism to meet their disability-

and women & girls-cricket targets. It was both an opportunity for TLT to re-assert their field position and for C4C to develop social capital across the country with other counties. The take-up from nine counties across the country provided C4C with new links and partnerships for collaborative work. C4C were the junior partner and positioned as the programme's coordinator. They avoided the role of delivery agents and took the lead in developing the training systems that would allow the counties to work with existing cricket clubs or establish a variety of clubs (at sport facilities or in day care centres) across the country. Although *Street-20* ended prematurely, the national expansion of *Hit the Top* was initially successful. For many of these counties it was an opportunity to meet the requirements of the WSP by formalizing the sporadic nature of their existing disability cricket provision:

Disability cricket for us was the county competition. As it was a competition, people wanted to win the pot. It was influenced by the least disabled, and under that there was nothing. Because of *Hit the Top* there is something for the guys who just want to play (Niall, November 2012).

Mainstreaming

The *Hit the Top* programme was not a response to mainstreaming, but it did include some institutionally accepted ideas in its implementation. While *Hit the Top* adopted a performance-efficiency approach there were some unique features that ensured the programme's popularity amongst young people involved with the charity. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the informality of *Hit the Top* sessions placed an emphasis on fun and engagement. At competitions multiple matches took place simultaneously on the one cricket field, involving at times, over 60 participants on one cricket ground (4 matches of roughly 16 players simultaneously). Players were dressed in bright team, school or county colours in contrast to traditional cricket whites. The event also contrasted with the traditional (and more recognizable) game in which only 13 players are on the field taking part in the (one) match at any one time. The programme also demonstrated to many involved in the performance-efficiency leaning organizations that young people, both boys and girls^{xxx}, and even those with severe learning difficulties and limited mobility, can enjoy cricket:

Mark organized a session for kids with Severe Learning Difficulties to demonstrate to the West County coaches that you could actually coach them. At first the West County coaches were quite reluctant to get involved. At the briefing meeting they stood there with arms crossed and Mark was quite nervous to impress. However, by the end of the day they were sold, often getting involved themselves. It was a really good achievement for Mark (Field Notes, May 2009).

Rather than analyse *Hit the Top* in terms of its ability to create a scalable and easily accessible version of cricket, it is interesting to consider C4C's role in its creation. *Hit the Top* is the product of an organizational doxa and individual habitus that were pragmatic enough to design something that

other cricketing organizations would want to support and adopt. This doxa provided the objectives that infused the programme in the first place: to fill the gap left between the BACD league and the sporadic activities of junior disability cricket. Individual staff within C4C invested their ideas into programmes that encapsulated their own personal experiences in the sport; Smith and Mark, for example, sought to develop urban programmes, while David focused on the development of disability cricket. Diversity was a feature of C4C's staff. Other counties lacked a diversity of experience between their staff, and within their organizational setting were unable to formulate these programme ideas. From observations throughout the study the organizational values of the counties encouraged mass participation simply as a means to the end of developing promising young players along the performance pathway. While the design of *Hit the Top* reflected this pathway for players with talent, the first priority appeared to be focused on having fun and engaging all.

The classification system used by *Hit the Top* focused on visual impairments, moderate learning difficulties and a third category that was a catch-all for many other impairments (i.e. Severe Learning Difficulties, Physical Disability, Deafness). The first two align directly with international representative teams whereas the 'Pan' ability (all inclusive) category was created to ensure an appropriate level of participation and competition for many other young people. Although Pan is a classification used in a number of other disability sports, it was not used widely in cricket. It is interesting to contrast *Hit the Top's* classification system with the more radical classification system employed by CFPD

We introduced three categories of disability: Zephyr [which is now known as category CC3) for those with a low level of disability, Zenith (CC2) for those with a medium level of disability and Zodiac (CC1) for those with a high level of disability (CFPD, 2013, online).

In this CFPD model contests are organized to cater for players with a range of disabilities who all play at once. The resultant shift is so dramatic that performance-efficiency organizations have not made any attempt to support it, or claim that it is for people who fall outside the current categories. However, the ECB's interest in *Hit the Top*, which became evident toward the end of this investigation, has emerged from its nationwide success at getting numbers into the Pan-Disability category and could be used to provide cricketing opportunities for a wider range of people than previously covered by the BACD and BCEW. A possible reason for this lack of adoption is that the CFPD lacks profile within the game and does not enjoy the level of support that the BACD and BCEW receive from the counties. CFPD also lack other values which they feel is an additional reason for the classification system not taking off:

I: Why have other organizations not adopted your more inclusive classification system?

S: They want to win.

O: They want to win.

S: It's not about winning, they just want to win and it's not about that, it is about fun and enjoyment (Sean and Oisin, August 2010).

Suggestions were made to county managers during the interviews about the adoption of a more inclusive system. All were opposed, but at least one of the more articulate respondents suggested a more specific separation of categories:

I: Do you think there could be some sort of a way to imagine cricket where it could be fully inclusive?

J: I'm not so sure. I'd probably say no, I think you'd probably run the risk of actually devaluing it because in order to do that... there's adaptations within their rules as well but only to a minimum just to make sure things are kept as even as possible. So I think given the nature of disability, I think you've got to have different categories. I think eventually what you probably will find is going the other way, the break down becomes a lot more clearer, I think if they get more people involved you will start having physical and learning as separate sides^{xxxi} ...but I think in order to do that you've just got to increase the numbers sufficiently (John, August 2010).

Analysis: Field, Organizational Doxa and Habitus

An examination of counties, their clubs and C4C suggests that the three institutional initiatives (one internal, two external) caused various adaptations throughout the field of disability cricket. Each initiative required some form of response from these organizations that impacted on their working outputs. One key issue is whether this has induced a genuine transformation of the way disability cricket was managed or whether it is merely a reproduction of the existing 'mainstream' system. Difficulties in achieving transformation rather than reproduction is a feature of critical studies of change in sport management (Howe, 2007; Stenling, 2013b). A common denominator between each initiative was the promise of funding for organizations who implemented structural change within their organizations, to suit a certain initiative. Each was required to adopt a more formalized, contractual or quasi-contractual relationship (Houlihan & Green, 2009; Houlihan & Goddard, 2013).

This revised relationship simply reinforced the existing system of governance across the disability cricket field, and did little to alter pre-existing power structures amongst first-class counties, TCF and the ECB. Despite the new relationship a number of organizations demonstrated their ability to translate environmental factors for their own benefit. In the case of the North County Board, the rhetoric and reality were decoupled (Oliver, 1991). New external investments in disability cricket remained within the county coffers while as an organization they used the funds for their own

purposes while publically expressing commitment to (and compliance with) the WSP. However, the West County appointed new staff to develop strategy, build capacity and increase the provision of disability cricket. I use these decisions to demonstrate how an organizational doxa reciprocally informs the habitus of managers and staff to provide myriad responses to environmental factors.

To enable reproduction, the initiatives (while maintaining a discourse of revolution) repackaged disability cricket practice so it would match the existing values of the field (Stenling, 2013b). The dominant agents of the field of disability cricket, led by the governing body (the ECB) and comprising its regional (the counties) and local agents (the clubs), possessed a ‘producers’ orthodoxy that prioritized the performance-efficiency development of cricket. For example, assumptions about how junior players would be developed into elite performers who would in turn bring success to their respective organizations dominated developmental discourse. This in essence was perceived as their ‘game’. The ‘game’ was the development of cricket over and above other sports as a means of increasing resources. Increased income from this activity was reinvested in the organization with the aim of increasing participation. By increasing participation the ECB sought to go above and beyond the requirements of the WSP in order to enhance its economic and social capital and thereby affect future negotiations with organizations such as Sport England.

Throughout their shared history, members of the cricket establishment have enjoyed a complex relationship. This raises an important question: what makes them appear to pull together now? There may be a link between an organization’s values and its identity. Since the launch of the One Game strategy in 2007 the ECB and counties have sought to maintain the appearance of a unified front, at least on the issue of the development of cricket. There has been a shared translation of the initiatives and the benefits for their organizations and the sport as a whole. Counties have always identified themselves as producers of talent and success. While at times this has seemed self-serving, it is the way that many have displayed their competence and generated capital. Achieving the WSP targets could provide a new competitive opportunity for counties to battle against each other. Developing disability cricket is no longer about vagaries; it is now about achieving specific and identifiable goals. Competition was important to a county’s identity, even in their community sections, winning is a core objective. Hence, change translated environmental factors along the lines of the values and interests of the organizations: ‘While competitiveness dominates, the decision of implementing the actual [initiative] was probably an easy one because the [initiative] was considered as taking good care of so-called sport development’ (Skille, 2011, p. 87). Achieving against the WSP reinforced this identity. At the national level the TCF, supported by both the ECB’s strategy and funding support, prioritized the development of cricket, i.e. the facilitation of mass, junior

opportunities that aimed to bring young people into the sport and eventually onto cricket clubs. For the majority of field organizations these three initiatives did not challenge the orthodoxy of the ‘game’; indeed, they appeared to re-validate and re-formalize the game’s central values. Developing cricket to be as successful as it can be is the *raison d’être* of cricket organizations. Therefore, these organizations did not need to cling to their organizational identities as strongly as C4C, who were told repeatedly by their management that they were under threat. Given their flexible approach, C4C’s field position was open to a range of possibilities. In contrast, the geographic and hierarchical limitations of the counties solidified their positions; in other words, they made them more assured that their own identities would not collapse if these initiatives were embraced.

For C4C, avoiding the opportunities these initiatives promised was impractical. While privately staff may not agree with the game’s dominant values, as an organization they were pragmatic, priding themselves on the design of programmes that they could easily re-brand to suit institutional requirements. At the same time as they delivered this prescribed work, they prioritized other activities that held greater meaning and value for them. Managers at C4C created programmes to draw down funds from larger national charities, then delivered these programmes merely for the economic capital that came with them. In contrast, the organization seemed to place greater value on the development of their localized disability work and the development of international programmes. This ability to exist in the fields of disability cricket and SDP, is similar to what counties demonstrate when they manage grassroots and elite simultaneously. Delivering a session of disability cricket is the same irrespective of whether it is performed at a school in London, or in war torn area of Sierra Leone. Because C4C’s organizational *doxa* is comprised of the competing values and individual dispositions of its relatively diverse workforce than was seen in the counties, their organizational identity is not harmed by the work they perform to finance the work they cherish.

Finally, what was the motivation for these organizations to translate these initiatives? In effect, by funding clubs that adopted mainstreaming (even instrumentally) and rewarding Focus Clubs for adhering to the county goals (which are essentially the goals of the ECB and Sport England) an economic market for mass-provision opportunities has been created. Adopting these principles and practices is not only financially viable for cricket clubs now, but also a means through which they can access further sources of funding. The valued cultural capital of cricket clubs belongs to the organization which is a multi-faceted and accommodating sporting club that achieves their targets. In return, this provides increasing economic capital and access to social capital opportunities not available for non-focus clubs. The additional value here is that there is organizational capital, not just in economic form as a reward for achieving the targets, but as a mechanism for developing social

capital. Both of these combine to allow smaller clubs and counties the ability to compete on a par with larger competitors.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter provided the organizational context and critique for the interpretation of environmental factors. Bourdieu's practice theory demonstrates that managerial actions are contextualized by organizational values that act both as an influence and as a mechanism of control. An individual's habitus was informed, not only by their previous experience in the sport but by the position they occupy within the organization, which facilitated contrasting translation of these environmental factors. This concurs with the translation perspective on organizational change and contrasts with theoretical perspectives that suggest interpretations suggest acontextual isomorphism. Mainstreaming provided the context for the rationalization of the field, while the WSP provided two initiatives that stimulated the growth of an economic market for the provision of grassroots sport. All organizations adopted the initiatives but it was C4C, which had responsibility for a significant amount of delivery within this region, which saw the programme as a financial means to their own ends. The next chapter will now examine the individual level of analysis to demonstrate the consequences of these environmental factors and the organizational developments they induce upon the opportunities and challenges experienced by individuals.

Chapter 8: Individual Level Analysis

Introduction

The preceding chapters have critically examined the effects of the implementation of three initiatives on the development of the field of disability cricket and the organizations within it. While individuals comprise both of the institution and organization, the previous chapters have subsumed the individuals within the organization. This chapter aims to contextualize and critique data about the translation of environmental factors by individual agents and the potential impact upon their own trajectories within the field. While it is clear that change has occurred to the field of disability cricket, staff and managers perceive numerous personal implications. The field position occupied by individual agents within their organizations permitted them to design a range of strategies to either craft new practices or conform to the emergent ones available. This aspect of the discussion is important because we need to explore how institutional effects are individually translated. These translations affect individual working responsibilities and also how they can develop opportunities to enhance their own field positions, within their organization or within the institution. While this process of translation is predominantly informed by their individual habitus, as argued in the previous chapter, the habitus is influenced by the doxa of the organization, situated within the field in which they are employed. To explain this further, I will critique how each of these three initiatives has impacted on individuals' strategies for capital acquisition and accumulation. As a high degree of pragmatism was employed by individuals, a section following this critique will provide an analysis of their coping strategies.

The Impact of Increasing Accountability on Individual Roles and Opportunities

The roles and opportunities for individual managers, staff and participants across the field were altered by a combination of environmental factors caused by three initiatives. While mainstreaming prioritized structural reorganization, alterations to the working practices of the field occurred predominantly due to the *Chance to shine* and WSP initiatives. These initiatives encouraged individuals to adopt a more bureaucratic and managerial practice for managing and delivering disability cricket. In some cases the transformation was dramatic, altering an individual's role from front-line delivery staff to back-office coordinator. However, rather than have professionals replaced with managers there appeared pathways for professionals to adopt managerial practice. The following section outlines how the respondents experienced these changes, how the opportunities presented themselves and what methods individuals employed to build or maintain their own field position, gain

or lose capital, and cope with a shifting field to prevent hysteresis. Examining how environmental factors are translated individually by staff occupying different organizations is important to this thesis because it further highlights that the reciprocal relationship between individual habitus and organizational doxa which impacts upon an individual's personal trajectory in the field.

Staff within county cricket organizations

For staff employed in development manager roles in the counties the increasing managerialism of the field became less of a problem because moves towards increased accountability replicates the continuance of a trend that began around the inception of the *Chance to shine* initiative in 2005. Historically, the game's values were said to be maintained by an unofficial policy of recruiting from within (Wright, 2009), however since the inception of the ECB, the NGB began bringing staff with managerial skills and competencies into the management of the sport:

I think the ECB are starting to go down that road [of bringing in business expertise] themselves a little way, they've recently replaced the regional development managers with regional business managers and that's quite an interesting move. They now employ, I don't know if it's 4 or 6 people that have come from outside of cricket, but they all have business backgrounds, business process backgrounds in various areas and those people are now passed to, when they are talking to the cricket board, to actually challenge the cricket board as to, you know, is this the best for your business (Dylan, November 2012).

Indeed, at the county level, Niamh stated that this "usual person" is becoming less useful;

Since the *Whole Sport Plan*'s came out, yeah, the job has changed. I mean personally if you look over the world, the type of people that have been hired in cricket, they're all ex pros, ex cricketers, I think now the job's changing, I think people are now not hiring ex pros or ex cricketers because they don't necessarily have the skills to put their knowledge of the game into place, so you'll see counties now not always going for the usual person (Niamh, July 2010).

Staff within the counties also reflected upon this, and acknowledged that a certain level of business competence was becoming more required in order to fulfil the changing expectations of the role. One respondent captured the general feeling of the other development managers:

I think the dedication, passion, I think if you want to do the cricket job as a whole you'll have to have a passion, this is not a 9am to 5pm job, it's serious hours now. I think you've got to understand the game, you do need a bit of business background, I think budgets and... raising money, so I believe I'm good at doing that... and I think a good communicator, you've got to be a people lover, you've got to understand and be able to communicate (Niamh, July 2010).

In the eyes of the development managers, the role was evolving and new skills and abilities were required:

I: Since you've come into the role, have those skills, those competencies always been there or have you found them more pressing over time?

N: Yeah, because years ago I didn't look after any money and then suddenly now you're looking after huge amounts of money... I'm trying to help [a club] build up a project that needs £1.5 - £2 million pounds, so it's bigger money than it was, although you're not dealing with it, you're trying to get that in. But no, as the years have gone on the knowledge need base is huge, you need more (Niamh, July 2010).

For others, it was clear that they required some further development of their inter-personal skills to more effectively manage the partnership working requirements of the field:

It has made me need to improve my people management skills. Identifying every club which have different ways of operating is difficult. Because clubs are very competitive and those who excel and those that struggle have an 'us & them' [relationship]. I have had to develop myself as peacemaker, negotiator and someone capable of the arts of persuasion (John, November 2012).

For one development manager with a history in the sales industry, the "business brain" was important:

I: [You mentioned] sales experience in the past and obviously the experience with yourself playing cricket, has that been a factor on the way you do your job now?

L: A bit of both, I had to deal with various personalities along the way... but I think it has helped me, you know, when you've got to create those relationships from scratch, approaching it from a business point of view and introducing yourself to people. So a bit of both I'd say, certainly planning wise, you know, in sales you had to plan, always looking at your budgets, always looking at your forecasting so it has helped me in that sense and when you're working with cricket, people from the outside tend to think 'oh it's a bit of cricket coaching, we'll put on a few courses and we'll rock up a couple of cricket clubs and help them through and answer some of the questions' but it's not. It's a lot of planning, the ECB want a lot of figures off you so I think you need to have a bit of a business brain behind some of it (Liam, October 2010).

These results indicate provide a contrasting approach than what was revealed by Kay and Laberge (2002, b). In Adventure Racing the corporate values were homogenizing the authentic race experiences. However, these corporate values facilitated a growing managerialism within the cricket establishment that suited the dominant, competitive values of the sport. This match effectively minimized resistance. What resistance remained it was expressed through meanings concerning a passion for the game and experience within the game. When questioned about whether the role would become more of a business job than a cricket job, all respondents prioritized cricket over business. Niamh expressed this most clearly:

I'm not going to say it totally helps to have been in cricket because the way the job's going now it's becoming very business-like, I think there is a need to have skills coming into it that are very business-like but I also do believe there is some level of experience that you grew up with the game, you understood the issues that you faced, and especially with Women and Girls so it helps me face the minority sport of disability, so growing up in the environment, you can understand what they're going through and I believe they're probably going through it 10 times worse than we did (Niamh, July 2010).

The increasing managerial focus brought about by the *Chance to shine* and WSP initiatives and the increasing requirement for technical business skills have resulted in shifts in accountability and additional pressures placed on staff time. Time pressures arrived in the form of meetings and the administration required to ensure compliance from partners. These requirements were increasing the stress-levels of the individuals within the field. Staffing resources were stretched but nevertheless expected to cope with the increasing demands on the role. These demands included club management:

The amount of work that we get through I think is on a par with [other counties]. You know, looking at something I put together not so long ago, we were comparing ourselves in terms of how many staff we had and how many projects we get through, so this is done at the middle of last year, East County at the time had like 430 clubs and 320 of those were affiliated and we've got 69 Club Mark clubs and 55 Focus Clubs, we have over 700 people on our association membership and we only have five employees... (Liam, October 2010).

The ECB's vision of building partnerships throughout the cricket network impacted upon the coordination responsibilities of staff, some of whom have progressed from a coaching background. The logistics of coordinating meetings and managing communications throughout the network placed staff under pressure, as time was needed to collect and verify the evidence collected:

One thing I noticed...is the time that it now takes to actually collate that evidence and go through those processes and therefore what we have found is that 4 or 5 years ago we could take on more roles which you just can't do now because to actually see those processes through and to collate the evidence that you need to hit those funding targets it's just time capacity, you need the ability to be able to put those hours in (Caitlin, June 2010).

Furthermore, the increased requirements to attend the region's multiple County Sport Partnerships added another time pressure:

C: Quite a lot, quite a lot. To be honest we get engagement from the [County Sports Partnerships] and this filtering down from the [School Sports Partnerships] we're having to meet with those groups as well, and also now the competition managers so there is another one there.

I: Do you go to them or do they come to you?

C: We have to go to them, so yeah, quite a lot of meetings.

I: Have you noticed the increase [on time management].

C: Yeah, massively. Yep, whereas before we didn't really have that sort of input, take competitions for example – we are responsible for delivering those projects, it's us and our local partners. So now it is split into 17 and you now have to go to 17 meetings (Caitlin, June 2010).

Some in the counties could accept the increasing managerial requirements of the role, but seemingly only if required to do so by organizations deemed more significant than them. One other form of meeting, 'Steering Groups', were included as part of the funding requirements for C4C's *Hit*

the Top programme. The notion of being called to a meeting of a junior partner was seen by some as particularly irksome, not just because of the time involved but because the meetings were organized by C4C (an organization outside the cricket establishment) which reversed the field's traditional power relationships:

C4C [should] feed into North, to West, to South, whatever. They shouldn't have a separate [steering-group meeting] because now there are 3 meetings just all talking about cricket at the moment, it's too much, it's too much. We need [regional board meetings] obviously [to get access to the ECB's disability manager], but this one has got to come out (Niamh, July 2010).

While the above comments suggests there were issues with the changing requirements of the development manager role, it did appear that these senior staff became adept at adjusting to the constant change that was a reality of their the workplace. Within many cricket organizations, change appeared commonplace, and while perceived as frustrating it was deemed achievable. As noted in Chapter 3, hysteresis occurs when field shifts occur and an individual's habitus no longer matches the field's doxa (Bourdieu, 1990). County managers did not succumb to hysteresis because the environmental factors seemed reasonable, rational and did not confront pre-existing meaning systems of the individual or the doxa of their organization, as found previous (Bourdieu, 1998; Howe, 2007; Howe, 2008; McGillivray & McIntosh, 2006; Taylor & Garratt, 2010). The only instance where resistance was shown was in having to respond to a junior partner's requests. Critically, this acceptance was because many of the resultant changes that occurred in response to these environmental factors resulted in a reproduction of existing dominant practices. Such change did not cause conflict because it did not threaten the identity of the staff, or their organizations. This congruence between field and habitus prevented hysteresis from occurring within these members of the cricket establishment.

Staff within C4C

As with their county counterparts, the field shifts required the managers and staff at C4C to adapt their roles in response to new opportunities and threats. Ernest's attempts to bring in younger staff to increase the delivery of *StreetChance* and *Hit the Top* (and hence increase funds) resulted in change for the more experienced staff. These changes were manifest in a variety of ways. Some sought new opportunities through further education:

I think George is very interested in developing himself, he asks about doing an MA in sport management with us for when he decides to move on from coaching (Field Notes, March 2009).

Smith, by contrast, attempted to use his considerable stock of experience and intellectual capital for personal ends, by creating a disability and urban cricket coaching manual:

He did confide in me though that he felt he was too old for this now and he was hoping for a redundancy which he does not think will be forthcoming. I sense a split between himself and the younger brigade but the key issue here is that if he leaves all his knowledge goes with him. I suggested to him to try and write a coaching manual to provide an outlet for this knowledge. He was interested... but he wanted it to be kept from the others....It is a shame if he was to slip away (Field Notes, November 2009).

Many of the changes that occurred within the charity were due to conflict over the extent and pace of change undertaken. During each CEO's time in charge both Frank and Ernest drew on their stocks of cultural and social capital to exacerbate the wedge between the staff team and Smith and George respectively. Given the influence of the CEO over a young staff this resulted in isolation within the organization. This isolation was compounded by the changing field conditions leading to hysteresis. As a result a way out for each was suggested and sought. Although Smith's coaching and organizational performances were at times haphazard, the quality of George's sessions (from those observed) was comparable to that of any other development officer in the charity. It seemed that George was pressured out because of his perceived inability to increase output levels and therefore contribute to the organization's shifting agenda. His practice no longer suited the organization's doxa and contrasted with the identity that the charity was attempting to cultivate. As a result he was relegated during the restructure to a junior position, before exiting at the end of 2011.

The restructure brought about change in a number of roles, including that of Conor who was elevated to a regional development manager. Although it was a promotion, the shift created some operational issues:

The support hasn't been as easy and as accessible as it might be. Probably I think Ernest and David would probably back this up themselves, but at the same juncture I'm very proud that they've got enough faith in me, and in many ways some of the staff, to say, Conor, go, you know, get on with it, we'll back what you're doing and try and do the best that you can (Conor, July 2010).

Conor's faith that he would overcome the obstacles presented by the new role as they were unproblematic. The informality of the organization and its systems and practices limited individual opportunities to succeed. This resulted in issues arising from the direct management of staff without the training to do so:

I, if I'm honest, I found it really hard work. I really found it hard work, not, it's not in a basis of, of not being upsetting people, but in order for a charity to survive and to grow and move in the same direction.... it's important that the team all buy into the same goal but the individuals have got that motivation to move it forward and move themselves forward (Conor, July, 2010).

Moving from development coach to development manager made Conor responsible for two very different staff (for which he received no training). This lack of training to manage the increased responsibility afforded to staff was consistent throughout the organization:

I've got Jane and George. And the difficulty is you've got two completely different methods of work... For someone like George it's about managing, making sure he goes to places, managing the fact that he's going to get the hump... or you've got someone like Jane, who may be at a position where she possibly is at her maximum. Or maybe she needs a bit more time, it's a very difficult thing. I'm not going to go and teach George how to suck eggs because there's no point; he knows everything. The argument with George is to make sure that...., he's doing as much as he possibly can in his programme. Whereas someone like Jane, I need to go out and watch what she's doing because she obviously needs little bits of help and, more importantly with Jane, she's a confidence coach, you need to tell her that was brilliant today. Whereas someone George needs to be left alone. George doesn't want your feedback; he wants to have as easy a job as possible. So doing that element is tricky (Conor, July 2010).

Other staff raised the issue of the increasing workload that resulted from the adoption of multiple *StreetChance* and *Hit the Top* programmes. Efforts to improve the charity's customer focus centred on making the event days more than just sporting contests. David, for example, was keen to create a festival atmosphere that would provide a fun and enjoyable event and one that would also act as a promotional tool. Those tournaments observed during fieldwork were relatively successful in attracting a consistent cluster of participants and their parents, and impressing visiting funders. The event, which included lunch, was staged at no cost to the participants or their parents. That the majority were held during the summer period meant that these events were a compelling school-holiday activity. Nonetheless, the additional requirements did start to place pressure on junior staff, who were only beginning to consolidate their coaching practice, but were given many other customer-facing and administrative duties:

It's like *Hit the Top* duties... I don't like doing this sort of *Hit the Top* extra stuff. I don't want to get the caterers in, I don't want to run the awards ceremony, I want to do the coaching (Tristan, August 2010).

One aim of a restructure that took place at C4C during 2009-2010 was to maintain quality control while the staff and programme expansion took place. However, some staff in C4C also reflected their county partners' concerns about the additional time pressures brought about by increased accountability:

There is times where we meet for the sake of meeting, I find that bit... we had a meeting today about structuring, fine, perfect we needed to do it. I was coming away with a to-do-list of 8 or 10 things we need to get done but there's times where right 'we're having a North development meeting, turn up to [the train station], eat a KFC for an hour, write down 2 things, right well done' now we're off. And I'm just like well, was there any point of that? (Tristan, August 2010).

Following the restructure these new roles and opportunities created increased tension within the charity. Managerial assumptions about staff performance, staff perception about the role of the board, managerial involvement in day-to-day operations and issues between staff combined with a lack of trust or even a willingness to work together characterized this internal conflict. Pushing for staff to gain ownership over an area of programming may have been a suitable way for management to encourage staff to get more involved in the charity's programmes. This increasing focus on managerial responsibility and programme outputs created the unintended result of a growing sense of individualism within the charity. This individualism increased as the organization expanded, and seemed to work against the collective and inclusive team ideal that was present prior to the restructure and expansion required to cater for *Chance to shine*. In contrast to the experience of staff in the counties, each change to working practices was met with much discussion and at times resistance. The outreach style of delivery work made it extremely difficult for management to be present to oversee sessions to ensure work was carried out effectively. Given the manner in which staff completed the *Chance to shine* monitoring forms (haphazard and inaccurate) following each session, a great deal of trust was shown by the funders towards those who delivered sessions. These tensions affected the organization and its outlook on field opportunities, in particular their response to the expectations for successful management of the *StreetChance* programme of *Chance to shine*. Staff recognized the gap between what they used to do and what this growing sense of accountability required. Individual responses varied but the internal conflicts exacerbated some staff's hysteresis effects.

At C4C a number of staff suffered hysteresis effects, however each staff responded differently to this. While Conor, for example, aligned his values strongly to a human-development perspective, he also demonstrated creative adaptations to his practice (Kerr & Robinson, 2009) by developing innovative programmes and training opportunities for junior staff. These creative activities contrasted with his at times negative discourse on the rationale for change. Critical of the gap between the board, the managers and the staff, this discourse reflected the internal struggle he experienced throughout the investigation. His response contrasts with that of George, who also experienced hysteresis as a result of changes to the field and his organization. Demonstrating a mixture of stubbornness and consistency, George maintained his working practices and refused to increase his output while changes occurred. As a result his performance (measured through delivery hours produced) was weaker than that of other staff. Despite being a committed coach who planned his sessions and ensured each was delivered in a consistent fashion (something not guaranteed with some newer, younger staff), George experienced rupture as he received criticism for not altering his practice, and

was singled out by the CEO, Ernest, and isolated for not contributing to the emergent change-focused, albeit accountable organization (McDonough & Polzer, 2012).

The two cases above present only a snapshot of the wider staff team. However they do demonstrate that while hysteresis can occur, the responses created in relation to these hysteresis effects can vary (Bourdieu, 1990; Kerr & Robinson, 2009). The role of hysteresis in resisting change should be noted. Conor and George followed contrasting trajectories, but each resisted the unquestioning changes that were occurring at C4C. While Conor was promoted and remained at C4C, George exited, suggesting that creative adaptation to hysteresis is a worthwhile strategy.

Impact of *Chance to shine* on Individual Roles and Opportunities

TCF and ECB created a strong partnership that resulted in the increased development and pre-eminence of competitive cricket opportunities as part of the field's main practice. At an organizational level *Chance to shine* complemented the work that many organizations performed. *Chance to shine*'s positioning as an SDP programme meant that C4C saw it less as an opportunity and more as "a threat" (Frank, December 2013). Instead of drawing on their competencies in the delivery of urban cricket and becoming an early adopter, they chose to observe developments and only became involved with *Hit the Top* and *StreetChance* in 2008. The administrative system that was put in place to facilitate the implementation of the *Chance to shine* project has been outlined previously in Chapters 6 and 7. For clubs with little administrative experience the county boards assisted with the links to schools and the retrieval of data from the sessions. As the clubs, the counties and the TCF all adhered to the central aim of the programme, few operating issues were reported. Nevertheless the administrative reporting systems that other organizations used were unfamiliar to the staff at C4C. One area in particular was the requirement for the completion of monitoring forms. Historically, the counties had expected an end-of-programme report following the delivery of disability or urban cricket programmes (David, August 2010). This report was completed by the programme manager on a post-hoc basis. With the onset of *Chance to shine*, on-going monitoring was required, in the form of a report after each session. This placed responsibility for data generation onto the staff themselves:

The key importance of the *StreetChance* monitoring is that it gets there on time and in a way, the coaches have to take a level of responsibility for it (David, August 2010).

While Ernest made continual pleas for evidence that could be used in reports to demonstrate the impact of the charity's work upon participants, the attitude he gave off toward the *StreetChance*

monitoring was that it was somehow beneath them. This in turn affected the staffs' view on monitoring in general:

With regards to the *StreetChance* monitoring I did get the impression that Ernest could not really care about whether it occurs or not. Something not lost on the other staff (Field Notes, June 2010).

Although monitoring work was resented by some as either “a burden” (Jane, August 2010) or more suspiciously by others as “performance monitoring” (Conor, July 2010), the practice can be characterised as an organizational necessity. Attempts were made for this process to become an organizational routine. Frank, Ernest and David translated monitoring as a process centrally linked to changes to the field. Nevertheless, monitoring is a managerial approach to ensure compliance and enhance organizational learning. The design of the monitoring system that was used, and its resultant evaluation model offered little to organizations to learn from. However, it did permit funders to account for their investment. Not only did it not fit into organizational routines, it also did not suit the habitus of the “type of people” employed by the charity:

I think people absolutely accept it but it is a chore and it's only because the kind of individuals we are, we're not methodical, business-minded, educated people, we're not [names a staff member employed at a partner organization] who would embrace a monitoring form, we don't do it, I mean people like me, Eoin and Tristan; you wouldn't wanna leave us alone with a monitoring form, it's not good (laughs) (George, August 2010).

Managers and staff placed great emphasis on experience and the quality of engagement, which worked against the adoption of monitoring systems that were focused only on outputs. George also felt that the process itself did not suit the practical reality of delivery:

Because in theory, everybody says that when you do your [partner organization] session, you turn up, you get your paper out, you quickly take the monitoring in, get the youth worker to sign it but what happens is you turn up and as soon as you turn up the kids are jumping on top of you ‘can we get the kit out of the bag, can we do this, can we do that’ and you've got no time to step back and take monitoring and then at the end of it everyone runs away, so it would just be like a whirlwind and then you're left not doing your monitoring properly (George, August 2010).

Most staff accepted that monitoring was “a necessary evil” (George, August, 2010) but it was not clear even after repeated conversations whether they understood why it was done. Staff members were unclear about what occurred when the information was submitted, or even what pressures had been placed on TCF to generate this information. Charged with increasing participation numbers in return for a substantial amount of funding, the collection of output data was paramount to TCF. In practice staff members were compiling batches of monitoring sheets not after the sessions but within the office at C4C. While this did not create numbers from nothing, it was not a quality procedure and

errors and over-estimations could have occurred. The staff recognised Ernest's desire to do more monitoring, but they reported a lack of direction with regard to the actual process and strategies for integrating it into their coaching practice. There were many times across the course of the fieldwork when managers were able to establish a vision for progress, or present a cause that the charity should follow and rally the troops. However, when it came to focusing within the organization and changing practices (such as delivery session routines), difficulties were encountered. Greater efforts from managers within C4C may have been required to reinforce that delivery for delivery's sake was no longer as important as it once was. Modifying their coaching practice to allow data to be collected became paramount.

There was also an increase in the number of staff with minimal coaching experience. To assist with the expanded delivery of *Chance to shine*, new coaches arrived from the playing ranks and were trained through an apprentice system. Their lack of experience in coaching or administration, combined with the departure of some more experienced staff, lowered the programme quality provided by the charity. This provides an interesting example of how employing staff without sufficient levels of cultural capital can negatively effect the organization's stocks of social capital. Following the restructure in early 2010 issues emerged with the delivery and the administrative requirements of the programme soured their relationship with TCF and the counties. C4C handled more programmes than any other organization in the region; its scope of activities across the region meant that despite the administrative and agenda-related issues (for these refer back to Chapter 6), TCF continued using C4C.

Certain factors prevented the charity from adopting a monitoring system that would meet its own needs. They reflect many of the issues raised by Coalter and Taylor's (2010) critique of monitoring and evaluation practices in sport and the need to, at the very least, adopt some form of programme theory to better articulate how change works through sport. The goals and outcomes that C4C sought to achieve were ambiguous. Too great an emphasis was placed on the 'broad gauge problem' (Weiss in Coalter, 2010, p. 310) of changing lives through sport, without developing any critical insight into how that process actually occurred. Thus, there was no attention given to the intermediate outcomes that could demonstrate that some form of individual or collective change was occurring. Also there was no articulation at any stage of the mechanisms needed in order to reach these goals. By prioritising a verbal, informal and anecdotal approach to impact assessment, Ernest and David failed to implement an effective framework for monitoring. Claiming that monitoring "had to be done" (Ernest, July, 2010) because other organizational agents expected it was an unsatisfactory rationale for a number of the experienced delivery staff, and as a result resistance emerged. Ernest

expected his staff to satisfy these demands but they were poorly trained and ill-prepared to do what was required. There was also lack of ‘scaffolding’ provided by management regarding how this could be achieved. Whether the appointment of an ‘impact manager’ in late 2011 will be able to amend this deficiency or contribute impact reports as part of the PR-game remains to be seen.

The prior experiences of each individual coach have formed their habitus. Perhaps the resistance directed towards the increasing accountability detailed above was due to their experience of partnership working within the community cricket field. First, the staff’s experience with the monitoring system of *StreetChance* may have affected their interpretation of the need for and benefits of data collection. *StreetChance*’s system of monitoring consisted of completing a table which collected quantitative inputs. This was interpreted in practice as “a hassle” and overly opportunistic:

Sometimes I feel that, we don’t do it but other organizations like [TCF] and other people, I’ve seen doing it, because... the high figures is all-important to them and the way they monitor those figures, for example, if a kid walked across my field and picked up a ball and threw it back to me, they’d write it down as a kid taking part in my session and I’d say ‘well no it’s not, he just walked across and threw the ball back to me and went back to his mum, that doesn’t count’ but they’re all ‘yeah, we’ll have that’ (George, August 2010).

Second, the design of the *StreetChance* programme did not suit C4C’s staffs’ preferred way of delivering programmes. C4C staff enjoyed labour-intensive and engagement-focused programmes, such as *Hit the Top*. It is likely that they misunderstood the funder’s (TCF) need to prove to the ECB that their work was demonstrating a return on its considerable investment^{xxxii}. Arguably, TCF may have interpreted the shifting policy environment more effectively and understood it in the context of the reporting requirements for the sport development field (Collins, 2010b). TCF’s concern with outputs over outcomes (outputs being historically scorned by the charity) were arguably more important now that Sport England and the ECB, through the WSP, had more interest in increasing participation rates (Harris & Houlihan, 2014). The values of the TCF and the counties were, arguably, better aligned with the expectations of an accountable field, which at times contrasted with those of the charity. This preference for quantitative output over the charity’s favoured laissez-faire, qualitative approach created tension between the emergent field conditions and the habitus of the individuals within C4C. To monitor in this fashion was to be bureaucratic, and therefore was avoided by staff as it was not congruent with their personal or organizational identity. A desire to maintain their unique organizational identity shaped all that they did (see Chapter 9 for discussion). That the institutional doxa did not seek to measure impact by individual cases of personal development was another example of how the charity’s perspective differed from its partners. Hence, this negative previous experience may have had lasting negative consequences that limited any future adoption of monitoring and evaluation procedures.

The Impact of Mainstreaming on Individual Roles and Opportunities

Early attempts at mainstreaming activities can be seen as an overly functional and technical process, predominantly impacting on structural arrangements. Mainstreaming relied on its implementation by managers whose habitus informs the organizational doxa that orients their decision-making. There is no evidence that any organizations had a truly inclusive doxa. Versions of integration occurred, mostly where an agent, an organization or an individual was integrated within the group, but never fully included. Some examples of this were the CFPD agreeing to sign the MoU, disability cricket being included within the ECB's priorities, and Amir's role within C4C. *Inclusion* seemed typical, and there was a common approach taken to integration, namely, *accommodation* (Howe, 2007). Under accommodation all were included, but there were limitations placed on this involvement. Their individual and possibly distinctive values were dominated by their host. The CFPD, following inclusion in the MoU, have been excluded from any major developments in disability cricket, which has focused upon the control and coordination of county-level competition and the development of international excellence. Second, inclusion did not provide a pathway for disabled cricketers to integrate into mainstream cricket for two reasons related to the competitive dimension of the sport. The first involved the creation of a more equitable playing arena in the BACD competitions by pulling out players who excelled over their contemporaries. The second was to ensure that these players were assisted into mainstream teams to be exposed to the best levels of competition as a means of achieving excellence when they represented their country on international disability cricket teams.

The establishment of a Disability Cricket Manager position within the ECB in 2007 resulted in a plethora of activities. According to the results of the first WSP these activities increased playing opportunities for disabled people in cricket. Activities such as the launch of an ECB strategy for disability cricket (ECB, 2009), a reorganization of the county disability cricket system, increasing support for all levels of disability cricket and the revision of the sport's profiling systems were significant achievements. Efforts to mainstream plus the focus provided by the WSP also encouraged counties to take a more proactive approach in the management of game, such as the creation of the disability cricket development officer at West County. Following mainstreaming, disability cricket is still delivered through a competition model that suits the existing values of the ECB and its key partners. This has an impact on individuals looking to enter or stay in the sport. This version of mainstreaming does appear to be centred around the inclusion of disabled men. Women were rarely seen participating, or officiating, or coaching in three years of field work on disability cricket. Although a VI girls' team run by C4C and delivered in North County has been developed, this was

formed after the fieldwork phase was complete. One respondent shared an assumption around increasing the participation of women and girls in the game:

Women and girls is a completely separate issue and it's still evident even with disability that you're still not getting the girls or the women coming forward. Certainly I've yet to come across any disabled women who are keen on cricket at all, it's the odd few girls from schools (John, August 2010).

However, while women and girls are seen as a desirable target group their compartmentalization as a distinct avenue for the game's development merely reflects the further separation of the game into able-bodied men, women and girls and disability cricket. Not mainstreaming, but an approach akin to separate-but-equal. These distinct categories remain in cricket and create perceptions that reinforce inequality (Bourdieu, 1984). As a result, all this development of disability cricket has inadvertently marginalized women further from the centre of the sport.

This segregation of activity is cricket's weak point, and yet there was little evidence of an attempt to systematically address it. The separation of disability cricket from able-bodied cricket, something that was identified in women's cricket (Velija, et al., 2012) persists despite mainstreaming. While achievements are plentiful and there is evidence of a lot of 'change', true integration in terms of genuine participation in all facets of cricket is lacking. Most of the activities covered by mainstreaming exist for playing the game. Playing is merely one in a range of possible roles that cricket can offer (others include officiating, management and coaching). Another example of this non-inclusive change was the alterations to the classification system within cricket.

These changes impacted on some individual cricketers and their level of involvement in disability cricket. The only opportunity that existed for disabled players to play 'mainstream' (i.e. able-bodied) cricket were for those who demonstrated sufficient promise. These players were taken from disability-specific clubs and county teams and placed within a mainstream club, on the assumption that exposing them to higher levels of competition will improve their performance:

So we've got players that are currently playing, the management process would involve taking that player and trying to find him a spot in mainstream cricket as well (Dylan, November 2012).

While the players chosen receive a suite of performance services from the governing body, the ends of this process is to increase the international disability squads' chances of success. This inclusive involvement is therefore another means to an elite end and is guided by the competitive values that dominate the performance-efficiency model of the sport.

This critique of the ECBs approach to mainstreaming is echoed by other organizations that deliver cricket at the grassroots. Despite C4C's rhetoric of a human-development discourse, *Hit the Top* was created to match the pyramid practice of mainstream cricket (see also figure 7.1):

I think we made a conscious decision that the way things were going and the strategy from Sport England down and through governing bodies at the time was that you know, cricket all of a sudden should be looked after by the ECB and therefore we decided to align our next sort of Disability Cricket programme or the growth of it, in line with mainstream cricket provision, so that it did link with counties, it started to link with clubs and it fed into a national structure and if someone said 'well why did you do it that way' basically it's because what happens in mainstream and why shouldn't it (David, August 2010).

The initiative was designed around three categories of classification: VI, Moderate Learning Difficulty (MLD) and Pan. The pyramid of *Hit the Top* consisted of a series of training sessions at club level that were run fortnightly. Local tournaments between clubs were delivered by development coaches in their regions. Promising players from these sessions and tournaments were invited to play competitively at the county level, sometimes in front of national squad selectors.

By ensuring it mimicked the traditional system *Hit the Top* sought to gain legitimacy from dominant members of the field. Despite the inclusive nature of the programme, its design reflects a level of conservatism not found in many other C4C activities which may be reflective of Frank's stewardship. Ernest's by contrast was more competitive, spurning the more cooperative relationships that the charity had used previous. That said, *Hit the Top* was not without its operational issues. Obtaining sufficient participation numbers for the Pan category was a constant challenge, partly because Pan as a category was poorly defined:

A key issue from this was the inclusion of VI with Pan in order to make up the numbers. This led to imbalance within the teams and overall a poor experience by most of the kids (Field notes, October 2008).

From the earliest observations of the programme in July 2008, and despite the organization's inclusive ethos, there were few operational processes during tournaments through which staff could manage the variations in the mix of abilities of participants:

There was once again a great mix in ability – 2 schools had to play each other in set matches – while it probably makes it a bit repetitive for them but the kids seemed to enjoy it (Field notes, July 2008).

Little was done either to ensure that the activities during tournaments were inclusive. Introductions were made on tournament days by the tournament manager^{xxxiii}. This practice helped to reinforce the idea that the tournament should be fun but it failed to provide guidance as to how inclusion could be managed. Teachers who had brought their schools to the tournament seemed to see the event as no different from any other inter-school competition. Their involvement with their teams also placed greater emphasis on winning over inclusion:

It is interesting to see how each of the teachers reacts to their students taking part; some are heavily involved in team (batsman and bowler) selection (relying heavily on one better player at all times). The game where the two stronger teams took part was quite competitive and while in hindsight sport of disabled young people should be as competitive as any other sport, I feel they should be given the responsibility to organize their own teams, surely they could do a better job than a teacher who I feel just wants to see them win (Field Notes, July 2008).

Any absence of planning by staff in the preparation of training sessions made it difficult for individual participants with more complex impairments to get more actively involved:

Mabel [who is categorized B1 – the lowest level of visual acuity as detailed in chapter 6] is not planned into the lesson at all and I find myself working more with her (Field Notes, October 2008).

Although the above observations were recorded over a relatively short time period, the focus of my initial participant observations was the management of the disability cricket sessions and how young people were included. It appeared that while the staff espoused the organizational goals verbally, they simply were not organized enough to actively maintain an inclusive session or event in practice. This furthered a gap between rhetoric and reality. For example, no participants had their individual learning needs assessed, despite many sessions with a reliable and consistent attendance. Unfortunately this never improved, and similar issues experiences were noted throughout the investigation. A common issue with tournaments was the failure of development officers to field a team from their county area, resulting in fewer teams taking part in the tournament than had been planned. While volunteers were often available to resource a more inclusive tournament, the tournament managers generally stuck with their traditional competition format:

I was interested in the way they managed it, they could have (with additional volunteers) managed it differently and been a better day for the kids but Jane was reluctant to dilute the competition structure of the day and split the teams up differently that would ensure that all got maximum involvement (Field Notes, August 2010).

This resulted in dominant teams and weaker teams playing each other continually, throughout the tournament day. Inevitably this detracted from the experience:

The North County team murdered the rest because they had two very good players; this [dominance] needs to be limited somehow to ensure a better game for the rest (Field Notes, August 2010).

As mentioned above, one of the C4C's key competences was flexibility, as was displayed when delivering the SDP opportunities. However, the case above demonstrates how a lack of individual flexibility reduced a potentially inclusive tournament to one in which there had to be a winner. Handing out medals and trophies was one of the final routines of the tournament day. It may be that the purchase of these created a sense of organizational and individual inertia that prevented alterations from being made. Unfortunately, given the organization's stated goals, the days were never seen as an opportunity for inclusive activities that could have increased each participant's activity levels. While *Hit the Top* was deemed successful, the number of participants did not increase significantly over time. This reduced its ability to generate talent that could be passed on to higher levels of development.

There was little attempt to understand whether young people on the weaker teams enjoyed the tournament. The design of *Hit the Top* focused on getting young players with potential onto the next level; those that did not make it either made up numbers or were side-lined – effectively marginalized by a combination of organizational and individual practices. An example of this was the efforts of one peer leader to have each young person fill in a registration form at a tournament in April 2010. This was scoffed at by Mark, at this stage a senior member of staff, who accused the individual of over-complicating the process. The lack of inclusive activity was a surprising outcome for a charity that talked-up their inclusive credentials. Upon reflection the *Hit the Top* programme was more appropriately designed to develop competitive cricket and capture funding streams than it was to directly contribute to the inclusion of young people in the game. This was also true for the *Hit the Top Peer-Leader* programme which promised much but delivered mixed results in terms of integrating disabled young people into the work of the charity.

The *Hit the Top Peer-Leader* programme, which began in January 2010, provided a pathway for some young people toward inclusion. Senior players such as Aaron, Kenny and Joe, all of whom had moderate learning difficulties, ended up working with the charity following their stint in the programme. For those with more complex impairments, accommodation was all that was afforded. Despite efforts to involve Amir^{xxxiv} in the development and administration of the *Hit the Top Peer-Leader* programme, there was no support worker available to assist him in carrying out his many tasks. Yet again, the staff member in charge of the programme was not adequately trained to assist a

colleague who required additional support nor were there resources available, despite the significant funding awarded by Sport England for the programme.

While recognizing the barriers he faced, Amir still attempted capital accumulation strategies. He adopted the ethos shared by other members of the charity:

I: How important is it to you personally to want to get more young people with VI into any sort of sport where you know you've had the satisfaction you've had from it?

A: That's a really big target I've set, obviously being a Peer Leader and hopefully very soon, September hopefully, when the programme is into schools we can get a big response, people hopefully will be up for it. If I can get a team or a club, if I could meet that or get anything up and running, I'd be really proud of myself because that's what I really would like to do. It would be really great for me as well because I can go around and if anybody asks me and I can really sell that (Amir, August 2010).

Amir also ensured that he stayed involved and volunteered his time over and above the paid hours required. An issue over the design and implementation of the *Hit the Top Peer-Leader programme* is clear from this. Designed by David, a manager with a visual impairment himself, the rationale of the programme appeared sound. However, once implemented, it was seen to suffer from over ambition. It appeared to be an innovative way of getting disabled young people involved in the management and governance of the charity, but there had been little discussion of the issues that could occur. Issues arose when Amir's involvement in the total range of activities could not match that of the other Peer Leaders, Aaron or Shelley:

Aaron was busy umpiring – a task which Amir clearly isn't able to do – a further separation of their activities (Field Notes, April 2010).

Amir's involvement did provide some opportunities for him to share in the reflected glories of peer leader success:

Shelley and Amir presented their work on peer leader programme so far, and in particular the mapping exercise with Niamh and Caitlin were thrilled with. And fair play to them – that exercise was difficult to do and was worthy of praise. It identified the challenges of the next step but it actually got three counties talking about doing some joint work in and around the inner-city targeting mainstream schools [an area of weakness for all cricket organizations]. If this can be actioned it would assist the peer leaders in achieving their goals (Field Notes, June 2010).

But these positive opportunities were limited. Amir was used ceremonially and symbolically, to give speeches and presentations. These participation opportunities were in no way small tasks for him, but they were very much ability specific. Nothing challenged his visual impairment and learning difficulty except the process of making his way to and from the workplace. When deadlines for

programmes were tight Amir was given passive roles, not activities that would require greater levels of support (and therefore time):

There was quite a bit of tension over the priorities and I was trying to impart on them that they should manage their very part-time hours to manage what is a tough project. In this role I am purely a volunteer. However despite some tough discussions I got a call from Jane this evening and we were able to sort it. We desperately need a support worker for Amir as he is struggling to engage. Also under time pressure we were under... [it] meant that waiting for Amir to type in the names of the schools was not possible given the timeframe (Field Notes, July, 2010).

Hence, instead of representing an opportunity for inclusion, accommodation was once again revealed. Despite showing great enthusiasm throughout his involvement there was no regular place for Amir on the staff team at the end of the *Hit the Top Peer-Leader* programme. Unfortunately his symbolic assets (i.e. his impairments) were not unique and others who were less impaired, i.e. no MLD, fulfilled the opportunities that arose. This decision placed less strain on organizational resources. These troubled attempts to include Amir in the Peer Leader work could be a consequence of the good but over-ambitious intentions expressed in the project's design.

Analysis: Capital and Habitus Within a Shifting Field

Matching relationships between the individual's habitus and the organization's doxa is essential for developing inclusive practice, since if either one does not truly adopt inclusive ideals the activities generated are likely to marginalize someone. Institutional and organizational rhetoric can only be reflected in practice if individual agents are supported with time and resources. More critically however, it is the production of activities and programmes by organizations which can also unwittingly serve to mask the further marginalization of disabled people. The focus remains too heavily upon individual opportunities for participation in playing the game above any other role. This categorisation of certain roles for disabled people makes mainstreaming a rhetorical device, satisfying organizational objectives but not, as yet achieving inclusion. While success on the playing-field can lead to the development of other capitals for disabled people, inclusion could be blocked unless individual attitudes and an organization's resources that are dedicated to disability cricket can improve.

The above discussion reveals that the deployment of the three institutional initiatives has produced a series of field effects that individual agents must translate. From this I can suggest a tentative framework of what this interpretation leads staff to choose as their response. These

responses attempt to replicate certain organizational responses outlined by Oliver (1991) for staff and managers at the individual level of analysis.

Table 8.2: Individual coping strategies for dealing with change.

Individual Options	Agree/Disagree with increasing accountability	Action	Why action taken	Strategy	Impact
Option 1	Agree	Do the new job	Interpret the practice	Engage	Strive
Option 2	Agree in principle	Do the new job	Misinterpret the practice	Engage yet Straddle ^{xxxv}	Adapt
Option 3	Disagree in principle	Do both the new and old job	Misinterpret the practice	Straddle	Adapt
Option 4	Disagree	Do the old job	Misinterpret the practice	Disengage	Exit

Table 8.2 above outlines a range coping options for individuals experiencing field effects. Option 1 was demonstrated by the ECB respondent and all of the county managers who, while finding increasing workloads a source of frustration, understood why the alterations were taking place and interpreted them as making the game stronger. Their objective was to get the job done; their exposure to institutional change over time meant that they could interpret the practices that needed to be prioritized, and as a result engaged in their operations with the aim of meeting the increased field expectations. Option 2 was demonstrated by the managers and some staff within C4C who agreed in principle with the increasing accountability of the field. They aimed to get the job done by expanding their operations. Nevertheless, some of the practices required were misinterpreted by many within the charity and carried out for functional reasons only. These individuals sought to engage with the ethos of the field effects, while at the same time examining opportunities for the organization's development, such as SDP programmes. For some within the charity Option 3 involved disagreement with the efforts to increase accountability. A hysteresis response ensured that while staff participated in the programme expansion they sought to bring their own values into its delivery, creating some administrative problems for the managers. Once again the field practices were misinterpreted but instead of willingly engaging with new programmes such as *StreetChance*, they focused more on their own individual, charity-specific programmes that would generate more personal opportunities in the

future. The final option (Option 4) was for C4C staff to disagree with the intent of the field effects and resist by failing to increase delivery output or to adopt any of the practices that were becoming increasingly important. As a result of this disengagement, exit strategies were employed and these staff left both the organization and the field.

While most managers and staff found the alterations to their working practices frustrating, certain factors played a role in determining whether they met this frustration with action or resistance. The county managers had been exposed to change in their role for a number of years, but for many at the charity it was the first time that they had to deal with alterations to their job. The fact that these environmental factors were exogenous exacerbated the tension. It is clear that within C4C the staff were split into three groups all following separate strategies. All staff may have misinterpreted the practices and some of the field opportunities that emerged with the changing field conditions. Option 4 was followed by two staff, Smith and George, who exited the organization in 2010 and 2011 respectively. As both possessed significant stocks of experience it can be argued that the values of both these staff were aligned to more traditional notions of community sport development (Collins, 2010a), or human development model (Maguire, 2014) and therefore their habitus was unable, or unwilling, to accept change. For the others within the charity the desire to maintain a collective identity meant that externally, a shared vision was transmitted despite their being internal disagreement on the approach taken.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to contextualize and critique a range of data on how individual agents within the field have interpreted and experienced environmental factors. In doing so it has revealed that Bourdieu's theory can assist us in understanding the relationship between the individual and their organization, and also their organization's position within the field. Both of these factors determine the extent to which practices are adopted or resisted. Managers within the county organizations saw opportunities for both organizational and personal development but could appreciate the reality of increasing administrative pressures on those in these roles in this emergent professional field. In contrast managers and staff within C4C responded with a variety of personal strategies that prioritized individual development over more collective goals, despite assumptions regarding the charity's ethos. This, combined with weak administrative practices within the organization meant that the quality of programmes being delivered suffered. I argued that it was the organizational doxa of C4C that provided an inadequate context for inclusive practices to be developed. A lack of formality and planning meant that true integration could not be achieved and as a result there was a reversion to the

easiest form of competitive organizing. The next chapter will examine some of the key issues presented in the previous three chapters and present a series of relational cases that will demonstrate how the relationship between habitus, capital and field provide the context in which reproduction and/or transformation occur.

Chapter 9: Relational Cases of Reproduction and Transformation in Disability Cricket

Introduction

In the preceding three chapters I have contextualized and critiqued findings from the institutional, organizational and individual levels of analysis. To do this I have drawn on aspects of Bourdieu's practice theory to demonstrate how these explanations are related. I revealed how shifts in field and capital provided the context for reproduction and transformation in the field of disability. At an organizational level I have drawn on habitus and organizational doxa which are inter-related with fields. This means that an individual's actions are framed by the values and beliefs of their social setting. Finally, I have shown how the habitus informs individuals to capitalize on field opportunities in order to recognize and accumulate certain types and volumes of capital. As yet, while these two-way relationships were examined between couplets of Bourdieu's concepts, a full relational analysis using habitus, field and capital for reproduction and/or transformation to date is unfulfilled. Therefore, in this final chapter of this findings and discussion section I present a series of cases that elucidate where reproduction or transformation occurred, thereby making an additional contribution to the existing literature on Bourdieu's practice theory, and also to the change literature of organizational sociology.

I will critically review how mainstreaming reproduced a version of integration in cricket, but not one that could be viewed as inclusive. I demonstrate how taken-for-granted assumptions and values flow through the institution to inform habitus, which in turn regards certain practices as the most appropriate for achieving any possible outcome. Following this, I will examine identity work and specify the relationship between the organization and the individual in performing this work within disability cricket, with particular focus on the relationship between field expectations and the (re)creation^{xxxvi} of both organizational and individual stories. Borrowing from Higgins (1987) I draw on concepts to explain the creation and maintenance of actual and ideal organizational selves and critique the formation of certain organizational identities that permitted multiple strategies to be realized. Building on this idea of an organizational self, I will then examine the fluidity of field boundaries. C4C noted opportunities in the field of SDP that suited their doxa and valued capitals. However, for an organization to benefit from these opportunities requires specific resources. These resources took the form of managers whose variety of life experiences enabled them to develop an *entrepreneurial habitus* and accumulate certain types and volumes of capital. The most optimum organizational strategy was pragmatist and exists simultaneously in more than one institutional field.

The resultant impact on the organization and its individual staff members reveals that undemocratic change produces a reproduction of practice.

Mainstreaming – More Cricket for Some

The process of mainstreaming and its impact at the institutional, organizational and individual levels has been presented and briefly discussed in the preceding chapters. While the ECB attempted to create ‘One Game’ out of the myriad organizations that deliver cricket, there was a mismatch between the rhetoric and the reality of inclusion. The translation of mainstreaming at an institutional level seemed biased in favour of competitive cricket that feeds the performance-efficiency model that dominates cricket. While it therefore appears that the institutional doxa (and organizational doxa of most agents within it) match, there are implications for individuals with certain disabilities wishing to get more involved with the game. Even at the completion of the investigation assumptions were made by managers concerning individual cricketers with disabilities,^{xxxvii} and these assumptions were relatively unchallenged.

According to Thomas and Smith (2009), a major issue with mainstreaming is a lack of an agreed definition, which led various governing bodies to use a variety of approaches to integration. Adding to their work I have found that in this regard, the sport of cricket is no exception. What has occurred in cricket in England and Wales is the integration of disability sport within able-bodied sport. While at the elite levels, disabled cricketers have the same opportunities as their able-bodied counterparts, efforts were being made to integrate individual cricketers into the able-bodied game. In this way, mainstreaming achieved the same structure and benefits for disabled cricketers that were originally desired by the EFDS (Thomas & Smith, 2009). Unfortunately, while disabled people have been provided with more opportunities to play cricket, they do not really enjoy the same chances as able-bodied people in all aspects of the game. While the opportunities for promising cricketers to be placed in a mainstream club looked positive in terms of the benefit for the player, the international team and the disability cricket league, it is still a top-down and fairly paternalistic decision. The ECB have not considered that the player may not want to leave their disability cricket club, and hence if it is the best individual option for them. It was not revealed whether or not an individual’s refusal to leave their club would jeopardize their position in the elite squad (and access to services), but if the player agrees to enter a mainstream club even though he wishes to remain in the national disability league, then the players themselves are participating in an act of symbolic violence.

Realistically, mainstreaming is a continuation of the ECB’s strategy to place all the organizations of cricket under the One Game banner. Although the ECB could point to the MoU as

an indicator of how they could include disability cricket within their ‘One Game’, i.e. dispelling any perceptions that this was a take-over, this was clearly a version of Sørensen & Kahrs’ (2006) assimilation, which in this organizational analysis reflects accommodation (Howe, 2007). Because of ECB’s control of funding through the *Single Investment Scheme*, it is no longer required to incorporate or subsume other cricket organizations, and its control of funds can be used to gain control of, and if necessary discipline these agents. While the difference in the scope and structure of the ECB is easily seen on the organizational chart before and after the adoption of the MoU, it is the resultant (lack of) adaptation of cultural elements and instilled values of the game towards true integration which is still unmet. To be realized true integration must harmonize the cultures of able-bodied and disability cricket so that both sets of values are adopted and integrated. An analysis of the social processes required to achieve true integration makes clear that this has not as yet been achieved; hence, accommodation exists (Howe, 2007). There was little evidence to suggest that the able-bodied game’s dominant doxic values of competition could be replaced by more inclusive ideals. As a result this limited the level of two-way integration where either it did not occur at all, or when it did, it did not challenge the majority (i.e. able-bodied) culture of the game. There remains a mixture of assimilation and segregation across the region. Arguably, this mix exists because most of the DCDOs were already instilled with mainstream values of competition even prior to the MoU. Yet historically, there was little initiative shown on the part of the mainstream agents to seek out opportunities to work with disability groups; the majority of the work was done by disability cricket stakeholders seeking to work with able-bodied clubs. This further exacerbated the segregation of the two cultures. There are pockets of good practice in the counties, like in the West County where players with children who have a disability have brought them into their local clubs, and as a result they could expand their provision:

We try not to get people involved [in incorporating a disability team within their club] just so they can get their pavilion rebuilt, but if they can show that the need is there, then there is something we can give them. However, more and more have come on board [to develop disability cricket] without the carrot (John, November 2012).

In the ECB’s case, the approach to mainstreaming has reproduced the existing culture of disability cricket into the performance-efficiency model, which prioritizes competition as part of its doxa. This doxa is reflected in the individual dispositions and expectations of managers within the counties and some of the DCDOs. That two of the largest DCDOs reflected these competitive values is unsurprising as their development as organizations was due to the efforts of volunteers. These volunteers sought opportunities for competition between disabled cricketers, who were likely to be the children of the volunteers. From the ECB’s perspective the dominant, competitive values of able-bodied cricket and each of the DCDO’s own disability cricket cultures have been effectively integrated, following the MoU of 2009 (Dylan, November 2012). These values also underpin the

practices that sport managers undertake to develop the game. However, there seem to be few opportunities for disability cricket to position itself as a site for furthering certain disability rights through sport. Indeed, while competitive values dominate cricket, most cricketing organizations and the programmes they produce will ensure that competing values, like true integration/inclusivity, will remain unrealized.

Any potential for transformation toward true integration could be limited because the county respondents felt that disability cricket was only a minor concern for the ECB and their county management hierarchies. That the Disability Cricket Manager is part of the middle management team and based within the community section of the ECB supports this view, in that responsibility for disability cricket (whatever its small participation numbers compared to able-bodied cricket) lies with a sub-section of a sub-section. To date there has been no attempt to place a board member on the executive of the NGB to champion disability cricket across the breadth of the sport. As a consequence, the roles of disabled people in the sport of cricket are limited to volunteers, middle managers of disability cricket or participants.

Some county respondents took a more positive view, suggesting that although disability cricket's position was weak it was following the trajectory previously travelled by women's cricket:

To be honest, we look at ourselves sometimes in Disability Cricket in terms of the pecking order that we're kind of, in our development cycle we're behind Girls and Women and we kind of think we're probably about 7 or 8 years behind where the Girls and Women's were. However, we do feel as though we're going along very similar roads, which in some ways, is quite comforting that we feel that we are going along the right road, albeit that the road is a bit rocky at times (Dylan, November 2012).

This view was echoed at the county level:

But disability, you know, we've gone from there to about there, so there's going to be about 5 years, 10 years behind the Women and Girls game (Niamh, July, 2010).

Few were concerned about the strategic implications of following the path taken by Women and Girls' cricket;

I: Is the overall focus on disability cricket adequate?

C: No, I think it is going down the same route as Women and Girls' has gone down and there has only been an increase in publicity and exposure. I personally think that because it has been linked to funding, and I think you are going to see a little bit of that now with disability (Caitlin, June, 2010).

There was little critical discussion of the implications of mimicking a dominated, yet able-bodied version of the game. This focus on promotion and exposure highlights a critical issue arising from this mimicry. While there have clearly been alterations to the system of disability cricket within England and Wales, they are similar to those experienced by women cricketers following their merger with the ECB in 1998 (Velija et al., 2012). Then, women were integrated to an extent, but remain operationally responsible only for running ‘a small strand of cricket...rather than contributing to the development of the game as a whole’ (Ibid., p. 14). Likewise, disabled people are assigned only certain roles within organizations, hence their power is limited. Like the WSP, mainstreaming attempted to address the gap in the ECB’s provision for disabled. Despite this objective, all mainstreaming has done is increase the number of opportunities for certain disabled people to play cricket – it has not created more opportunities for them to be involved in the sport at the managerial level. At the current time this accommodation by the ECB for disability cricket not only reflects the experiences of women’s cricket (Velija et al., 2012), but also what has been found in other sports organizations (Howe, 2007).

Relational recap: Reproduction and transformation through mainstreaming

Across the field (institutional level) mainstreaming brought all cricketing agents together under the One Game banner. Arguably, the influence of the bureaucratic field upon the field of sporting practice (Bergsgard et al., 2007) ensured that the ECB adhered closely to the expectations of its significant partner, Sport England. This adherence was transmitted by David Collier, the ECB Chief Executive, who stated that the One Game initiative was ‘a long-term investment by the ECB to further enhance equality in cricket.... it will demonstrate cricket’s ongoing [*sic*] commitment to equality as a cornerstone of our sport’ (ECB, 2007, online). Another outcome from the MoU, which placed ‘all disability cricket under the strategic development and delivery of the ECB [the Disability Cricket Manager]’ (Ibid.), was increased control over the game. This compliance with the governing body effectively spread this expectation across the field of disability cricket. A variety of playing opportunities for disabled cricketers underpinned a transformation in the delivery of disability cricket from the governing body down to the grassroots club. To ensure that these activities provided the best pathways to elite representation, certain types of capital were rewarded above others. An individual’s cultural capital is accumulated via their previous and/or potential for success in the sport, and is reflected in a form of embodied physical capital. In addition, organizations were given financial incentives through the WSP to grow this participation base. At an organizational level, symbolic capital was generated by increasing the number of participants in disability cricket. Participants within disability cricket acquiesced, as they were already familiar with a competitive ethos. While success in these areas met institutional expectations, they also misrepresented wider equality issues. Equality was narrowly defined as an equivalent level of opportunities for disabled cricketers in

comparison to the opportunities that existed for able-bodied cricketers. Indicators that sought to ensure that individuals with complex disabilities were involved in these participation figures were not revealed. This implies that the ECB's approach to achieving equity is to mimic the resources offered to players across each of the strand of the game (i.e. able-bodied men/boys and women/girls, and disability cricket). It is mainstreaming by structural design, not cultural adaptation. Importantly, it reveals that mainstreaming needs to be more ambitious than this to address conflicts and prevent the domination of smaller and less influential cultures. A reproduction of competitive values was ingrained into the coaching framework, one that was deployed across the institutional field for all cricketers who wanted to develop an interest or a career in coaching. Individual and organizational practices which adhered to the One Game approach disposed individual coaches to accept these practices as taken-for-granted. This further ingrained this model within their individual habitus. Achieving inclusive practice was very difficult. Even when an organization's ethos was geared toward inclusion, efforts to achieve true integration were hampered by over-ambitious programme design, a lack of organizational control mechanisms, insufficient managerial attention to the quality of provision and a general administrative disorganization in the provision of these opportunities.

Organizational Identity Work

For years C4C's history of work in marginalized communities had assisted them in occupying a unique position within the field of disability cricket. This story of differentiation was maintained and communicated publicly in an attempt to define who they were and how they went about the work that they performed within resulted in making their organizational identity different from others. From the early days of the charity's existence, the staff were themselves symbols of difference that would evolve as the charity grew (Ernest, July, 2010). Whether in the practice of disability cricket coaching or for public relations benefits, Frank would use these human symbols to reinforce this credibility. As he put it, "no one wants to hear about this from an old white bloke like me, I need Smith for his street-cred" (Frank, September 2008). Smith, a long-serving, afro-Caribbean coach with C4C, would accompany Ernest to meetings and public presentations as a symbolic staff figure. George recalled how their physical attributes differentiated them from what many partners assumed a cricket coach would look like:

Me and Smith were the first people to do [coaching for disabled young people]. It's quite funny because you walk into these schools, two [guys, one] like 6ft 1 black guy, the other one's a 7ft black guy in their sort of [cricket] whites coming in to do cricket and they're normally expecting some little old bloke in a cravat and flannels (George, August 2010).

However, with the increasing professionalization of the field these symbols alone were no longer able to provide field legitimacy. Upon taking over as CEO in 2010, Ernest continued Frank's efforts to modernize the charity in order to respond more professionally to the opportunities and challenges^{xxxviii} that these projects provided. This quest for improvement bought about an emergent and continually modified source of differentiation, which shifted the focus from the uniqueness of the charity and its staff to the impact of the organization upon the individuals who worked there. In essence, this indicated that C4C had an impact on the embodiment of change through sport. Staff as individual examples of transformation emerged as a tool to provide the charity with a justification for their existence, and the clear source of differentiation between them and other cricketing organizations within the field of disability cricket.

In addition to the refinement of this 'ideal organizational self', an 'actual organizational self' was created that ensured a pragmatic approach to the development of the charity. Despite concerns about the increasing administrative burden required by cricket's establishment, the charity's managers drew on their personal stocks of social and cultural capital to translate these environmental factors into opportunities to refine and rebrand their disability and urban cricket programmes, and to access lucrative funding provided by the *Chance to shine* initiative. While performing these repackaged activities, even with the added responsibilities and obligations they carried, Ernest decided to continue the development of relationships and programmes in the field of SDP^{xxxix}. Therefore, a process of organizational and individual identity work was performed to develop an 'ideal organizational self'. This self was a means to an end. The ideal organizational self sought to differentiate the charity from others, to satisfy existing funders and increase its appeal to potential funding partners. While this occurred, the 'actual organizational self' went about the process of structural change to enhance its ability to increase its administrative systems which would assist in managing new capital and also secure more of the available financial capital from *Chance to shine*.

Developing the actual organizational self

Between 2008 and 2011, as the number of projects and programmes increased, so did the charity's obligations. These were evident in changes to the way the organization functioned and assisted its internal modernizing project. To cope with the administrative requirements that these new programmes required, tools were introduced such as monitoring and reporting that would become on-going tasks that despite their functional use could establish greater control over staff. An example of this was the adoption of a more formal staff-performance review system. This process increased the variety of measures used to examine personal effectiveness that were then used by the managers to evaluate staff performance. Some of these criteria included aspects such as an increase in the number

of hours each staff member delivered; whether the staff member undertook increased responsibility^{xl} or whether the staff member was responsible for junior staff (i.e. the apprentices and peer leaders). For some, this increased administrative load was seen as simply “performance monitoring” (Conor, July 2010) and increased staff dissatisfaction. Some staff performed well in response to these new expectations and were rewarded with promotions, trips aboard for SDP work and pay-rises, but others experienced hysteresis as they could not, or would not align their practice with these new requirements. The bewilderment of Smith, who had trained Mark originally, only to have Mark work to highlight Smith’s lack of efficiency, exacerbated these hysteresis effects. Ultimately, and despite many years of service, Smith exited the charity.

Following Ernest’s accession to CEO in early 2010 the charity was restructured, and as a result new responsibilities were devised for all staff. David was elevated from Assistant Director of Programmes to Director of Programmes. This two-man management team reported both to the charity’s Board of Governors and to the staff team. Staff numbers nearly doubled from 10 full and part-time staff in January 2008 to 19 full and part-time staff by September 2011. Development officers were assigned a geographic area within the region and were given responsibility for developing it. In practice this was done by managing clubs, running training sessions, increasing participants and ensuring that teams attended competitions. The increase in the volume of work required greater quality control, and as a result two new regional managers for the East and West of the region were created. Both Conor and Mark were promoted from the ranks of the development coaches, as they had excelled under the new requirements.

Conor’s promotion meant that George, despite his significant experience, was overlooked. The effective demotion of George and the exit of Smith sent a message to all within the charity that the modernized C4C required staff who could meet certain standards. The inability of either of these two senior coaches to modify their delivery in response to these new requirements led to hysteresis states and eventually led to both of them exiting the organizational field. While these changes began in early 2010 the charity was still adding and removing staff at the completion of the investigation; change appeared continual. The appointment of an office manager was intended to better manage facility operations. Also the appointment of an impact manager sought to address the collection and coordination of evidence. Nevertheless, a juxtaposition arose between what the charity wanted internally, and the ethos it communicated externally. Even for staff who were promoted or were secure in their roles, internal and external tension increased.

Developing the ideal organizational self

While these internal developments were changing the way the charity went about its business, the external representation of the charity transmitted similarities with organizations that exist within the SDP field, rather than in the field of disability cricket. Ernest deemed it essential that funders were required from outside the disability and community cricket fields if the charity was to move forward. Of these, corporate funders were deemed more desirable as they offered unrestricted funds^{xli}, which were a more valued form of financial capital than those provided by the ECB, TLT and TCF. To assist this process, the organization's identity was (re)created through a (re)combination of the individual identities of staff and participants in order to present a most attractive and dynamic organizational image. These stories were themselves symbolic, and demonstrated that positive outcomes could occur through involvement with the charity. Although the significance of the rebranding exercise in 2009 was downplayed by both Frank and Ernest, it marked a turning point after which story-making was a routinized identity project (Giddens, 1984). Over time, story-making became a highly valued practice in the charity's myth-making practice (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). While story-making was not a specified agenda item at team meetings, this practice was continually refined and routinized over time:

Ernest asked the staff to start off by telling everyone their favourite story about the charity and the work it did. So one by one the staff reeled off their stories, Conor mentioned Martin, Jane mentioned Amir in Jamaica... Ernest stressed the importance of these stories when meeting people at networking events (Field Notes, September 2010).

As an active-member of the charity during the change process, I observed the development of many of stories as they were actually (re)created. It is important to stress that each story was grounded in genuine personal development, however, it was the minor details that were embellished to ensure that these stories fit into the overarching story portrayed in charity's ideal organizational self. Certain themes were prioritized over others, such as change through involvement and a willingness to 'give back'. These stories were fostered by managers, staff and participants. David's story focused on his own personal development through cricket. It subsequently was used by the organization to communicate the credibility of the disability sport programme:

I: What sort of encouraged you to say 'this is what we should do'?

D: A couple of things probably; one from my own personal experiences of having grown up playing mainstream sport and loving it and realizing how much it offered to me, to then becoming a visually impaired person and seeing what disability cricket could offer to somebody in terms of providing an opportunity and how important that had become (David, August, 2010).

While Mark developed as an individual throughout the period of study, certain elements of his personal history were enhanced and highlighted to ensure they suited the organizational story of change through involvement (practice). The following quote was presented publically:

I can tell you a little bit about my story.... I dropped out of school when I was 15. From the ages of about 15 to 17 I was just doing absolutely nothing but on a daily basis committing crime—anything from robbery to, literally, you name it and I was almost there doing it. I was 17—I am now 21—and I was picked up by Cricket for Change. On my local estate they were doing a cricket-based programme. They came to me. I did not have to go to them, they came to my area, and I was engaged. I was hooked. I loved cricket. I played cricket with these guys. Then they were doing an apprenticeship scheme. I thought, “This sounds brilliant.” I was not going to get paid. I did it for two years voluntarily, and through the sort of process that I have gone through and all the lessons that I have learned through my own criminal background, I have learned how to engage better with young people who are in the same situation as I am. I am working on a daily basis now with young people who are in drug abuse, who are running away from home or who have real criminal backgrounds, and I can relate to them.... I look at myself as a role model to them. I have learned a lot from the process of what I have gone through. I think the key is getting people like me, who have been through it and have experienced it, who know what is going on and what is happening, to then talk to these young people and say, “Look, I did this but look where I am now...” Yes, I have learned quite a lot from the process that I have gone through and I am hoping to spread that on to other young people (Mark, in Home Affairs Select Committee Evidence, 2010).

Other larger charities like the TCF and TLT attempted to demonstrate the benefits of cricket participation for achieving social outcomes. C4C’s point of differentiation was that the staff had lived these experiences, which provided both the organization and its staff a level credibility (cultural capital) to deliver development through sporting practice that few could match.

Certain narratives of change influenced meanings across the charity, from the managers to the staff and including the playing participants. This process appeared to instil in the habitus of all individuals of what the charity could potentially provide:

You just don’t meet people that understand, or often, especially at home, you don’t meet people like these kids. Even though like because I used to keep myself to myself and just stay in. I rarely went out with my mates. But these kids inspire me to go out and meet people. Like, I would go anywhere to people with special needs. I said to my mum, I love special needs kids. I prefer them to normal kids... And that’s why I want to do more, I just want to make a change, because they’ve made a change for me (Ciaran, June 2010).

This symbolic development was used to differentiate the charity from other members of the field of disability cricket. The ideal organizational self may have been effective in this goal, and the continued work in international contexts and strong relations with individuals and organizations within the SDP field supported this. Nevertheless, there was a darker side to the emergence of this ideal self, one that enabled the marginalization of those who did not, or could not, conform. Even in the process of creating stories the tendency to embellish certain facts raised the issue of how involvement in the charity created a personal change. Questions remain regarding their ability to generate change. Change infused discourse and most of the staff, all of the managers and most of their

closest partners shared a belief in the power of sport to change lives. As with any faith-based system, it can be difficult for non-believers to see the truth (Coalter, 2010), however these displays of faith align their organizational doxa with the institutional (human-development) doxa of the SDP field, and these institutional meanings infused and revitalized C4C.

The possession of sporting capital was in some cases an essential factor in becoming a story-maker. Involvement with the charity was misrecognized by staff and participants as being due to the engagement between these agents, however in some cases participants only remained engaged if they could meet the sporting expectations:

C: Yeah, I used to enjoy cricket at school. I used to get picked for the teams. So I liked cricket but now I'm with Cricket for Change, I'm like it's changed me since then.

I: Okay, in what way?

C: Because I used to be shy and didn't used to talk, but now I'm talking to you (Ciaran, June 2010).

It is not my intention in presenting this quote to demean this response from a young person, but this type of statement is indicative of how even the young people attributed their personal development to their involvement in the charity. The physical and emotional changes that take place in a person during their transition from adolescence to young adulthood are at least as much responsible for an individual's transformation at this age as their involvement in a charity, however lengthy.

Like the narratives of change which spread from managers through to the playing participants, the theme of 'giving back' was common to individual stories across the organization. In public presentations throughout 2008, Frank would explain his own story of involvement with the charity. A key detail of this story was that after a career in the communications industry, Frank got involved in the charity in a voluntary capacity in order to 'give something back.' Other staff would listen to these presentations and seemed to infuse some of this message of giving back into their own narratives. It was also offered as an explanation for how the programmes would be self-sustaining into the future:

The sustainability of our programmes will grow because we'll get guys like Geoff, them sort of guys coming through the programmes who wanna be coaches, who wanna give back what they've got, a bit like me, really, I came through the programmes so I'm giving back to the organization from what I got; I've built a career out of it, I've created a reputation out of it, a positive reputation (Mark, August 2010).

As with the stories of change above, once again the playing participants infused the giving-back narrative into their own story:

I'd like to be England captain at one point, probably a few years away. The first milestone is to get my first cap. So get that done, but I think that, I mean, a few people who have got into the England Squad have just left and forgot about Cricket for Change, I think that that is not right, they have given you all of it and you have to give back and help 'em out, help coaching, help their tournaments because I think that it is not right just taking and not giving back to the charity (Donald, June 2010).

Another aspect of this darker side of the story-making process was an expectation that young people should give back. This discourse became a common narrative, creating an obligation on certain young people to remain involved following the support they received from the charity:

They want to give back with interest. But the thing as well is that these players have had a very, very selfish upbringing, not in a bad way, but Usaf, it took him two years on minibuses, on ferries, to get to England. He didn't go, he didn't get sent here by plane. He had to make his own way with his brothers and they had to exist. He had to get his own food, look after his brothers, mug people, you know, steal from shops to survive. But yet he understands that he's been given so much from us that he wants to give back (Conor, July 2010).

The inculcation of these narratives into the stories of young people who start off playing in the charity's teams and progress into working for the charity highlights a practice that repeatedly informs the individual habitus, which then guides their actions to want to give back. As the collection of individuals and their habitus align towards these dispositions it became the dominant attitude within the charity, and as such influenced the organizational doxa from community sport notions to that of the power of sport. While these both remain human-development notions one belongs to a shrinking area of domestic sport policy (Collins, 2010b), while the other is international and experiencing significant growth (Kidd, 2008; Darnell, 2010).

Another critical issue with this identity work centres on how these stories are perceived as statements of truth. The development of these anecdotal stories of change and involvement, some being more robust than others, is a complex and critically important practice for C4C. Nevertheless, by prioritizing the charity's transformative effects, the significance of any conditions that occur outside their involvement, such as a supportive family or a positive school environment (which can also assist their personal development), is minimal:

I: So how have you managed to keep participating over the years... who's influenced you and has kept you coming back?

C: My mum. And my dad. And my granddad, because he had a brain tumour and he was pushing me to come. And I think that's why I'm coming because I want to make him proud of me. And because he's getting older I want to make, I just want to make my family proud of me because.

I: I'm sure they are.

C: Like when I was at school I didn't do too well because of my special needs, but they was proud of me but my mum, she give me money, she like - since I've been here she's, oh, I can't explain how she's been treating me. I want them to be proud of me and for me to do something by myself (Ciaran, June 2010).

While these stories were used by the charity to demonstrate its effectiveness, no attribution between involvement with the charity and participation on the programmes and personal change are indicated. Upon querying this lack of attribution and the overreliance on anecdotal evidence, Ernest replied;

I hate that phrase "it's only anecdotal evidence", anecdotal evidence is amazing evidence, it's the best evidence as it is someone bothering to say... and if a teacher says "it was great", it is really powerful, and if he says "that was really shit" then that is really powerful, and we are tuned into that, because we have never been secure (Ernest, July 2010).

The ineffective use of monitoring systems in their programmes meant that for every one with a story like Ciaran's there were a number of participants who were involved but not considered because they offered no verbal evidence of the transformative effects of their involvement. For many regular participants on *Hit the Top*, the sessions were simply another aspect of their regular sports participation which also included involvement in football, athletics and other sports across the region. This mismanagement of monitoring, based essentially on the failure to collect participant registrations, meant that even if follow-ups could be done there was little way of tracking them. It became clear that what was occurring was the cherry-picking of stories based on their suitability to the narrative of the ideal organizational self that would enhance attention and ultimately organizational legitimacy (Ellis & Gregory, 2009).

The implication of the contradictions between these ideal and actual organizational selves is that to develop oneself within the charity, one must possess certain types of embodied capital (i.e. a specific disability or impairment, an interesting personal history, or sporting prowess) and adapt one's worldview to suit the charity's organizational doxa. The symbolic importance of individual and their stories, who professes that their lives have been changed through involvement with the charity, and who then can be subtly compelled to give something back to the charity, is a form of identity work. This type of identity work exists throughout the organization. Any accommodation of alternative rationales for young people's involvement is problematic. Nevertheless, a discrepancy between the actual and ideal organizational selves was obvious, given that the purported transformative powers of involvement were not exhibited by the majority of participants. Even within this organization, the practice of disability cricket was organized to be competitive, not inclusive. The desire to seek legitimacy from the ECB allowed for a programme design that marginalized the majority of

participants that were playing cricket for the first time, who may have needed a greater level of social support.

Relational recap: Performing identity work

The increase in opportunities for delivering disability cricket provided by *Chance to shine* consolidated the field position of TCF as an integral agent within the field. Following the millennium the growth in SDP organizations and programmes provided the stimulus for a wider acceptance of the ideals of, and opportunities for development through, sport (Kidd, 2008; Darnell, 2010). This field shift, combined with TCF's insistence that they sought to contribute to the SDP agenda, was interpreted by C4C as a direct threat to their historically unique position within the field. These institutional effects were translated by managers and stimulated the (re)creation of the charity's symbolic systems to promote both a commitment to development through sport and suggest that transformative change could be brought about by the power of sport. These reactions to this perceived threat focused on redesigning the way that the charity went about delivering its work (an actual-organizational-self strategy to increase financial capital). This strategy involved repackaging existing programmes so as to permit the charity to maintain its field position within disability cricket, albeit as an outlier to the majority of other agents. The story-telling strategy assisted C4C to present its organizational doxa so as to align more closely with the institutional doxa of the SDP field. This shift in alignment was made possible by the development of individual stories that were linked to involvement within the organization. Although these individual stories were not a source of symbolic capital in the field of disability cricket, given that field's increasing accountability for quantitative outputs, they were used as an ideal-organizational-self strategy to generate cultural, social and economic capitals to position themselves in the SDP field. For the individuals themselves, the story-telling was an important mechanism through which to establish internal credibility, and in many cases complemented the individual's possession of other forms of capital that enabled them to maintain or improve their position within the organization.

Straddling Fields - Organizational Pragmatism

The changes that occurred to C4C throughout 2009-10 highlighted many operational issues that affected their relationship with TCF and the counties. A level of administrative weakness in the form of constant tardiness when submitting monitoring information was a consequence of the relaxed attitude towards how this information was managed. This was an operational shortcoming that had to be routinely addressed by coercive measures. Following the promotion of 'Anyone for Cricket' in 1998-99 and the resultant breakdown of relations with the cricket establishment, C4C had slowly

rebuilt its stocks of social capital with stakeholders such as the ECB, TLT and MCC by the end of 2009. During this period of investigation another issue dissolved these stocks once again. The *Chance to shine* programme aimed to get more young people playing more competitive cricket. The funds for the programme passed from the TCF through the counties to a range of cricket clubs nationwide, C4C being one of them. Despite having delivered the *StreetChance* and *Hit the Top* programmes, as discussed in Chapter 6, C4C were accused when delivering *Chance to shine* of compromising their partners' agendas by promoting the programmes (and any successful outcomes from them) as their own.

Trust dissolved between the partners more because of these agenda issues than as a result of the administrative issues which often appeared to be forgiven. A number of incidents throughout 2010 pushed C4C away from TCF and the counties. The first involved a misunderstanding over the publication of a newspaper article in *The (London) Times* on one of C4C's refugee programmes. Because the article referred to urban cricket it was incorrectly interpreted by the TCF as an indication that C4C was failing to promote the *StreetChance* programme. In what could be seen as retaliation for this, no mention of C4C's involvement was made publicly at an awards ceremony for the *StreetChance* programme, despite C4C being the programme's creator and a founding partner, and despite the fact that C4C was present at the ceremony and running a demonstration event in conjunction with the awards. The funds were from the TCF and therefore what appeared publically were TCF success stories.

Throughout these events neither organization appeared to understand the pressures either faced. What seemed to go unnoticed by TCF and the counties was the number of internal changes C4C had implemented, in part to service *Chance to shine* funded programmes. In contrast, the TCF relied heavily on public relations activities to generate individual donations – a major funding stream from which TCF generated unrestricted funds and one which C4C did not utilize to the same extent. Within C4C, Ernest fostered a competitive 'us & them' environment towards partners, who were often spoken of as competitors. To be a partner was to be an organization that essentially provided funding, but did not compete for resources within the disability cricket field. This sense of competition and competitiveness was not lost on the staff, and fuelled their references to their partners which further reinforced their desire to be different and unique.

Further opportunities for international work arose through the burgeoning international development (SDP) work the charity had undertaken since 2003. The SDP field provided an institutional doxa that possibly suited both C4C's organizational identity and their internal

competences. C4C were flexible as an organization, being able to deploy at short-notice, to any locale, that required minimal facilities and/or equipment. This work suited C4C's earlier competencies developed from their history of inner-city work. From 2006, the charity had delivered disability cricket in areas such as Sri Lanka, Israel and Palestine, the slums of Havana, Jamaica and Delhi as well as a number of countries throughout Africa. These programmes involved work of short duration, with a small complement of staff, combined with few administrative duties, including few requirements for evaluation. What seemed to matter to partners (amongst which were high profile organizations such as UNICEF) was that the organization could turn up and do what was expected and ensure that participants had an enjoyable time. C4C's reputation for delivering without a fuss was built with these partners. This afforded the charity access to valuable social capital within the SDP field, which counteracted the loss of social capital from within the disability cricket field and furthered their desire to align with SDP.

Between 2008 and the end of 2010 what occurred was a separation between organizational activities undertaken to maintain C4C's position in the disability cricket field (financial accumulation strategies) and those performed with the aim of building social capital and reinforcing cultural capital by engaging with organizations in the SDP field. Toward the end of this investigation it became clear that the organizational doxa and individual habitus of the managers and staff (those that progressed through the restructure) were disposed more to the values of SDP than the field of disability cricket (see chapter 6). Although the organizational doxa it is not always harmoniously agreed upon, it holds the various facets together and also underpins the organizational identity and dispositions in the way that staff and management operate. The overriding value is a belief in the power of sport to develop (and change) individuals. Given that other organizations do not appear to share the same belief system, this faith in the apparent power of sport positions the organization apart from others within the field of disability cricket. As a consequence, there is a disconnection between the values of C4C and the field in which it was originally formed (and which has now become more accountable and professional). However, instead of departing the field and losing valuable income streams, the charity contributes to both.

Critical issues such as administration, monitoring and general management that hindered the quality of C4C's delivery were ignored by management and staff because greater value was placed on their differentiated and informal existence. Essentially, what they said they did was not what actually occurred. A dominant verbal culture pervaded the organization which actively worked to downplay the importance of administration and the need for detailed evidence to verify what they believed. The collation of organizational stories became their system of instilling this belief in other partners and

potential funders. This verbal and ideational culture was reinforced through rituals and routines that helped achieve this mission. Proving that their work had an impact by presenting evidence was deemed important only to Frank, Ernest, David and Mark, but not to the staff. Some staff felt that they had seen the power of sport work to change the lives of one or two participants and that this was enough to imply that their programmes would produce similar effects for all participants. Paradoxically within this qualitative understanding of sport's power, it was an individual's total delivery output hours that became the more socially accepted measure of enhanced effectiveness. Reinforcing this was an assumption by members that delivering more hours would expose more people to the programmes, which would eventually lead to other success stories being created. Developing the organization relied on innovative programming and the establishment of partnerships with organizational donors in order to continually introduce new mechanisms of evaluation, so as to limit the ability of the organization to be effectively monitored, and by implication, controlled.

Obtaining partners was considered essential to growing resources. An informal manner in which to bring in new partners was adopted. They were encouraged to attend tournaments for themselves. Upon seeing the colourful and engaging practices (from a one-off perspective) they could see the potential benefits of involvement. However, it is likely that the corporate partners who invested held the same belief systems and assumptions as the managers of the charity before they even saw the work performed. Once the visit was made and the partner brought on board the organization's assumption was that the event had convinced the partner, which in effect misrecognized the importance of values in the process. Summing up how the process worked, a newer manager highlighted the importance of these matching values: "They get us, they get what we're trying to achieve" (Ciara, January 2012).

Relational recap: Managing multiple fields simultaneously

In contrast to the first and second relational cases covered in this chapter, this third example is important for demonstrating both organizational and individual agency in the relationship between field, habitus and capital. The charity's ability to position itself in two fields simultaneously exhibited a level of organizational agency that its other partners did not enjoy. Being part of the cricket establishment limits the scope of its members, while organizations outside this clique, such as C4C are not similarly constrained. Rather than viewing the organization itself as an actor in the process, it is the role of senior staff who drew on their own stocks of social and cultural capital (formed from various non-cricketing experiences in their careers) to seek and engage the new opportunities provided by the SDP field, while also recognizing the importance of the financial capital provided through *Chance to shine* in moving the charity forward. First Frank and then Ernest utilized the

organization's resources to ensure that the charity could take advantage of both of these opportunities, managing the agenda issues that ensued.

Whereas the previous examples illustrated the structural, top-down effects of an environmental factor on organizations and individuals, this case gives primacy to agency and the existence of an *entrepreneurial habitus*. Essentially, the presence of an organizational doxa that valued innovation, flexibility and sought differentiation provided an appropriate organizational context for both Frank and Ernest to showcase the charity's work. They both possessed high levels of charisma, which I contend is a mixture of social and cultural capitals, and were able to draw on this charisma to transfer and convert their individual stocks of social capital and convert them [their individual stocks] into organizational social capital to benefit the charity. They also possessed a habitus that was informed by work and life experiences that were more varied than those of some cricket development managers who had spent their entire careers playing and working in cricket. Their more diverse habitus was shaped from a multitude of experiences provided outside of this field, which meant that they were able to view the development of the industry differently. While Frank and Ernest differed in focus they demonstrate the importance of the individual CEO in determining the vision for and subsequent development of small charitable organizations.

The nature of the SDP work reflected the values of sport development initiatives and are reflective of the community sport development efforts out of which the charity emerged (Collins, 2010a). These values were prevalent before the increasingly accountable and contractual relationships established under the *Chance to shine* and WSP initiatives. While institutional opportunities exist for all organizations, it is up to the individuals within the organization to take advantage of them, translating them and ensuring that the organization and its staff are prepared for the implications. The SDP work was successful for the charity because the field's doxa matched that held by the organizational doxa and the individual habitus of many within it. The extent to which this work transformed the charity is limited, as most of the adaptations the charity underwent were designed to ensure that the economic capital accumulation strategies were managed most effectively. The rebranding of the LCCA as C4C positioned the organization symbolically as a member of the SDP field. It was symbolic only in as much as the majority of structural arrangements and increases in staff numbers were more a response to the increasing expectation of accountability in the field of disability cricket than any pressure from the SDP field.

Chapter Conclusion

In this final chapter of the findings and discussion section I have presented a series of cases that reveal how a Bourdieusian relational analysis can explain the difference between reproduction and transformation within and between organizations. Mainstreaming was exogenous to the field of disability cricket, yet the adoption by many encouraged a rationalization of structures and playing opportunities. The lack of vision regarding what mainstreaming could achieve resulted in a competitive doxa to infuse emergent disability cricket practices. Existing disability cricket field opportunities and those emerging from the field of SDP provided C4C with opportunities to leverage their unique identity in two fields simultaneously. This identity work was a deliberate management process drawing on individual stories to create and enhance the organization's own story. This symbolic manifestation was then traded by the organization to enhance future opportunities. Finally, the continuance of *Chance to shine*, and in particular the establishment of *StreetChance*, provided C4C with competitive threats that resulted in the further development of programmes which sought to capture economic capital from the field of disability cricket in order to strengthen their unique positioning within the SDP field.

It is clear from the analysis outlined above that in all cases field, capital and habitus were interlinked. It is also clear, however, that the concept of doxa exists at institutional and organizational levels (Davey, 2012; Harrington et al., 2012). This doxa governs the relationship between the field position occupied, the capital required to sustain that position and the habitus required to reflect one's suitability for that position. Hence doxa is worthy of inclusion within these three master concepts. Doxa is more than culture; it also links to the past experiences, evolving beliefs and taken-for-granted assumptions of institutions and organizations that can enhance or restrain certain actions; in other words, it encapsulates the collective meaning systems and how an individual's habitus act in concert. However, as the sum of individual habitus that exists within the organization, these dispositions inform the organizational doxa and *vice versa*, avoiding ideological dogma. Hence, environmental factors are received by managers who are themselves acting within a specific and differentiated organizational setting. These factors are then translated through a combination of organizational doxa and the individual habitus of the management and staff. Once environmental factors are translated in this way, strategies are deployed that either reproduce the institutional initiative or transform it to benefit the organization or the individuals involved. This demonstrates the relational utility of Bourdieu's toolkit in providing a holistic view of reproduction and transformation in a field of sporting/organizational practice.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

In this chapter I seek to draw this thesis to a close by weaving together the key points raised in the Findings and Discussion chapters and linking these with the theoretical principles upon which this research was founded. Given the breadth of these chapters and their multi-layered analysis this is a significant undertaking. To do this I cover the following aims. The first is to directly address the aims and objectives of this research. Towards this end I will present a review of each of these and an extended discussion of research questions 1 and 2 (these are presented again below). I also will highlight the theoretical contribution of this thesis to the literature outlined in Chapters 1-3, including a response to research question 3. (A fuller discussion of reflexivity is presented in Appendix 1.) Following this, I will address the limitations of this research before discussing the implications of this new knowledge for practice and research in disability sport management.

Achieving the Research Goals

The central aim of this thesis was to analyse the process of change (reproduction and transformation) across a field of organizations involved in disability sport. From the previous chapters, and as will be revealed in the following discussion, it is clear that these aims have been achieved. Instrumental to this achievement was Bourdieu's relational and reflexive approach. Adopting these theoretical and methodological tools allowed me to reconsider organizational change from multiple perspectives, and to reveal the various factors that produce reproduction or transformation. This thesis has complemented the burgeoning literature on a relational sociology of organizations (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

By addressing the objectives of this thesis I can unpack the above claims further. The first objective was achieved through a multi-level analysis of the field of disability cricket. This analysis identified and explored how environmental factors were translated by individuals within organizations. Institutions are meaning systems (Scott, 2008) that are instilled with a doxa that determines the collective priorities for all organizations and individuals within. This research demonstrates that dominant field members assist the transmission of environmental factors across the field. In the current study, these dominant agents benefitted financially from this process. Individuals within these organizations drew on their habitus to translate the opportunities and challenges presented by each environmental factor. As these individuals were located within a specific organizational doxa, a variety of strategies were created. For instance, both mainstreaming and the WSP presented all

organizations with opportunities or challenges. Within C4C, for example, Frank translated these environmental factors as an opportunity that permitted the charity to increase financial resources by delivering more cricket programmes. The money earned by performing this work subsidized its international programmes. Once Ernest took over from Frank, he interpreted these factors as a threat to the organization and then used aspects of C4C's work to enable the charity to position itself in another field of activity.

Ethnography provided a suitable mechanism for gaining these insights into reproduction and transformation of sport organizations, and therefore the second objective was achieved. This methodology enabled me to immerse myself within the field and observe change as it occurred in real time within the organizations I was observing. It also enabled a deeper understanding of what disability cricket meant to individuals within the field, and how these meanings transformed over time. Ethnography permitted me to experience and observe the difficulties involved in translating environmental factors and the consequences of this translation for the design and implementation of programmes which aimed to address them. The bid for the *Hit the Top* Peer Leader Programme was an opportunity to raise funds from projects designed to involve young people with disabilities in the management and governance of the charity. Despite careful planning, its implementation was problematic. Ethnography allowed me to be involved in this process, learning from it and experiencing these difficulties with the managers and staff. This, I feel, is one of the key strengths of this thesis and one which reinforces its contribution to the extant literature.

The third objective was to illuminate how this research could impact upon those involved in policy, management and/or research in disability sport. While a more complete description of the impact of the research will be covered below, it will become clear that the implementation of policy and strategy in the field of sporting practice requires a clear articulation of the definitions of, and the importance for, the initiative. An understanding of how these environmental factors affect the institutional doxa is also important as clearer implementation occurs if the initiative aligns with existing expectations. Nevertheless, even within one institutional setting, the diversity of organizational doxa may also present challenges for the translation of policy initiatives that can then effect their implementation.

Managers within the NGBs and national sporting charities should be aware that organizations contracted to deliver national programmes may not prioritize their agenda. Possibly a more elaborate system of funding and evaluation may be needed to ensure compliance across the field. This is one of

a number of opportunities for further research in disability sport indicated by this study, which will be presented below.

Addressing the research questions

A recap of the research questions

1. What are the most significant environmental factors acting upon organizations and individuals managing disability sport?
2. How do these environmental factors impact the management and practice of disability cricket?
 - a. Do certain environmental factors have a greater impact on organizations and individuals?
 - b. Why does change vary between organizations?
3. How can reflexive sociology better understand reproduction and transformation in sport and organizations?
4. What are the implications of this investigation for those interested in sport and organizations?

Research question 1:

The findings indicate that environmental factors in the field of disability cricket take a number of forms. Sport policies such as mainstreaming, national sport strategies (such as the WSP) and also institutional strategies such as *Chance to shine* all create a context for organizational, individual and programming adaptations. While external strategies have an impact on all governing bodies and the organizations that carry out their work, the *Chance to shine* initiative was specific to the field of cricket. All such policies imposed significant pressures on the institutions which agreed to comply with their demands. The significance of the pressure created by the flurry of activity involved in the implementation of these policies was not social, moral or ethical, but fiscal, in the sense that adopting the policy was seen as an opportunity to generate funds and secure various other forms of capital.

Managers also draw on their stocks of cultural and social capital to interpret the influence of wider forces acting upon the field of disability cricket. At C4C they realized that increasing accountability was not only required for cricket but also was derived from various environmental factors from the wider bureaucratic field. Hence, I can conclude that a range of environmental factors continually intermix, which creates a continually shifting context for change. To put this in

Bourdieusian terms, if the habitus accepts that change is constant then agents can pre-empt institutional shifts and external environmental stimuli in order to create opportunities for their organizations. From the adoption of mainstreaming by the ECB and counties, to the delivery of *Chance to shine* sessions by cricket clubs and also the development of international programmes by small charities, each agent adapted. It is the manner of this adaption that raises further questions.

Research question 2:

Many participants in this study argued that increasing disability cricket provision was the right thing to do, and acknowledged that in the past the level of provision was unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, it was the availability of funds from the WSP that provided the catalyst for action. Conversely, mainstreaming had a limited impact on the meanings associated with disability cricket. A lack of clarity in what mainstreaming was and what it sought to achieve in the field of disability cricket meant that translations varied more in this context than was found in relation to the other environmental factors. Through mainstreaming, cricket broadly attempted to ensure equitable provision between able-bodied and disability cricket opportunities, but while the DCDO's, managers and players were accommodated under the auspices of the ECB, true integration was not achieved. What was achieved, however, was a myriad of opportunities for people with disabilities to get involved in the sport, which was no small accomplishment.

Across the field of disability cricket, the adoption of the WSP and *Chance to shine* initiatives resulted in a growing realization of the importance of, and a commitment to, accountability. Rather than change the way disability cricket was delivered, however these initiatives did little to incorporate the various meanings associated with the practice of disability cricket into the able-bodied game, as was evident from the way in which a performance-efficiency approach was layered onto this nascent field with the result that counties saw the grassroots merely as a mechanism for developing talent and increasing success at elite levels. Nevertheless, thanks to mainstreaming and the WSP, disability cricket is no longer a 'luxury' programme subject to the vagaries of funding priorities, but a field of cricket that has clear and achievable goals. This push towards greater accountability aligns disability cricket with its other able-bodied forms and is therefore unproblematic for members of the cricket establishment. It can be argued, however, that more inclusive forms of play have been marginalised as a result, and that the participation of disabled people has been limited to certain roles. The lack of conceptual clarity helped to implement mainstreaming as a structural adaptation to the NGB and the field of disability cricket. It did little to truly integrate the values of able-bodied cricket with those of the DCDOs that were historically responsible for disability cricket. While each culture shared competitive values there seemed to be little transfer into able-bodied cricket of the more inclusive

values that characterise disability cricket. For example, county managers implied that many clubs adopted disability teams merely for financial benefit.

Although the increased accountability that was a feature of WSP and *Chance to shine* may have done little to alter the meaning systems that dominated the delivery of cricket, they did change many individual's meanings of the utility of non-elite cricket. An increase in funding for these activities created a plethora of opportunities for young people to participate in community and disability cricket, even for those who faced multiple barriers to participation. The financial imperative behind this was clear: the Sports Council was giving the NGBs the power to choose their targets and deliver on them. The counties began to view all forms of cricket as their responsibility (i.e. no longer that of the Sports Council) and encouraged clubs to deliver these enhanced opportunities. Judged against what Sport England's (2004) *Framework for Sport in England* set out to achieve, this can be seen as the successful translation of a policy idea that increased the delivery output of NGBs.

At this early stage of disability cricket development, gaps are evident between the rhetoric and the reality of cricket provision. Great emphasis was placed on the establishment of teams for cricketers with learning difficulties, or talent development squads for junior players, and yet at the foundation levels in this region, few young people were consistently participating. These insights were enabled by ethnography in the form of minute-taking during steering group meetings and hearing counties boast of their players for these squads while simultaneously commenting that clubs were struggling to attract players with disabilities. The meanings that guided disability cricket development were those drawn from the experience of developing able-bodied cricket; performance-efficiency mind-sets misrepresented elite success as an indication of the general health of the game, all work was deemed good work, and there was very little critical discussion by anyone in the field regarding how to make the game more accessible. Instead, a lack of participants was regarded as simply a communications issue (i.e. not enough people know about our offerings).

Research question 2a:

Mainstreaming did not create cricket for all, but it did achieve more cricket for some. A range of environmental factors impacted upon the field of disability cricket produced a greater number of opportunities for cricketers with mild levels of impairment or disability and far fewer for those with more severe impairments that possibly required more adaptation in the way the sport was traditionally played. Although one DCDO involved in the mainstreaming project specialised in

delivering a format of the game with sufficient adaptations for all abilities, its inclusion was merely ceremonial, and the ECB did little to redress this imbalance.

Although a more inclusive version of the game did not materialize, the expansion in the number of cricketing opportunities created for cricketers with disabilities was a significant outcome. I therefore conclude that significant change has occurred within the field of disability cricket, and that this change is a reproduction of cricket aligned to a competitive institutional doxa. It is apparent that environmental factors combined to enhance the economic motivation for the development of disability cricket. Increasing opportunities to play disability cricket has led to greater equity between what is available for people with a disability and what exists for able-bodied cricketers. The WSP and *Chance to shine* initiatives have boosted the funds available for developing disability cricket, making it an income stream for counties and clubs. Because the field of disability cricket offers economic rewards, it is characterized by greater accountability and professionalization, resulting in a homogenization of disability cricket practice.

The relationship between each of these environmental factors also shifted the way in which people experienced their roles in the field, and the opportunities and challenges that they were presented with. The growing emphasis on accountability, as manifested in target setting and auditing, increased the requirements for individuals to enhance their business-specific knowledge and time-management skills. This push for greater professionalism was frequently mentioned by county staff reflecting on the personal implications of their organizations assuming the role of coordinator in relation to other field organisation's charged with the delivery of opportunities for play through WSP and *Chance to shine*.

Structural changes to organizations and a rising number of cricket programmes were the clearest consequence of this increasing accountability upon organizations. Moreover, how individual managers and staff handled this perceived pressure had a direct impact on their actions. Some managers and staff thrived during this period of transition, while others adapted their roles and practices, suggesting some mild resistance. However, some others who seemed unable to modify their practice in response to the shifting conditions experienced hysteresis-effects. In summary, each individual followed a strategy that appeared to lead to some final result, whether thriving, adapting or exiting. Of those who thrived, some sought more training and education to enable them to do their job more effectively; those who offered mild resistance carried out the work required while adapting their roles to meet their personal goals (by creating new programmes), and those who could not adapt, exited the field.

Research question 2b:

Variation between organizations reflects differences in the interplay of institutional, organizational and individual factors. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts I conclude that this relationship between the organizational doxa and the habitus of the individuals who work within it has a moderating effect on the translation of environmental factors. As stated previously the organizational doxa is a multi-faceted concept that is characterized by the habitus of the individuals within a given organization. Organizations that draw their staff from a semi-elite or elite sport background ensure that these values are reproduced. Many have taken-for-granted assumptions about the role and importance of the sport which can influence their worldview. Conversely, organisations staffed by people with a range of previous experience have the potential to bring more variety into the organization. Either way, this relationship impacts on the organizational doxa.

When an organizational doxa matches the expectations of the institutional doxa, legitimacy occurs. As a result, the common meaning systems shared by the organization and the institution can also match the expectation of individuals. Hence, when institutionally sanctioned changes occur to structures, systems and programmes, mimetic isomorphic effects are created. In this instance the homogenization of the practice of disability cricket occurs, reproducing the game, layering the performance-efficiency model upon the area of disability cricket and creating another unexceptional aspect of developmental cricket. This mimetic diffusion occurs throughout the field and this reproduction occurs if the organizational doxa matches its institutional counterpart. Hence, change in this instance reflects a more deterministic style of reproduction.

When the organizational and institutional doxa do not match as in the case of C4C, other possibilities can ensue. Rather than resistance occurring, mimetic isomorphism was replaced with a more context-specific process of translation. Managers and staff draw on their work and life experiences from outside the sport in order to enable the strategic translation of environmental factors to overcome challenges and take advantage of opportunities. Although taken-for-granted assumptions exist, particularly with regard to their collective views on the 'power of sport' to bring about social change, greater variance can be seen in the structures adopted and types of programmes offered between organizations. The translation of opportunities from these factors by the CEOs rebranded the LCCA into C4C. The flexibility of the charity's organizational form (i.e. free from county ties, innovative and relatively small) meant that it could deliver work in the field of disability cricket to generate its income (given the paucity of delivery specialists within its region) and develop domestic and international programmes aligned to the field of SDP. This pragmatism demonstrated a level of

agency that was not seen from other organizations within the field. As a result it enabled C4C to position themselves to co-exist in two related fields of endeavour – the field of disability cricket and the field of SDP – and thus decrease their resource-dependency on funding partners that specifically funded cricket.

Change for C4C was mostly internal. By rebranding and developing international programmes, a process of organizational transformation occurred. Central to this transformation was the charity's distinct and unique organizational identity which was made possible by the possession of specific types and volumes of capital. Nevertheless, even within this organization competitive elements infused the practice of disability cricket. A rhetoric of inclusivity was offered by the charity but in reality many opportunities to play the game were competitive, reflecting the performance-efficiency approach and resulting in a reproduction of competitive sport in programmes that suggested a more human-development approach.

Bourdieuian Insight into Disability Cricket

This study extended the use of Bourdieu's opus to another case of what is possible, and the first examination of the field of disability cricket. A significant contribution has been made to the literature on organizational sociology (which, as outlined in Chapter 1, encompasses disability sport management and the sociology of sport) through this Bourdieuian relational analysis of institutional and organizational change. Each of these contributions will now be addressed in turn before the third research question is addressed to complete this section.

This contribution is particularly relevant for institutionalism in organizational analysis. As noted in Chapter 2, Bourdieu and institutional theory have been linked previously (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Skille & Skirstad, 2007; Sieweke, 2014, Washington, 2004; Wright, 2009; Zucker, 1991), and this study demonstrates that both complement the gaps in each suite of concepts. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) argued that a relational application of Bourdieu's opus to organizational sociology could reveal 'the process by which organizational change [transformation] or organizational reproduction emerges out of individual actions' (p. 30). The role of CEO was instrumental in effecting the transformation at C4C; it was Frank's vision, followed by Ernest's, which led to organizational developments. Their personal capital and their previous and wide-ranging experiences enabled them to see opportunities outside the field within which they operated. Before I afford too much credence to the importance of individual agency, however, it must be acknowledged that the organisational context also played an important role. The charity's history, staff and identity

meant that the effort to enter a new field could be made with authenticity. Without the organization's doxa (which includes the individual habitus of each member of its staff), these decisions could not have been implemented. Importantly, because they carried their biography into the SDP field, they did not have to start again. Underpinning their field-position was a combination of the necessary composition of capital alongside a commensurate habitus. A lack of fit between these elements and the charity might have been perceived as an attempt to fake legitimacy, which would be damaging to the organization's reputation if exposed. Essentially, this means that planning alone cannot achieve transformation; rather, the organization's doxa and the collective habitus (the social and the cognitive functions of the organization) must be disposed to the actions of the new field (Zippin & Brennan, 2010). Few other leaders in the field of disability cricket could have seen this, and few other organizations could have accomplished it.

To encourage reproduction within the ECB, the Disability Cricket Manager sought to integrate the DCDOs and the disparate levels of disability cricket activities across England and Wales under the One Game banner. This was not enabled by the resources allocated to the DCDOs alone; the county organizations and cricket clubs were chief implementers. The performance-efficiency foci of these stakeholders then reproduced disability cricket in accordance with dominant institutionalized practices. While much activity was generated, this was restricted to certain opportunities that did not permit the institution's doxic values to be challenged. Individual actions in this case resulted in reproduction of institutional practices in a relatively new field of endeavour. In its analysis of reproduction in particular, this research demonstrates the utility of concepts such as habitus and hysteresis in the context of institutional theory. Habitus is informed by previous experience and the specific context an individual finds themselves within. When they can adapt to changing conditions they do, but when they cannot, hysteresis effects occur which can lead to isolation and ultimately an exit from the field. This is because habitus informs the micro foundations of institutional activity and in certain cases provides a building block for the macro foundations of an institution (Zucker, 1991). The relational analysis presented in the Findings and Discussion sections (and in particular Chapter 9) demonstrates how mainstreaming, translated through an individual habitus within an organizational doxa (context), reproduced the dominant institutional practices.

The growing demand for cross-fertilization between the sociology of sport and sport management (Bryant, 1993; Doherty, 2012; Kitchin & Howe, 2013; Love & Andrew, 2012) is addressed in this study. Benefits for both subject areas are apparent. For sport management the use of practice theory highlights the importance of context in change research without denying the central role of individuals. The use of an interrelated conceptual framework such as that of Bourdieu permits

a more holistic analysis of change than previously studied in sport management. Most optimistically, I contend that this research could reignite the critical turn in sport management that appears to have dissipated since Amis and Silk's (2005) and Frisby's (2005) call to arms. By bringing Bourdieu into this debate I draw on a more robust framework to investigate the complex phenomena that are prevalent in sport management research, such as corruption and its link to match-fixing and drug taking, the marginalization of minority groups and how inequalities are reproduced within the management of sport.

With regard to the sociology of sport, I contend that this study offers further opportunities to re-examine how taken-for-granted assumptions are situated within organizations and are central to the reproduction of inequality in sport. It has also presented a field of possibilities, in the form of the field of disability cricket. This field is a distinct yet still nascent area of cricket development that has its own stakes and struggles for capital and whose firms jockey for field positions. At stake is a power struggle to determine how disability cricket should be practiced and whether the purpose of this endeavour should align to human-development or performance-efficiency goals (Maguire, 2014). This study contributes directly to previous work by Kay and Laberge (2002b) and Purdue and Howe (2013) by positioning disability cricket in relation to other fields and then providing a systematic overview of how power relations result in position-taking within a field of sport practice.

Finally, in response to Research Question 3, the importance of reflexive sociology in this study was vital, as inhabiting the field provided me with a significant role in the collection, sorting and analysing of data, much of which arrived through fieldwork and observation. Reflexivity was particularly important as the fieldwork phase of this study was completed (January 2008-July 2011), well before the writing-up phases of this thesis (July 2013-14) began. The reflexive account (provided in Appendix 1) enables the reader not only to consider the relationship of the individuals to their organizations and institutions but also to focus their lens on my role in this research, and thereby see how I arrived at these conclusions.

Limitations

With any study of this magnitude there are a number of limitations that should also be noted when considering these conclusions. The depth of analysis for each organization was solid, interviews were conducted with appropriate staff, documents were gathered and observations were made. Data from each source was analysed consistently across the study. However, there were some design issues. Upon reflection, I feel that greater engagement with a wider range of staff within the

counties and national charities would have shed more light on the relationship between individual habitus and organizational doxa. The extent of the DCDO, national charity and county organization analysis was limited to their disability cricket staff and while this yielded sufficient data, further analysis could have situated these departments within their wider organizational context. For the counties, first-hand accounts were limited to those provided by managers responsible for the county's role in either the *Hit the Top*, *Chance to shine* or *StreetChance* programmes. Nevertheless, all organizations that operate on a day-to-day basis and which employ full-time staff were included in this study. A lack of first-hand accounts from senior staff at the ECB, particularly the Disability Cricket Manager, resulted in a greater emphasis being placed on interviews with his part-time Disability Cricket Officer and on document analysis. Despite numerous attempts, it was not possible to arrange an interview. Nevertheless, the members of staff who were made available to me at Sport England and the English Federation of Disability Sport to discuss the WSP and then funding of *Hit the Top* and its Peer Leader Programme could not provide adequate details of these programmes. Hence, they were excluded from the interview process.

While I contend that *Hit the Top*, *Chance to shine* or *StreetChance* programmes yielded sufficient data to inform this analysis, more could have been done to systematically involve the cricket clubs which were contributing to *Chance to shine*. Although some clubs feature in this study, data drawn from more experiences could have yielded a greater range of perspectives within the field of disability cricket. The same could be said of the data collected from adult cricketers with disabilities; they too were a resource that could have been used more systematically, rather than on an impromptu basis.

The time-span of this study included the introduction of the mainstreaming and the WSP in 2009. As a consequence, neither of these environmental factors had much time to impact upon the institutional doxa. It may have been too early to expect comprehensive and inclusive changes to occur throughout the field. This may mean that some of the issues raised by these factors may be settled with the passage of time. For example, since 2013, the WSP has entered into its second cycle. John from the North County felt that there was “less emphasis on numbers [now] and they have moved away to allow us to provide our own targets” (December, 2013). This suggests that the finding that the WSP was overly focused on quantitative outputs such as participation numbers may have been noted by others, and has been modified in the second cycle.

While this study was not designed as a Critical Management Study (CMS) (Alvesson, et al., 2008; Frisby, 2005), it is not unreasonable to think that its conclusions could improve organizational

practice within this field. However, many organizations have moved on. For instance, while C4C remains a delivery agent for disability cricket in London, it is no longer their primary focus. C4C has rebranded again into The Change Foundation which incorporates rugby, cricket and dance and places a greater focus on young people and employment rather than cricket or even disability sport. Comments by Frank (the former CEO of C4C) suggest that the goodwill the charity built up with the cricket establishment from 2007 to 2010 had been jeopardized by its more cavalier approach to the national expansion of *Hit the Top* and *Street-20* between 2011 and 2013. Even within the home region their reputation was harmed, as they were known for only operating in areas where funds were available and for withdrawing once funding ended. While this is a reasonable strategy for a charitable organization, some of the managers at the county organizations felt that this reflected a superficial involvement and did little to genuinely develop disability cricket within an area. Within such a context, it may not be possible to approach these field organizations with these implications.

The Implications of this New Knowledge

In order to address Research Question 4, this section presents the implications of this investigation for those engaged in policy, management or research in sport and organizations.

Industry professionals involved in the policy formulation process need to clearly define concepts such as mainstreaming and what scope of activities they require. Doing so could prevent functional responses and close the gap between the rhetoric and the reality. The research has demonstrated that the functional reality of mainstreaming in cricket is a myriad of activities and that the main stakeholders can now point to tangible evidence that mainstreaming is occurring. However, a more critical view of mainstreaming has shown that gaps remain and what exists is simply more cricket for some, and not more cricket for all. Additionally, policy makers and NGBs need to become more self-aware, avoiding personal and institutional misconceptions about barriers to participation. Some feel that these barriers exist externally to organized sport and that more needs to be done to ensure sport organizations address the inequalities they manufacture.

To address these gaps between rhetoric and reality (and aid the implementation of policy and strategy), sport managers need to be explicit about their institutional goals, and specifically, about what equality means to them and equally importantly, how it can be achieved. Input from a wider stakeholder group is important, and a repeat of the findings from the Disability Cricket Development Group (2011), which involved no input from current players, should be avoided. More advanced control mechanisms could permit managers to be more effective at evaluating the performance of

contracted delivery agents. Finally, some consideration for the inclusion of outcome and impact would complement the current focus on outputs.

Areas for further research

This study has revealed opportunities for further research in this and related areas. More theoretical work developing synergies between institutional theory and Bourdieu could extend this relational framework into areas beyond change, such as policy implementation, practices of corruption, or the meanings associated with institutionalized inequality within organized sport. One possible extension from this research would be to re-examine the data through an institutional lens. By reconsidering the data through an institutional model of policy implementation (Skille 2008; Stenling, 2013) greater attention could be placed upon the relationship between translation and organizational identity. Further studies could consider developments in elite disability cricket and view this from the perspective of the disability studies literature. The theoretical and methodological framework also could be extended to a relational examination of sport for development and peace within the context of the Northern Irish Peace Process. A similar ethnographic engagement could be performed to understand how meanings of peace at the grassroots levels are impacted upon by European, provincial, and local political initiatives. This could further extend the notion of organizational doxa and its relationship with field, habitus and capital.

Although the findings presented in previous chapters suggest that agency, while present, was embedded within an organizational doxa, this was not always the case. One county with a development manager from a non-sporting background ensured that disability cricket reflected more inclusive and participatory goals, with less concern placed on competition. Even within an organizational doxa that is competitive, individuals can, through their habitus, draw on their cultural and social capital to create conditions that are unique, thus reflecting agency. Potentially a case study approach could be undertaken to further examine the role of agency in translating environmental factors. These cases could examine institutional mimesis, which is the unconscious imitation of other individuals' practices. In this study, practices like story-telling and coaching were disseminated within organizations through a strong verbal culture; further research could be conducted into how this informs and builds the organizational doxa.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Achieving Epistemic Reflexivity

Introduction

This research outlined the contribution to the literatures on organizational sociology, disability sport management and the sociology of sport. It also applied Bourdieusian case study on reproduction and transformation to the field of disability cricket. From this study, opportunities exist to use this research as a springboard for further study in the management and sociological understanding of sport. Before embarking on new research, however, it is important to complete the final quality step of those outlined in chapter 4, which is central to the reflexive sociological approach adopted in this investigation. This appendix details this reflexive process.

Reflexivity is well established in the sociology of sport and is growing in organization analysis, but it remains less frequently used in sport management. I will briefly outline the key aspects of Bourdieu's reflexive approach and highlight the difference between this and other approaches available. By detailing a relational discussion of my personal journey, my institutional academic setting and the research setting, I aim to demonstrate how this work achieves epistemic reflexivity and therefore is an authoritative account of my experiences in the field.

Reflexive Choices in Sport Management

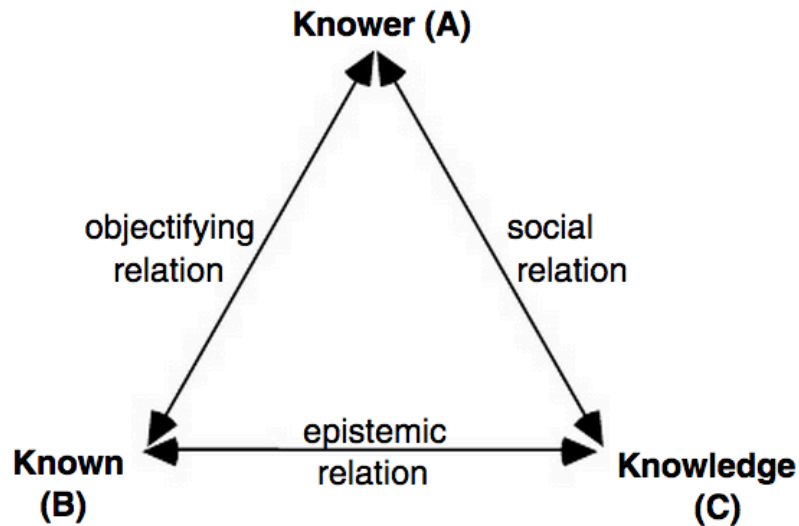
In organization sociology the reflexive questioning of the philosophical and methodological principles used in research has gained significance over the past twenty years (Cunliffe, 2003). This has led to the realization that no research paradigms (or researchers acting within them) can claim to present absolute truth. Reflexive thinking has fostered both a more introspective and more pragmatic approach to the revelation of multiple truths. As yet, few sport management scholars have engaged with both reflective and reflexive approaches. Some approaches that have been used include the personal narrative (Rinehart, 2005), critical reflection (Edwards, 2005), auto-ethnography (Fleming & Fullagar, 2007; Hoerber & Kerwin, 2013; Humberstone, 2009) and poststructuralist reflexivity (Shaw, 2006). These represent the current contribution of reflective thinking to the sport management literature. Examining the potential of reflection in the practice of sport management, Edwards (1999) surmised that critical reflection could allow us to consider 'ourselves and our world in an empowering way' and 'offers us the challenge of reconstructing our social worlds in ways that are less distorted by relations of power and domination' (p. 79). While this is similar to the approach adopted in this thesis, there is a difference between personal reflection and reflexivity. The former examines a critical review of the past while the latter is focused on interpreting phenomena through the personal and

institutional subjective position of the researcher. Alvesson et al. (2008) outlined four commonly used forms of reflexive practice: multi-perspective, multi-voicing, destabilizing and positioning. The first of these, *multi-perspective*, is aligned with the work of Burrell and Morgan (1979), who suggested that focusing multiple epistemological perspectives on a common phenomenon could increase our understanding of that phenomenon. From this, different knowledge could be produced (Alvesson et al., 2008). The second form of reflexive practice, *multi-voicing*, draws its inspiration from the work of Clifford and Marcus (1986) on the relationships between the self and the other. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this was a genuine consideration in this thesis due to my role as an active member in the research process. Establishing how I (self) can speak authentically regarding those involved in the research (the other) is important. To do this, I engaged with individuals in the field over a three year period. During this time I was able to develop a level of empathy for the participants and become more attuned to various power relationships. While aspects of multi-voicing are covered in my response below, it is subsumed within the third form of reflexive practice. *Positioning*, which is aligned with Bourdieu reflexive sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), seeks to understand ‘the network of practices and interests that produces particular interpretations of knowledge’ (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 487). Its aim is to reveal the relationship between the researcher, the researcher’s institutional context and the research setting. *Destabilizing* is the fourth and final perspective and was inspired by the work of the philosophers Foucault and Derrida. It seeks to examine the conditions and consequences of the creation of theory and challenges other research to expose ontological inconsistencies (Alvesson et al., 2008). As this project followed a reflexive sociological approach, I used positioning as my preferred reflexive model.

Bourdieu’s Reflexive Sociology

Bourdieu wished for researchers to turn the instruments of their investigations back on themselves, to ensure that institutional forces acting upon them were recognised (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). He envisaged that researchers should adopt a variety of ontological and epistemological positions throughout the research project. According to Maton (2003), Bourdieu’s approach examines the relations between the Known, the Knower and the Knowledge. This relationship is represented in Figure A1.1.

Figure A1.1: Three relations of knowledge claims.



(Source: Maton, 2003, p. 57)

In the discussion below I review these three inter-related areas: the researcher (Knower), the researcher's institutional context (Knowledge) and finally the research setting (Known).

A personal journey

My original reason for undertaking a PhD was to advance my career in academia. During this period of my career, I was involved in teaching and research about the marketing of sport. My publications in this area were not extensive, however the teaching element and the engagement with students was rewarding. Although I enjoyed marketing from an educational perspective I did not fully appreciate the benefits of research. In the literature on marketing, psychology dominated, and as a consequence most studies were quantitative and very technical applications of common sense. While this view may still be a little heretic I still believed that the lack of research on marketing management created a lack of opportunities for research. This was the narrow view that I held at the time. What attracted me to the PhD at Loughborough University were my initial discussions with David at Cricket for Change and the work he was doing with young people with disabilities. My first idea was to focus my research on the development of young people's identity through cricket. As cricket was a sport I had followed keenly for many years as both player and spectator, I thought this topic would sustain my enthusiasm for the duration of the project. I did not see this thesis as a means to learn more about cricket, but rather as a project that would give me sound conceptual and methodological tools, as well as a range of personal skills that would be of benefit to me in my future career. Throughout the early phases of the research in 2008 and 2009 I struggled to engage with literature focusing on the sociological individual playing disability sport, and following two

disappointing annual reviews I decided to shift my focus to the individuals and organizations administering disability sport. Luckily, these initial experiences proved valuable. Under my supervisor's guidance I learnt more about disability studies and the disability community which have informed and strengthened my final analysis.

To make plain my biases I offer the following. This was a research journey created by an inexperienced researcher, who was learning about charity business practices as the research progressed. Staff within the field knew this, and while my opinion was welcomed and considered, it did not lead to changes to management or staff attitudes. While I was involved with the charity I provided advice on programme design and the preparation of monitoring and evaluation frameworks, but getting the staff to incorporate them into their routine was difficult. Upon reflection I felt that they would have liked to have someone work alongside them and perform the role for them, rather than try to incorporate it into their own activities. While I was heard, I was unable to change their monitoring practices so as to enable them to build an evidence base for the impact of their work, rather than rely on a selection of stories that provided shining, albeit misrecognised examples of personal development. This clearly had an impact on the participant and active-member observations that were collected and also the re-interpretation of the data during the writing-up phase.

Sport management as an institutionalized form of scholarly activity

The academic area of sport management is a derivative of management studies. The field gained traction in North America in the late 1970s as physical educators became more involved in sports administration (Zeigler, 1987). In the 1980s in Australia it was noted that volunteers in sports organizations were serving as board directors for various governing bodies at the state and national levels (Shilbury & Deane, 2000). Sport management as its own subject area attempted to provide professional and theoretical support for the growing presumption that sport no longer required administration (a reactive process) but rather a more proactive management approach. The academic field grew out of the practical requirements of this emerging profession. This has always linked research and teaching to practice. In this model, theory is applied to practice in an attempt to improve practice. By implication, research aims to develop practical solutions and while this remains appealing, the ideas of in-depth theoretical engagement and research for the sake of research seem to receive less priority in the current sport management journals.

Guiding the development of sport management is the annual Ziegler Award. This award honours an academic who has been seen by their peers to advance the development of sport

management. The recipient of the award delivers a speech that is published in the first edition of each volume of the *Journal of Sport Management*. At the 2004 lecture, Wendy Frisby discussed ‘the good’ of sport management research. Interestingly, she also questioned whether sport management really wanted to examine its ‘bad’ and ‘ugly’ sides. Frisby (2005) examined the lack of critical sport management research and proposed a critical social scientific approach which adopted Alvesson and Deetz’s (2000) critical management framework of insight, critique and transformative redefinition. This work was followed up with a special edition on critical approaches to sport management often employing concepts more familiar to the sociology of sport. Although subsequent engagement with these papers was limited, these articles were instrumental to my decision to critically evaluate the practices of sport management.

In the United Kingdom the development of sport management has occurred in tandem with the development of the academic field of sport and leisure studies, which includes sport development. I argued in Chapter 1 that sport management appears a modern title for the disparate activities through which sport is developed and managed across Britain and Ireland; while this is not a critical issue, I do believe it diminishes the potential for greater understanding of the social practice of managing sport. Professional bodies like the Chartered Institute for the Management of Sport and Physical Activity (CIMSPA) align more with leisure facility and aquatic management than they do with managing NGBs and sport clubs. The fragmentation of the study of organized sport into academic fields such as sport studies, sport management, sport development and sport coaching makes it difficult to form a unified identity of sport management in Britain or Ireland. As I was educated in Australia and have remained fairly isolated from sport development, I have deferred more to the US/Australian approach. One of the limitations of my sport management knowledge is my lack of in-depth understanding of pan-European approaches. This led me to feel at the start of my endeavour that sport management lacked substance. Eventually, however, I realised that I was unfamiliar with the considerable body of work that had been done in my subject area. While there is clearly a dominant focus in sport management on the business-economics of sport, there is also a rich vein of work on the sociology of sport within sport management (Stenling, 2010). Essentially, I feel that I started the process as a participant observer of sport management, full of assumptions and biases. However, Bourdieu’s (1988) own analysis of the academic field includes the observation that academics obtain only a partial and dated perspective on their field. Throughout the process I became aware that many of my assumptions were incorrect and that substance in this academic area could be found. Contributing to my ignorance and isolation was the fact that I have always found myself as the sole sport management academic in the various universities by which I have been employed. While I have had other colleagues with sport management titles, their interests have actually been in other areas, which may explain why I felt excluded and isolated from the sport management subject area.

Ultimately, this isolation meant that I did not become too accustomed to the doxa of the sport management academic field, which in turn enabled me to search for a different perspective to what was one of the most frequently researched areas in sport management (Ciomaga, 2013).

These issues are relevant because I am interested in demonstrating how sport management research can assist the development of more inclusive and diverse sporting organizations, and while I feel I touch on issues of education, development and coaching I do not think that sport studies should be conflated into one subject area. Solid critical work has been shown to advance organizational effectiveness (Frisby, Crawford & Dorer, 1997; Misener & Doherty, 2009; Shaw 2006; Shaw & Frisby, 2011; Shaw & Hoerber, 2003; Sherry, 2010), but in sport management this engagement is infrequent and is commonly considered the realm of the sociology of sport. Recently, some scholars (myself included) have outlined the potential benefits of interdisciplinary studies between sport management and the sociology of sport (Bryant, 1993; Doherty, 2012; Kitchin & Howe, 2013; Love & Andrew, 2012), something also noted in Frisby's Ziegler address. It is gratifying to me that this study demonstrates this. Creating research that is more critical and linked to wider contexts will benefit sport management research. It can create research that is practically oriented and will have benefits for the sociology of sport. In other words, while these links will provide benefits to the subject area of sport management, the interdisciplinary nature of the work will satisfy a number of larger goals. Although the authors presented above have emphasised sport management's practical credentials, in this investigation the contributions it could make were quite limited. This was due to a number of factors, one being my own personal characteristics and limitations as outlined in the previous section.

Toward epistemic reflexivity

As indicated above, Bourdieu's departure from other reflexive approaches requires the relationship between the Knower, the Knowledge and the Known to be addressed (Maton, 2003). In Chapter 10, I discussed the gap between the rhetoric of policy and the reality of implementation which results from the translation of environmental factors. This has relevance to this epistemic reflexive process, as in practice this study could be considered 'messy' (Parkhe, 1993). This messiness contradicts the relatively logically and systematic approach described in Chapter 5 but at times it did not progress in such a logical, routine fashion. From Table 4.2, it can be seen that my role as a participant observer/active-member within the charity changed throughout the field-work phase. Ensuring that ethnographic accounts are authoritative has been a feature of anthropological discussions (Clifford and Marcus, 1986, Rabinow, 1986). My relationship with the participants (the other) through these shifting positions enabled this distance to be maintained.

At the outset of the fieldwork I positioned myself at the periphery of the organization and slowly moved into the inner-circle. I felt that my engagement in the everyday development sessions as opposed to the higher profile events led staff to recognise that I was committed to working with them. I feel that if I had not participated in such a way I may not have worked my way into the inner-circle. Certain difficulties arose as a result of this organizational embrace when attempting to maintain objective distance, however. My changing personal circumstances (getting married, moving countries, beginning a new job, becoming a parent) meant that I was able to disengage for periods from the field, although once again none of these was a deliberate mechanism for maintaining sufficient distance from the participants. While these circumstances are not unusual for mature research students, they did provide an objective distance from the field which I believe adds to the authority of this account. As a consequence of these shifting conditions, the final write-up of this ethnographic account occurred nearly two years after my exit from the field. Once again, although this was not a deliberate choice, it is one that has enabled me, from a distance to the field, to gather further data and allow the observations and ideas to absorb. This permitted me a detachment from the daily operations of the field and reduced the possibility that relationships could impact on the write-up, leading ultimately to a stronger analysis (Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

Concluding statement

This section has attempted to provide a response to any potential queries on epistemic reflexivity in this investigation. Considering the inter-relationships between the research setting, my institutional academic area and myself, highlights how this account was positioned. As a result of this I feel it demonstrates a robust level of ethnographic authority and a novel account of reflexivity in sport management research.

Appendix 2: Formal Interview Profiles

Date	Pseudonym	Organization	Role	Experience	Specific Area of Focus	Follow-Up Interview Dates
September 2008	Frank	LCCA	CEO	<5 years	Strategic direction, PR, partnerships and fundraising	December 2013
January 2009	Robin	BCEW	Elite participant	>15 years	Former Captain of ECB VI Team	-
June 2010	Caitlin	South County	County Development Manager	>10 years	Women & Girls and Disability Cricket	August, 2010
June 2010	Ciaran	C4C	<i>Hit the Top</i> Apprentice	<5 years	Participant in BACD league, <i>Hit the Top</i> and Apprentice	
June 2010	Donald	C4C	<i>Hit the Top</i> participant	<5 years	Participant in ECB VI development squad and <i>Hit the Top</i> participant	
July 2010	Aiden	TCF	Regional Development Manager	>5 years	Chance to shine in region	-
July 2010	Ernest	C4C	CEO	>20 years	Strategic direction, PR, partnerships and fundraising	
July 2010	Conor	C4C	West Development Manager	>5 years	Training and West Region Manager, Project Lead on Refugee Cricket	October 2011
July 2010	Niamh and Aoife	North County	County Development Manager and County Development Officer	>20 years and <5 years	Women & Girls and Disability Cricket	-
July 2010	Sinead	Interactive (London Forum for Disabled People)	Regional Manager	>5 years	Advocacy and Policy for Greater London region	-
August 2010	Jane	C4C	Development Coach	<5 years	Women & Girls and Disability Cricket, Project Lead on <i>Hit the Top Peer Leader Programme</i>	Jan 2011

Date	Pseudonym	Organization	Role	Experience	Specific Area of Focus	Follow-Up Interview Dates
August 2010	George	C4C	Senior Development Coach	>10 years	Urban and Disability Cricket	-
August 2010	David	C4C	Director of Programmes	>5 years	Programme development and administration, Project Lead on Disability Cricket	Jan 2011,
August 2010	Geoff and Parent	C4C	<i>Hit the Top</i> participant	<5 years	Disability Cricket	-
August 2010	Sean and Oisin	CFPD	Secretary and Treasurer	>20 years	Governance and operations of CFPD	-
August 2010	John	West County	Disability Cricket Development Officer	>5 years	Disability cricket	October 2011, November 2012, December 2013
August 2010	Aaron	C4C	<i>Hit the Top</i> Peer Leader / Development Officer from Sep 2010	>5 years	Peer Leader Programme / Disability Cricket and Urban Cricket	
August 2010	Amir	C4C	<i>Hit the Top</i> Peer Leader	>5 years	Peer Leader Programme	March 2013
August 2010	Daniel	Cricket Club	Administrator	>10 years	Management of club delivering <i>Chance to shine</i>	
August 2010	Mark	C4C	East Development Manager	>5 years	Development of East Region and <i>StreetChance</i> Coordinator	
August 2010	Eoin	C4C	Development Coach	<5 years	East Region Development Officer	
August 2010	Tristan	C4C	Development Coach (former Apprentice)	<5 years	West Region Development Officer	January 2012
October 2010	Liam	East County	East Development Manager	>5 years	Women & Girls and Disability Cricket and Urban Cricket	April 2011

Date	Pseudonym	Organization	Role	Experience	Specific Area of Focus	Follow-Up Interview Dates
January 2011	Shelly	C4C	<i>Hit the Top</i> Peer Leader	>5 years	Peer Leader Programme	
January 2012	Ciara	C4C	Impact Manager	<5 years	Programme Management and Impact Evaluations	
November 2012	Dylan	ECB	Disability Development Officer	>20 years (BACD)	Disability cricket	April 2014
November 2012	Niall	North-East County	Cricket Development Officer	>10 years	Women & Girls and Disability Cricket and Urban Cricket	
November 2012	Anon	ECB	Level 3 Cricket Coach	>10 years	Junior Cricket	

Appendix 3: Sample Interview Schedule

Research questions for Aiden

Regional Development Manager

The Cricket Foundation

Introduction and personal background

1. How long have you been working for The Cricket Foundation?
 - a. How has your background contributed to your perspective as a manager?
 - b. Could you clarify your roles and key responsibilities within the London & East area you are responsible for?
 - c. What personal competencies do you feel you need to exhibit to perform your role? Have these changed since you took the role?

Monitoring the programme and partners

2. The monitoring process of *Chance to shine* seems very well developed;
 - a. Did TCF start with this monitoring and evaluation in mind, and if so what was the rationale behind it?
 - i. How have you gone about managing this process in your region?
 - ii. What were the key benefits of this system for your role?
 - iii. Were there any challenges you experienced in managing this process?

Managing Organizational Partnerships

3. How do you conceptualise the relationship with the ECB and County Cricket Boards that you work with?
 - a. Are the County Cricket Boards your key contacts in your role or do you deal with local level delivery?
4. What is it about the region of London & East that poses operational and logistical challenges for your role in managing community cricket?
5. What benefits and challenges did *StreetChance* bring to TCF's portfolio of activities?
 - a. How does the charity Cricket for Change assist you in your work?
 - i. How do you see their role going forward from year 5 onwards?
6. Without mentioning specifics how did you go about the process of releasing under-performing clubs mentioned in the Annual Report November 2009?
7. How has Sport England's *Whole Sport Plan* concept impacted on the work that TCF do?
 - a. Furthermore has the single investment system had any impact on your Foundation's working practices?

Going Forward

1. How would sustainable clubs from the *Chance to shine* project raise their funds once Cricket Foundation assistance moves to newer clubs? Would they apply to you or apply to outside sources of funding?
 - a. Is there a possibility that the *StreetChance* project could achieve sustainable status?
 - b. What role does disability cricket play in Chance to Shine?
 - c. What are the emerging priorities for cricket from the first 4 years of *Chance to shine*?

Appendix 4: Extract from a sample transcript

Aiden – The Cricket Foundation, 29th of July 2010 at 2:30 p.m.

I: I didn't know the involvement it was. I saw on the Foundation's report as well there was a percentage of disability in the overall stats and I wondered whether that was anything to do with C4C or just from general stats from the schools anyway. Schools, you've got mainstream schools you've got kids with LD and with physical //

A: Exactly so it'll be a combination of 3 things; the stats that you'll see there will be a combination of the *Hit the Top* programme which is monitored through our systems because obviously we have the funding, part of our stats will be children with special needs in mainstream schools and the third part of that is that a number of county boards now run their own disability projects

I: Right, of course Niamh was talking about that in North County

A: As with North, so, you know, yes North is a good example. Last year they decided, you know, that they wanted one of the projects to be a North disability project and a number of counties have put them all in one pot of our funding together cos our funding each year per pot is in the region of £6,000

I: That's right per project, is that per project, yeah, that's right?

A: Per project, yeah. So some of them have put a number together, Hertfordshire again, is a good example, one of the things I did before I left there was I put 3 pots together and employ, you know, with a bit of extra money from the county board that employs a community coach full time, who was put on special projects and he spends, you know, pretty much 50/50 of his time with women and girls cricketing disabilities. So some of those stats will come from the general disability project the counties run.

So East County run one, let's have a think, Norfolk not at the moment, Suffolk do, Cambridgeshire do, Beds do a little bit, Herts do, West do, North already does, South and North are gonna start another one in Hertfordshire next year, East do and North-East do as well. So it's, you know, we'll be very close to every county in this region delivering a certain element of disability cricket through *Chance to shine* in the next year or two.

I: Alright. So when you say about funding pots is that just the money that your charity raises, cos you only get your money from the ECB and everything else is through donations and also fund bidding, is that?

A: The way the funding works is it's a 10 million pound, sorry it's a 10 year programme, £50 million; £25 million raised privately, 25 coming from government. Where ECB comes in is because of whole sport plans and because of this idea of working through one single organization, Sport England where originally the money was coming direct have now said 'well hold on that's kind of against what we do' so as part of ECB's bid to Sport England, *Chance to shine* is a part of that. So that money is effectively routed through the ECB.

I: Yeah, it's a Single Investment System isn't it?

A: Yeah, it's Sport England's way of funding everything so that, you know, it would be hypocritical of them to say we work with one organization in sport and then work with ECB and TCF which is an independent organization. So £25 million we're raising privately; banks, wealthy individuals, business, you know, public donations, we just launched a new public appeal this year and that's matched by the money that is fed through ECB

I: That's right. The government matching, cos I remember that was under New Labour as well, are the Conservatives committed to keeping that funding going sort of things because Sport England and UK Sport who this week were sort of merging together and stuff so the government so far seems, even though he's a cricketer, the cricketer who is a sports minister is probably quite handy. Does it show any sort of worries to the funding or //

A: Again that might be a question, you know, to get a clear answer on that, certainly in my position at the moment, you know, I've not heard anything that's set the alarm bells ringing anyway

I: Well, I think, I mean, I do read quite a bit around it and it fits in well with what they're saying about not listing The Ashes by saying we want every sport to maximize their income. It wouldn't be surprising if they said 'well, we're doing that, we'll match your funding still', to think of ways to get people to get out and get money rather than being dependent on a system for it

A: Absolutely, I mean, if you look at it from that prospective, you know, it's a real challenge for the boards from ECB that, you know, ok look ECB is always going to be a significant funding partner in the county boards but you know for a number of years and a number of boards have been needing the funding pot barring a few subscriptions and this sort of thing so ECB are trying to work much more towards, you know, being a partner and a significant funder of country boards but not the sole and perhaps in the future maybe not even the major funder. And I think you're absolutely right, in sports more than we can get that relationship up with government and Sport England the better. If we can say 'look for every pound you give us we find another 3' that would be a fantastic position to be in

I: Right and surely makes the area agenda anyway of trying to, you know, makes savings across the board and of course sport being part of that. This was obviously quite a tough question and whether this is fair to say or not. It was just on the report saying that clubs were released as being underperforming, without naming who the clubs were or whatever I noticed there were a few in the London and East region, I just wondered what the, if there was a general process of doing that, you know, how one would go about informing a club or a partner that for a while that this isn't occurring, do they have sort of guidelines on the way they're not meeting or?

A: Yeah, effectively what clubs have is they sign a Memorandum of Understanding with us, so in that MOU there was certain, you know, obligations from their side out and about what they have to do, you know, and any failures to meet that would be highlighted with them over a period of time and they'd be set certain targets around so you don't, you know, laughing about C4C and, you know, if that got to a position to where I was unhappy with it then, you know, go and sit down with David and say 'right, look, you know, if things are going to move forward then by this date, this date, this date we need to do x, y, z', you know, and if a project continued to fail to deliver then that might be the point at which we take a decision to remove one

I: So it's an ongoing process, communication individually with the clubs sort of thing?

A: Yeah, primarily through the boards so, you know, I produce search reports from our online system for me to take a look at, to look at the projects across the region. On occasion, you know, we'll email them to county boards or people will phone them and ask some questions around, you know, why does it seem on paper to be an issue here and often there's a common sense explanation behind it, various different things; your club manager has taken ill, you know, all sorts of things that can effect it. But if it gets to a point where it is concerning us we'd initially ask the board to try and address it, and if it persisted then we sit down with the board and the project, you know, be very open with them and set some clear targets about, you know, what they need to do and then eventually, you know, sometimes you can get to a point where you have to make quite a tough call

I: I imagine it would be. Would this be something you would have noted in the report for managing processes, it's not really a thing you'd look forward to but it's definitely one of the tasks that go with being responsible for....

A: In fairness, it's a very small number of projects

I: Projects across the whole, absolutely. You know, as I say, I wasn't really after who, just the process of going through it and stuff like that because that would be, you know, not the easiest thing to go and do and how it went about it was interesting as well

A: Yeah, I think that's why we have the MOU, they also, round the delivery fees cos we pay each club or project the delivery fee. They have a very clear criteria in writing about what they need to do in order to get that delivery fee and that effectively takes care of a lot of that because there's a financial motivation there. If they're doing those things that allows them to get a delivery fee it's unlikely that I'll have too many issues with them unless they're more qualitative issues around, you know, you're not actually delivering what is that you're asked to do, you're doing it for a different agenda

I: A different agenda?

A: Yeah, using our project for their ends and giving us little credit. Not an ideal situation, and it puts us in a bad position.

I: No, I see what you mean, you are in the position 3 times; that's 3 separate positions

A: Yeah, unless it's something like that

I: Yeah, ok. Cheers for that. Even though obviously TCF is the charity arm of the ECB, have you noticed any differences in your role here since the whole sport plan system has come through sport? I mean, that's this idea of say for example, sport making sure that for the participation level or the gross example that the ECB meets certain targets. Have you noticed anything from the ECB saying 'we need to change this with what *Chance to shine* is doing'?

A: Yeah, I think the first thing to say is that TCF is actually an independent charity so you've got the England and Wales Cricket Trust which is effectively a charity arm of the ECB but TCF is an independent charity, obviously we have very close relationships of the ECB, you know, you would always want to have but it is independent. I'd say certainly my role so far the short answer to that is no, that that's more of a, those things from the whole sport plan, ECB will work counties to say 'in order to meet the targets of the whole sport plan these are the overall generic targets that you must meet, these are the things that you must deliver in your country'. And often *Chance to shine* may help with and undoubtedly does help with some of those. We never really get into a situation where it's counterproductive for boards to be delivering *Chance to shine* because it doesn't meet what they're trying to meet, they have other, other avenues, other resources such as ECB funding that they receive to help them to achieve what they need to achieve

I: Okay...

A: So obviously the money that's given to ECB that ultimately ends up in county boards is there to fund them to deliver their whole sport plan. So those plans are sort of taken care of, I think the *Chance to shine* and our funding from TCF is a real extra bonus for the boards that they have this fantastic scheme that no other sport has

I: Which makes your job a lot easier

A: And so they'll get some knock on benefits which help them, help contribute towards whole sport plan targets but because of other bonuses opposed to the main pot, we don't get a situation where we're trying to have to sort of bend over backwards to meet a target that doesn't really fit with us

I: So that gives you a fair amount of independence in what you think is the right approach?

A: Yeah, absolutely. And the boards are able to, you know, get on and do that because they've got the money from ECB to deliver the whole sport plan targets as direct and as funded by Sport England/The National Government body, you know, like I say, our money is that little bonus and so they don't have to use that to hit those targets, they have to use our money to deliver what it is they, you know

I: You're going to help them anyway?

A: Absolutely

I: Yeah, no you're right, sorry I got that probably wrong with the independent charity thing that it was an arm of ECB

A: Yeah, I mean, whether the money coming down to ECB linked to the whole sport plan, whether that will impact in the future, perhaps then maybe one or two things, I think that would be a really good question to ask Malachi, Malachi works very closely with staff at ECB. So Malachi is our Operations Director, works very closely with Nick Mariner at ECB who manages the relationships for England, you know, because there may be some conversations going at level which, you know, sort of, you know, perhaps trying to, you know, support the delivery of the whole sport plan through what we do here at the Foundation but certainly there's nothing obvious come to us, you know, we have the sustainability strategy, you know, and that is day to day what we work to

I: Okay. The sustainability strategy, sort of going onto the 4 things, it says in the report that once the sustainability, once the schools are operating, getting kids to the clubs and stuff like that, how does the club then go on to sustain itself, is it always having to draw down funding from somewhere or is it mean to be sort of, maybe not from you guys but from, do they get advice on how to fund from other areas or?

A: Well sustainability to us is about, it's partly about teacher training, it's partly about facilities which we do, you know, invest some money in and majorly it's about the relationships that are built over the 5 years with clubs in the programme. So a combination of really good strong relationships with our local schools, you know that element of trust, you know, and everything else that builds up and the use of skilling of teachers and their ability to deliver some basic cricket sessions, part of that and then like you said, the facilities angle as well. And so primarily that is, sorry I should mention as part of that competition, so teachers delivering cricket sessions but also that relationship and that ability of teachers to deliver some sessions allowing for things like festivals and competition to continue

I: Right okay, I guess the school partnerships could probably help out with that as well

A: Exactly, the SSP competition managers, you know, and, again, when I say relationships with the schools, you know, I include the school sport partnership in that. So in an ideal world and obviously we don't live in an ideal world but in an ideal world you'd have a situation where you'd have a club with 5 or 6 partner schools with teachers in there who really become engaged in cricket, who've been up-skilled themselves, where required there might be some playground markings scored down or an alternative pitch at the local secondary school or whatever it might be, really good strong relationships with the schools and the schools form partnerships and the club, the club's still running their festivals and that would sustain, you know, that basic link cos effectively that is what we're looking for. We're looking for schools who are enthused about cricket, who deliver it as part of the curriculum, who play at least 5 competitive matches a year and who link well to their local club

I: Yeah, and it will sustain itself won't it because it's all club memberships or whatever in schools //

A: In an ideal world that would, you know, without any staff leaving the schools or anything like that, that would be a self sustaining thing. But we don't live in an ideal world so there is obviously moving forward in some projects a need for continuation of funding; that wouldn't come from us.

After the 5 years we do fund in Year 6 and Year 7 just a little bit of money to keep competition going but once that comes to an end then that is the end of their involvement with us.

What we would certainly hope is that over those 5 years of that significant, you know, sort of 30ish thousand pound investment, perhaps more for the schools have had playground markings or an alternative pitch. It's conceivable that a club, you know, either directly or in kind could end up with about £50,000 investment. We hope that the money that was required to sustain that in Years 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 would be, you know, insignificant compared to £50,000 and it might be the sort of money that again, through those relationships with school sport partnerships, that little bit of money there might be able to be found, maybe little bits of local businesses who've heard about what has been done. So that's how we kind of do that but obviously our real push is on, you know, the more we can do the ideal world scenario the less the final cost is and the balance of where each club gets to with that will be different based on, you know, the quality of the project manager, the quality of the schools, how will they deliver the programme.

Appendix 5: List of Documents for Analysis

Date	Title	Organization
2004	<i>The Framework for Sport in England</i> (outlining of <i>Whole Sport Plans</i> for sport)	Sport England
19 th April 2005	<i>Building Partnerships: From Playground to Test Arena: Strategic Plan 2005-2009</i>	ECB
17 th July, 2009	<i>Whole Sport Plan 2009-2013</i>	Sport England
2008	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2008	Cricket for Change
2008	Annual Report and Financial Statements For the Year Ended 5 April 2008	The Cricket Foundation
2008	Report and Financial Statements 31 January 2008	England and Wales Cricket Trust Limited
2008	Trustees Report and Accounts For the Year Ended 31 March 2008	London Forum for Disabled People
2009	1 st published <i>CCB Disability Cricket Development Plan</i>	Essex CCB
2009	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2009	Cricket for Change
2009	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2009	The Cricket Foundation
2009	Trustees' Annual Report and Consolidated Financial Statements For the 9 Month Period Ended 30 September 2009	The Lord's Taverners
2009	Report and Financial Statements 31 January 2009	England and Wales Cricket Trust Limited
2009	Trustees Report and Accounts For the Year Ended 31 March 2009	London Forum for Disabled People
2009	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 December 2008	BCEW
2010	<i>Grounds to Play: Strategic Plan 2010-2013</i>	ECB
2010	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2010	Cricket for Change
2010	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2010	The Cricket Foundation
2010	Report and Financial Statements 31 January 2010	England and Wales Cricket Trust Limited
2010	Trustees' Annual Report and Consolidated Financial Statements For the Year Ended 30 September 2009	The Lord's Taverners
2010	Trustees Report and Accounts For the Year Ended 31 March 2010	Interactive (London Forum for Disabled People)
2011	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2011	Cricket for Change
2011	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2011	The Cricket Foundation
2011	Report and Financial Statements For the 6 Month Period Ended 30 September 2011	The Cricket Foundation

Date	Title	Organization
2011	Report and Financial Statements 31 January 2011	England and Wales Cricket Trust Limited
2011	Trustees' Annual Report and Consolidated Financial Statements For the Year Ended 30 September 2010	The Lord's Taverners
2011	Trustees Report and Accounts For the Year Ended 31 March 2011	Interactive (London Forum for Disabled People)
2011	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 December 2010	BCEW
December 2011	<i>Playground to Podium</i>	EFDS
March, 2012	Kent Disability Strategy	Kent CCB
2012	Trustees' Annual Report and Consolidated Financial Statements For the Year Ended 30 September 2011	The Lord's Taverners
2012	<i>Proposal for the Re-structuring and Development of Physical and Learning Disabled Cricket in England & Wales</i>	Disability Cricket Development Forum
2012	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 31 March 2012	Cricket for Change
2012	Report and Financial Statements Year Ended 30 September 2012	The Cricket Foundation
2012	Report and Financial Statements 31 January 2012	England and Wales Cricket Trust Limited
February, 2013	England and Wales Cricket Board – 2013-17 WSP Summary Document	Sport England

Endnotes

ⁱ Scott (2008) argued that institutions are more than the bricks and mortar of the organizations that comprise their boundaries; they are meaning systems that encapsulate values, beliefs and ideas about the way the institution determines its priorities. In this context, the institution of cricket is nested within the wider institution of sport development. An organization is any formal body that exists within cricket, while an individual is any person who exists within or outside of an organization.

ⁱⁱ Czarniawska and Sevón (1996) revised the institutional concept of diffusion and interpretation into an adaptation of Serres' (1996) concept of *translation*. They chose this term as they felt it was rich in meanings associated with transformation. It is in this manner in which it is used in this thesis.

ⁱⁱⁱ The term 'agents' is used to describe both those individuals and those organizations which are capable of acting upon the field of disability cricket.

^{iv} The organizational field is a collection of agents involved in a shared meaning system (Scott, 2008).

^v While the terms institutional field and organizational field are used interchangeably in the literature, the first implies a field led by a common set of meanings, whereas the original definition of organizational field above is more functional. In this thesis, however, the terms are used interchangeably.

^{vi} Arguably the onset of limited-overs cricket (modified short versions of the sport) has altered the style of cricket played that can access significant financial rewards.

^{vii} An additional form of capital, human capital has also been examined by sport management researchers (Barros & Barros, 2005). However, Bourdieu viewed human capital as subsumed within cultural capital (Lin, 2001).

^{viii} As discussed by Everett's (2002), polytheism is the belief in more than one (methodological) god, hence multiple data collection tools are used. This he believes is preferable to methodological inflexibility.

^{ix} One of the differences between voluntary sports clubs and charities was that there were no volunteers (outside of the voluntary sports clubs and DCDOs covered); every other research participant is a paid professional. This contrasts with other studies that have examined increasing expectations placed upon voluntary staff (Lusted & O'Gorman, 2010, Taylor & Garratt, 2010).

^x This programme of work was supported by the Big Lottery Fund and sought to make disabled young people responsible for the governance of the charity and the promotion and coordination of *Hit the Top*.

^{xi} The team was less diverse in terms of gender or ability as only one delivery staff member at the beginning of the study was female and only one manager had a disability (visual impairment).

^{xii} Some interviews were conducted in formal office settings while others were conducted in an open space on a vacant cricket field, or even in a car on the way to a match. Flexibility was essential for the process; one interview, for example, took place in several sittings over the course of an entire weekend.

^{xiii} This included documents such as evaluation forms, programme overviews, event plans, rules and regulations not included in Appendix 5.

^{xiv} As the purpose of this chapter is to outline the field of disability cricket at the beginning of this investigation the recent Memorandum of Understanding between the DCDOs and the ECB is included in the following findings and discussion chapters, but it is not relevant to the creation of the field of disability cricket in 2008.

^{xv} In 1894 the biggest clubs were given the nomenclature of 'first-class' counties and a championship was established to formalize inter-county competition (Wright, 2009).

^{xvi} This would have led to a congregation of smaller agents (organizations 5-12) at the opposite end to the larger charities and would have provided a poorer map of the possible field of spaces in community cricket.

^{xvii} The ECB Trust is a not-for-profit entity and a subsidiary of the England and Wales Cricket Board Limited. The county organizations are similar not-for-profit incarnations of their respective County Cricket Board (CCB) Limited Companies. For the purposes of this thesis each is responsible for the distribution of economic resources to developmental cricket and is not involved in the commercial operations of their respective organizations.

^{xviii} An MoU is not a contract but a statement of principles through which two or more partners agree to share resources to facilitate mutual gain.

^{xix} An operational issue of relevance to any classification system is the fact that the levels of impairment will always contain some level of variance from the lower limits to the upper limits of any one level.

^{xx} The integrity of the sport of cricket is of paramount importance throughout cricket officialdom due to the sport's troubled history with gambling, spot-betting and potentially match-fixing. It is within this context that these improvements to classification have occurred.

^{xxi} Since the launch of the initiative in 2005, a club can become a 'Focus Club' if it is affiliated to the ECB via their County Cricket Board, is committed to achieving the objectives of 'Building Partnerships', will work in

partnership to deliver high quality agreed outcomes, will work toward the Club Mark accreditation and have a Club Development Plan in place and agreed by their County Board (The LCA, 2013, KCCB, 2013).

^{xxii} Kwik Cricket is the ECB's modified version of cricket. It is used to introduce cricket and sustain participation in schools. The game is designed to be played on any surface, in any conditions and uses modified equipment to provide a safe environment while young people are learning.

^{xxiii} There were no available data for ECAD.

^{xxiv} The *Hit the Top* and *StreetChance* programmes were major funding streams for C4C. A significant portion of these funds came from *Chance to shine*. In one sense they were repackaged *Chance to shine* programmes with some slight modifications to justify their designation as new products.

^{xxv} For financial capital I have used income. Although this is only one economic indicator and not always an indicator of economic success, the consistency by which organizations have reported their income facilitates comparative analysis. Using a percentage of profitability, which was also available, would not have permitted an accurate differentiation of agents.

^{xxvi} Each *Chance to shine* programme received multiple thousands of pounds for 2 hours of delivery per week for 12 weeks (Niamh, North County).

^{xxvii} The DCMS' PE & Sports Strategy for Young People (PESSYP) Strategy sought to build upon the work of the PE, School Sports and Club Links (PESSCL) strategy to move from activity within school hours to activities during out-of-school hours. This strategy identified cricket as one of seven priority sports for developing school-club links.

^{xxviii} Double counting in this context is the practice of running a single programme and feeding back participation numbers to both funders as if there were separate programmes.

^{xxix} McDonald and Ugra's (1998) study into racism in cricket revealed the existence of "two distinct but related cultures of cricket" (p. 41). These were both characterised along racial lines as imbued with a more Asian and/or Caribbean cultural approach to cricket.

^{xxx} Although disability cricket is designed to offer men, women, boys and girls the chance to play cricket, the county game and international representative sides are dominated by male players.

^{xxxi} During the study there was no international representation for physically impaired cricket, although the ECB lobbied internationally for its inclusion the current county system involves players with learning difficulties as well as those with physical disabilities.

^{xxxii} The ECB have donated approximately £1 million per year throughout the research period.

^{xxxiii} This term is used to describe the C4C staff member in charge of the day, and is not an actual job title.

^{xxxiv} Amir played visually impaired cricket as a B1 player but could have played learning difficulty cricket also.

^{xxxv} Respond to field requirements but also investigate other external field opportunities that suit the organization's values.

^{xxxvi} The use of the term (re)creation as opposed to re-creation aims to highlight a continual and generative process for the creation of (appropriate) identities.

^{xxxvii} The recent review of disability cricket (Disability Cricket Development Group, 2011) contained a survey of players views of the current league structure. It is notable that the County Development Managers completed the survey, not the players.

^{xxxviii} In terms of *Chance to shine*, the opportunity was the funds provided per project delivered; however, the competitive threat was posed from the existence and resources of a larger charity also delivering development through cricket (sport) programmes.

^{xxxix} Notably the responsibilities of the SDP programmes observed were not as onerous as those funded through *Chance to shine*.

^{xl} Each staff member was encouraged to create or manage an existing programme.

^{xli} Unrestricted funds can be spent at the discretion of the trustees of the charity – as opposed to restricted funds which are spent according to the requirements of specific trusts (donors). Despite the significant increase in C4C funds between 2008 and 2012, a high percentage of funds have always been restricted, hence the increased need for corporate funds.