

“All Yorkshiremen are from Yorkshire, but some are more ‘Yorkshire’ than Others”: British Asians and the myths of Yorkshire cricket.ⁱ

This paper explores the contemporary relationship between Yorkshire cricket and South Asian communities through oral testimonies with white and British Asian cricketers within the region. The paper documents how the myths and invented traditions surrounding Yorkshire as an insular county have extended to all levels of Yorkshire cricket culture. Evidence is presented to argue that, despite the growing representation of British Asians within the Yorkshire leagues and within the structure of Yorkshire County Cricket Club, cultural and institutionalised forms of racism continue to be intrinsic to the sport. The paper presents evidence to suggest that, regardless of being committed to Yorkshire and their ‘Yorkshire-ness’, white Yorkshire people may never fully accept British Asians as ‘one of us’. Finally, Yorkshire cricket’s (alleged) commitment to ‘colour-blindness’ is deconstructed by presenting evidence that British Asians continue to feel marginalised by, and on the fringe of, mainstream cricket culture in Yorkshire.

Yorkshire and Yorkshire cricket: An introduction

There exists in England a curious cult of Northern-ness, sort of Northern snobbishness. A Yorkshireman in the South will always take care to let you know that he regards you as an inferior ... the North is inhabited by 'real' people ... The Northerner has 'grit', he is grim, 'dour', plucky, warm-hearted, and democratic; the Southerner is snobbish, effeminate, and lazy - that at any rate is the theory. Hence the Southerner goes North, at any rate for the first time, with the vague inferiority-complex of a civilized man venturing among savages, while the Yorkshireman, like the Scotchman, comes to London in the spirit of a barbarian out for loot.¹

Yorkshire is arguably the most famous county in England, typifying ‘northern-ness’, and emphasising a unique type of ‘Englishness’. The people of Yorkshire are immensely proud of their county and culture, and it has been suggested they identify more strongly with their county than they do with their country.² It is within and through cricket that Yorkshire people have historically expressed regional pride, as Yorkshire County Cricket Club (YCCC) is English cricket’s most successful club with 31 championship titles. Yorkshire is perhaps the most stereotyped of all major counties in Britain. When one talks of Yorkshire with people living both inside and outside the boundary, one can be sure that each conjures up their own (positive and negative), if not dissimilar image of what Yorkshire and its people are like. As a consequence of its history and visibility in Yorkshire culture, cricket continues to be an important aspect of Yorkshire identity – both internally and externally.³ Scratch a cricket ball, Chris Searle argues,

ⁱ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the *Critiquing Sport: Theory and Practice* 4th Political Studies Association Sport and Politics Group Annual Conference (Leeds Metropolitan University, February, 2010). I would like to thank the conference delegates for their constructive feedback and especially, Peter Millward for inviting me to participate.

“and you will uncover a Yorkshire face”.⁴ He does not, however, articulate what this face might look like. The assumption is that a Yorkshire face does not require definition because Yorkshire people represent a fixed breed of white masculinity. Not only is Yorkshire cricket representative of a proud geographic territory, it is also an expression of a particular way of life – ‘Yorkshireness’.

Fundamental to understanding Yorkshire cricket is appreciating the importance of ‘Yorkshireness’. As a county, Yorkshire is what Wagg and Russell refer to as a ‘cultural region’: an imagined space, which while “rooted in objective realities such as landscape, built environment, economy and dialect, are constructed, refined and articulated by a set of discursive relationships between local populations and a whole range of cultural forms”.⁵ The success of the county club has greatly contributed to the emergence of this very distinctive cricketing and sporting culture in Yorkshire, which has, in many ways, facilitated the exclusion of minority ethnic communities from accessing the sport. Yorkshire cricket invents and reinvents itself as a white man’s game because YCCC’s dominance of the English game - throughout the middle of the twentieth century in particular - was achieved with Yorkshire-born players who were unequivocally white, northern and masculine. A direct consequence of this is that white Yorkshire masculinity has become synonymous with achievement and any variants of this are conceptualized as inferior and deviant.

This point is particularly relevant given that this research was conducted in Yorkshire. For many people from minority ethnic backgrounds, Yorkshire cricket is epitomised by the county club (and everything it has stood for), which has historically had a poor relationship with the region’s minority ethnic communities. YCCC and the Headingley ground have been at the centre of a number of well publicized racist incidents and have faced frequent accusations of inveterate and institutionalized racism. Former England and Gloucestershire fast bowler David ‘Syd’ Lawrence’s comments about how racism was rife amongst YCCC fans throughout the 1980s is now a part of Yorkshire cricket folklore: “They called me nigger, black bastard, sambo, monkey, gorilla, they threw bananas and I had to take these insults.”⁶ Dan Burdsey writes how, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Headingley’s Western Terrace stand gained a reputation for the racist and Islamophobic actions of white English supporters during matches against the West Indies, India and Pakistan.⁷ During the 1992 Test match between England and Pakistan, for example, a pig’s head was thrown into the seating where Pakistan supporters were.⁸

This exclusivity is well illustrated in reference to YCCC’s birthright policy, which restricted participation for the county team to those people born within the county’s boundaries until 1992. For many, the ‘birthright’ policy was thought to be

at the heart of the club's racist and exclusive reputation.⁹ Moreover, the long-standing failure to field Asian and Black players in the first team with any real consistency is demonstrative (for many) of ingrained racism within the club.¹⁰ Although the policy's strictness was never sacrosanct, it added to the perception that the club did not welcome 'outsiders' of any description. During the policy's implementation, for many people in Yorkshire, minority ethnic communities (Asians included) were just not 'Yorkshire' enough; in that, they did not imbue the famous sense of Yorkshire masculinity or possess the famous Yorkshire mentality. Thus, Yorkshire's historical symbiosis with cricket and (alleged) discriminatory practices makes this research particularly timely.

In this paper I examine the relationship between South Asians and Yorkshire cricket. I provide a loosely diachronic socio-historical examination of the key phases and issues in South Asian settlement in northern England and their participation in cricket.ⁱⁱ I highlight the complex relationship between British Asians and the concept of 'becoming Yorkshire'. I present evidence to suggest that, regardless of their own commitment to Yorkshire and, their own perceptions of 'Yorkshireness', British Asians may never be fully accepted by white people as authentically Yorkshire. Finally, I deconstruct Yorkshire cricket's alleged commitment to 'colour-blindness' by presenting evidence that British Asians continue to feel marginalized by, and on the fringe of, mainstream cricket culture in Yorkshire.

Rationale and methodology

Historically, there has been a lack of sociological inquiry into specific cricket cultures, including Yorkshire. This absence is particularly stark within the amateur strata of the sport. The voices, experiences and needs of ordinary cricketers in Yorkshire have (until now) been neglected. Existing sociological research into 'race' and cricket has focused predominantly on the excluding and alienating effects of 'Englishness' in international cricket, issues of identity and problems of racism in amateur cricket, or articulations of fandom within diasporic communities.¹¹ At the current time, very little research exists that directly focuses on the experiences of British Asians in cricket. The relationship between British Asians and sport generally, remains a relatively under-researched and misunderstood area of sociological inquiry. It continues to be the case that dominant histories of the sport in England have

ⁱⁱ There is debate over how best to describe and label those settlers from South Asia. This paper regularly employs the labels of 'South Asian' and 'British Asian'. The term 'South Asian' is used to broadly delineate people from the Indian subcontinent. The term 'British Asian' is used to refer to those British citizens who trace their ancestry back to, or who themselves have migrated from, the Indian subcontinent. Although there is debate over whether one has to be born in Britain to be a British Asian, I prefer to incorporate those who have been born outside Britain, but who have become British citizens because this represents the democratization of British citizenship. Thus, 'British Asian' is a very broad category and subsumes a tremendous plurality of identities (Brah, *Cartographies of diaspora*). Although these categorizations are conceptually limited they are commonly employed within academic literature and were commonly cited and conceptually understood by the participants.

centralized white voices. The experiences and stories of minority ethnic players and clubs – and in particular, how they have interacted with white spaces - remain heavily marginalised. This paper goes some way to address this.

The data used in this paper were collected during research undertaken between June 2007 and January 2010, which explored the construction, maintenance and contestation of racialized identities in Yorkshire cricket. The fieldwork was undertaken with two culturally contrasting, high level amateur cricket clubs in Sheffield, South Yorkshire. Both clubs have been given pseudonyms. The first club, 'Sutherland', is locally acknowledged to be 'white', predominantly middle class and did not field a single minority ethnic player throughout the four senior teams between 2004 and 2008. The second club, 'Aylesworth', although not an 'Asian' club in the strictest sense because there are white people within the club (mainly acting as committee members and coaches), fielded only one white player in the first team between 2005 and 2010. For the purposes of this paper, it is important to note that the predominantly white club is 'my' club; it is where I play my cricket. The research involved a process of in-depth ethnographic fieldwork based on 21 semi-structured interviews, two focus group interviews and participant observation. Matches and training sessions were attended and participated in and, where possible, social gatherings were also attended. Sutherland accounted for thirteen interviews and Aylesworth, eight. In total, 31 people were interviewed: twelve were white and nineteen were British Asian. The majority of the British Asian players were British-born, although a small number had migrated to Britain from the Indian subcontinent. There were three British Asian respondents from Sutherland and one white respondent from Aylesworth. Space does not allow for discussion here of the methodological discourse surrounding the politics of inter-racial research, but for further reference please see Young Jr. and Fletcher.¹²

The Myth of Yorkshire, 'Yorkshireness' and Yorkshiremen

This paper takes Anthony Cohen's conceptualization of community as a symbolic construction as its point of departure.¹³ Cohen utilises the idea of invented traditions as a means of defining inclusion and exclusion.¹⁴ Cohen's conceptualization employs symbols to bind people around collective meaning. Who belongs and who does not belong to a community is dependent on one's ability to interpret and understand these symbols and their boundaries.¹⁵ In Yorkshire cricket, the symbolic boundaries are created out of shared ideas over what the game means, who should play the game, myths and invented traditions associated with the game's past.¹⁶ These shared meanings are also what set communities apart; as an ability to successfully decode these shared meanings often defines belonging to the community.

For a long time, northern sporting culture has revolved around its distinctiveness. According to Karl Spracklen “This sense of northern identity is seen as a source of strength for traditionalists, who see the relationship as natural and unassailable, and an articulation of their own sense of personal and social identity”.¹⁷ Yorkshire cricket and what it has come to represent is *different* and Yorkshire people have always been quick to suggest they have moral and practical superiority over everybody else. As typified by Don Mosey:

If lesser mortals, unfortunate enough to be born on less hallowed ground, do not really understand our point of view, then that’s their problem. Because *we know* that [we’re] right.¹⁸

Mosey does not suggest any intention of a ‘truthful’ representation of Yorkshire cricket. Nor does he present his work as a formal attempt to sketch the history of Yorkshire cricket. His writings are rhetorically humorous, perhaps only half serious, albeit unashamedly romantic. Most importantly, they contribute a great deal to our understanding of how Yorkshire people view themselves. The messages he illustrates are reminiscent of the ones I, like so many others, were socialised into.¹⁹ As Sutherland’s John (a pseudonym)ⁱⁱⁱ highlighted, being from either the north or Yorkshire is something innate and natural – it runs ‘in the blood’:

I think both of these identities (northern and Yorkshire) come with certain values ... I think you are born into that. I don’t think you can move to Yorkshire ... and then, in a couple of years say, “I’m a northerner”. You can’t learn it. I think being born into it is the only real route.²⁰

Similar notions of blood belonging have been applied to representing and supporting the England cricket team. The Robert Henderson affair and Norman Tebbit’s ‘cricket test’ are cases in point.²¹ It is difficult to rationalize the myths and invented traditions of ‘Yorkshireness’ because much of what Yorkshire cricket has stood for (and continues to stand for) has been purposely constructed. For a long time, the north has been held up as a beacon of the underdog: grim, industrial and dour. Yorkshire’s industrial cities, hard work ethic, tendency towards self-

ⁱⁱⁱ All participants were encouraged to choose the name by which they wished to be recognised. This was done because I wanted them to feel a sense of ownership of their voices and their part in the research. Moreover, it is as well to appreciate that applying pseudonyms randomly or comically is not necessarily appropriate for all cultural groups. Aarti Ratna discusses the importance of, and complexity behind, naming children of South Asian descent and acknowledges that names, randomly applied, and out of context, could cause offence (Ratna, *British Asian females’ racialised and gendered experiences of identity and women’s football*).

deprecation, rustic charm, overt masculinity, suspicion of strangers and, above all else, pride, capture much of what the region is about. It is interesting that while society as a whole has changed dramatically over the last century; imaginings of Yorkshire seem uncannily traditional. However, like everywhere else, Yorkshire *is* changing. Amongst other things, over the last half century, Yorkshire's indigenous working class white community has been transformed by migration patterns from the Indian subcontinent and Africa respectively. The rapid globalization of the region has led to a decline in Yorkshire's traditional industries. The steel works in Sheffield, textile mills in Bradford, not to mention the pervading coal pits, have all petered out into melancholic insignificance.²² With challenges being made upon notions of a coherent regional identity, therefore, it is unsurprising that there have been attempts by many traditionalists to hold on to the region's traditions and preserve the past rather than embrace the uncertainty of the future.²³ Moreover, while the invented traditions of Yorkshire continue to construct a very specific version of 'Yorkshireness', the people of Yorkshire arguably do not reflect this. Indeed, whatever purchase the baleful Yorkie masculinity of the past has on the life of contemporary Yorkshire, there is now very little public acknowledgement of it.²⁴ Indeed, the shifting idea and arguably, decreasing national relevance of 'Yorkshireness', would go some way to explaining why many people associated with Yorkshire cricket are so defensive over 'their' territory. This reaffirmation of collective identity reflects what John Clarke, in his work with 'skinheads', refers to as the 'magical recovery of community'.²⁵

Migration, cricket and the challenge of integration in Yorkshire

During the post Second World War and post-colonial periods Britain needed cheap labour. Families from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean were encouraged to move to Britain to fulfil this need.²⁶ Due to their rising industries, Yorkshire and Lancashire were popular settling places for diasporic communities – particularly poor, mainly uneducated (Muslim) Mirpuris.²⁷ Sheffield's steel industry and Bradford's textile mills and factories proved fruitful for many South Asian settlers.²⁸ Wives and children eventually made the journey too once settlement was assured. Immigration to either Yorkshire or Lancashire during this period may have been more difficult than other regions because these counties are renowned for their insularity, distinct cultures and distinct dialects. Some county identities, including Yorkshire, are so strong that few English people from other parts of the country, let alone migrant communities, can fully associate with the locals.²⁹ This is not helped in Yorkshire because the region has had a long association with racism, which has presented South Asian people as 'Other' and anathema to Yorkshire culture. In Yorkshire, ethnic relations between white English and South Asian (mainly Pakistani Muslim) communities have a long, acrimonious, and often Islamophobic history.³⁰ Alam goes as far as to argue that northern England is, in fact, Britain's main region for British Asian dissatisfaction.³¹

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, a number of key events have occurred that have problematized the position of British Asians (namely Muslims) in British society and that have made their relationship with white British people often quite conflictual. Claire Alexander identifies the Bradford ‘riots’ of 1995, the disturbances across the North of England in the summer of 2001 and the growth of so-called ‘fundamentalism’ following 9/11³² and the 7/7³³ bombings as particularly influential.³⁴ Indeed, the fact that three Leeds-based males were involved in the 7/7 bombings was, to quote Sutherland’s Lynn, “very worrying indeed ... you just don’t know who could be a terrorist”.³⁵ This point is provocatively contextualised in Ben Carrington’s comment that “Suicide bombers play cricket too you know”.³⁶ In the wake of high profile public antagonisms like those cited above (young) British Asians in Yorkshire are once again being confronted with the question of what it means to be both Asian and British.³⁷

Contemporary cricket research argues that South Asian families arriving in Yorkshire during the 1950s and 1960s faced many problems.³⁸ Not only did they have to adapt to a new culture, a new way of life, earn money and make new friends, they had to do this in an inhospitable environment.³⁹ As migrant communities from certain cultural and religious backgrounds tended to settle in certain places, sports (including cricket) provided the opportunity for these communities to socialise with fellow migrants, thus solidifying a collective cultural identity.⁴⁰ For many South Asians, cricket was seen as a way in to the rest of Yorkshire society; as Aylesworth’s Rio commented: “We play cricket, you play cricket. For a lot of Asians, cricket is the only thing we have in common with you guys (white Yorkshire people)”.⁴¹ Despite Yorkshire’s historical lack of South Asian representation in the county first team, the same cannot be said about the Yorkshire leagues, which have consistently had British Asian and British Black^{iv} players, not to mention players from overseas, participating in them.⁴² Since the late 1960s there has also been a strong presence of South Asian and Black Test players appearing in county cricket. Players such as Garfield Sobers, Clive Lloyd, Viv Richards, Brian Lara, Sunil Gavaskar, Imran Khan, Muttiah Muralitharan and Sachin Tendulkar have all represented county teams.⁴³ Tendulkar was of course, YCCC’s first overseas player in 1992 following the abandonment of the birthright policy. More recently, there has been a stark upturn in the number of British Asian cricketers representing Yorkshire and England. One of these players, Adil Rashid, has been particularly influential on cricket in Yorkshire.

^{iv} The term Black British is used to delineate individuals of African and/or Caribbean (Afro-Caribbean) descent who were either born in Britain, or whom have migrated to Britain and claimed British citizenship.

Asian representation at YCCC and in the leagues

In 2006 Adil Rashid became YCCC's third British-born Asian to represent the county team behind Ismail Dawood (2003-2005) and Ajmal Shahzad (2004-present). Although it was Shahzad who made headlines for becoming YCCC's first Yorkshire-born Asian player, it was Rashid who was first to solidify his position within the team.⁴⁴ In 2009 Rashid was rewarded for an excellent start to his county career by appearing for England in the 2009 ICC World *Twenty20* Cup and being included in the 2009 Ashes squad. Rashid is not only a very gifted player – his rapid development and excellent county pedigree have made him a cultural representative and icon.⁴⁵ As James Lawton of *The Independent* writes:

Rashid has managed to charm much of the most obdurately insular corner of his sport ... the dry, ultimately demanding followers of Yorkshire. At a time when politicians talk of the increasing alienation of young Muslims in British society, Rashid is sailing through old barriers of prejudice ... when he steps up to the bowling- and batting-crease, pockets of racism are sent into full retreat.⁴⁶

Up to the end of the 2010 season YCCC has fielded five British Asian players. In addition to those already mentioned are Azeem Rafiq and Moin Ashraf.⁴⁷ The majority of the media coverage around the involvement of YCCC's British Asian cohort has focused on their potential as role-models to encourage other young British Asians to become involved in cricket – a role that Rashid himself openly supports. Commenting in *Spin: The Cricket Magazine*, Rashid said:

I would like to become a role model for young players of Asian backgrounds. There is a lot of Asian interest in Yorkshire, but at the moment not many players are coming through.⁴⁸

Players like Rashid represent a vital way of establishing organic links between cricket clubs and the wider community. YCCC's directors are no doubt aware of the club's exclusionary reputation and will see Rashid's (and others') potential to galvanize YCCC with wider British Asian communities. Rashid's potential as a role model was shared by a number of the respondents involved in this research. Aylesworth's Ali amongst them:

I am proud to see players like Adil coming through. I played against Adil when he was a very young man in the Quaid-I-Azam league.^v Such instances of achievement should be held up to show Asians that they do have a chance in this county.⁴⁹

However, not all the respondents involved in this research supported Rashid's involvement. For some, Rashid's involvement at YCCC did show that the club was willing to change, but they believed the club had more work to do to erase decades of prejudice. For them, the inclusion of Rashid represented a veneer of inclusion and nothing more. For Aylesworth's Addy, in particular, too many quality British Asian players have already been overlooked by the club for Rashid to wash away a history of prejudice:

YCCC's got some work to do ... Adil Rashid's made it, but there are a lot of players who – I'm not saying are better, but – should be in the same position. Rashid is only one example. Lots and lots of other Asian players have been ignored.⁵⁰

The development of Rashid has been intensely monitored by the cricketing authorities and local media. Rashid has been labelled as a future superstar and as a potentially great 'Yorkshire' hero for white and South Asian people alike. Writing about the representation of British Asians in professional football, but in terms equally applicable to this situation, Dan Burdsey asks whether we should believe the hype surrounding young British Asian professional players. Are they unrealistically hyped up to be something they are not? Can they ever live up to the expectation? Are they unfairly or prematurely branded as role-models for other Asian players?⁵¹

Singling players out for attention because of their ethnicities contravenes their wishes and is not beneficial to their long-term development.⁵² Back *et al.* argue how, within the current climate, Black and South Asian sports people are ambassadors of a promise for multicultural change and yet, are bound within a paradox of neo-colonial racism and exclusion, which they are powerless to overcome, but which forces them to conform to a dominant white ideology.⁵³ In Rashid's case, regardless of his performances as a player and his Yorkshire pedigree as a person, he is visible at YCCC because of his 'Asianness'. Whenever people refer to players like Darren Gough or Fred Trueman, they do so because of their playing abilities, their records and their contribution to the game; not because they are white. However, as racialized bodies are seen as visible carriers of their ethnicities, unlike white bodies, they are

^v The Quaid-I-Azam League (named in honour of the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah) is an Asian cricket league based in the north of England. It was formed in 1981 by South Asian communities in Bradford (cf, Khan, 'Welcome to the Quaid-I-Azam League'. Valiotis, 'Runs in the Outfield').

perceived to be marked and bounded by their ethnic identities.⁵⁴ Rashid is thus, forced to carry a 'burden of representation' in that, he is "seen to represent the capacities of groups for which [he] is marked and visible".⁵⁵ Similarly, when British Asian players are placed in the spotlight (as representatives and spokespeople), they are simultaneously subjected to the 'terrorising white gaze'; inscribing their position as objects of fascination, which leaves them open to excessive scrutiny.⁵⁶ Sutherland's Graham for instance, demonstrated these concerns by suggesting that British Asian players were being marketed by YCCC as part of a wider public relations exercise, depicting the club as a marker of corporate multiculturalism and 'colour blindness':⁵⁷

If Yorkshire [CCC] has a programme or a handbook, Rashid's picture is *always* on it because they [YCCC's administrators] are encouraging Asians in to cricket ... and showing they can play with white people ... I do think it helps if you want to play cricket in this country if you're Black or Asian because, if you don't get picked, you can call it racist. This must be in the back of coaches' and selectors' minds when they're writing out the team.⁵⁸

The idea that clubs and coaches are coerced into playing ethnic minorities out of fear of being called racist was shared by a number of the white and British Asian respondents alike. While YCCC's recent proactivity in encouraging participation among ethnic minorities was welcomed by the British Asian respondents, many of the white respondents believed YCCC was operating a covert racial quota system, which favoured the inclusion of South Asian players over 'indigenous' white Yorkshiremen. Sutherland's Graham and John, for instance, said:

Graham: From my experiences of playing for Yorkshire [CCC], ethnicity does help when getting picked because the club has wanted Yorkshire born Asians to come into the spotlight.⁵⁹

John: I think there is a bit of a quota system going on ... It's certainly been an issue about Yorkshire [CCC] not producing more Asian players despite the massive Asian population.⁶⁰

Aylesworth's Addy believed similarly that, despite the representation of South Asians in current YCCC sides, prejudice was ubiquitous:

Things at Yorkshire [CCC] are a bit different now because Asian people are pushing through. But Yorkshire [CCC]'s still the same. They only play Asians because they're pressured into it. I'm convinced of that.⁶¹

As a result, YCCC is trapped between the proverbial 'devil and the deep blue sea': if it attempts to satisfy traditionalists by cultivating white, Yorkshire-born players, it risks alienating the region's South Asian and Black communities and being accused of racism. Similarly, if YCCC actively seeks the inclusion of South Asian and Black communities, it also increases the likelihood of a 'white backlash' amongst those white players who feel they are being overlooked in order to satisfy political correctness by appearing 'colour-blind'.⁶²

For counties like Yorkshire, that are frequently defined by racist legacies, to be seen to be doing something proactive to facilitate the involvement of ethnic minority groups is hugely important. However, under these conditions, it is not uncommon for clubs to be criticised for doing exactly that: being *seen* to be doing something, rather than addressing the more insidious *institutional barriers*. Nevertheless, I argue against the perception that ethnic minorities are only represented by YCCC and Yorkshire clubs in an attempt for them to appear 'colour-blind'. In the current global marketplace, where emphasis must be placed on being successful, there is little room for clubs to either promote a political agenda or be sentimental. Their focus must be on developing a team that is able to compete at the highest level. Moreover, speculation notwithstanding, and while much more empirical work on its impact is required, what is clear at the present time is that YCCC is fielding British born cricketers of South Asian descent, and criticisms of racial quotas aside, these are significant developments for both the county club and interested academics.

Becoming 'Yorkshire'

A recurring theme identified by both the white and British Asian respondents was that Yorkshire cricket culture was inherently insular. Many people inside and outside Yorkshire consider YCCC's birthright policy and long-standing failure to field British Asian and British Black players in the county first team as evidence of the club's institutional racism.⁶³ The club has long denied discriminatory practices, but given the size of Yorkshire's South Asian communities, one can understand why people have labelled it in this way. In fact, when the birthright policy was in effect, many British Asian and British Black people in the region actually qualified to play for YCCC, but many have argued the policy was used as a means for the powers-at-be to assert the club's white identity and, by implication, exclude Yorkshire's minority ethnic communities.⁶⁴ According to a number of the respondents in this research, this

apparent 'whites only' legacy at YCCC is insidiously relevant to this day. Indeed, many presented evidence to support the notion that Yorkshire people are committed to 'keeping the White Rose white' by being openly inhospitable to people from minority ethnic backgrounds who wish to enter the club.⁶⁵ Sutherland's Tony believed that a fundamental part of being a Yorkshireman was to be suspicious towards outsiders:

Yorkshire people aren't that open-minded to difference ... Yorkshire is renowned for being a hard place to crack. Traditional mining communities where I would bet, for the first half of their lives, most people probably never saw an Asian person. So ... when they did start to interact with Asian people there probably was a bit of a, "who the fuck are you? What you doing here?" kind of attitude.⁶⁶

It is as well to remember, however, that the experiences of minority ethnic communities of playing cricket in Yorkshire and the north of England will vary considerably. Their experiences need to be conceptualized with reference to the social climate facing them at the time. Some eras for instance, will have been ostensibly worse than others. Jack Williams has argued that, since the 1980s, league cricket in the north of England has been positively affected by the increased participation of South Asian players.⁶⁷ Chris Searle argues similarly that league cricket in Yorkshire – and Sheffield more specifically - is lucky to have Black players wanting to play there.⁶⁸ Unfortunately from Searle's experiences, the feeling from the leagues is not always mutual, with teams with predominantly Black membership being subjected to unfair league access requirements, local vandalism and frequent racism.⁶⁹

Following this, the majority of respondents did argue that league cricket in Yorkshire was racist. However, they were obstinate that, although league cricket was racist, it was no more racist than the rest of society and, in fact, was probably less racist than the professional game and other sports in Yorkshire.⁷⁰ Although this is not something associates of cricket should necessarily feel proud of, it is significant that cricket tends to be shielded from the severe racist overtones existing in sport more widely, in football for instance, by clinging on to an imaginary moral superiority.⁷¹ As expressed by Aylesworth's Jabs:

From my experience, there is definitely more racism in football. We're (British Asian team) regularly subjected to, "Paki this and Paki that"; "go home Paki" *etcetera*. And I think that's down to the type of people you get in football. Many are uneducated and not from good backgrounds. Whereas in

cricket, I don't think you get that. People in cricket are more educated and more appreciative of differences because cricket is full of Asians already.⁷²

Jabs proposes firstly that, cricket attracts a greater class of player compared to football and secondly that, this makes cricket inherently less racist. However, there is nothing inherently different about cricket that makes the sport any less racist than football. Moreover, in contemporary society, though participation demographics have remained relatively constant, it would be unwise to essentialize what kind of people participate in each.⁷³ A more informed argument relates to the fact that people of South Asian descent are already represented at different levels in cricket and therefore, their participation is fairly unremarkable. However, whereas British 'Asianness' has become a fairly unremarkable feature of cricket, their involvement in British sport generally, is highly contestable.

Currently, the English county and national circuits have a growing number of players of South Asian descent participating within them. In fact, male South Asian players are over-represented in cricket compared to their overall national demographic. There are over thirty male players of South Asian descent in professional county cricket; compared to the 'handful' of South Asians in professional football league.⁷⁴ Due to dominant claims that British sport is meritocratic and that recruitment and selection procedures are 'colour-blind', an increasingly widespread perception has emerged – within the sport itself, among politicians and in sections of the media – that this numerical representation signifies the eradication of racism from English cricket.⁷⁵ It would be easy to accept these figures as a sign of cricket's inclusivity. However, representation is not the equivalent to acceptance and integration. In the 2009 and 2010 seasons, for instance, four British Asians represented YCCC's first team at some point.⁷⁶ Their inclusion is not however, a definitive indication of YCCC's changing mentality as, it continues to be the case that YCCC has never fielded a Yorkshire-born Black cricketer and, as a result, Yorkshire cricket continues to struggle to shake off its racist image; to the point where some club representatives feel YCCC's promotion of South Asian players is an act of outright desperation.⁷⁷

In developing from this point, all the British Asian respondents involved in this research attributed the historical lack of South Asian representation at YCCC to blatant cultural and institutionalized racism. However, for most, there was no legitimate case to be made proving that YCCC discriminated against British Asians. Not least because the club has long denied such accusations. The refusal of the club to acknowledge its prejudices and apologise to South Asian cricketers infuriated Aylesworth's Addy:

To this day I don't have a legitimate answer to why Asian cricketers have, for such a long time, had such poor experiences at Yorkshire [CCC]. I think they (club officials)'d be too ashamed to give an answer because they know there isn't one. It's just blatant racism.⁷⁸

In contrast, rather than citing the influence of cultural and institutionalized racism, the majority of the white respondents suggested a number of specific socio-cultural factors responsible for the exclusion of South Asian cricketers, including: the influence of stereotypes of South Asians as volatile, overly aggressive and cheaters; the incompatibility of 'their' culture with Yorkshire culture; and finally, Asian players' lack of Yorkshire heritage. While these 'alternative' explanations are clearly racially inscribed, not to mention, erroneous, none of the white respondents recognised them in this way, which goes some way to exemplifying the ethnocentric nature of Yorkshire cricket. There was an overarching belief amongst the white respondents that South Asian people had been excluded from the white habitus of Yorkshire cricket because they were different. This was justified by the belief that South Asian communities were just not 'Yorkshire' enough, on the basis that, they *did not*, and *could not*, represent Yorkshire masculinity in the same (read as 'ideal') way as a white man could. In essence, regardless of their birthplace, upbringing, or identification with the county and its club, South Asians were not considered to be authentically 'Yorkshire'. This perspective was exemplified by Aylesworth's Gary^{vi}:

To be a Yorkshireman, in the traditional sense, you've got to have a certain something about you. Is someone 'Yorkshire' because they're born in Yorkshire or because they've got that kind of 'oomph' about him? If you look at it from that point of view, yes, British Asians might have been born here, but they haven't got that kind of erm ... *Yorkshire blood* in them.⁷⁹

Sports are popularly believed to have positive integrative functions and be able to galvanize different communities. In other words, both white and British Asian cricketers share a particular sporting or cultural habitus which should overshadow their ethnic differences. The vast majority of the respondents involved in this research, acknowledged that cricket had limited scope in this respect, on the basis that, 'Yorkshireness' has historically been an exclusive (or even 'fictive') ethnicity and therefore, accessing it was perhaps, beyond South Asian communities altogether. Ian McMillan of the *Yorkshire Post* newspaper has proposed a solution. He refers to the idea of 'elective Yorkshireness'

^{vi} It should be noted that Gary is, in fact, a white man who is president of the Aylesworth's club. Despite representing the interests of a club with predominantly Asian membership, Gary did identify openly with a traditional sense of 'Yorkshireness'.

where, for a fee, non-Yorkshire people can receive a number of 'elective Yorkshire days', on which they can state they come from Yorkshire:

Non-Yorkshire unfortunates can buy up to a week, a month, a season or more of 'elective Yorkshire days'. Indeed, the maximum package, which doesn't come cheap, is known as the 'Almost Yorkshire', and it means that for 364 days of every year you can pretend to be from Yorkshire. Of course, the full year isn't permissible for non-Yorkshire types as, well, it just wouldn't be fair.⁸⁰

The importance of extracts like this is not in their academic efficacy, but in how they typify the existence of an insider/outsider dichotomy between Yorkshire people and non-Yorkshire people. This mentality tells us three things: firstly, that it is white Yorkshire people who guard the region's symbolic boundaries and thus, have the power to allow or deny access; secondly, that Yorkshire people feel 'Yorkshireness' is something worth protecting; and thirdly, that for many Yorkshire people, those originating from outside Yorkshire can never be 'one of us'. The notion of elective Yorkshire status shows how ideologies of Yorkshire and 'Yorkshireness' are not resolute. 'Yorkshireness' is indeed accessible, but it comes with terms and conditions attached. This does beg the question of whether (traditionally) non-Yorkshire people (minority ethnic communities amongst them) can ever be fully Yorkshire. Aylesworth's Hamza Ilyas was convinced that his 'Asianness' was (or at least should be) a separate issue to his level of 'Yorkshireness'. For him, what mattered was that his value system was an amalgamation of the two:

I'm British, I'm Muslim, I'm Asian and I'm from Yorkshire. I also eat fish and chips [laughs]. Does that mean I'm a Yorkshireman? I have a set of values that I have developed through my life ... and I'll tell you, they're all 'Yorkshire', but they're the same values that people live by in [city in Pakistan]. And these values are what make me, *me*. But which of those values makes me non-Yorkshire?⁸¹

Aylesworth's Ali similarly commented that 'Yorkshireness' should not be viewed as a state of mind reserved for white people; rather it should be an expression of regional pride, which is attainable regardless of one's ethnicity:

People who live in certain parts of the country identify strongly with that area. For example, 'Bradfordian', is an all-encompassing identity for Bradford people ... or Yorkshireman. So, in certain circumstances people of all ethnic backgrounds will flag up these identities. I know, from my own personal experiences, I am proud to bring up my Yorkshire and Sheffield heritages where possible.⁸²

These testimonies identify that twenty first century Yorkshire is witnessing a broad and multi-faceted re-imagining of its traditional mores and values, as the current generation of Yorkshire people redefine the region and what it means to be a Yorkshire person.⁸³ Yorkshire is more culturally diverse than ever and therefore, to think in terms of essentialized or indeed, stereotypical conceptualizations of Yorkshire and ‘Yorkshireness’ is fraught with difficulties. Many people living in Yorkshire, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, do not/cannot relate to traditional stereotypes of ‘Yorkshireness’ and therefore, they are determined to construct their own contemporary identities that more successfully represent *their* interpretation of the region and its cultures.⁸⁴

A changing ideology at YCCC?

It has long been believed that opportunities for minority ethnic communities to succeed in Yorkshire cricket have been suppressed by a series of cultural racists operating within the region’s cricketing infrastructures. Significantly, while all believed YCCC had been racist towards South Asian players in the past, the majority believed that opportunities were growing. As Aylesworth’s Ali put it:

The tide has turned – now Asians are part and parcel of English cricket at all levels. The only criteria are ability and performance. All these things are only possible because Yorkshire [CCC] has changed and the perception of Yorkshire [CCC] amongst Asians has changed. Asian players are no longer finding access to the top leagues in Yorkshire a barrier.⁸⁵

The current YCCC regime has been proactive in identifying the region’s South Asian communities as both productive playing and consuming resources.⁸⁶ Jack Williams suggested it would be foolish for counties and clubs in Britain not to exploit the enthusiasm of communities so passionate about cricket.⁸⁷ Indeed, YCCC, like many other county clubs, has developed a number of inclusion initiatives, specifically targeted at encouraging the involvement of ethnic minorities. The most well cited in the case of YCCC was the establishment of the Black and Ethnic Minority Cricket forum in 1993.⁸⁸ The forum was set up in order to (amongst other things) promote opportunities for ethnic minorities and to eliminate racial disadvantage and discrimination.⁸⁹ However, even after its establishment and subsequent strategy documents, the role of ethnic minorities in Yorkshire cricket continues to be contested and the forum’s success, difficult to quantify. More recently, in 2010, YCCC’s Headingley ground hosted a ‘neutral’ Test match between Pakistan and Australia.⁹⁰ The club’s administrators hoped that the presence of the Pakistan team would excite interest in the club amongst the region’s (British) Pakistani communities.⁹¹ However, despite the club’s

best efforts to make the match as hospitable as possible for the anticipated majority South Asian crowd by providing halal food, prayer boxes, and Urdu-speaking stewards, not to mention, a whole host of pre-match promoting, attendance was poor.⁹² I attended a couple of days of the match and spoke to a number of (British) Pakistanis about their experiences of the club. In the main they welcomed the club's efforts to try and integrate South Asian communities for this event, but warned that the day-to-day relationship between South Asians and the club should be prioritised.⁹³ Indeed, while many minority ethnic communities are keen to become involved with YCCC, they are also ambivalent about YCCC on the whole. Taz, for instance said:

I'm just not convinced they (the club and its members) are sincere ... so much has gone on between Yorkshire and Asians already for me to trust the club.⁹⁴

Similar views were expressed by Addy, who reflected on feeling uncomfortable and unwanted when he had played for Yorkshire as a junior. Addy, like many more ethnic minorities felt like he never truly belonged within the Yorkshire setup:

I remember when I was seventeen, playing for Yorkshire, it was horrendous. I got no support whatsoever. I made a fifty and none of the white lads' parents even bothered to clap me ... Yeah, I was playing for Yorkshire, but that was a sign I wasn't equal.⁹⁵

Such testimonies are not, however, exclusive to Yorkshire cricket. In their study of cricket in East London and Essex, McDonald and Ugra argued that the most striking feature of their research was the way the 'English' cricket establishment (and the perceived culture of 'whiteness') inhibited the progression of players from minority ethnic backgrounds.⁹⁶ I argue that progress in the provision and opportunity for minority ethnic cricketers must come through building relationships between the establishment and minority ethnic communities, rather than imposition from the former. Indeed, ethnic minorities faced with political institutions in which neither their members nor their values are adequately represented will find it difficult to fully identify with them.⁹⁷

Conclusion

Over the last decade, YCCC, with the help of the Yorkshire leagues and local governing bodies, has attempted to reconcile its unfavourable image amongst minority ethnic communities. However, for this to be successful there must be a reciprocal process of exchange and interpretation between the club and target communities. The

historical domination of white Yorkshiremen within Yorkshire cricket has not been a passive form of dominance because the structure of the game in the county has had to be continually renewed, recreated, defended and modified.⁹⁸ The successful integration of white, South Asian and (if/when it happens) Black Yorkshire cricketers, is dependent on a number of culturally and institutionally racist principles. Firstly, successful integration is based on whether the white people of Yorkshire are prepared to redefine notions of 'Yorkshireness' to include minority ethnic communities; and/or secondly, whether the culture and actions of minority ethnic communities fit within white Yorkshire people's definition of acceptable 'Yorkshireness'.

While the argument that a player's ability is the only factor in deciding selection for YCCC has stood the test of time, this paper suggests that something far more pervasive is happening. For example, the fact that there are instances of South Asian players succeeding at the top level of cricket in Yorkshire has implied to some that, where players struggle for representation, the problem must be self-inflicted. The implication is that ethnic minorities are presented as the problem and fundamentally incompatible with (white) Yorkshire culture. This view has frequently been used to explain the emergence of British Asian cricket teams and leagues within the region. Yorkshire's history of imposing strict boundaries of inclusion/exclusion has meant that South Asian communities – including British Asians born and bred in Yorkshire – have restricted access to Yorkshire culture. Indeed, due to the malleability of contemporary social identities, British Asians are frequently involved in both conforming to, and redefining, traditional forms of 'Yorkshireness'. This means that, from a traditional point of view at least, where British Asians are prepared to adapt their identities to reflect traditional depictions of 'Yorkshireness', they can consider themselves to be more 'Yorkshire' than Others – those unwilling to adapt their identities. Nevertheless, as I identify elsewhere, the fact remains that British Asian communities are expected to adapt themselves to become 'more Yorkshire', which emphasises firstly that, despite their representation on the pitch, South Asians continue to be defined as the irrevocable post-colonial Other; and secondly, that the ideologies and practices inherent to Yorkshire cricket continue to revolve around culturally racist principles.⁹⁹

Despite cricket having been multiracial for decades, the evidence from this paper demonstrates that some people's position as insiders is less straightforward than others. Access to cricket's symbolic boundaries is contingent upon one's adherence to an established code of acceptability.¹⁰⁰ 'Yorkshireness' has traditionally stood proud, not for its mixed culture and egalitarian practices, but for a "reified, hollow culture of boastfulness and bigotry".¹⁰¹ A strong proportion of Yorkshire cricket followers would prefer to return to these traditions. Under these circumstances, Back *et al.* warn how racism is used as a potential resource to be used strategically to exclude or undermine the

belonging and legitimacy of minority ethnic players and spectators who do not possess the correct ‘cultural ticket’.¹⁰² If Yorkshire cricket allows access to minority ethnic players, supporters and administrators, it must accept that the county club’s traditions will change. Referring to the example of rugby league, but in terms equally applicable, Spracklen suggests how:

Asian and black people are denied access to the symbolic boundaries because people in the game fear that their own identities will be compromised if the power to change those boundaries is shared.¹⁰³

The effect, therefore, is that if ethnic minorities are empowered to overcome the symbolic boundaries of Yorkshire cricket, they could encounter resistance and hostility from people embodying a reinvigorated sense of exclusive white ‘Yorkshireness’.

This does not mean that the positionality of white and British Asian cricketers’ is fixed, however, because it must be said that, their positionality and insider status are negotiable. Inclusion in Yorkshire cricket depends largely on the malleability of an individual’s identity and the extent to which they are able to resemble the desirable image of white ‘Yorkshireness’. As South Asian communities have not historically been associated with this habitus, manipulating markers of ‘Yorkshireness’ and shared culture is essential to their inclusion. Regardless of this, it is as well to remember that, ontological security notwithstanding, most of the British Asian respondents involved in this research grew up in Yorkshire and much of what they say and do successfully reflects twenty first century Yorkshire as well as any white Yorkshire person could.

Notes

¹ Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, Part 7.

² Russell, *Looking North*.

³ Russell, ‘Sport and Identity’.

⁴ Searle, ‘Sheffield Caribbean’, 223.

⁵ Wagg and Russell, ‘Introduction’, viii.

⁶ Searle, *Pitch of Life*, 15.

⁷ Burdsey, ‘Midnight’s Grandchildren at the MCC’.

⁸ Williams, *Cricket and Race*.

⁹ Searle, *Pitch of Life*.

¹⁰ Williams, *Cricket and Race*.

¹¹ Long *et al.*, *Crossing the Boundary*. McDonald and Ugra, *Anyone for cricket?* Malcolm, ‘Malign or Benign?’

¹² Young Jr. ‘Experiences in ethnographic interviewing about on race’. Fletcher, ‘Being Inside and Outside the Field’.

¹³ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.

¹⁴ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

¹⁵ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.

¹⁶ Spracklen, ‘Black Pearl, Black Diamonds’, 71.

¹⁷ *ibid*: 74.

¹⁸ Mosey, *We don’t play it for fun*, 2

¹⁹ Fletcher, ‘Yorkshire, Cricket and Identity’.

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- ²⁰ Interview, 27th October, 2008
- ²¹ cf. Fletcher, 'Three Lions'. Marqusee, *Anyone but England*. Wagg, 'To be an Englishman'.
- ²² Fletcher, 'Yorkshire, Cricket and Identity'.
- ²³ Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*. Greenfield and Osborn, 'Oh to be in England?'
- ²⁴ Wagg, 'Muck or Nettles'.
- ²⁵ Clarke, 'The Skinheads and the magical recovery of community'.
- ²⁶ Kalra, *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks*.
- ²⁷ Ballard, 'Introduction'.
- ²⁸ Kalra, *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks*.
- ²⁹ Maguire and Stead, 'Far Pavilions'.
- ³⁰ Kalra, *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks*. Williams, *Cricket and Race*. Burdsey, *British Asians and football*.
- ³¹ Alam, '... and now for the magic of Khan'.
- ³² On September 11 2001, four commercial planes were hijacked by al-Qaeda terrorists. Two crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York, another crashed into the Pentagon in Virginia, whilst the third crashed into suburban land. In the aftermath of 9/11, America (under a coalition with Great Britain) launched the 'War on Terror'.
- ³³ The July 7th, 2005 London bombings were a series of coordinated suicide attacks on London's public transport network. Three bombs exploded on London's Underground trains and another on a double-decker bus. The perpetrators were three Leeds-based British Pakistanis, Mohammad Sidique Khan, Shehzad Tanweer, Hasib Mir Hussain and one British Jamaican, Germaine Lindsay.
- ³⁴ Alexander, *The Asian Gang*.
- ³⁵ Interview, 31st October, 2008.
- ³⁶ Carrington, 'Leeds and the Topographies of Race', 125.
- ³⁷ Geaves, 'Negotiating British Citizenship and Muslim Identity'.
- ³⁸ Davies, *From Queen's to Kings*.
- ³⁹ *ibid*.
- ⁴⁰ Williams, *Race and Cricket*. Burdsey, 'No Ball Games Allowed?'
- ⁴¹ Focus Group Interview, 16th March, 2009.
- ⁴² Long *et al.*, *Crossing the Boundary*. Williams, *Cricket and Race*, 'Paki Cheats'.
- ⁴³ Long *et al.*, *Crossing the Boundary*.
- ⁴⁴ Clough, 'New era at Yorkshire as Shahzad makes debut'.
- ⁴⁵ Rashid was nominated for an award at the coveted British Asian Sports Award (BASA) in both 2009 and 2010.
- ⁴⁶ Lawton, 'Talent issue - the sporting hero: Adil Rashid'.
- ⁴⁷ Pakistan born Rafiq played a number of first class games for Yorkshire during the 2009 season. Most of which he played when Rashid was in the England Ashes and one day international squads which faced Australia. Rafiq is perhaps best known for his involvement in YCCC's controversial removal from the 2008 domestic *Twenty20* tournament after it was found he had been ineligible to play in a match against Nottinghamshire. After working his way through the academy and second XI systems, Bradford born Ashraf made his Yorkshire first XI debut in 2010.
- ⁴⁸ Spin: The Cricket Magazine, 'I'd like to be a role model for British Asians'.
- ⁴⁹ Interview, 13th March, 2009.
- ⁵⁰ Interview, 2nd March, 2009.
- ⁵¹ Burdsey, *British Asians and football*.
- ⁵² *ibid*.
- ⁵³ Back *et al.* *The Changing Face of Football*.
- ⁵⁴ Puwar, *Space Invaders*.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid*: 58.
- ⁵⁶ hooks, *Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination*. Goldberg observes how in whiter spaces racialised bodies are constantly under super-surveillance. As a result, the tiniest error in performance or judgement can be highlighted and amplified as proof of the person not being quite up to the job (Goldberg, 'In/visibility and super/vision'). Puwar also notes how under these conditions, ethnic minorities are under undue pressure, which in itself can induce mistakes, which are indicative of the anxiety and nervousness produced, rather than the actual abilities of the person (Puwar, *Space Invaders*, 62).
- ⁵⁷ Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists*.
- ⁵⁸ Interview, 23rd January, 2009.
- ⁵⁹ Interview, 23rd January, 2009.
- ⁶⁰ Interview, 28th October, 2008.
- ⁶¹ Interview, 2nd March, 2009.
- ⁶² Nayak, 'White English Ethnicities'. Hewitt, *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism*.
- ⁶³ Williams, 'Asians, Cricket and Ethnic Relations in Northern England'. *Cricket and Race*.
- ⁶⁴ Fleming, 'The role of sport in South Asian cultures in Britain and the Indian sub-continent'.

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- ⁶⁵ Searle, *Pitch of Life*.
- ⁶⁶ Interview, 19th February, 2009.
- ⁶⁷ Williams, 'Asians, Cricket and Ethnic Relations in Northern England'.
- ⁶⁸ Searle, 'Sheffield Caribbean'.
- ⁶⁹ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ I would argue that the extent of racism in Yorkshire league cricket can be attributed in large part to different stages in time; namely the different periods of migration from the colonies. During early waves of migration throughout the 1940s and 1950s, for instance, many white people are thought to have moved away from the leagues in protest over the sudden influx of players from minority ethnic communities. According a number of informal oral testimonies I undertook with spectators from older generations, the perception at the time was that ethnic minorities were taking over their traditional white spaces.
- ⁷¹ Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket*.
- ⁷² Focus Group Interview, 16th March, 2009.
- ⁷³ Crawford, *Consuming Sport*.
- ⁷⁴ Burdsey, *British Asians and Football*. 'British Muslim experiences in English first-class cricket'.
- ⁷⁵ Burdsey, 'From Ranji to Ravi'.
- ⁷⁶ 'These players were Adil Rashid, Aijmal Shahzad, Azeem Rafiq and Moin Ashraf.
- ⁷⁷ Sports Council, *Sharing Good Practice*.
- ⁷⁸ Interview, 3rd February, 2009.
- ⁷⁹ Interview, 26th July, 2009.
- ⁸⁰ McMillan, 'Tan McMillan'.
- ⁸¹ Interview, 3rd December, 2008.
- ⁸² Interview, 13th March, 2009.
- ⁸³ Fletcher, 'Yorkshire, Cricket and Identity'.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ Interview, 14th March, 2009.
- ⁸⁶ Daily Times, 'Cricket Bridges Ethnic Divide in Yorkshire'.
- ⁸⁷ Williams, *Cricket and Race*.
- ⁸⁸ Yorkshire Cricket Board, 'Black Minority Ethnic Cricket'.
- ⁸⁹ Yorkshire Cricket Board, 'Yorkshire Cricket Development Strategy 2008-2011'.
- ⁹⁰ International cricket is not currently played in Pakistan because of the threats of political unrest and terrorism. The Pakistan team therefore, plays all its 'home' matches at neutral venues.
- ⁹¹ Houlst, 'Job fears as Pakistan v Australia ticket sales slump at Headingley'.
- ⁹² *ibid.*
- ⁹³ Fieldnotes, 23rd July, 2010.
- ⁹⁴ Interview, 12th December, 2008.
- ⁹⁵ Interview, 12th December, 2008. Long *et al.* *Crossing the Boundary*.
- ⁹⁶ McDonald and Ugra, *Anyone for Cricket?* Carrington and McDonald, 'Whose game is it anyway?' 61.
- ⁹⁷ Siddique Seddon *et al.* 'Preface'.
- ⁹⁸ Hylton, *Race' and Sport*.
- ⁹⁹ Fletcher, *Straight Bats, Brass Bands, Flat Caps and Whippet Racing?* 'The Making of English Cricket Cultures'.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.
- ¹⁰¹ Marqusee, *Anyone but England*, 144.
- ¹⁰² *ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ Spracklen, 'Black Pearl, Black Diamonds', 77.

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