

Cracking the glass ceiling?

Levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership and coaching in football in Europe and the experiences of elite level 'visible' minority coaches

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with

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Executive summary

Research methods

- The findings in this report illustrate the levels of representation of ‘visible’ minorities and women in senior governance, senior operations and senior coaching positions in football in Europe. The findings are based on documentary and web-based analysis of the demographic background and occupational status of 4,608 individuals in positions of this kind at national league associations, national football federations and UEFA, and at a sample group of elite level professional clubs in seven countries: England, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands
- The findings in this report also illustrate a series of individual, cultural and structural factors which have enabled and/or disabled the career progression of ‘visible’ minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands. The findings are based analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted with 40 highly qualified ‘visible’ minority coaches with significant experience of working within professional and semi-professional football in each of the countries under review
- The term **‘visible’ minority** is used in this report as a broad descriptive marker to refer to ethnically distinct populations drawn from **non-European heritage** who reside in countries in Europe in which they make up a numerical minority. These ‘visible’ minorities include generationally settled and new migrant populations drawn from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. They also include the ‘special case’ of migrant Turkish population’s who’s ethnic, cultural and religious ‘visibility’ seems heightened in many countries of settlement in Europe.
- In the limited context of this report, the term ‘visible’ minority does not apply to ethnic, cultural, national or religious minorities such as Basques, Jewish or Roma populations. Nor does it apply to economic in-migrants drawn from EU accession countries in Central and Eastern Europe, where such minorities could broadly be described as white.

Leadership positions in football in Europe

Levels of representation in leadership positions in football in Europe

Senior governance: key statistical findings

- The findings in this section are based on analysis of the demographic background and occupational status of 2,195 individuals in senior governance positions (such as president, vice-president and executive committee members) at elite level professional clubs, national league associations, national football federations and UEFA.
- **Table A:** demographic background of staff in senior governance positions across organisations

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Elite level professional clubs	95.7%	3.2%	1.1%	0%	100%
National league associations	98.4%	1.1%	0.5%	0%	100%
National federations	97.5%	2.3%	0%	0.2%	100%
UEFA	92.7%	6.9%	0.4%	0%	100%
Total:	95.8%	3.6%	0.5%	0.1%	100%

- Overall, 95.8% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs, national league associations, national federations and UEFA were held by white men. The remaining 4.2% of

positions of this kind were held by white women (3.6%), ‘visible’ minority men (0.5%) or ‘visible’ minority women (0.1%).

Senior governance: additional analysis

- **Elite level clubs:** Overall, 95.7% of senior governance positions were held by white men. The highest positions of this kind held by women were vice-president positions: at two clubs in Italy. Women executive committee members featured most strongly at clubs in England, Spain and Italy. A small number of ‘global’ rather than local ‘visible’ minority men held presidential and executive committee positions at elite level clubs in England, Spain, Belgium and France.
- **National league associations:** Overall, 98.4% of senior governance positions were held by white men, including all president and vice-president positions. Only 14% and 7% of national league associations respectively featured women or ‘visible’ minorities at executive committee level.
- **National football federations:** Overall, 97.5% of senior governance positions were held by white men. The highest positions of this kind held by women were vice-president positions: in Estonia, Norway and Sweden. In total, 28.6% of all national federations featured women at executive committee level, accounting for 3.7% of all positions of this kind.
- **UEFA:** Overall, 92.7% of senior governance positions were held by white men. In total, 48% of all UEFA organs, committees and panels featured women delegates. In total, 41.9% of all women delegates were involved in one committee: the UEFA women’s football committee. Only the UEFA Professional Football Strategy Council featured ‘visible’ minority delegates, both of whom were representatives of FIFPRO.

Senior operations: key statistical findings

- The findings in this section are based on analysis of the demographic background and occupational status of 1,741 individuals in senior operations positions (such as CEO or head of unit positions) at elite level professional clubs, national league associations, national football federations and UEFA.
- Overall, 87.7% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs, national league associations, national federations and UEFA were held by white men. In total, 12.3% of positions of this kind were held by white women (11.9%), or ‘visible’ minority men (0.4%)
- **Table B:** demographic background of staff in senior operations positions across organisations

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Elite level professional clubs	88.1%	11.4%	0.5%	0%	100%
National league associations	88.7%	11.3%	0%	0%	100%
National federations	84.6%	15.4%	0%	0%	100%
UEFA	95.6%	2.2%	2.2%	0%	100%
Total:	87.7%	11.9%	0.4%	0%	100%

Senior operations: additional analysis

- **Elite level clubs:** Overall, 88.1% of senior operations positions were held by white men. The highest positions of this kind held by women were CEO positions: at two clubs in England. In total, 63% of elite level clubs featured women in senior operations positions. At these clubs, women tended to be employed in finance, marketing, or media/communications positions. In

total, 4.5% of elite level clubs featured 'visible' minorities in senior operations positions, in mainly ticketing and stadium/security positions.

- **National league associations:** Overall, 88.7% of senior operations positions were held by white men including all CEO positions. In total, 30.8% of national league associations featured women in senior operations positions. At these associations, women tended to be employed in finance or media/communications positions. No 'visible' minorities were employed in senior operations positions at national league associations across Europe.
- **National federations:** Overall, 84.6% of senior operations positions at national federations were held by white men. The highest position of this kind held by women was a CEO position: in Estonia. In total, 38.9% of national federations featured women in senior operations positions. At these federations, women tended to be employed in legal, finance or media/communications positions. No 'visible' minorities were employed in senior operations positions at national federations across Europe.
- **UEFA:** Overall, 95.6% of all senior operations positions at UEFA were held by white men, including all Director positions (100%). Head of unit positions at UEFA were held by white men (94.6%), white women (2.2%) and 'visible' minority men (2.2%). In total, senior operations staff at UEFA were drawn from 13 different nationalities, including; Swiss, French, British, Dutch, German, Greek, Romanian, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, Irish and Korean.

Explanations for the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions

- Explanations for the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions in football in Europe, include;
 - The cumulative impact of wider racial and gender inequalities and the limited 'diversity pool' of suitably qualified candidates
 - The generational distribution of leadership positions to older (white, male) candidates
 - The operation of institutionally closed mechanisms of recruitment premised on personal recommendation, patronage and sponsored mobility
 - The tendency to recruit from within the dominant (white, male) social and cultural networks of the football industry
 - The stereotyping of 'visible' minorities and women in terms of 'risk', 'unsuitability' and 'lack of competence'
 - A lack of problem awareness or non-acknowledgement of the concept, processes and outcomes of institutional discrimination
 - An unwillingness to surrender accrued rewards and decision making powers at a personal and professional level
 - A lack of commitment to 'open-up' access to senior governance and senior operations positions to more a more diverse range of groups through processes of positive action

Coaching positions in football in Europe

Levels of representation in senior coaching positions in football in Europe

Senior coaching: key statistical findings

- The findings in this section are based on analysis of the demographic background of 672 individuals employed in a range of senior coaching positions in the men's and women's national game across Europe, and at a sample group of men's elite level professional clubs in England, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands
- Overall, 90.8% of all senior coaching positions at (men's) elite level clubs, and men's and women's national teams were white men.
- **Table C:** demographic background of staff in senior coaching positions across organisations

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Elite level clubs senior coaches (men's)	96.6%	0%	3.4%	0%	100%
National team senior coaches (men's)	99.6%	0%	0.4%	0%	100%
National team senior coaches (women's)	66.3%	33.7%	0%	0%	100%
Total	90.8%	8%	1.2%	0%	100%

Senior coaching: additional analysis

- **Elite level clubs:** Overall, 96.6% of senior coaching positions at elite level (men's) clubs were held by white men and 3.4% were held by 'visible' minority men. In total, 2.3% of first team head coaches and 4.5% of first team assistant head coaches were from 'visible' minorities: at clubs in England, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France and the Netherlands.
- **National team (men's):** Overall, 99.6% of all senior coaching positions at men's national first teams (head and assistant), under 21s, under 19s and under 17s teams were held by white men. One 'visible' minority male was a national team head coach: at under 19s level in England.
- **National team (women's):** Overall, 66.3% of senior coaching positions at women's national first teams (head and assistant), under 19s and under 17s teams were held by white men. In total, 33.7% of positions of this kind were held by white women. Women holding national senior coaching positions were most apparent in; Germany, Slovakia, Sweden, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Czech Republic, England, Scotland, and Switzerland.

The experiences of elite 'visible' minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands

Coach education

Levels of representation of 'visible' minority coaches in coach education

- The overall level of representation of 'visible' minorities undertaking coach education in England, France and the Netherlands is around 5-10%. This compares unfavourably with levels of representation within national populations (11-15%) and as professional players (25-40%) in each of these countries. There is also a general drop-off in the numbers of 'visible' minorities undertaking coach education across the transition from lower level to higher level awards.

Experiences of accessing and undertaking coach education qualifications

- Interviews with elite level 'visible' minority coaches revealed a series of individual, cultural and structural factors which were perceived to have enabled or disabled opportunities to access and complete coaching qualifications. The following five key themes emerged strongly from analysis:

(i) Personal and professional motivations

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited strong motivations, drive and commitment to access coaching qualifications in order to stay within the game after playing careers had ended and to translate prior playing success to the professional coaching environment
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees cited a lack of personal drive and commitment to access coaching qualifications; different generational and financial priorities of more affluent players; increased post-playing business and employment opportunities outside of football; financial responsibilities of 'new migrant' players towards extended families in countries of origin; and strong cultural expectations to play for as long as possible to maximise economic reward

(ii) Lack of 'visible' minority coach role models

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited historically limited opportunities to develop post playing careers outside of football; personal determination to succeed 'despite the odds'; and the positive psychological driving force of the 'pioneer effect'
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees cited a strong awareness of the historically negative experiences of some highly qualified black coaches and the impact of this on limiting aspirations, ambitions and motivations to undertake coach education

(iii) Access, opportunities and networks

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited the delivery of subsidised programmes of lower level coach education in deprived, urban, locales, and the impact of this on alleviating financial barriers and enabling the first steps on the coaching ladder. Interviewees also cited the benefits of being pre-positioned within 'insider' football networks as coaches at clubs with reference to increasing the likelihood of identification, selection and support by key mentors, ensuring practical coaching experiences requisite for achieving high level coaching awards, and enabling access to mentoring and financial support from players unions, clubs, and federations
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees cited the lack of delivery of subsidised provision for lower level coach education in 'minority heavy' locales and the impact of this on limiting access to courses of this kind. Interviewees also cited the negative impact of being positioned outside of 'insider' football networks with reference to limiting opportunities for identification, selection, mentoring and financial support from key football bodies. Organisational support for coach education was also felt by interviewees to be culturally narrow and unequally focused towards supporting high profile, white, former professional players

(iv) Content, delivery and outcomes

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited the professional delivery and strong applicability of the content of coach education and the positive impact of this on increasing personal development skills, technical understanding and expertise, encouraging reflection on career pathways and preferences, enabling opportunities for information sharing, and raising the profile of 'visible' minorities within coaching networks in the professional game

- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees cited the perceived favouritism shown by coach educators to high profile, white, ex-professional players and tendencies to accord less status to 'visible' minorities from non-professional playing and coaching backgrounds. This was felt to engender additional pressures in building confidence, proving competence and gaining acceptance within the coach education environment. Interviewees also felt courses tended to be delivered in relatively formalised 'white' frames of reference. This was felt to impact negatively on 'new migrants' with limited language and literacy skills and 'visible' minorities who lacked the confidence to engage fully and productively in these formalised pedagogical environments.

(v) Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited the inclusive and welcoming learning environment of coach education courses. Practices of equitable treatment were felt to be most apparent for 'visible' minority coaches with high status and strong 'credibility' in the professional game.
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees recounted experiences of intentional and unintentional racism in the coach education environment including explicit racist name calling and subtle and nuanced racial 'banter'. They also alluded to the apparent lack of recognition of – or willingness to address – racism amongst coach educators and officials. These practices of inequitable treatment were felt to have heightened a sense of cultural isolation amongst 'visible' minorities and to have lessened the likelihood of continuing along the coach education pathway

Coach employment

Levels of representation of 'visible' minority coaches in coach employment

- The overall level of representation of 'visible' minority coaches across the professional club coaching infrastructure in England, France and the Netherlands is around 2-5%. This figure compares unfavourably with the representation of 'visible' minorities within national populations (between 11-15%) and as professional players (between 25-40%) in these countries.

Experiences of accessing and undertaking coach employment

- Interviews with elite level 'visible' minority coaches revealed a series of individual, cultural and structural factors which were perceived to have enabled or disabled opportunities to access coaching roles at professional clubs. The following five themes emerged strongly from analysis:

(i) Personal and professional motivations

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited strong motivations, drive and commitment to develop as coaches in familiar club environments in countries of settlement or familial origin; to stay within the game and to pursue a paid career path in coaching at professional clubs
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees cited a lack of personal drive and commitment to access coaching employment and increased post-playing opportunities to pursue business and employment interests outside of football, especially in the sports media. These new media opportunities were felt to offer avenues for career advancement in ways which had been denied across the transition from playing to coaching in the professional game

(ii) Lack of visible minority coach role models

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited historically limited opportunities to develop post-playing careers outside of football; personal determination to succeed 'despite the odds'; and the positive psychological driving force of the 'pioneer effect'

- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees strongly referenced the lack of ‘visible’ minority role coach role models as a key factor in limiting aspirations, ambitions and motivations to pursue coaching careers. In some cases, the lack of paid coaching opportunities in countries of settlement had informed decisions to take-up posts in countries of familial origin or to pursue careers in the broadcast media where opportunities for occupational advancement seemed little less limited.

(ii) Qualifications, experience and employability

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees cited positive linkages between achieving high level coaching qualifications, the shift towards a qualification based framework for coach employment, and the increased employability of ‘visible’ minority coaches. These factors were felt to have enabled a gradual opening up of employment opportunities at clubs, especially at youth academy level. Interviewees also cited the beneficial impact of being pre-positioned within ‘insider’ football networks as coaches at clubs. This was felt to have enabled opportunities to show commitment, establish competence, increase visibility, and strengthen applications for positions at clubs.
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees felt strongly that ‘visible’ minorities remained positioned disadvantageously within the qualifications, experience and employability matrix. To this end, interviewees alluded to the low numbers of ‘visible’ minorities achieving high level coaching qualifications and the ‘catch 22’ situation of lacking the relevant experience for consideration for coaching posts whilst simultaneously being denied opportunities to gain experience of this kind at clubs. Interviewees also felt that key power brokers continues to exercise a series of networks based - rather than qualifications based – practices of coach recruitment at clubs.

(iv) Access, opportunities and networks

- **Key enabling factors:** Interviewees reflected on their own experiences and identified a series of conduits through which ‘visible’ minorities had been able to break into ‘insider’ football networks and access senior coaching positions at professional clubs. These included;
 - Building and maintaining friendships with (white) playing colleagues over time who later assumed senior coaching positions with powers to appoint other coaches and support staff
 - Accessing coaching positions at clubs at which they had a prior strong connection with as a player. This was especially the case where players had exhibited loyalty and trustworthiness
 - Holding captancy positions and exhibiting competence, authority and leadership qualities as a player and building networks through increased contact with key power brokers at clubs
 - Building relationships with coaches and coach educators at coach education courses. This was felt to help to increase profile and heighten visibility within the coaching market-place
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees cited the mainly negative impacts of commonly practiced networks based approaches to coach recruitment in limiting opportunities for ‘visible’ minorities to make the transition from playing to coaching in the professional game. These included;
 - The lack of equitable racial mixing and tendency for ‘visible’ minority players to remain marginal to key power dynamics within team settings. This was felt to limit chances to build relationships with white colleagues who may enable coaching opportunities over time
 - The lack of appointment of ‘visible’ minorities as team captains and limited opportunities to formally exhibit key qualities of leadership and authority. This was felt to position ‘visible’ minorities as marginal to commonly practiced ‘captain to coach’ pathways in the game

- The tendency for coach recruitment to be premised on personal preference, patronage and sponsored mobility of key power brokers at clubs. This was felt to gravitate against 'visible' minorities positioned outside of dominant (white) social and cultural networks in football
- This tendency of elite level clubs to appoint high profile, white, former players as coaches whilst excluding appropriately qualified and experienced 'visible' minority coaches from consideration for posts of this kind
- The frequency with which white coaches moved from club to club in contrast to numerical and status limited opportunities for 'visible' minorities. It was felt that 'visible' minorities had to work twice as hard for fewer and less high profile opportunities and were less likely to be offered second chances to become coaches at other professional clubs
- The role of the sports media in framing discussions around coaching appointments in ethnically narrow terms. Interviewees referred to tendencies of sports journalists to focus on the assumed merits and suitability of older, white, players to become good coaches, whilst 'visible' minorities remained notably absent from these powerful media narratives

(v) Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

- **Key enabling factors:** Some interviewees reported they had not experienced any forms of racism or discrimination at the clubs at which they worked. This was especially the case at semi-professional clubs in urban, multi-ethnic, locales and at professional club youth academies.
- **Key disabling factors:** Interviewees referred to the continued incidence of subtle, nuanced and codified racisms in the coach employment environment. This included; the use of inappropriate language to describe different cultural groups; questioning 'visible' minorities competence in ways which were not applied to similarly qualified white coaches; and denying opportunities for promotion within club infrastructures. Interviewees also felt that key power brokers at clubs continued to hold physical and cultural stereotypes about 'visible' minorities. These included;
 - Misplaced cultural perceptions of 'visible' minorities in relation to aspirations, attitudes, behaviours and intellectual capacities to successfully coach in the professional game
 - Questioning the suitability, authority and competence of 'visible' minorities to successfully manage teams made up of predominantly white players
 - Negatively conceptualising 'visible' minorities in terms of perceived ethnic and cultural traits rather than in terms of their qualifications, experience and abilities as coaches
 - Negatively conceptualising the appointment of 'visible' minorities with 'uncertainty' and 'risk' and recruiting white coaches with whom they had more familiarity and social comfort

Recommendations for future action: addressing under-representation

Leadership

Professional clubs, national leagues, national federations and UEFA might consider:

- Appointing specific units with a key focus on increasing the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions across key organisations and nation states. Key responsibilities might include; collecting baseline data, target setting, implementing positive action measures, and monitoring the progress of work of this kind over time

- Conducting a full audit of the demographic background of staff involved in senior governance and operations positions. Data collection might be standardised to encourage comparability of findings across key organisations and nation states. This might provide a comprehensive benchmark figure against which progress can be measured over time.
- Conducting a review of existing practices of recruitment to senior governance and operations positions. This review might seek to examine the implementation of - and adherence to - equality legislation in employment and the extent to which recruitment practices ensure an open and transparent process for identifying, selecting, interviewing and recruiting candidates.
- Implementing a range of positive action approaches to increase the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions. This might include; target setting, quotas, co-option and committee expansion at senior governance level. It might also include; target setting and ensuring that at least one suitably qualified 'visible' minority and/or women candidate is invited for interview for all senior operations positions
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the structural and cultural barriers which have contributed to the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions. This might include information which refers to processes of stereotyping, racially closed practices of recruitment, and tendencies to recruit from within dominant (white, male) social and cultural networks.
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the benefits of gender and cultural diversity in football governance and operations. This might include information which refers to harnessing under-used talents, freshening up outlook and profile, enabling connections with more diverse constituents, and improving organisational functioning and legitimacy

Coach education

Professional clubs, national leagues, national federations and UEFA might consider:

- Appointing specific units with a key focus on increasing the representation of qualified 'visible' minority coaches and coach educators. Key responsibilities might include; collecting baseline data, target setting, implementing positive action measures and measuring the progress of work of this kind over time
- Delivering subsidised lower level coaching courses in 'minority heavy' locales. Courses of this kind might seek to provide a safe and supportive learning environment, increase self-esteem and confidence, and enhance motivations to pursue coaching careers in the professional game
- Reviewing and amending racially closed processes of identification, selection and support for high level coach education. Work of this kind might include the implementation of targeted initiatives designed to increase the qualifications, experiences and employability of 'visible' minority coaches from within and outside of the professional game
- Delivering subsidised coach educator training courses targeting highly qualified 'visible' minority coaches. Courses of this kind might increase the levels of 'visible' minority coach educators and establish a cohort of positive role models to deliver coach education across a range of locales
- Publicising the achievements of 'visible' minority coach and coach educator role models. This publicity might refer to the range of coaching roles being undertaken within football and be used as a key motivational tool to attract 'visible' minorities to pursue professional coaching careers

- Establishing a programme of cultural awareness training for all coach educators and introducing a cultural diversity element into coach education courses. Work of this kind might pay attention to the use of appropriate language and behaviours, discouraging processes of physical and cultural stereotyping, and better dealing with the demographic diversity of coaches and players
- Establishing clear mechanisms for reporting and dealing with racism in all its forms in the coach education environment. These might include; stronger measures against perpetrators of racism and clear and transparent practices for informing victims of the process and outcomes of inquiry
- Providing additional literacy, language and educational support to 'visible' minorities to help them to complete high level coaching qualifications. Attention might also be paid to ensuring delivery styles, learning techniques and methods of assessment in coach education are practiced in equitable and culturally relevant ways.

Coach employment

Professional clubs, national leagues, national federations and UEFA might consider:

- Appointing specific units with a focus on increasing the representation of qualified 'visible' minority coaches in employment across the professional coaching infrastructure. Key responsibilities might include; collecting baseline data, target setting, implementing positive action measures, and monitoring the progress of work of work of this kind over time
- Ensuring that all professional clubs and national federations adhere to legally binding equality legislation with regard to the open recruitment of coaching staff. This might include ensuring that all paid coaching positions be publicly advertised and feature a clear and transparent interview and feedback process for all candidates.
- Implementing the Rooney Rule across the professional coaching infrastructure. This might include ensuring that all professional clubs and national and regional federations invite at least one suitably qualified 'visible' minority candidate for interview for all advertised positions
- Establishing a comprehensive national database of highly qualified 'visible' minority coaches from which candidates for coaching appointments can be put forward and then selected for interview by professional clubs or national and regional federations
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the structural and cultural barriers which have contributed to the under-representation of 'visible' minority coaches in employment. This might include information which refers to processes of stereotyping, racially closed processes of coach recruitment, and tendencies to recruit coaches from within dominant (white) social and cultural networks
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the benefits of cultural diversity in football coaching. This might include information which refers to the qualifications and experiences of 'visible' minorities and the potential for improved social connectivity with players from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds, especially at youth academy level

1. Introduction

1.1 Research context

This research project has been funded by the FARE network in conjunction with UEFA. The research has been undertaken by Dr Steven Bradbury at Loughborough University (England) with additional contributions from Professor Patrick Mignon at the National Institute of Sport, Expertise and Performance (France) and Dr Jacco Van Sterkenburg at the Erasmus University Rotterdam (Netherlands). The research has two main areas of focus. Firstly, it has sought to ascertain figures as to the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior leadership and coaching positions in football in Europe. This quantitative element of the research has been undertaken by Dr Steven Bradbury. Secondly, it has sought to identify and examine the factors which have enabled or limited the career progression of elite level 'visible' minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands. This qualitative element of the research has been undertaken by Dr Steven Bradbury, Professor Patrick Mignon and Dr Jacco Van Sterkenberg in each of the respective countries under review. The overall final report has been written by Dr Steven Bradbury.

This research project builds on prior research undertaken on behalf of the FARE network and UEFA by Dr Steven Bradbury, Dr Mahfoud Amara, Dr Borja Garcia and Professor Alan Bairner at Loughborough University in 2010. This prior research focused on the representation of minorities and women as players, coaches and in leadership positions in football in Europe and featured analysis of existing academic and policy based literature and interviews with key stakeholders in the game across thirteen European countries. The findings from this prior research drew attention to a series of structural and cultural barriers which had limited the participation of minorities and women across all levels of the game throughout Europe. Further, the research suggested these patterns of under-representation were underpinned by processes and practices of institutional discrimination and tendencies for recruitment opportunities to be limited to individuals positioned within the dominant (white, male) social and cultural networks of the football industry. The research also offered a series of recommendations for future work to redress this racialised and gendered imbalance under four key headings: monitoring and evaluation, provision and practice, policies and procedures, and education, training and awareness. Dr Steven Bradbury presented these research findings at the first ever UEFA seminar on institutional discrimination in football in Amsterdam in 2011. The event was a considerable success and stimulated lively debate regarding the shape and scope of the issues at hand. Promisingly, this event secured a strong rhetorical commitment on the part of UEFA and some national federations towards reviewing existing operational practices and implementing policies designed to address institutional discrimination and increase the representation of minorities and women across all levels of the game.

1.2 Research aims and areas of focus

This research project has been designed to expand upon previous research examining issues of under-representation and institutional discrimination in football in Europe. In doing so, the research has two main areas of focus. Firstly, this research has sought to collect 'up to date' figures on the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior leadership and coaching positions in football in Europe. To this end, the research has sought to provide comprehensive benchmark figures against which progress can be measured. The research has also sought to locate these statistical findings within wider analysis which aims to identify and examine the extent and ways in which processes and practices of institutional discrimination are 'played out' in the senior governance occupational tiers of the football industry in Europe. The research also offers some recommendations for best practice and positive change in this respect.

Secondly, the research has sought to illuminate the processes and practices which have enabled or limited the career pathways of elite level 'visible' minority coaches in the professional game in three countries: England, France and the Netherlands. In doing so, the research draws on interview

narratives of forty elite level 'visible' minority coaches to 'give voice' to their experiences of accessing and undertaking coach education qualifications and coach employment. The research has sought to locate these narratives within wider analysis which outlines the extent and ways in which these experiences have been underscored by a range of structural and cultural factors, including processes and practices of institutional discrimination. Further, the research draws on interviewee narratives of 'visible' minority coaches to identify some preferred best practice designed to break the 'glass ceiling' in coach education and coach employment, and makes some recommendations for future action to this end. Further, it is the contention here that these findings are likely to have a much wider resonance beyond the countries under review in light of the increasing cultural diversity of nation states and the professional football environment across Europe.

1.3 Research methods and data collection

The findings presented in this report have been generated through the utilisation of quantitative and qualitative techniques of investigation. This mixed methodological approach has been designed to provide some statistical breadth and textual depth to the issues under review. It was also designed to overcome some of the key difficulties of conducting research of this kind. In particular, the lack of existing empirical data collected by football bodies on the ethnicity and gender of individuals in senior governance, operational or coaching positions and the largely speculative nature of previous research in this area. Also, the tendencies for some prior research and policy making bodies to 'speak about' rather than 'give voice' to the experiences of 'visible' minority coaches. To this end, this research represents an ambitious attempt to fill the existing 'knowledge vacuum' around issues of under-representation and institutional discrimination in football in Europe.

Efforts to identify and examine the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership and coaching positions in football in Europe drew mainly on an extensive desk-based and web-based review of available information. **This review was conducted in October 2013.** In the first instance, this included liaising with key stakeholders at UEFA, national football bodies, NGO's and the FARE network to access policy documents and records relating to the ethnicity and gender of individuals in senior governance, operations and coaching positions across the organisational tiers of the game under review. This initial round of data collection engendered only limited information to this end. In the second instance, the lead researcher conducted an extensive web-based search to ascertain the ethnicity and gender of individuals within these specific occupational realms of the European game. Whilst many of these official public websites had English translation, others did not. In these latter cases, the lead researcher used web-based translation tools to overcome apparent linguistic difficulties. Overall, using this method, the lead researcher accessed and cross referenced the names, images and occupational status of a sample group of 4,608 individuals in senior governance, operations and coaching positions drawn from 54 countries across Europe. Whilst this methodological approach provided a useful tool to identify the levels of representation of women, it represented a relative crude and less definitive mechanism for recognising and classifying the identities of 'visible' minorities. To this end, it is likely here that this method has slightly underplayed the levels of non-black 'visible' minorities within this broader classification. Nonetheless, in the absence of existing empirical data collected by football bodies on this score, the findings featured in this report represent the most comprehensive efforts thus far to quantify the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership and coaching positions in football in Europe.

Efforts to examine the experiences of elite level 'visible' minority coaches in accessing and undertaking coach education qualifications and coach employment drew mainly on interview based findings. More specifically, the research team conducted extensive semi-structured interviews with elite level 'visible' minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands. **These interviews were conducted between July 2013 and December 2013.** The interviews were conducted in English, French or Dutch and this allowed interviewees to talk openly and articulate their experiences in

their own language and in their own terms of reference. The interviews yielded in-depth and informative data which helped to illuminate the processes and practices which had enabled or limited the progression of 'visible' minority coaches along the coach education and coach employment pathway. The interviews also helped to confirm or repudiate the prior analytical contentions of the research team and allowed the lead researcher to draw out some commonalities and differences of experiences across axis of the ethnicity and nationality of interviewees. All interviewees remain anonymous in this report in order to negate any issues of personal and professional sensitivities and to observe key ethical considerations.

In the context of this report, the term 'visible' minority is used as a broad descriptive marker to refer to ethnically, culturally, and, sometimes, religiously, distinct populations drawn from non-European heritage who presently reside in European countries in which they make up a numerical minority. These 'visible' minorities include first, second and third generation populations drawn from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Middle East and account for an estimated 4% of the total population of Europe. In the context of this report, they also include the 'special case' of Turkish population's resident outside of trans-continental Turkey whose ethnic, cultural and religious 'visibility' is arguably heightened in their new countries of settlement in Western Europe. This broad definition of 'visible' minorities is also premised on the recognition that 'visible' minority status is both objectively ascribed (by the dominant society) and subjectively applied (by 'visible' minority groups) as a means marking out ethnic, cultural, religious difference. The term 'visible' minority here does not apply here to national minorities such as Basques in Spain, cultural minorities such as Roma in Italy, or religious minorities such as Jewish groups across Europe, where such minorities could broadly be described as White. Further, the term does not apply to White economic in-migrants drawn from EU accession countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

1.4 Structure of the report

This report is broken down into two key thematic sections.

The first section will begin by presenting statistical findings on **the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions in football in Europe**. In doing so, this section will outline the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and senior operations positions across the following four organisational tiers of the game in Europe:

- Elite level professional clubs (men's)
- National league associations
- National football federations
- UEFA

This section will also include wider analysis of the extent and ways in which processes and practices of institutional discrimination have impacted on shaping the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women across these organisational tiers of the European game.

The second section will begin by presenting statistical findings on **the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in coaching positions in football in Europe**. In doing so, this section will outline the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior coaching positions across the following three tiers of the game in Europe:

- Elite level professional clubs (men's)
- National teams (men's)
- National teams (women's)

This second section will then offer a more qualitative focus on **the experiences of elite level 'visible' minority coaches in accessing and undertaking coach education qualifications and coach**

employment in England, France and the Netherlands. In doing so, this section will begin by examining the national political, football and coach education context in each of the countries under review. The section will then draw on interviewee data with elite level 'visible' minority coaches to identify and explain the factors which have enabled or limited their progression across the **coach education** pathway. To this end, the section will focus on the following five key areas of analysis which emerged strongly from interviewee narratives:

- Personal and professional motivations
- Lack of 'visible' minority coach role models
- Access, opportunities and networks
- Content, delivery and outcomes
- Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

This section will then draw on interviewee data with elite level 'visible' minority coaches to identify and explain the factors which have enabled or limited their opportunities to access and undertake **coaching employment** at professional clubs. In doing so, the research will focus on the following five key areas of analysis which emerged strongly from interviewee narratives:

- Personal and professional motivations
- Lack of 'visible' minority coach role models
- Qualifications, experiences and employability
- Access, opportunities and networks
- Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

Finally, the research will draw on the interviewee narratives of 'visible' minority coaches to identify some preferred models of best practice and will make a series of recommendations designed to help break the 'glass ceiling' to progression in coach education and coach employment.

2. Levels of representation in leadership positions in football in Europe

2.1 Senior football governance

2.1.1 Overall organisational findings

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 2,195 senior governance positions in football in Europe. More specifically, they refer to the demographic backgrounds of individuals holding president, vice-president and executive committee positions across the following organisational tiers of the game: elite level professional clubs, national league associations, national football federations, and UEFA. To this end, the findings here provide an empirically informed estimate as to the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance positions across the elite echelons of the sport.

Figure 1: Levels of representation in senior governance positions in Europe: overall

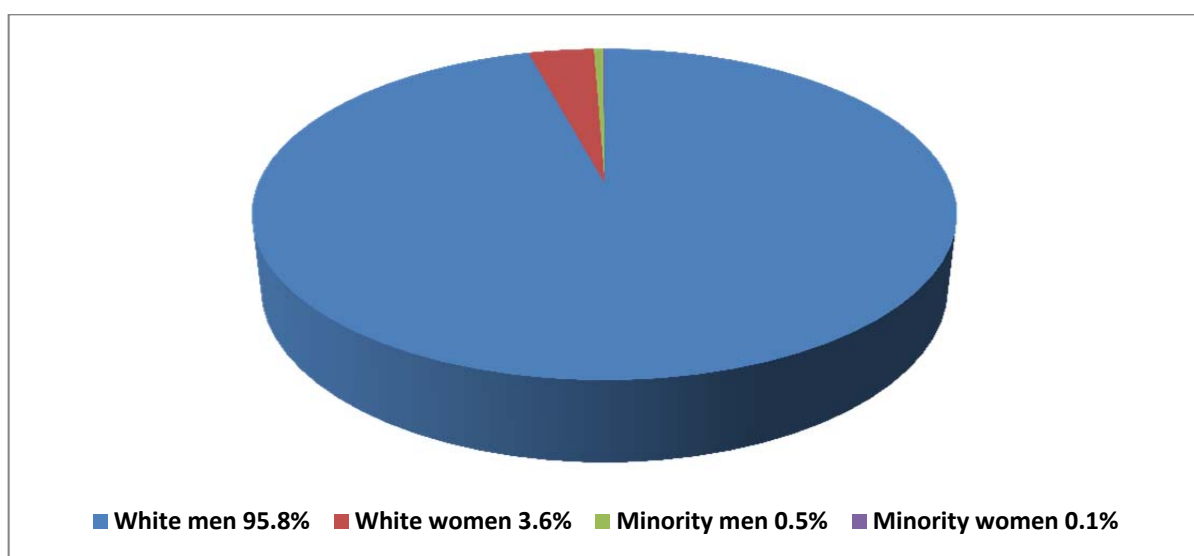


Figure 2: Levels of representation in senior governance positions in Europe: organisations

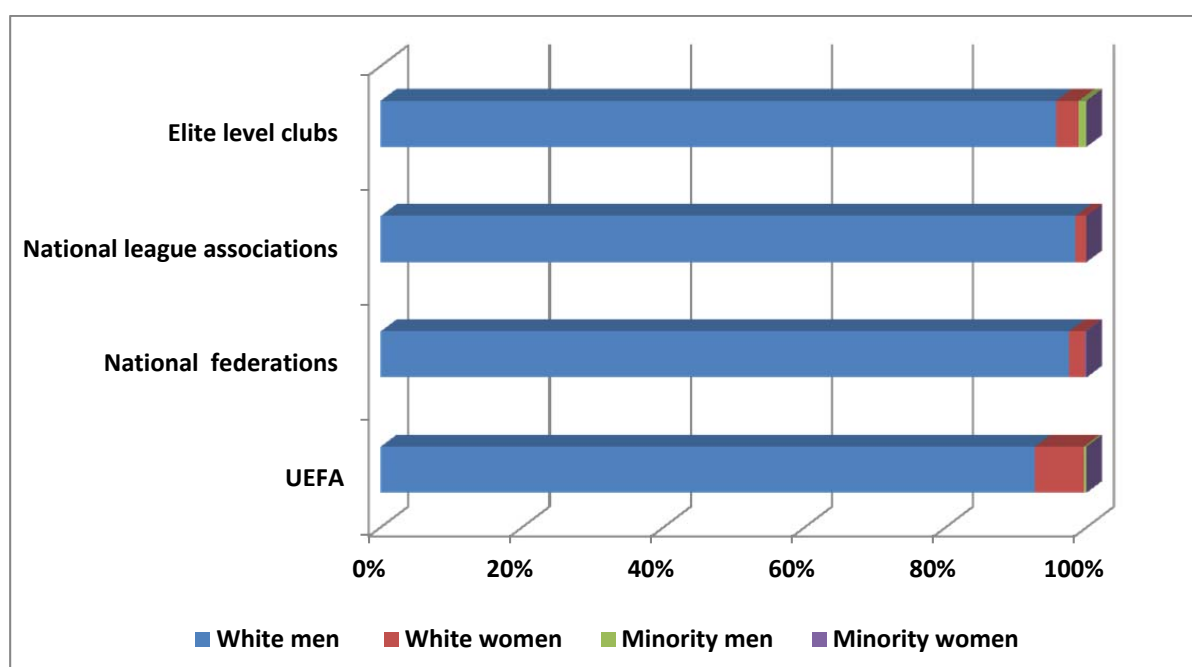


Table 1: Level of representation in senior governance positions in Europe: organisations

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Elite level professional clubs	95.7%	3.2%	1.1%	0%	100%
National league associations	98.4%	1.6%	0%	0%	100%
National federations	97.5%	2.3%	0%	0.2%	100%
UEFA	92.7%	6.9%	0.4%	0%	100%
Total:	95.8%	3.6%	0.5%	0.1%	100%

The findings in Figure 1 provide overall figures for the levels of representation in senior governance positions in football in Europe. They indicate that 95.8% of all senior governance positions are held by white men, 3.5% by white women, 0.5% by ‘visible’ minority men and 0.1% by ‘visible’ minority women. The findings in Figure 2 and Table 1 refer to levels of representation in senior governance positions across key organisational bodies in the European game. They indicate that whilst the representation of women is slightly higher at UEFA, there is a general comparability between all organisations in terms of the relatively low numbers of ‘visible’ minorities and women at senior governance level.

2.1.2 Elite level clubs senior governance

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 959 senior governance positions at 132 elite level professional clubs across seven countries: England, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands. They include presidents and vice presidents at 132 elite level clubs and executive committee members at 106 clubs of this kind.

Table 2: Elite level clubs overall: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Presidents	95.5%	0%	4.5%	0%	100%
Vice-presidents	95.5%	1.5%	3%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	95.8%	4.1%	0.1%	0%	100%
Total	95.7%	3.2%	1.1%	0%	100%

Overall, 95.7% of all senior governance positions at elite level professional clubs across the seven countries under review were held by white men. A further 3.2% were held by white women and 1.1% by ‘visible’ minority men. No positions of this kind were held by ‘visible’ minority women. In total, 95.5% of presidents and vice-presidents were white men. A further 4.5% of presidents and 3% of vice presidents were ‘visible’ minority men drawn from ‘global’ rather than ‘local’ visible minorities. Two white women (1.5%) held vice president positions. A further 95.8% of executive committee positions at elite level clubs were held by white men, 4.1% were held by white women and 0.1% by ‘visible’ minority men.

Table 3: English Premier League clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Presidents	85%	0%	15%	0%	100%
Vice-presidents	85%	0%	15%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	89.2%	6.8%	3%	0%	100%
Total	87.6%	4.9%	7.5%	0%	100%

Overall, 87.6% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs in England were held by white men. A further 4.5% were held by white women and 7.9% by 'visible' minority men. No positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minority women. In total, 85% of presidents and vice-presidents at elite level clubs in England were white men and 15% were 'global' 'visible' minority men drawn from Malaysia, Pakistan, India and the United Arab Emirates. No women held president or vice president positions at elite level clubs in England. In total, 89.2% of executive committee positions at elite level clubs in England were held by white men, 6.8% were held by white women and 4% by 'global' 'visible' minority men. Overall, 20% of elite level clubs in England featured women delegates at executive committee level. These clubs were Norwich City, Sunderland, West Ham United and Tottenham Hotspur. Clubs with 'visible' minority executive committee delegates (15%) were Fulham, Manchester City and Queens Park Rangers.

Table 4: German Bundesliga clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
President	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Vice-president	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	97.2%	2.1%	0.7%	0%	100%
Total	97.7%	1.7%	0.6%	0%	100%

Overall, 97.7% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs in Germany were held by white men. A further 1.7% were held by white women and 0.5% by 'visible' minority men. No positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minority women. In total, all presidents (100%) and vice presidents (100%) at elite level clubs in Germany were white men. A further 97.1% of executive committee positions at these clubs were held by white men, 2.2% by white women and 0.7% by 'visible' minority men. In total, 16.7% of elite level clubs in Germany featured women delegates at executive committee level. These clubs were; Bayern Munich, Hannover and HSV. Only HSV featured 'visible' minority executive committee members.

Table 5: Spanish Primera League clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
President	95%	0%	5%	0%	100%
Vice-president	95%	0%	5%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	91.5%	8.5%	0%	0%	100%
Total	92.4%	6.3%	1.3%	0%	100%

Overall, 92.4% of senior governance positions at elite level clubs in Spain were held by white men, 6.3% were held by white women and 1.3% by 'visible' minority men. Almost all presidents (95%) and vice presidents (95%) at elite level clubs in Spain were white men and 5% were 'global' 'visible' minority men from Qatari backgrounds. No women held president or vice president positions at Spanish Primera League clubs. In total, 91.5% of executive committee positions at elite level clubs in Spain were held by white men and 8.5% were held by white women. In total, 30% of elite level clubs in Spain featured women delegates at executive committee level. These clubs included; Seville, Atletico Bilbao, Real Sociedad, Real Betis, Espanyol and Villarreal.

Table 6: Belgian Jupiler Pro League clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
President	93.8%	0%	6.2%	0%	100%
Vice-president	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	96.3%	3.7%	0%	0%	100%
Total	96.5%	2.6%	0.9%	0%	100%

Overall, 96.5% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs in Belgium were held by white men. A further 2.6% were held by white women and 0.9% by ‘visible’ minority men. No positions of this kind were held by ‘visible’ minority women. In total, almost all presidents (93.8%) and all vice presidents (100%) at elite level clubs in Belgium were white men. One president was a ‘global’ ‘visible’ minority male from an Egyptian background. No women held president or vice president positions at elite level clubs in Belgium. A further 96.3% of executive committee positions at these clubs were held by white men and 3.7% by white women. Only two clubs featured women delegates at executive committee level: Mechelen and Zulte Waregem.

Table 7: French Ligue 1 clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
President	95%	0%	5%	0%	100%
Vice-president	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	98.9%	0%	1.1%	0%	100%

Overall, 98.9% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs in France were held by white men. A further 1.1% were held by ‘visible’ minority men. No positions of this kind were held by women (at least within the relatively small sample group of nine Ligue 1 clubs where data on executive committee membership was available). In total, almost all presidents (95%) and all vice presidents (100%) at elite level clubs in France were white men. One president was a ‘global’ ‘visible’ minority male drawn from a Qatari background. Further, all executive committee members within this relatively small sample group of elite levels clubs in France were white men.

Table 8: Italian Serie A clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
President	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Vice-president	90%	10%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	94.3%	5.7%	0%	0%	100%
Total	94.4%	5.6%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 94.4% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs in Italy were held by white men and 5.6% were held by white women. No positions of this kind were held by ‘visible’ minorities. All presidents (100%) and almost all vice-presidents (90%) at elite level clubs in Italy were white men. Two vice-presidents were white women: at Napoli and Sampdoria respectively. A further 94.3% of executive committee positions were held by white men and 5.7% were held by white women. In total, 30% of Italian elite level clubs featured women delegates at executive committee level. These clubs included; Inter Milan, Juventus, Napoli, Parma, Roma and Udinese.

Table 9: Dutch Eredivisie 1 clubs: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
President	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Vice-president	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	97%	3%	0%	0%	100%
Total	97.8%	2.2%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 97.8% of all senior governance positions at elite level clubs in the Netherlands were held by white men and 2.2% were held by white women. No positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minorities. All presidents (100%) and vice-presidents (100%) at elite level clubs in the Netherlands were white men. A further 97% of executive committee positions were held by white men and 3% were held by white women. In total, 16.7% of Dutch elite level clubs featured women delegates at executive committee level. These clubs included; SC Heerenveen, PEC Zwolle, and AZ Alkmaar.

2.1.3 National league association's senior governance

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 187 senior governance positions at 48 national league associations. They include 48 presidents, 40 vice presidents national league associations and executive committee members at 15 national league associations.

Table 10: National league associations overall: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Presidents	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Vice-presidents	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	97%	2%	0%	0%	100%
Total	98.4%	1.1%	0.5%	0%	100%

Overall, 98.4% of all senior governance positions at national league associations were held by white men. A further 1.1% were held by white women and 0.5% by 'visible' minority men. No 'visible' minority women held senior governance positions at national league associations. In total, all presidents (100%) and vice-presidents (100%) at national league associations were white men. Further, 97% of executive committee positions at national league associations were held by white men. A further 2% of positions of this kind were held by white women and 1% by 'visible' minority men. In total, 14.3% of national league associations featured women delegates and 7.2% featured 'visible' minority delegates at executive committee level. The national league association in France was the only organisation of its kind across Europe to feature women and 'visible' minority delegates at executive committee level.

2.1.4 National federation's senior governance

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 598 senior governance positions at 54 national football federations within UEFA jurisdiction. They focus on president and vice president positions at 54 national federations and executive committee member positions at a sample group of 35 national federations.

Table 11: National federations overall: senior governance positions

In total, 97.5% of all senior governance positions at national federations were held by white men. A further 2.3% were held by white women and 0.2% by 'visible' minority women. No senior governance positions at national federations were held by 'visible' minority men. All presidents

(100%) and most vice-presidents (94.5%) at national federations were white men. Three vice-president positions at national federations were held by white women: in Estonia, Sweden and Norway respectively.

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Presidents	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Vice-presidents	94.5%	5.5%	0%	0%	100%
Executive committee members	96.3%	3.4%	0%	0.3%	100%
Total	97.5%	2.3%	0%	0.2%	100%

In total, 96.3% of executive committee positions at national federations were held by white men. A further 3.4% were held by white women and 0.3% by 'visible' minority women. Overall, 28.6% of all national federations featured women delegates at executive committee level. These national federations were drawn mainly from countries in North West Europe, including, most notably, Sweden and Norway. Only one national federation across Europe featured any 'visible' minorities at executive committee level. This was in England and the delegate was a 'visible' minority woman.

2.1.5 UEFA senior governance

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 451 senior governance positions at UEFA. They include positions within the senior executive committee, organs for the administration of justice, expert panels and committees.

Table 12: UEFA overall: senior governance positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Senior executive committee positions	96.6%	3.4%	0%	0%	100%
Organs for the administration of justice	93.6%	6.4%	0%	0%	100%
Expert panels	94.6%	5.4%	0%	0%	100%
Expert committees	91.5%	7.8%	0.7%	0%	100%
Total:	92.7%	6.9%	0.4%	0%	100%

Table 13: UEFA senior executive committee positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Executive committee	16	1	0	0	17
Honorary members	12	0	0	0	12
Total:	28 (96.6%)	1 (3.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)

Table 14: UEFA organs for the administration of justice

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Composition of disciplinary bodies	9	0	0	0	9
Appeals body instance	10	2	0	0	12
Disciplinary inspectors	12	1	0	0	13
Club financial control panel	5	0	0	0	5
Investigatory chamber	8	0	0	0	8
Total:	44 (93.6%)	3 (6.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	47 (100%)

Table 15: UEFA expert panels

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Administrative expert panel	16	0	0	0	16
Stadium construction and expert panel	16	1	0	0	17
Grassroots football panel	31	2	0	0	33
Referee convention panel	15	1	0	0	16
Anti-doping panel	9	1	0	0	10
Total	87 (94.6%)	5 (5.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	92 (100%)

Table 16: UEFA: expert committees

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Professional football strategy council	19	0	2	0	21
National associations committee	17	0	0	0	17
Finance committee	5	0	0	0	5
Referees committee	14	1	0	0	15
National teams competitions committee	17	0	0	0	17
Clubs competition committee	15	0	0	0	15
Youth and amateur football committee	17	0	0	0	17
Women's football committee	3	13	0	0	16
Futsal and beach soccer committee	14	0	0	0	14
Hat trick committee	15	2	0	0	17
Development and technical assistance	14	1	0	0	15
Club licensing committee	14	1	0	0	15
Stadium and security committee	14	1	0	0	15
Medical committee	13	1	0	0	14
Player/status/transfers/agents/committee	12	0	0	0	12
Legal committee	15	0	0	0	15
Marketing advisory committee	14	1	0	0	15
Media committee	14	0	0	0	14
Fair play/social responsibility committee	13	1	0	0	14
Football committee	17	0	0	0	17
Total	260 (91.5%)	1 (7.7%)	0 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	14 (100%)

Overall, 92.7% of senior governance positions at UEFA were held by white men. A further 6.7% were held by white women and 0.5% by 'visible' minority men. No positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minority women. Almost all (97.2%) chair-person positions at UEFA organs, committees and panels were held by white men. One white woman is the chair-person of UEFA women's football committee. In total, 52.2% of UEFA organs, committees and panels featured only male delegates and 48.8% featured women delegates. Further, 13 out of a total of 31 senior governance positions at UEFA held by women were at the UEFA women's football committee: accounting for 41.9% of all women delegates. Women holding senior governance positions were drawn from 22 national federations from a range of diverse regions across Europe. In total, only four national federations had more than one woman delegate in senior governance positions at UEFA: France, England, Republic of Ireland and Ukraine. In total, 96.8% of UEFA organs, committees and panels featured only white delegates and 3.2% featured 'visible' minority delegates. 'Visible' minority delegates were only present at the UEFA Professional Football Strategy Council and as representatives of the European FIFPRO Division. These two delegates were English and French men respectively.

2.2 Senior football operations

2.2.1 Overall organisational findings

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 1,741 senior operations positions in football in Europe. More specifically, they refer to the demographic backgrounds of individuals holding positions of this kind across the following organisational tiers of the game: elite level professional clubs, national league associations, national football federations and UEFA. In terms of elite level clubs, national league associations and national federations, senior operations positions include; Chief Executive or General Director positions and heads of general administration, finance, legal, media and communications, commercial and business, marketing, competitions, club licensing, ticketing, human resources and stadium and safety management. In terms of UEFA, senior operations positions include directors and heads of units. To this end, the findings here provide an empirically informed estimate as to the levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior operations positions across the elite echelons of the sport.

Figure 3: Levels of representation in senior operations positions in Europe: overall

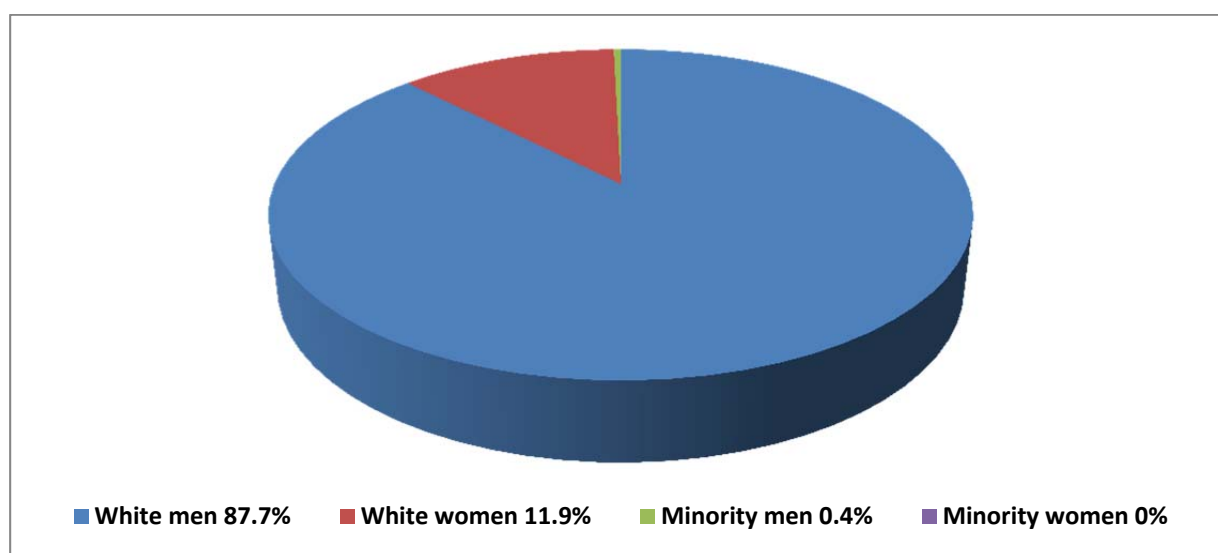


Figure 4: Levels of representation in senior operations positions in Europe: organisations

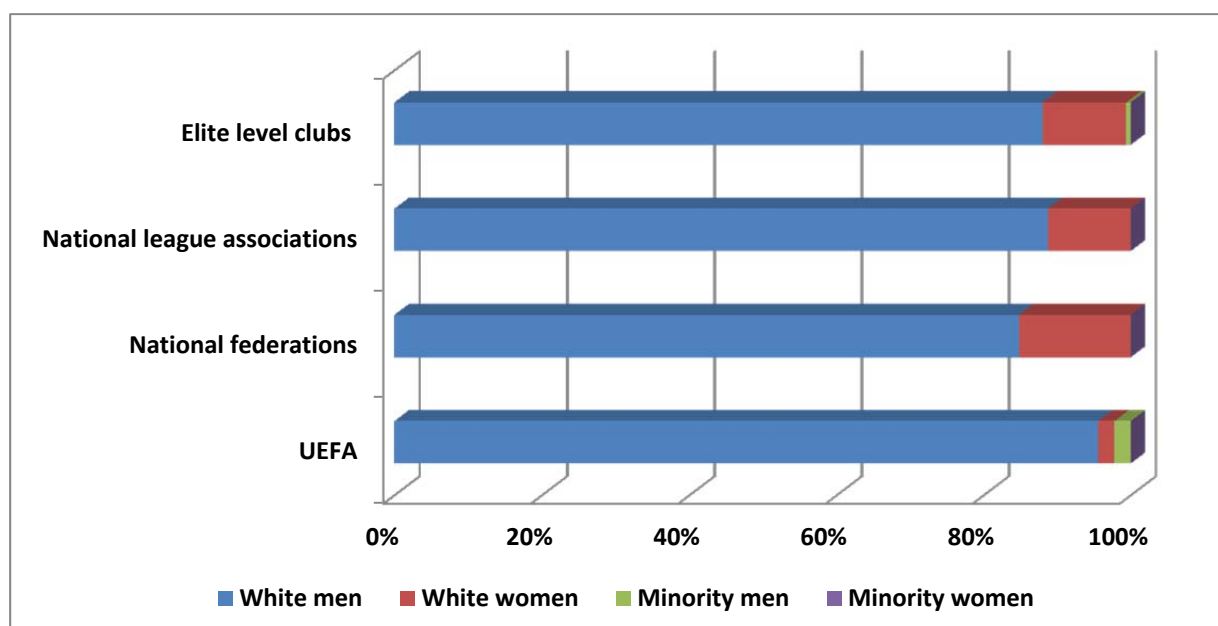


Table 17: Levels of representation in senior operations positions in Europe: organisations

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Elite level professional clubs	88.1%	11.4%	0.5%	0%	100%
National league associations	88.7%	11.3%	0%	0%	100%
National federations	86.4%	15.4%	0%	0%	100%
UEFA	95.6%	2.2%	2.2%	0%	100%
Total:	87.7%	11.9%	0.4%	0%	100%

The findings in Figure 3 provide overall figures for the levels of representation in senior operations positions in football in Europe. They indicate that 87.7% of all senior operations positions were held by white men, 11.9% by white women and 0.4% by ‘visible’ minority men. The findings in Figure 4 and Table 17 refer to levels of representation in senior operations positions at key organisational bodies in the European game. In the first instance, these figures indicate some comparability between elite level clubs, national league associations and national federations in terms of the relatively low numbers of ‘visible’ minorities and women at senior operations level and the lower numbers of women in positions of this kind at UEFA. Further, whilst the numbers of women in senior operations positions is greater than comparable figures for women in senior governance positions at national federations, national league associations and elite level clubs, the reverse is true at UEFA.

2.2.2 Elite level clubs overall: senior operations positions

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 1,273 senior operations positions at 132 elite level clubs across seven countries: England, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands. They include CEO/General Director positions and other senior operations positions at 132 elite level clubs. These other senior operations positions include; heads of general administration, finance, legal, media and communications, commercial and business, marketing, ticketing, human resources, and stadium and safety management.

Table 18: Elite level clubs overall: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	98.5%	1.5%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	86.4%	12.8%	0.6%	0%	100%
Total	88.1%	11.4%	0.5%	0%	100%

Overall, 88.1% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs across the seven countries under review were held by white men. A further 11.4% of positions of this kind were held by white women and 0.5% by ‘visible’ minority men. No positions of this kind were held by ‘visible’ minority women. In total, 98.5% of CEO/General Directors were white men. The two female CEO/General Directors (1.5%) in the sample group were both at elite level clubs in England. A further 86.4% of senior operations positions at elite level clubs were held by white men, 12.8% were held by white women and 0.6% by ‘visible’ minority men. In total, 63% of elite level clubs across all seven countries under review featured female staff in senior operations positions. Female senior operations staff were most apparent in finance, marketing and media and communications positions. Only six elite level clubs (4.5%) within the sample group employed ‘visible’ minorities in senior operational positions. ‘Visible’ minority senior operations staff were employed in ticketing or stadium and safety management positions in England and France.

Table 19: English Premier League clubs: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	90%	10%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	80.3%	18.4%	1.3%	0%	100%
Total	81.4%	17.4%	1.2%	0%	100%

In total, 81.4% of senior operations positions at elite level clubs in England were held by white men. A further 17.4% of positions of this kind were held by white women and 1.2% by 'visible' minority men. No senior operations positions at elite level clubs in England were held by 'visible' minority women. Almost all CEO/General Directors (90%) at elite level clubs in England were white men and 10% were white women: at Sunderland and West Ham United respectively. A further, 80.3% of senior operations positions at elite level clubs were held white men, 18.4% were held by white women and 1.3% by 'visible' minority men. In total, 75% of elite level clubs in England featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were most apparent in general secretary, finance, ticketing and media and communication positions. A further 10% of elite level clubs in England featured 'visible' minority staff at senior operations level in ticketing and stadium and safety management positions.

Table 20: German Bundesliga 1 clubs: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	91%	9%	0%	0%	100%
Total	92.5%	7.5%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 92.5% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs in Germany were held by white men and 7.5% were held by white women. No senior operations positions were held by 'visible' minorities. In total, all CEO/General Director positions (100%) were held by white men. A further 91% of senior operations positions were held by white men and 9% were held by white women. In total, 33% of elite level clubs in Germany featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were most apparent in marketing and media and communication positions.

Table 21: Spanish Primera League clubs: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	90.8%	9.2%	0%	0%	100%
Total	91.4%	8.6%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 91.4 of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs in Spain were held by white men and 8.6% were held by white women. No senior operations positions were held by 'visible' minorities. All CEO/General Director positions (100%) at elite level clubs in Spain were held by white men. A further 89.1% of senior operations positions were held by white men and 10.9% were held by white women. In total, 65% of elite level clubs in Spain featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were most apparent in key administration roles, marketing and media/communication positions.

Table 22: Belgian Jupiler Pro League: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	83.6%	16.4%	0%	0%	100%
Total	86.4%	13.6%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 86.4% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs in Belgium were held by white men and 13.6% were held by white women. No senior operations positions were held by ‘visible’ minorities. In total, all CEO/General Directors (100%) at elite level clubs in Belgium were white men. A further 83.6% of senior operations positions were held by white men and 16.4% were held by white women. In total, 50% of elite level clubs in Belgium featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were most apparent in marketing and ticketing positions.

Table 23: French Ligue 1: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	85%	12.5%	2.5%	0%	100%
Total	86.4%	11.4%	2.3%	0%	100%

Overall, 86.4% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs in France were held by white men. A further 11.3% of senior operations positions were held by white women and 2.3% by ‘visible’ minority men. No positions of this kind were held by ‘visible’ minority women. All CEO/General Directors (100%) at elite level clubs in France were white men. A further 85% of senior operations positions were held by white men, 12.5% were held by white women, and 2.5% by ‘visible’ minority men. In total, 65% of elite level clubs in France featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were most apparent in administrative director, finance, and ticketing positions. Two elite level clubs featured ‘visible’ minority men in senior operations positions, in commercial/business and stadium and safety management roles.

Table 24: Italian Serie A clubs: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	87.4%	12.6%	0%	0%	100%
Total	88.4%	11.6%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 88.4% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs in Italy were held by white men and 11.6% were held by white women. No positions of this kind were held by ‘visible’ minorities. All CEO/General Directors (100%) at elite level clubs in Italy were white men. A further 87.4% of other senior operations positions were held by white men and 12.6% were held by white women. In total, 90% of elite level clubs in Italy featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were apparent in a range of positions at clubs, including, legal, finance, ticketing, marketing, and media and communication roles.

Table 25: Dutch Eredivisie 1 clubs: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	87.9%	12.1%	0%	0%	100%
Total	88.6%	11.4%	0%	0%	100%

In total, 88.6% of all senior operations positions at elite level clubs in the Netherlands were held by white men and 11.4% were held by white women. No positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minorities. All CEO/General Directors (100%) at elite level clubs in the Netherlands were white men. A further 87.9% of other senior operations positions were held by white men and 12.1% were held by white women. In total, 56% of elite level clubs in the Netherlands featured female staff at senior operations level. Female senior operations staff were apparent in finance, marketing and media and communication positions.

2.2.3 National league association's senior operations

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 116 senior operational positions at a sample group of 26 national league associations. They include CEO/General Director positions and other senior operations positions including; heads of general administration, finance, legal, , commercial and business, media and communications, marketing, competitions, club licensing, and human resources.

Table 26: National league associations overall: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	85.6%	14.4%	0%	0%	100%
Total	88.7%	11.3%	0%	0%	100%

In total, 88.7% of senior operations positions at national league associations were held by white men. A further 11.3% were held by white women. No senior operations positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minorities. All CEO/General Director positions (100%) at national league associations were held by white men. A further 85.6% of senior operations positions were held by white men and 14.4% by white women. In total, 30.8% of national league associations from a broad geographical spread of countries across Europe featured female staff at senior operational level. Female senior operational staff at national league associations were most apparent in media/communication and finance positions.

2.2.4 National federation's senior operations

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 306 senior operations positions at 54 national football federations. They include CEO/General Director positions and other senior operations positions including; heads of general administration, finance, legal, media and communications, commercial and business, marketing, competitions, ticketing, human resources and stadium and safety management.

Overall, 84.6% of all senior operations positions at national federations were held by white men and 15.4% were held by white women. No senior operations positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minorities. Almost all (98.1%) CEO/General Directors at national federations were white men. One CEO/General Director was a white woman: in Estonia.

Table 27: National federations overall: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
CEO/Director	96.2%	3.8%	0%	0%	100%
Senior management positions	82.1%	17.9%	0%	0%	100%
Total	84.6%	15.4%	0%	0%	100%

In total, 82.1% of senior operations positions were held by white men and a further 17.9% by white women. Overall, 38.9% of national federations across a broad geographical spread featured female staff at senior operational level. Female senior operational staffs at national federations were most apparent in finance, legal, and media and communications positions.

2.2.5 UEFA senior operations

The findings in this section are based on analysis of a relatively small sample group of 46 senior operations positions at UEFA. They include; nine directorial positions and 37 head of unit positions with key responsibility for the administration of UEFA programmes and services.

Table 28: UEFA overall: senior operations positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Directors	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Heads of unit	94.6%	2.7%	2.7%	0%	100%
Total	95.6%	2.2%	2.2%	0%	100%

In total, 95.6% of senior operations positions at UEFA were held by white men. A further 2.2% were held by white women and 2.2% by 'visible' minority men. No positions of this kind were held by 'visible' minority women. Within this cohort of senior operations staff, all Directors (100%) and almost all Heads of Unit (94.6%) were white men. One Head of Unit was female (2.7%) and one was a 'visible' minority male (2.7%). Further analysis of data indicates that senior operation staff at UEFA were drawn from 13 different nationalities, including; Swiss, French, British, Dutch, German Greek, Romanian, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, Irish and Korean.

2.3 Analysis of statistical findings

2.3.1 Under-representation and institutional discrimination

The empirical findings referred to above indicate the overall low level levels of representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions across a range of organisational tiers of the game in Europe. Drawing on prior research undertaken on behalf of the FARE network and UEFA by Bradbury et al (2011) this section offers further analysis which seeks to contextualise these statistical findings within discussions about representation and institutional discrimination. In doing so, it outlines the ways in which a series of structural and cultural factors have limited equality of opportunities and outcomes for 'visible' minorities and women across the elite echelons of the organisation of the sport.

In the first instance, the low levels of 'visible' minorities and women cannot be divorced from wider racial and gender equalities which have limited opportunities for social, educational and occupational advancement across a range of national contexts in Europe. For example, the incidence and impacts of overt, coded and institutional forms of racism and sexism which have positioned 'visible' minorities and women disadvantageously across a range of social, economic and cultural relations. Whilst racial and gendered inequalities differ markedly between groups within and across

nation states in Europe there remain some shared experiences of marginalisation in this respect. To this end, these wider racial and gender inequities can be understood to have had a contributory cumulative impact in limiting the 'diversity pool' of suitably qualified candidates for senior governance and operations positions in football in some countries in Europe. This is especially the case in countries where racial and gender equality has been awarded little priority in national political agendas and/or where there are few 'visible' minorities within national populations. Relatedly, the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions in football is also likely to be informed by the intersection between ethnicity, gender and the generational distribution of positions of this kind. That is, in football, as in the wider business sector, senior governance and operations positions tend to be 'reserved' for older applicants. This is likely to favour white applicants in some countries by virtue of their statistically older age distribution in comparison to younger 'visible' minority populations. These factors are also likely to gravitate against younger women applicants as a result of negative perceptions as to their capacities to balance domestic obligations and family commitments with the potential high time and travel demands of positions of this kind.

However, the low levels of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions in football in Europe are arguably much more informed by processes and practices of institutional discrimination embedded within the football industry. In the first instance, this is evidenced through the tendencies of many of football's key stakeholder bodies to operate a series of relatively closed approaches to recruitment to the senior echelons of the governance and administration of the sport. For example, few national bodies or elite level clubs publicly advertise senior operations positions, preferring instead to allocate positions of this kind on the basis of personal recommendations and through 'word of mouth' networks. To this end, there is some significant parity between the recruitment for senior operations positions and the recruitment of team managers, coaches and players. In particular, senior operations staff are often targeted and 'head-hunted' from a pre-existing knowledge bank of potential candidates. These standard mechanisms of 'white collar' recruitment gravitate against 'visible' minorities and women who are positioned outside of the dominant (white, male) social and cultural networks which typify the football industry. Similar patterns or institutional closure are evident within the hierarchical pyramid structures of European and national federations with responsibilities for the governance of the game across the continent. Here, initial access to executive decision making committees is largely premised on the sponsored mobility, patronage and personal recommendations of more senior figures within these governing bodies. These 'promotions' are commonly perceived as a reward to individuals for their paid or voluntary service to football in their regions or at a national level. Such institutionally closed practices of selection, recruitment and promotion tend to favour individuals from recognisable (white, male) backgrounds with similar cultural and gendered norms, values and behaviours to key power brokers in the game. To this end, it is hardly surprising that 'visible' minorities and women continue to be marginalised from accessing these insider networks.

To some extent these practices of recruitment reflect the largely unintentional and indirect nature of institutional discrimination and the inevitable inequity of its outcomes. However, the lack of action to address the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions on the part of governing bodies also indicates some deeply embedded 'cultures of resistance' to more equitable change in this respect. This is especially the case in countries which exhibit rigid models of overtly masculine identity and national citizenship and where there has been a general deprioritisation of efforts to address racial and gender discrimination in societal and sporting contexts. In these countries, where attitudes to racial and gender equality remain a little less socially progressive, the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions in football seems more apparent. It is probably also the case that these 'cultures of resistance' also indicate a more general lack of problem awareness and non-acknowledgement of the concept, practice and outcomes of institutional discrimination. Such positions allude to the normativity and privilege of whiteness and masculinity within the senior organisational tiers of the game and allow for conceptualisations of discrimination which negate any sense of inward gaze or critical self-

reflection. From such perspectives, the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions in football is felt to result solely from wider societal exclusions or as being informed by the negatively perceived properties of marginalised groups, rather than being shaped and maintained by the everyday practices embedded in the organisations in which dominant groups in football have prospered. Finally, it is also likely that resistance to challenge institutional discrimination and implement actions to support more equitable change is simply reflective of a general reluctance to surrender accrued rewards and decision making powers at the personal level.

Where the statistical findings above indicate more positive accounts of the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in leadership positions, it is largely underpinned by the notion that racial and gender diversity is a positive resource which should be recognised, developed, and utilised to the benefits of individuals and organisations. These models of thought have been most strongly aligned to nation states which have pursued policies supporting racial and gender equality and where football governing bodies have long established mechanisms for ensuring equality of outcomes at all levels of the game. A key component of more progressive approaches has been through the implementation of practices of 'positive action', incorporating methods such as target setting, co-option and quotas. For example, as evidenced in the work of the Norwegian FA to ensure the throughput of suitably qualified women into the senior governance tiers of the sport. These methods of positive action seek to move beyond 'neutral criteria' approaches to recruitment which is perceived to contribute to - rather than sufficiently redress - patterns of under-representation amongst key groups. In doing so, they explicitly recognise and attempt to counter processes and practices of institutional discrimination and challenge white, male, hegemonic power relations which contribute to the status quo of racial and gender relations. To this end, such approaches have a particular resonance as a mechanism through which to 'open up' the relatively closed mechanism of recruitment to senior governance and operations positions across the organisational tiers of football in Europe. In doing so, such positive actions measures are likely to harness previously under-used and under-valued talents and freshen-up the outlook and profile of football bodies to help them to better connect with their increasingly diverse range of constituents. Further, they are likely to add significant practical and cultural value to the functioning and legitimacy of these organisations and to encourage a more progressive and inclusionary vision for all levels of the game than has been the case in the past.

2.4 Recommendations for future action: leadership

Professional clubs, national leagues, national federations and UEFA might consider:

- Appointing specific units with a key focus on increasing the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions across key organisations and nation states. Key responsibilities might include; collecting baseline data, target setting, implementing positive action measures, and monitoring the progress of work of this kind over time
- Conducting a full audit of the demographic background of staff involved in senior governance and operations positions. Data collection might be standardised to encourage comparability of findings across key organisations and nation states. This might provide a comprehensive benchmark figure against which progress can be measured over time.
- Conducting a review of existing practices of recruitment to senior governance and operations positions. This review might seek to examine the implementation of - and adherence to - equality legislation in employment and the extent to which recruitment practices ensure an open and transparent process for identifying, selecting, interviewing and recruiting candidates.
- Implementing a range of positive action approaches to increase the representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions. This might include; target setting, quotas, co-option and committee expansion at senior governance level. It might also

include; target setting and ensuring that at least one suitably qualified 'visible' minority and/or women candidate is invited for interview for all senior operations positions

- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the structural and cultural barriers which have contributed to the under-representation of 'visible' minorities and women in senior governance and operations positions. This might include information which refers to processes of stereotyping, racially closed practices of recruitment, and tendencies to recruit from within dominant (white, male) social and cultural networks.
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the benefits of gender and cultural diversity in football governance and operations. This might include information which refers to harnessing under-used talents, freshening up outlook and profile, enabling connections with more diverse constituents, and improving organisational functioning and legitimacy

3. Levels of representation in senior coaching positions in football in Europe

3.1 Senior football coaching

3.1.1 Overall organisational findings

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 672 senior coaching positions in football in Europe. More specifically, they refer to the demographic backgrounds of individuals holding head coach (manager) positions at elite level men’s professional clubs in England, Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Italy and the Netherlands and at national teams in the men’s and women’s game across Europe. The findings also include analysis of assistant head coach (assistant manager) positions at elite level professional clubs and men’s national teams and. The findings here provide an empirically informed account of the levels of representation of ‘visible’ minorities and women in senior coaching positions across the elite echelons of the sport.

Figure 5: Levels of representation in senior coaching positions: overall

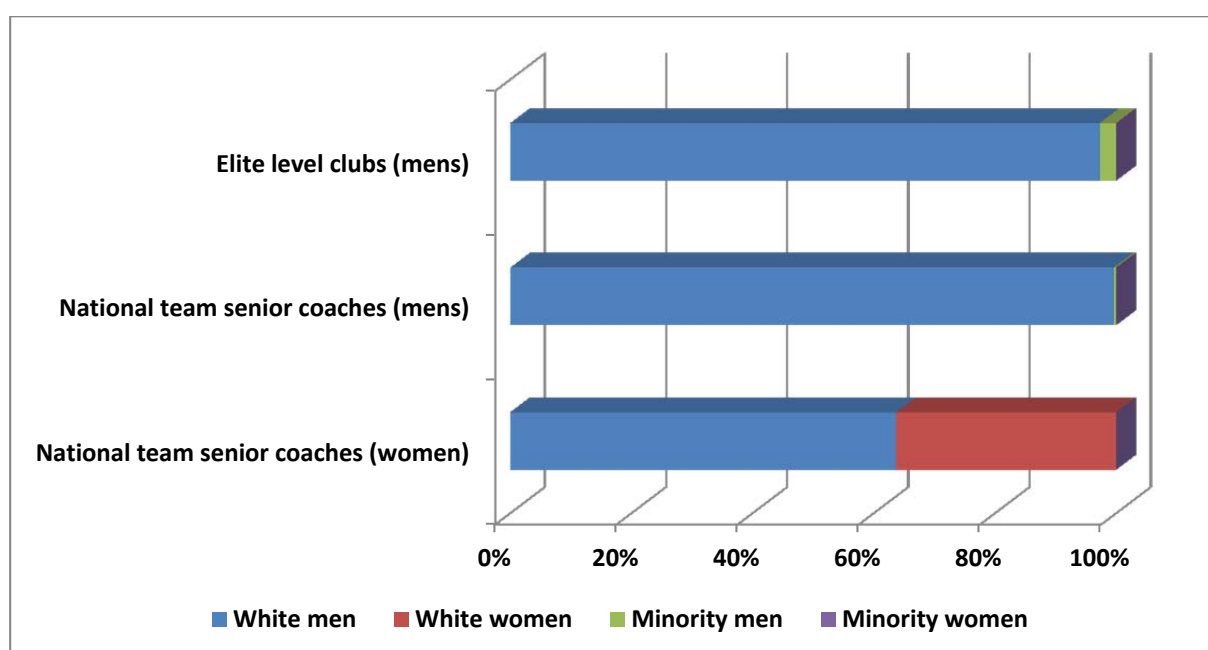


Table 29: Levels of representation in senior coaching positions: overall

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
Elite level clubs senior coaches (men’s)	96.6%	0%	3.4%	0%	100%
National team senior coaches (men’s)	99.6%	0%	0.4%	0%	100%
National team senior coaches (women’s)	66.3%	33.7%	0%	0%	100%
Total	90.8%	8%	1.2%	0%	100%

The findings in figure 5 and table 29 provide overall figures for the levels of representation in senior coaching positions in football in Europe. Overall, 97.3% of all senior coaches at elite level clubs were white men and 2.7% were ‘visible’ minority men: at clubs in England, Germany, Spain, Belgium and France. Almost all senior coaches at men’s national teams were white men (99.6%). One ‘visible’ minority coach is presently the head coach for the national under 19s team in England. Further, 66.3% of senior coaches at women’s national teams were white men and 33.7% were white women. No ‘visible’ minorities held senior coach positions at women’s national teams across Europe.

3.1.2 Elite level clubs senior coaching

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 264 senior coaching positions at 132 elite level men's professional clubs in England, Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Italy and the Netherlands. The findings refer to the demographic background of head and assistant head coaches at these clubs

Table 30: Elite level club overall: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	97.7%	0%	2.3%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	95.5%	0%	4.5%	0%	100%
Total	96.6%	0%	3.4%	0%	100%

Overall, 96.6% of senior coaches at elite level clubs in the seven countries under review were white men and 3.4% were 'visible' minority men. 'Visible' minority senior coaches featured at elite level clubs in England, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France and the Netherlands.

Table 31: English Premier League clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	95%	0%	5%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	97.5%	0%	2.5%	0%	0%

In total, 95% of head coach positions and 100% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in England were held by white men. One head coach position was held by a 'visible' minority male: Chris Hughton at Norwich City.

Table 32: Germany Bundesliga 1 clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	94.4%	0%	5.6%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%

In total, 94.4% of head coach positions and 100% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in Germany were held by white men. One head coach position was held by a 'visible' minority male: Robin Dutt at Werder Bremen.

Table 33: Spanish Primera League clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	94.4%	0%	5.6%	0%	100%
Total	97.2%	0%	2.8%	0%	100%

In total, 100% of head coach positions and 94.4% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in Spain were held white men. One assistant head coach position was held by a 'visible' minority male: Zenidine Zidane at Real Madrid.

Table 34: Belgium Jupiter Pro League clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	94.4%	0%	5.6%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	94.4%	0%	5.6%	0%	100%
Total	94.4%	0%	5.6%	0%	100%

In total, 94.4% of head coach positions and 94.4% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in Belgium were held by white men. One head coach position was held by a ‘visible’ minority male: Stanley Menzo at Lierse. One assistant head coach position was held by a ‘visible’ minority male: Arnold Rijsenburg at OH Leuven.

Table 35: French Ligue 1 clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	90%	0%	10%	0%	100%
Total	95%	0%	5%	0%	100%

In total, 100% of head coach positions and 90% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in France were held by white men. Two assistant head coach positions were held by ‘visible’ minority males: Claude Makelele at PSG and Frank Passi at Marseilles.

Table 36: Italian Serie A clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team manager	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
First team assistant manager	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%

In total, 100% of head coach positions and 100% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in Italy were held by white men.

Table 37: Dutch Eredivisie 1 clubs: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team manager	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
First team assistant manager	98.9%	0%	11.1%	0%	100%
Total	94.6%	0%	5.6%	0%	100%

In total, 100% of head coach positions and 98.9% of assistant head coach positions at elite level clubs in the Netherlands were held by white men. Two assistant head coach positions were held by ‘visible’ minority men: Giovanni Van Bronckhorst at Feyenoord and Hank Fraser at ADO Den Haag.

3.1.3 National men’s teams senior coaching

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 258 senior coaching positions across four tiers of men’s national teams at 54 national football federations. They include; head coach and assistant

head coach positions at national first teams, and head coach positions at under 21's, under 19's and under 17's levels of the national game.

Table 38: National men's teams overall: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Under 21s head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Under 19s head coach	98%	0%	2%	0%	100%
Under 17s head coach	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	99.6%	0%	0.4%	0%	100%

In total, 99.6% of all senior coaching positions at national men's teams across Europe were held by white men. This included all national first team head coach (100%) and assistant head coach positions (100%) positions and all national under 21's and under 17's head coach positions (100%). A further 98% of national under 19's head coach positions were held by white men. One national under 19's coach (2%) was a 'visible' minority male: Noel Blake in England.

3.1.4 National women's teams senior coaching

The findings in this section are based on analysis of 160 senior coaching positions across three tiers of national women's teams at 50 national football federations. They include; head coach and assistant head coach positions at national first teams, and head coach positions at the under 19's and under 17's level of the national women's game.

Table 39: National women's teams overall: senior coaching positions

	White men	White women	Minority men	Minority women	Overall
First team head coach	78%	22%	0%	0%	100%
First team assistant head coach	36.4%	63.6%	0%	0%	100%
Under 19s head coach	77%	23%	0%	0%	100%
Under 17s head coach	65%	35%	0%	0%	100%
Total	66.3%	33.7%	0%	0%	100%

Overall, 66.3% of all senior coaching positions at national women's teams across Europe were held by white men and 33.7% were held by white women. In total, 78% of national first team head coach positions were held by white men and 22% were held by white women. National teams with female head coaches included; Belarus, Cyprus, Germany, Republic of Ireland, Romania, Scotland, Serbia, Slovakia, Sweden and Switzerland. In total, 36.4% of national first team assistant head coach positions were held by white men and 63.6% were held by white women. National teams with female assistant head coaches included; Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Faroe Islands, Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Slovakia, Sweden and Wales. Only Germany, Slovakia and Sweden had female head coaches and assistant head coaches. In total, 75% of national team under 19s head coach positions were held by white men and 25% were held by white women. National under 19s teams with female head coaches included; Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cyprus, England, Germany, Latvia, Slovenia, Slovakia and Ukraine. In total, 63.4% of national team under 17s head coach positions were held by white men and 34.6% were held by white women. National under 17s teams with female head coaches included; Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech republic, England, Estonia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Sweden, and Switzerland.

4. The experiences of elite level 'visible' minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands

4.1 The national political context

4.1.1 'Visible' minorities and national population demographics

The total population of Europe is around 731 million of which 500 million are resident in 27 EU countries. An estimated 30 million people resident within Europe is drawn from non-European 'visible' minority backgrounds. These 'visible' minorities include first, second and third generation populations drawn from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Middle East and account for an estimated 4% of the total population of Europe. The in-migration and settlement of 'visible' minorities has been most prevalent in Western European countries with strong colonial histories. This is especially the case in England, France and the Netherlands where around 19 million people is drawn from 'visible' minority backgrounds: 14% of the combined population of these countries.

The increased ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of England, France and the Netherlands has been underpinned by some longstanding patterns of in-migration and settlement in the post second world war period. For example, since the 1950's England has experienced successive waves of in-migration from former colonial territories in Africa, South Asia and the Caribbean. Similarly, from the 1950s onwards, France experienced large scale in-migration from North African (Maghreb) countries and from the Far East. These new arrivals to France were followed in the 1970s and 1980s by large numbers of in-migrants from former French colonies in sub-Saharan West Africa and the French West Indies. The Netherlands also experienced several waves of in-migration during this period, including; Moluccan' in-migrants from the former Dutch East Indies in the 1940s and 1950s, 'guest workers' from Turkey and Morocco in the 1960s and 1970s, and Surinamese and Dutch Antillean groups in the 1970s and 1980s.

Whilst processes of post-colonial in-migration have slowed over time in England, France and the Netherlands, these countries have continued to admit limited numbers of in-migrants from regions with which they maintain a strong historical connection. However, since the 1990s, more recent 'visible' in-migration flows to these countries have become much more strongly linked to the growth of refugees and asylum seekers fleeing political and religious persecution and armed conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East. Further, from the 2000's onwards, England, France and the Netherlands have all experienced a significant increase in the numbers of (mainly, White) economic in-migrants from EU accession countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

Overall, in England, 80.5% of the 53 million strong population is white British, 0.9% is white Irish and 4.4% is from white other, mainly, Central and Eastern European backgrounds. An estimated 14% of the population is from 'visible' minority backgrounds. These 'visible' minorities include; South Asian groups from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds (7.5%), black groups from African and Caribbean backgrounds (3.3%) and Arab groups from North African and Middle Eastern backgrounds (1%). The English population also includes a steadily growing and relatively youthful 'dual-heritage' population drawn mainly from mixed white and black parentage (2.2%).

The overall population of France is 66 million of which around 85% is white. An estimated 12% of the white French population has at least one parent or grandparent from other, mainly, Southern, European, countries, including, most notably, Italy, Spain and Portugal. In total, an estimated 15% of the population is from 'visible' minority backgrounds. These 'visible' minorities include; Maghreb groups from Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan backgrounds (9%), black groups from sub-Saharan African and French West Indian backgrounds (5%), and other 'visible' minorities (1%), including, most notably, a sizable number of 'ethnic Chinese' and other groups from the Far East.

The overall population of the Netherlands is around 17 million of which 81% is white Dutch. A further 8% is from other white, European backgrounds, including sizeable populations from Belgium and Germany. In total, an estimated 11% of the population is from 'visible' minority backgrounds. These 'visible' minorities include; black groups from Surinamese and Dutch Antillean backgrounds (3.5%), Turkish and Kurdish groups (2.5%), Moroccan and other North African groups (2.5%), and Indonesian or 'Moluccan' groups from the former Dutch East Indies (2.5%).

The populations of England, France and the Netherlands exhibit similar patterns of religious affiliation. In each country, around 60% of the total population is Christian. Whilst Christian affiliation in England is mainly Protestant, in France it is mainly Catholic. In the Netherlands, Protestantism and Catholicism are practiced by broadly equal numbers of the Christian population. Around 10% of the population in each of these countries is from other religious backgrounds, including, most notably, Islam, but, also, Hinduism, Sikhism, Judaism, and Buddhism. Around 30% of the population of England, France and the Netherlands has no discernible faith based beliefs.

4.1.2 'Visible' minorities, racisms and racial inequalities

Overall, 'visible' minority populations in England, France and the Netherlands are more likely to experience disproportionate levels of social, cultural and economic inequality in comparison to white populations. For example, 'visible' minorities are more likely to hold low status and poorly paid occupations and experience higher levels of unemployment and benefit dependency. They are also more likely to live in poorer housing conditions and experience higher levels of infant mortality, poorer physical and mental health, and lower levels of life expectancy. However, these patterns of inequality differ markedly between different 'visible' minority populations within and across national boundaries as a result of a range of key structural and cultural factors. These factors include; the cultural and religious distinctiveness of specific groups, the timing of historical in-migration trajectories, the spatiality of settlement patterns, and the state of local economic relations. For example, in France, relatively new arrivals from sub-Saharan West Africa and 'second wave' Maghreb in-migrants from North Africa have experienced significant social, economic and cultural isolation as a result of their focused residential settlement in 'run-down' housing blocks in post-industrial suburban locales. Similar patterns of spatially inflected socio-economic disadvantage have also been experienced by black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations in deprived inner city locales in England. In contrast, some older 'first wave' Maghreb populations in France, Indian and Chinese populations in England, and Moluccan populations in the Netherlands have experienced significant generational social mobility over time, with particular regard to educational attainment, employment status and income.

Overall, 'visible' minorities in England, France and the Netherlands continue to experience a range of overt, culturally coded and more institutional forms of racism and discrimination at an individual and societal level. For example, 'visible' minorities continue to experience racist abuse and harassment which utilise the pejorative use of key descriptive markers of minority identity. Whilst racism of this kind continues to draw on some residual anti-black sentiment, it has more recently exhibited a strong cultural and religious variant with regard to virulent strains of Islamophobia and anti-Semitism. These new racisms are often manifest in the use of subtle, nuanced and codified language and through processes of cultural and religious stereotyping which is intended (and understood) to mark out some parameters of cultural belonging and inclusion. Racisms of this kind are evident in popular public discourse, mainstream media narratives and the invective of right wing political organisations in each of the three countries under review. For example, the National Front in France and the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands has actively pursued policies which conjoin nationalistic ideologies and anti-immigrant sentiment with some significant electoral success to this end. Further, members of far right organisations such as the English Defence League have regularly been involved in street level disturbances and verbal and physical attacks on 'visible' minorities in recent years.

'Visible' minorities also continue to experience inequality of opportunities and outcomes across a range of social, economic and political spheres in England, France and the Netherlands. For example, 'visible' minorities are less likely than white populations to experience comparable levels of access to - and positive experiences of - a range of local (state) authority provision such as key social, educational and health services. Similarly, 'visible' minorities are less likely than white populations to experience equitable practices in accessing housing and employment in both public (state) and private (commercial) sectors. It is also the case that 'visible' minorities are much more likely than white populations to report negative experiences of policing and unfair treatment within the judicial system. Taken together, these racialised inequalities indicate the continued presence of embedded systemic bias and processes and practices of institutional discrimination. Institutional discrimination of this kind can be deliberate and/or unintentional and is detected in the everyday attitudes and behaviours of individuals and in the rules, norms, and routines of institutions which continue to favour some (white) groups over other ('visible' minority) groups. Institutional discrimination can also have a deeply negative impact in limiting the extent and ways in which 'visible' minorities can access and experience the full benefits of social, economic and cultural citizenship at the local and national level. Further, in each of the countries under review, discrimination of this kind has contributed significantly to the under-representation of 'visible' minorities in senior decision making positions across a range of occupational realms, including; politics, administration, financial services, manufacturing and sport.

4.1.3 National measures to address racisms and racial inequality

National political approaches to tackling racisms and racial inequalities in England, France and the Netherlands have operated a complex mixture of legal, civil and constitutional measures and have been markedly mixed in terms of their focus, scope and content. However, over time and largely in tandem with the increasing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of national populations, each of these three countries has enshrined in law a range of legislation designed to protect 'visible' and other minorities from overt and institutional forms of racism and discrimination. For example, in England, legislation of this kind has included successive Race Relations Acts (1965 to 2000) and the Racial and Religious Hatred Act (2006). This legislation has sought to outlaw direct and indirect racial and religious discrimination in public places, employment, housing and public services. Further, the recent introduction of the Equality Act in England in 2010 has sought to modernize, streamline and strengthen all of the major provisions in relation to 'race', religion, sexism, sexual orientation and disability. Similarly, in France, successive national governments have developed a series of laws and a strict penal code designed to out-law and punish incidents of overt and more institutional forms of racism and anti-Semitism. These laws build on the initial 'rights of man' act which first outlawed public discriminatory statements in 1881 and includes amended legislation in 1972, 1993, 2003, and 2004 designed to challenge hate speech and racial discrimination in the provision of services and employment. Similar legal provisions designed to combat racism and promote racial equality have been drawn up and enacted in the Netherlands by government departments such as the Ministry of Security and Justice. In each of the three countries under review, the work of national government departments and legal institutions is supported by a range of quasi-autonomous bodies such as the Equality and Human Rights Commission in England, the League against Racism and Anti-Semitism in France, and the Equal Treatment Commission and National Bureau against Racial Discrimination in the Netherlands.

National governmental and legislative approaches to tackling racism and promoting racial equality in England, France and the Netherlands are to some extent reflective of different national political ideas around national identity and citizenship. For example, in England and the Netherlands, efforts to combat racism and establish a more racially inclusive society has largely developed in tandem with a broadly multiculturalist approach to 'managing diversity'. This approach has largely been premised on the acceptance, promotion and celebration of cultural pluralism in social and public life. It has also led to the development of classificatory definitions in governmental and popular public discourse between white and black and minority ethnic (BME) populations in England and

indigenous (autochtonen) and immigrant (allochtonen) groups in the Netherlands. Since the 1980s these multicultural approaches have underpinned and informed a series of targeted policies, actions and interventions designed to support and empower 'visible' minority groups and encourage increased racial integration with varying degrees of, often, highly localised, success. The shift from 'quiet' to 'public' multiculturalism and the development of ethnically targeted provision of this kind arguably reached its nadir in the late 1990s in England and the Netherlands. However, in both of these countries, since the early 2000's there has been a growing and highly vocal backlash against the ideas and practice of multiculturalism. In England, this public and political dissent has been underscored by the perceived cultural and religious incompatibility of Muslim values with the 'British way of life' and the dangers of 'radical Islam'. Similarly, in the Netherlands, there has been a growing sense of 'democratic impatience' at the perceived lack of commitment towards integration amongst mainly Turkish and Moroccan (Muslim) populations. In each of these countries, these views have been conjoined with a more general anti-immigrant sentiment which seeks to limit the numbers of new arrivals from within and beyond the borders of the European Union. These pressures have had some effect in shifting national public and political opinion away from multiculturalism towards a more integrationist/assimilationist approach to dealing with diversity. These latter approaches encourage much greater adaptation to the social and cultural mores of mainstream national society and a general deprioritisation of culturally diverse traditions and heritage, especially amongst Muslim groups.

In contrast to England and the Netherlands, the French republican model of national citizenship has been constitutionally premised on the assimilation, absorption, and acculturation of 'visible' and other minorities into the mainstream culture and practices of the host society. To this end, the French republican model has traditionally encouraged a process of the deculturation of 'visible' and other culturally distinct minority populations in favour of the pursuit of a unified secular political project purporting to universal rights for all. This more generalist approach can be seen in the constitutional illegality of collecting statistical data on minority populations and in expectations that citizens forego open displays of linguistic, cultural or religious difference. To this end, unlike in England and the Netherlands, the French legal system does not extend to the full protection of the rights of religious observance in public life. For example, in 2004, the French government introduced legislation which banned the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols in primary and secondary schools. The law is an amendment to the French code of education that expands principles founded in existing French law, especially the constitutional requirement of 'laicite': the separation of secular state and religious activities. Whilst the law does not mention explicitly any particular symbol or religion, it has been considered by many to specifically target the wearing of head scarves by Muslim girls as an article of faith and modesty, and as such has been critiqued as a form of institutional discrimination. The French republican model of identity and citizenship is also echoed in the strongly centralised and statist approach to social provision in France. To this end, public policy directives and social provision in France has tended to focus on enabling and empowering people in deprived, urban, locales, rather than explicitly targeting support towards 'visible' minority groups or local 'cultural' institutions. However, since 'visible' minorities are disproportionately situated in deprived residential locales, spatially focused provision of this kind features an implicit recognition of – and emphasis on – addressing some residual racialised inequalities, at least within some deeply 'classed' physical and ideological boundaries.

4.2 The national football context

4.2.1 'Visible' minorities and representation in football

Reflective of wider patterns of in-migration and settlement, professional football in England, France and the Netherlands has become increasingly characterized by the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of its players. Whilst players from 'visible' minority backgrounds played at clubs in each of these countries prior to and immediately after the second world war, their numbers grew markedly from the 1970s and 1980s onwards. In England, this has included first, second and third generation

black Caribbean, black African and 'dual-heritage' players. In France, in the 1980s, 'visible' minority players were drawn mainly from first and second generation black French West Indian backgrounds and were followed in the 1990s by black African players drawn from within France and former colonial countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Since this time, there has also been a small, but steady, growth in the number of players drawn from French and North African born Maghreb backgrounds in French football. In the Netherlands, in the 1980s and 1990s, players from Surinamese backgrounds emerged as the most prominent cohort of 'visible' minority players in Dutch football. More recently, there has been a small, but steady, increase in the numbers of players from Dutch born Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds playing at clubs in the Netherlands. At the present time, an estimated 25% to 40% of all players at elite level professional clubs and national teams in England, France and the Netherlands are from 'visible' minority backgrounds. Further, an estimated 40% of young players at elite level club youth academies in each of these three countries is also from 'visible' minority backgrounds, especially at clubs based in urban locales. The increased 'home grown' diversity of players has also been supplemented since the early 1990s by the tendency for elite level clubs in England, France and the Netherlands to actively seek out new recruits from expanding global player markets. For example, during the 2012/13 season, the English Premier League featured players from more than fifty different nationalities, many of whom are drawn from 'visible' minority backgrounds in their countries of origin.

Despite the longstanding involvement of 'visible' minority players in the professional game in England, France and the Netherlands, there has thus far been only a minimal throughput into senior coaching positions in these countries. Further, where such player to coach transitions have occurred they have tended to involve high profile, former international, black players, such as Paul Ince, Jean Tigana and Ruud Gullit. For example, at the beginning of the 2013/14 season only three head coaches and two assistant head coaches at 92 professional clubs in England were from 'visible' minority backgrounds. Similarly, there were no head coaches and only five assistant head coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds in the French Ligue 1, Ligue 2 and National League. No 'visible' minorities held head coach or assistant head coach positions in the top division (Eredivisie) in the Netherlands during this period. It is also the case that the increased tendency for elite level clubs in each of these countries to recruit 'foreign' head coaches has done little to disrupt the demographic homogeneity of the existing football workforce: these new senior coaching imports remain almost exclusively White. Further, as the findings in section 2 of this report indicate, there remains a marked under-representation of 'visible' minority groups in key leadership positions within the senior decision making tiers of the football industry in each of these three countries and across Europe more broadly.

4.2.2 'Visible' minorities, racisms and racial inequalities in football

Professional football in England, France and the Netherlands is a site in which racisms have become manifest in overt, culturally coded, and more institutional forms. In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s overt forms of individualized and orchestrated racist abuse which utilized a series of demeaning racial epithets such as making monkey noises to describe black players were regularly heard from spectators. In each of these countries there has also been evidenced racial abuse which has involved throwing banana's and other objects onto the pitch at black players. Whilst actions and behaviours of this kind were relatively commonplace amongst certain domestic club supporter formations across Europe, they also became a strong feature of support for the English national team where right wing ideologies chimed most obviously with historically embedded ideas around 'race', nation and cultural exclusivity.

Whilst crude forms of openly anti-black sentiment at football have declined significantly over time in each of the three countries under review they have maintained some residual if uneven permanence and have been enacted sporadically in recent seasons by fans and high profile players such as John Terry and Luis Suarez. More commonly, racism in football has more recently been expanded by some fan groups and players to incorporate new culturally and religiously diverse

targets. This is especially the case in England and France with regard to racial and religious abuse targeting players from Muslim backgrounds. It can also be detected in anti-Semitic songs and chants by fan groups in the Netherlands targeting players and fans from 'Jewish' Ajax. These more subtle, nuanced and codified racisms seek to reify cultural difference and encourage racial and religious antagonism in a consciously disguised form which is simultaneously 'known' and yet difficult to detect and legislate against. For example, through the use of racially coded signifiers such as making 'gas chamber hissing sounds' at fans of clubs with Jewish connections, through labelling players from Muslim backgrounds as 'terrorists', or by referring to black players as 'slaves'. These actions and behaviours are often strategically enacted and intended (and understood) to mark out some contingent parameters of belonging and inclusion in the game and in society more broadly. Further, whilst such actions and behaviours can also be enacted impulsively in 'heat of the moment' encounters, they nonetheless result in the denigration of the ethnic, cultural or religious background of players or fans. These forms of overt and culturally coded racisms seem especially commonplace in the arena of amateur football and have become heightened at matches between white and multi-cultural teams. Racisms of this kind have been perpetrated by players, coaches and spectators and have targeted adults, young people and children from 'visible' minority backgrounds.

In recent years there has been a growing emphasis amongst academics and sport policy makers to examine the relationship between the under-representation of 'visible' minorities in football and processes and practices of systemic bias and institutional discrimination within the football industry. Research in this area has focused on playing, coaching and leadership positions within the professional and amateur game. For example, in terms of playing the game, research has identified a series of relatively closed approaches to youth talent identification at professional clubs which have failed to incorporate a range of sites at which some 'visible' minorities are present, such as South Asians in England, Maghreb players in France, and Turkish and Moroccan players in the Netherlands. Research has also identified a lack of understanding of issues of cultural diversity amongst referees and officials and tendencies to punish reactions to – rather than the perpetrators of – racism on the field of play in both the professional and amateur game. Research has also identified the continued existence of physical and cultural stereotypes of 'visible' minority players in the sports media and at professional clubs. In particular, black players have been problematically conceptualised as possessing abundant strength and athleticism over an apparent lack of key analytical and organisational skills. For example, recent public debates in France regarding the predominance of 'big blacks' in central defensive and defensive midfield 'executant' positions has been perceived by some sporting commentators as having a negative impact on the perceived fluency, style and success of French football. Similarly, debates regarding perceived attitudinal and behavioural problems of players from working class suburbs in France also feature thinly veiled reference to 'problematic' players from 'visible' minority backgrounds. Research studies suggest that stereotyping of this kind can have a negative consequential impact in limiting opportunities for 'visible' minority players to make the transition from playing to coaching the game at professional clubs. Research has also identified similar patterns of racially inflected institutional closure within practices of personal recommendation, sponsored mobility and patronage which underpin recruitment to senior operational and governance positions within the football industry. Taken together, these studies offer some consensus in suggesting that institutional barriers of this kind have thus far limited the potential for the more equitable inclusion of 'visible' minorities at all levels of the professional and national game across Europe. Further, it is argued that the continuation of these racialised inequities is underpinned by patterns of white hegemonic privilege, dominance and resistance to change within the senior decision making structures of the sport.

4.2.3 National measures to address racisms and racial inequalities in football

The shape and scope of national interventions and campaigning actions against racisms and racial discrimination in football have been markedly different in England, France and the Netherlands. For example, national interventions against racism in football in England first began in 1993 when the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and the Professional Footballers Association (PFA) launched

the 'Lets Kick Racism out of Football' campaign as a response to the racial abuse of black players by spectators. The campaign primarily involved the production of youth orientated posters and magazines and used high profile footballers as role models in school and community settings. These rationalist and largely rhetorical pedagogical approaches have since been further developed by the national Show Racism the Red Card campaign and have been expanded to include efforts to combat racism in and through football across a range of countries throughout Europe. However, the shift from symbolic to more purposeful national interventions in England was arguably cemented when the national Kick It Out campaign was formed in 1997. Since this time, Kick It Out has been funded by the CRE, PFA and the games national governing bodies to co-ordinate and deliver a relatively sophisticated campaign against racism 'on behalf of football'. Whilst Kick It Out has assumed a relative permanence over time as the central co-ordinating body for anti-racist activity in football in England, it has no legislative powers and remains peripheral to the institutional decision making powers of the football establishment. Nonetheless, Kick It Out has developed a broad educational and campaigning remit in its efforts to challenge racism in both the professional and amateur game. Throughout its tenure, Kick It Out has also maintained a strong community focus in terms of working with key agencies at the local level to empower and support 'visible' minority groups to engage in football. Work of this kind has formed a central pillar of the efforts of Kick It Out to address issues of minority under-representation and challenge institutional discrimination across all levels of the sport. These efforts have been informed in part by wider political thought which views cultural diversity as an important and valuable resource rather than as a problem to be dealt with. As part of this approach, in 2004, Kick It Out developed the Professional Clubs Equality Standard: a framework document designed to guide and assist clubs to implement best equality practice across all levels of their operational structure. Despite its limited resources, by 2012 Kick It Out had assisted around 20 professional clubs to achieve the preliminary or intermediate level of the standard.

In contrast to Kick It Out in England, there is no singular national organisation with responsibility for co-ordinating and delivering actions to combat racism or to increase the representation of 'visible' minorities in football in the Netherlands. However, work of this kind has taken place in the football context as part of the broader efforts of sports policy makers to implement initiatives designed to combat racism, enable inclusion and promote racial integration in and through sport. For example, in 1994 the Netherlands Olympic Committee and Netherlands Sports Federation (NOC*NSF) established a code of conduct for the entire sports sector to help combat racial discrimination. During this period, the NOC*NSF also organised courses on intercultural understanding for trainers, coaches, referees and club officials to help improve communication between ethnic (white) Dutch sports organisers and players from 'visible' minority backgrounds. In 1995, the NOC*NSF also worked closely with the KNVB and a range of governmental partners to develop the 'Action Plan Discrimination in Football Stadiums'. The plan was envisaged as a response to the racist abuse of black players by spectators. However, whilst these ideas and actions garnered significant support amongst more forward thinking individuals and organisations there was also a general fear amongst some key stakeholders within football that it would draw attention to negative aspects of the game and as a result the proposed plan didn't develop as envisaged. However, since this time, the KNVB and a number of elite level clubs in the Netherlands have engaged with some of the more symbolic aspects of European wide campaigns against racism in football and have also provided support for local initiatives designed to engage marginalised 'visible' minority youth populations in and through football. To this end, it can be argued that the wider political shift away from multiculturalism towards an assimilationist approach to managing diversity in the Netherlands has deflected attention away from addressing issues of under-representation and towards approaches that more strongly prioritise notions of integration and 'fair play' in and through the sport.

The development of national interventions against racism and racial discrimination in football in France has been a little slower and more limited than is the case in England and the Netherlands. Despite the national implementation of strict laws regarding race hate speech (the 1993 Gassiot Act) and their legislative application to the field of sport (the 1995 Alliot Marie Act), the French football federation (FFF) and the national government have until recently done little to acknowledge - or

implement initiatives designed to combat - racism and racial discrimination in the game. This relative inaction has been reflective of the reluctance of national governments and sports bodies to engage in activities which are deemed to 'politicise' sport and to focus instead on the potential positive sportive elements of football. However, such approaches have done little to address the ongoing incidence of racism at games and patterns of racial closure in the organizational tiers of the sport. More promisingly, since the late 1990s, the League against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA) have taken a much more prominent role in raising awareness of – and developing initiatives designed to combat – racism and racial discrimination in French football. To this end, the work of LICRA has focused on four key areas of action. These include: prevention, through education and other activities in schools; education, with respect to targeting key functionaries within the football industry; monitoring, through drawing up an inventory of racist incidents in football; and other public activities and initiatives designed to promote tolerance. Work of this kind has sought to build bridges between a range of football and community organizations at the local and national level. Further, as part of this process, in 2005, LICRA and the national football authorities in France signed the first charter on the fight against racism in football and since this time have worked more closely together in this respect. The extent to which partnership working of this kind might be advanced to enable a more focused approach to address issues of 'visible' minority under-representation at all levels of the game in France remains a moot point. However, success in this area is likely to be informed by the extent to which key stakeholders are willing to move beyond generalist approaches to dealing with diversity towards an approach which recognizes and challenges more institutional forms of racial closure in the sport.

4.3 The coach education context

4.3.1 UEFA and coach education

Over the past 30 years there has developed a much stronger emphasis on the education and development of football coaches in the professional and amateur game throughout Europe, and the design, delivery and acquisition of coaching qualifications has become an increasingly formalised process. As part of this process of formalisation, in 1997, UEFA launched the Convention on the Mutual Recognition of Coaching Qualifications. One of the key aims of the UEFA Convention has been to establish a hierarchical structure of elite level coaching qualifications and to encourage national football federations to standardise their own qualificatory frameworks against this European level benchmark criteria. To this end, UEFA has established a two tier system of 'UEFA endorsed' and 'UEFA recognised' coaching qualifications. Put briefly, 'UEFA endorsed' coaching qualifications represent the pinnacle of the coach education process and include; the UEFA Pro-License, the UEFA A License, the UEFA B License, and the UEFA A elite youth license. These 'UEFA endorsed' coaching qualifications tend to be delivered in accordance with UEFA guidelines by nationally certified coach educators working directly for national football federations. 'UEFA recognised' coaching qualifications represent key entry point and lower level adult and youth coaching awards and tend to be delivered by nationally certified coach educators at regional football federations or sports development units at local (state) authorities. By 2008, all 53 national football federations (then) affiliated to UEFA had signed up to the UEFA Convention of the Mutual Recognition of Coaching Qualifications. Further, according to UEFA, by 2013, around 200,000 coaches across Europe had achieved higher level 'UEFA endorsed' qualifications.

4.3.2 National coach education policies and pathways

Responsibility for the design, delivery and award of coaching qualifications is markedly different in England, France and the Netherlands. These differences are largely underscored by different political relationships between national governments and football federations in each of these countries. For example, in England and the Netherlands, the English Football Association (FA) and the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB) each has full autonomous responsibility for the education and development of football coaches across all tiers of the professional and amateur

game. In contrast, since 1945, the French government has allocated significant state funding and a delegation of public service support to national governing bodies of sports including the French Football Federation within which state led activities and support are co-ordinated by the Direction Technique National (DTN). As part of this more interventionist approach, the DTN takes lead responsibility for the development of elite level and amateur football in France, including the coach education and development process.

In recent years, the FA in England, the KNVB in the Netherlands, and the FFF in conjunction with the DTN in France have each developed a comprehensive system of coach education and development which incorporates a number of distinct, but, overlapping strands. Broadly speaking, these strands focus on three principal elements of coach education. These include; core or adult coaching, children's and youth coaching, and specialised or diversified coaching, including positional specialism's, futsal and disability coaching. Further, within each of these three strands there exists a clear vertical pathway of progression for coaches from entry point or lower level 'UEFA recognised' coaching qualifications to higher level 'UEFA endorsed' coaching awards. Lower level qualifications include; the FA Level 1 and FA Level 2 core and youth module awards in England, the more expansive KNVB UEFA C Youth Trainer and Senior Trainer awards in the Netherlands, and the BEES 1 coaching awards in France. In the latter case, these awards build on more generic youth service and sports instructor awards organised by French state authorities involved in the development of sports and social provision at the local level. Overall, these lower level qualifications are primarily designed to equip coaches with appropriate knowledge, skills, and understanding to deliver coaching to young people and adults across a range of community and amateur football settings. Higher level qualifications include; the FA UEFA B and FA UEFA A awards, the Advanced Youth Award and the Academy Directors license in England, the KNVB UEFA B and KNVB UEFA A Youth Trainer and Senior Trainer awards in the Netherlands, and the BEES 2, DEF and DEPF senior coaching awards in France. These higher level coaching awards feature a much stronger focus on theoretical and experiential learning and are designed to enable coaches to work with and develop elite level youth and adult players in professional club settings. The completion of higher level qualifications is considered by the FA, KNVB and FFF/DTN to be a prerequisite for enabling access to senior coaching positions at elite level club youth academies, national youth training centres, or as elite level coaches in the adult professional game. Further, the FA, KNVB and the FFF/DTN each work closely with UEFA to enable highly qualified elite level coaches to undertake the UEFA Pro-License which is seen as the pinnacle of the coach education process. This latter award is the mandatory qualification for all first team head coaches who wish to work at clubs in the highest national leagues in England, France and the Netherlands. However, the extent to which this requirement has been observed by some increasingly powerful and relatively autonomous elite level clubs in each of these countries remains a moot point.

Beyond the development of an increasingly formalised and expansive system of coach education in England, France and the Netherlands, the FA, the KNVB and the FFF/DTN have traditionally operated a broadly generalist policy approach to encouraging and enabling coaches to engage in this process. These policy approaches have largely been premised on the notion that access to lower level and higher level coaching qualifications has been 'open to all' regardless of the racial background of participants. Where barriers to participation in the coach education process have been perceived to exist, they have largely been understood to have resulted from wider socio-economic inequalities and the lack of affordability of courses for coaches drawn from less affluent locales. As a result, policy efforts to increase the overall numbers of qualified coaches in England, France and the Netherlands has featured at least some focus on engaging coaches from more deprived locales, where football remains the most popular participation sport. To this end, policy actions have been most evident in relation to enabling coaches to access key entry point and lower level coaching qualifications. For example, in England and the Netherlands, the work of the FA and KNVB has involved working with - and ring fencing funding support from - key commercial and charitable sponsors towards the provision of free or subsidised coach education courses in deprived urban locales. Similarly in France, the FFF/DTN has worked with local (state) authorities at to increase the

numbers of qualified sports and football instructors as part of targeted sports and social provision in some deprived locales. The central emphasis of targeted efforts of this kind has been to increase the extent and quality of football provision for children and young people and to empower and increase the employability of coaches from communities experiencing high levels of socio-economic deprivation. Whilst the implementation of such policy actions is likely to have engendered positive outcomes in increasing accessibility for some coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds, such actions have been operationally and spatially limited and have tended only towards the lower end of the coach education process.

There is minimal evidence to suggest that national football federations in England, France and the Netherlands have implemented any policy actions designed to increase the numbers of 'visible' minorities undertaking higher level coaching qualifications. To this end, access to 'UEFA endorsed' coaching qualifications has been largely premised on the capacities of aspiring coaches to fulfill a range of key criteria. These criteria include; having relevant preceding qualifications, having sufficient funds to pay for courses, having professional club support and related access to working with elite level players, and being identified, selected, and supported by professional clubs or national football federations as a future elite level coach. Whilst in France and the Netherlands there presently appears little political inclination towards the development of measures to redress this imbalance, there has emerged in recent years in England a more vocal push for actions to increase the numbers of 'visible' minorities gaining higher level coaching qualifications. For example, the PFA has recently employed a number of high profile black former players as coach educators and mentors to act as role models to aspiring 'visible' minority coaches. The PFA has also secured a place on the selection panel for the FA Pro-license award. Kick It Out and the Black and Asian Coaches Association (BACA) have also worked together to establish mentoring and leadership programmes designed to empower and skill up 'visible' minority coaches with appropriate coaching qualifications. Further, in 2012, the FA launched the FA COACH Bursary programme which aims to provide practical and financial support to around 150 'visible' minority coaches to achieve higher level youth and adult coaching qualifications. As part of this process, the programme is also supporting these coaches to undertake a one year voluntary coaching placement at professional club youth academies to help gain relevant experience and to observe high quality coaching from experienced professional coaches. To this end, the programme is primarily concerned to increase the qualifications, experience and employability of 'visible' minority coaches and to increase their visibility within the youth and adult coaching networks of professional clubs.

4.3.3 Levels of representation of 'visible' minorities in coach education

The stronger organizational focus on - and increased delivery of - coach education courses in England, France and the Netherlands has led to a significant growth in the overall numbers of coaches achieving coaching qualifications across all tiers of national qualificatory frameworks. In each of these countries the bulk of qualified coaches have achieved lower level coaching qualifications with smaller numbers achieving higher level awards. For example, in England in 2012, there were a total of 56,000 Level 1 coaches, 14,750 Level 2 coaches, 9,546 UEFA B coaches, 1,190 UEFA A coaches, and 205 UEFA Pro-License coaches. In France in 2012 there were 12,200 UEFA B coaches, 3,030 UEFA A coaches, and 278 UEFA Pro-License coaches. In the much smaller populous Netherlands in 2012, there were 3,071 UEFA B coaches, 901 UEFA A coaches, and 218 UEFA Pro-License coaches. Taken together, these figures suggest that in 2012 an overall total of 10,947 coaches in England, 15,508 coaches in France and 4,190 coaches in the Netherlands had successfully achieved higher level 'UEFA endorsed' coaching qualifications.

Whilst the FA, FFF/DTN, and KNVB has invested significant time and effort in developing formalised coach education pathways, much less attention has been paid to the robust collection of data which illustrates the levels of representation of 'visible' minority coaches at each stage of this process. To this end, neither the FFF/DTN nor the KNVB has thus far collected national data which records the ethnicity of qualified coaches. In contrast, the FA in England has recently begun to collect data of

this kind. However, thus far this data has been collected arbitrarily rather than as a compulsory measure and has had a relatively limited focus on levels of involvement in the core adult coaching pathway. Nonetheless, figures collected by the FA Learning Department indicate that up to and including 2011, the percentage of 'visible' minority qualified coaches at each stage of core vertical coaching pathway was: 8.5% (FA Level 1), 9.5% (FA Level 2), 4.2% (UEFA B), 4.8% (UEFA A) and 6.4% (UEFA Pro-license). Further, figures for the percentage of 'visible' minority coaches achieving these core coaching qualifications during 2012 were; 11.7% (Level 1), 13.3% (Level 2), 6.7% (UEFA B), 10% (UEFA A), and 14.3% (UEFA Pro-License). In the absence of comparative national data sets, research interviews conducted with senior figures within the FFF/DTN and KNVB indicated the strong likelihood of the representativeness of these English based findings to the French and Dutch national context in a number of ways. Firstly, with reference to the general under-representation of 'visible' minority qualified coaches across all levels of the coach education pathway in comparison to national 'visible' minority populations (around 14%) and in football as players (between 25-40%). Secondly, with reference to the general drop-off rate of qualified 'visible' minority coaches across the vertical pathway of progression from lower to higher level coaching awards. And, thirdly, with reference to the small percentage up-turn of 'visible' minority coaches achieving the UEFA Pro-License in recent years. Here, there was a general recognition that 'visible' minority coaches achieving the FA Pro-License were almost exclusively high profile former professional players and that the relatively small overall numbers of coaches undertaking this elite award suggested a greater likelihood for statistical anomalies within annually recorded data sets. For example, just three 'visible' minority coaches accounted for 14.3% of all coaches undertaking the UEFA Pro-License in England in 2012. In summary, the statistical and expert anecdotal findings referred to above suggest that the overall numbers of 'visible' minority qualified coaches in England, France and the Netherlands remains low and becomes progressively lower across each of the stages of the coach education pathway, with the potentially anomalous exception of the UEFA Pro-License.

4.4 The coach employment context

4.4.1 Professional clubs, coaching infrastructures and coach recruitment

Professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur football clubs in England, France and the Netherlands compete in a broadly similar pyramid system of interconnected national and regional leagues. For example, in England, all 92 professional clubs compete across four national professional leagues: the Premier League, the Championship, League 1 and League 2. A further 68 semi-professional clubs compete across one national and two regional leagues: the Conference Premier, Conference North, and Conference South. Beneath this, hundreds of high end amateur clubs compete across a range of regionally focused leagues. In France, 40 professional clubs compete across two national professional leagues: Ligue 1 and Ligue 2. A further 18 semi-professional clubs compete in the semi-professional Championnat National league. Beneath this are the Championnat de France amateur (CFA) level 1 which is divided into four parallel regional leagues and the Championnat de France amateur (CFA) level 2 which is divided into eight parallel regional leagues. The CFA 1 and CFA 2 leagues account for 64 and 112 high-end amateur clubs respectively. In the Netherlands there are two national professional leagues each consisting of 18 professional clubs: the Eredivisie and the Eerste Divisie. A further 36 semi-professional clubs compete in the semi-professional Topklasse Saturday and Sunday leagues. Beneath this there are seven levels of regionalised amateur leagues of which 84 clubs compete at the highest level of amateur weekend football: the Hoofdklasse.

Professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur clubs in England, France and the Netherlands all operate adult and youth sections. However, within the professional tiers of the game these adult and youth sections have become increasingly compartmentalized into distinct areas of focus. For example, in England, all 92 professional clubs now operate an age-specific four tiered system for players. These four tiers include; the professional first team squad (adult), the professional development squad (18-21 years), the youth scholarship squad (16-18 years), and the youth

academy squad (5-16 years). Within this latter category, there is also a further distinction between the foundation (5-11) and development phase (12-16). The coaching infrastructure at professional clubs in England, France and the Netherlands has been designed to match-up to these age-specific categories of players. As a result, all professional clubs in these countries tend to employ similar categories of full-time and part-time coaching staff to oversee football operations at clubs. For example, in terms of professional first team adult squads, clubs tend to employ a first team manager, first team assistant manager, and a first team coach, along with a number of other additional coaching support staff. In terms of professional club development and youth scholarship squads, clubs tend to employ departmental head coaches and other full-time and part-time coaching support staff. Similarly, youth academy squads are managed by full-time Youth Academy Directors and supported by at least full-time or part-time two coaches for each age group.

There is, of course, some significant variation in the numbers of additional coaching staff employed at professional clubs dependent on resource issues. For example, at elite end professional clubs, first team operations are often supported by a 'desk based' technical director of football and performance analyst positions as well as additional first team and positional specialist coaching staff. Similarly, elite end professional development squads, youth scholarship squads and youth academies are likely to feature a number of full-time coaching staff with generic and specialist coaching skill. In contrast, many lower end professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur clubs employ coaching staff in multiple roles across the categories identified above and rely much more on part-time sessional coaching support at youth level.

Responsibility for the recruitment of senior coaching staff in the professional game is largely informed by the strategic and operational infrastructure of professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur clubs. Broadly speaking, the selection and appointment of first team managers is primarily undertaken by club owners, club directors and/or senior executive staff at clubs. Recruitment of first team assistant head coaches and other first team coaching staff is mainly undertaken by club owners, directors and senior executive staff in consultation with the appointed first team head coach. Recruitment of departmental lead coaches for the professional development squad, youth scholarship squad and the youth academy is primarily undertaken by the first team senior coaching team and is sanctioned – rather than decided by – senior decision makers at clubs. The recruitment of additional coaching staff is then undertaken by each of the appointed lead coaches across these age-specific football departments.

4.4.2 Levels of representation of 'visible' minorities in coach employment

Despite the longstanding involvement of 'visible' minority players in England, France and the Netherlands there has thus far been only a minimal throughput into senior coaching positions at professional clubs in these countries. For example, at the beginning of the 2013/14 only three head coaches and two assistant head coaches across all 92 professional clubs in England were from 'visible' minority backgrounds. Only one of these coaches was employed in the Premier League: Chris Hughton at Norwich City. There were also no first team head coaches and only five first team assistant head coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds at elite level clubs in the French Ligue 1, Ligue 2 and National League. In Ligue 1, these assistant head coaches were Frank Passi at Marseilles and Claude Makelele at PSG. Further, no 'visible' minorities held first team head coach or assistant head coach positions in Eredivisie in the Netherlands during this period.

Extensive analysis of professional club websites and additional documentary analysis undertaken in England in February 2013 reveals similarly low levels of 'visible' minorities in departmental head coaching positions across adult and youth football operations at professional clubs. These findings indicate that only 20 out of 552 departmental head coaching positions at 92 professional clubs in England were held by coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds: a total of 3.6% of all coaches in positions of this kind. More specifically, these findings indicate low levels of 'visible' minority representation as first team head coaches (4.3%), first team assistant head coaches (2.2%), other

first team support coaches (6.5%), professional development squad head coaches (2.2%), youth scholarship head coaches (3.3%) and youth academy directors (3.3%).

In the absence of comparative national data sets, further research conducted in France and the Netherlands indicates the likelihood of the wider representativeness of these English based findings. To this end, it can be argued that the numbers of 'visible' minority coaches in employment in senior coaching positions at elite level professional clubs in each of the three countries under review is much lower than comparable figures for 'visible' minority players (25-40%) or the broader 'visible' minority populations in England, France and the Netherlands (14%). Further research in England also reveals that relatively few of the cohort of 'visible' minority coaches achieving high level coaching qualifications such as FA UEFA B, FA UEFA A and the FA Pro-License were presently employed in senior coaching positions at professional clubs. To this end, only three out of the 13 'visible' minority FA Pro-License coaches in England were presently employed in coaching positions of any kind at professional football clubs. However, interviewees in England, France and the Netherlands suggested a small and steady throughput of 'visible' minority coaches into coaching positions within youth academy system at professional clubs and in other coaching positions at semi-professional and high-end amateur clubs situated in urban, more multi-cultural, locales. The extent to which these tentative assertions are rooted in empirical fact remains a moot point. However, what is a little clearer is that where such positions are held by 'visible' minority coaches, they tend to be on a part-time sessional basis, working with youth rather than adult players, and/or at clubs at the lower end of elite football spectrum.

4.5 The sample group of interviewees

4.5.1 Demographic background

In total, the sample group was made up of 40 interviewees drawn from a diverse range of 'visible' minority backgrounds in England (15), France (15) and the Netherlands (10). In England, interviewees were drawn from Black Caribbean (7), Black African (3) and South Asian (5) backgrounds. In France, interviewees were drawn from Black African (8), Black Antilles (1) and North African/Maghreb (6) backgrounds. Interviewees in the Netherlands were drawn from Surinamese (4), Moroccan (2), Turkish (2), and Moluccan (2) backgrounds. All interviewees were aged between 25 and 60 years old. Almost all interviewees were drawn from second or third generation 'visible' minority populations and were born in England, France or the Netherlands. A smaller number of, mainly, older, interviewees were drawn from first generation 'visible' minority populations and had lived in their countries of settlement since early childhood. Additionally, a small number of informal 'contextual' interviews were also undertaken with (white) senior officials working within the coach education units at national federations in England, France and the Netherlands.

4.5.2 Playing backgrounds

The majority of, mainly, black, interviewees had previously played professional football at clubs in national professional leagues in England, France, and the Netherlands. For example, all ten black interviewees in England had played professionally between 1971 and 2004 and had played between 300 and 600 games respectively. Six black interviewees had also represented the English or Dutch national team at first team or under 21's level. A significant number of interviewees had also previously played semi-professional and/or high-end amateur football in England, France or the Netherlands. For example, a number of interviewees had played out extensive careers in the CFA 1 and CFA 2 regional tiers of the game in France. Overall, former semi-professional and high-end amateur players were mainly, but, not exclusively, drawn from non-black, 'visible' minority populations, including South Asian groups in England, North African/Maghreb groups in France and Turkish groups in the Netherlands.

4.5.3 Coaching qualifications

Almost all interviewees in the sample group had begun undertaking coaching qualifications during or immediately after their playing careers had ended. All interviewees had successfully undertaken a range of lower level 'UEFA recognised' youth and adult coaching awards and had also undertaken the higher level 'UEFA endorsed' UEFA B or national equivalent awards. Further, almost all interviews in England and the Netherlands had also achieved the UEFA A award, including seven interviewees who had gone on to successfully complete the UEFA Pro-License. A number of interviewees in all three countries had also undertaken training to become coach educators and had delivered a range of lower and higher level coach education courses to aspiring coaches.

4.5.4 Coaching employment

All interviewees had previously worked – or were presently working - in paid coaching positions in football in England, France or the Netherlands. A small number of interviewees also had prior experience of working in paid coaching positions in other countries in Europe and Africa and in the USA or Canada. These paid coaching positions included working at a range of football bodies, including; professional clubs, semi-professional clubs, high-end amateur clubs, national and regional federations, and players unions. Key coaching positions previously or presently held at football bodies of this kind included; first team head coach, first team assistant head coach, first team support coach, reserve team head coach, youth academy director, or youth academy coach. To this end, the sample group featured interviewees with significant and varied experience of working in a variety of paid coaching positions across all tiers of the game in England, France and the Netherlands. Further, a number of interviewees had also previously worked – or were presently working – as coach educators for national and regional federations or other football bodies focusing on coach education and development.

4.6 Accessing and undertaking coach education

4.6.1 Enabling and disabling factors: an introduction

This section of the report draws on the findings from extensive interviews with 42 'visible' minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands to record their own experiences and the experiences of other 'visible' minority coaches in accessing and undertaking coaching qualifications. More specifically, this section examines the extent and ways in which a number of individual, cultural and structural factors have enabled and/or disabled the progression of 'visible' minority coaches along the vertical coach education pathway. In doing so, this section will focus on the following five key areas of analysis which emerged strongly from discussions with interviewees.

- Personal and professional motivations
- Lack of 'visible' minority role models
- Access, opportunities and networks
- Content, delivery and outcomes
- Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

4.6.2 Personal and professional motivations

Interviewees across all three countries referred to a number of personal and professional factors which were perceived to have enabled their own and other 'visible' minority coach's success in accessing and undertaking coaching qualifications. For example, interviewees drawn from mainly ex-professional playing backgrounds cited strong motivations, drive and commitment to access and complete coaching qualifications and to translate their prior playing success into the professional

coaching environment. Interviewees also referenced a series of ambitions to 'stay within the game' as professional adult or youth coaches once their playing careers had ended. This was notably the case amongst interviewees in England whose playing careers had been cut short through injury or who had been released by clubs at a relatively early age. Here, a strong sense of 'professional loss' and some pressing economic factors had heightened motivations towards - and quickened the pace of - the completion of coaching qualifications. For example:

'I think there is a personal determination amongst professional players given the hurdles they've had to overcome to be a player that drives them on to fulfil their ambition to stay in the game once they've finished playing. So I think it is a mind-set of those individuals in particular that enables them to do their qualifications as coaches'. Interviewee 3, England

'I had an early retirement at the age of 30 and I didn't really have a plan B in place. I just felt a little bit empty coming out the game when I wasn't kind of ready, and I think that kind of drew me back into the football industry really. It wasn't a factor of well there isn't many black coaches or anything like that, I just thought for me the best option is to get back into football and to start coaching youngsters because I enjoy that and then who knows where it will take me'. Interviewee 14, England

Conversely, a small number of, mainly, older, interviewees in all three countries suggested that some 'visible' minority ex-professional players lacked the requisite drive, commitment and motivation to do the 'hard yards' and 'graft' commensurate with achieving coaching awards. Comments of this kind relayed a general sense of 'stern fatherly disappointment' rather than a critical analysis of the racialised aptitude of 'visible' minority coaches. They also reflected the competitive performance led culture of the professional football environment in which the achievements of interviewees were framed within the context of individual effort, hard work and perseverance. Interviewees in England also referred to differing generational and financial priorities of some, mainly, younger, more affluent, 'visible' minority players and tendencies to pursue other business and employment opportunities outside of the football industry once their playing careers had ended.

Interviewees in France drew attention to key familial, financial and cultural considerations in limiting the aspirations of some 'visible' minority professional players to undertake coaching qualifications. To this end, interviewees alluded to the additional financial responsibilities of 'new migrant' players towards extended family members in France and their countries of familial origin. This was felt to have led to strong cultural expectations to focus on playing professional football for as long as possible in order to maximise economic reward, rather than planning ahead and making a personal investment in post-playing coaching careers. These disabling factors were felt to be especially apparent amongst players from Black African backgrounds. For example:

'We think that to be a footballer is prestigious, not being a coach. They think that if they go back to their village and you are a footballer, you will appear more successful. And you will bring money and gifts. I know that. I know you don't go from being a player to being a coach immediately. You have to wait, to prepare for the exams, to find a job. They don't want that because they believe they will be demeaned' Interviewee 11, France

'This is our problem. We need to send money to the family in Cameroon. That's why they still keep on playing very late to have wages and always send money. If you stop your career in a good club with a good wage, it's OK. You can save money and put it in training courses. I know one other from Cameroon. He has kept on playing. He did not want to stop because he said that his family needs to receive money in Douala. But he went from contract to contract, to less and less good level clubs, with

decreasing wage, rather than trying to pass exams to become a coach' Interviewee 9, France

4.6.3 Lack of 'visible' minority coach role models

A small number of interviewees across all three countries indicated that the lack of 'visible' minority role models in paid coaching positions in professional football or at national federations had not dissuaded them from undertaking coaching qualifications. In particular, a number of, mainly, older, interviewees referred to their historically limited opportunities to develop post-playing careers outside of football, their personal determination to succeed 'despite the odds', and the positive psychological driving force of the 'pioneer effect'. To this end, interviewees here framed their own successful completion of coaching awards within a wider context of individual effort and hard work and achieving success in spite of – rather than because of – the existence or absence of support networks within the football industry. For example:

'If you close your eyes and work hard, you can exceed at all. Suppose people or players feel disadvantaged, you have to work harder and neglect that' Interviewee 6, Netherlands

'You can't let it bother you. You can't be beaten by it. Some of us, especially those of us who have been around for a long time, have had to put up with all sorts of shit over the years. You just have to get on with it and work even harder. It's not right, but it's the way it is. You can't let other people's attitudes, or whatever the situation is, beat you, or stop you from being the best you can' Interviewee 15, England

However, conversely, there was a strong sense amongst the majority of interviewees that the historical lack of 'visible' minority role models in paid coaching positions at professional clubs and national federations had reduced motivations towards undertaking coaching qualifications. Whilst this was the case amongst interviewees in all three countries under review, these sentiments were expressed most strongly by interviewees in England. Drawing on their own experiences and the experiences of other 'visible' minority coaches, these interviewees referred to the negative experiences of a number of high profile and extensively qualified black coaches in the 1990s and 2000's who it was felt had been 'frozen out' of accessing paid coaching positions in the professional game. This was strongly felt to have acted as a major disincentive in limiting the aspirations, ambitions and motivations of coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds to pursue a career in the game as qualified coaches. Interviewees below offer some general and personal observations on this score:

'We had a number of high profile players who had come to the end of their careers, who were qualified, who had great playing careers, who were writing for jobs and not getting a response. After that we've had a real resistance from a generation of black players who were saying 'Well what's the point of going through the qualification process if there isn't going to be a job at the end of it, not even an interview at the end of it?'. Interviewee 2, England

'So in terms of the late 90's I'm finishing playing football. I've had years of looking at football and not seeing any black and minority ethnic role models. So my perception was 'I've not really got a chance in the coaching side of it because there's no black faces, there's no ethnic minority faces at that level, there's just none there so I'm not going to waste my time doing it'. That was my thought unfortunately, and it took me years to get out of that mind-set'. Interviewee 7, England

The above factors were also felt by interviewees across all three countries under review to have a particular resonance in explaining the low levels of non-black 'visible' minorities undertaking

coaching qualifications. This was felt to be especially the case for 'visible' minority groups amongst whom there had been a limited historical throughput into the professional game as players. For example, South Asians in England, Maghreb in France, and Turkish, Moroccan, and Moluccan groups in the Netherlands. To this end, interviewees suggested that many, non-black, 'visible' minority groups had been positioned outside of the culturally restricted occupational market place of paid coaching positions at professional football clubs. Consequently this was felt to have limited aspirations amongst these groups towards undertaking coaching qualifications, especially higher level UEFA endorsed awards considered requisite for employment at professional clubs. Interviewees in England and France comment further:

'There's a significant cost element attached to courses now. You've got to be deadly serious and it's got to benefit you as an individual within your career path. I think you would only really sit your A License coaching if you're serious about being involved in professional football on a full-time basis. Now I'm sure there's some great Asian coaches out there, but the question I would ask as an Asian is 'I'm doing all this work and what's at the end of it? What am I going to get for this? Is it going to get me any further? Why bother if there are no jobs in the game?' Interviewee 5, England

'It's about opportunities. If I put an advert out for a coach to work in my academy, they've got to be a B License as a minimum. Are there many Asian coaches out there who've got that? Probably not. Because it's not been seen by many Asians to think 'Well there's a career in it somewhere along the line' because traditionally there hasn't been. So it's not deemed to be at the forefront of anybody's mind to go on those courses and get in a position to have that opportunity'. Interviewee 13, England

'Maybe it has been because Abdel was manager of the training youth centre, I became a coach. When I was a trainee, he was the manager. He gave me advice when I had to stop playing. It is sure that models for kids today are, for the moment, football stars, not coaches, because there are so few. So very few are very interested in becoming a coach. But maybe it could be like me, if by chance they'd appreciate a coach they have had in their career, this is a model. What is a shame is that there are no Black coach, no Arab coach. So the young have no idea that a Black or Arab could be a coach, except in their local clubs, or like me because my youth coach was Algerian'. Interviewee 2, France

4.6.4 Access, opportunities and networks

A number of interviewees from mainly non-professional playing backgrounds alluded to the positive impact of targeted programmes designed to engage and 'skill-up' coaches in deprived urban locales. This was felt to have helped coaches from a range of ethnically diverse backgrounds to bypass some key financial barriers to undertaking coaching qualifications. More specifically, this was felt to have 'opened the door' for a number of 'visible' minority coaches to take the 'first steps on the ladder' of the coach education pathway. These sentiments were expressed most strongly by interviewees in France who referred to the work of the FFF/DTN to increase the numbers of qualified sports and football instructors in deprived urban locales where 'visible' minority population were disproportionately resident. This interventionist approach was felt to have enabled a subsidised pathway from youth work certification to 'entry point' and other lower level football qualifications, as well as heightening the profile of qualified coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds within amateur and semi-professional football club networks. For example:

'The first certification you get is not in football, it is in youth training. You need it to get into some places, local authorities, clubs, places where you have some kind of

regular occupation. After that you hear about opportunities, you learn that you have social rights to adult training, you get addresses or names to meet people. I learned that the district organizes free training sessions to get the first basic qualification in coaching, just to take care of the very young. We went to sessions which were organized by local authorities and the unemployment agency and we got our coaching certification that way' Interviewee 1, France

'I think among the Algerians you will find many coaches or instructors who have certificate in some kind of social work or youth work. Very often we have begun in kindergarten, in local initiatives with the kids. I was chosen by the youth training centre and it helped subsidise my training to become a coach. And when you want to coach youth, at a club, the chairmen like the fact you have experience working with kids' Interviewee 13, France

Conversely, in England and the Netherlands, interviewees felt that targeted efforts of this kind were a little more 'piecemeal' and heavily reliant on the efforts of national and regional football federations to tap into and utilise wider commercial and charitable sponsorship to this end. In England, interviewees also felt that access to 'ring-fenced' funding support of this kind was largely dependent on building relationships with key intermediaries at regional federations and that resources were often directed to support coaches at 'favoured' grassroots clubs working within the FA Charter Standard framework.

Interviewees across all three countries under review alluded to the beneficial impact of being within football networks as full-time, part-time or voluntary coaches at professional, semi-professional or high-end amateur clubs in terms of enabling them to access and complete coaching qualifications. In the first instance, this was felt to have positioned coaches favourably in terms of being identified, selected and supported to attend coach education courses by key mentors and senior figures at clubs. For example:

'The coach repeated all the time that I should apply for the BEES1. He gave me the application to send back to the football district, and at every training session he was asking 'did you fill the application'. Finally, I did it. Thanks to him I pass the BEES1, then BEES2. We discussed the exercises they gave me and he gave me help with them' Interviewee 7, France

'Once, the Chairman came to see me after a training session. At the moment, I was still playing. He said to me 'do you want to become coach? It could be a good idea to apply for the BEES. I saw you have authority, the others listen to you, and the young respect you. I think you could be a good coach for the youth teams. If you have the BEES, you will be paid. You could begin with the young and after go on to the first team. The club will pay for your exams, for me it is investment. What do you decide?' So I began to study and I got the BEES2 before I stopped playing' Interviewee 5, France

'I suppose at that time I was working at the community scheme and I was doing some coaching at the academy. The Head of Youth Development knew what I was about and that he could get on with me and obviously leave me and trust me to what I was doing, and he offered me the chance to do more qualifications and through that eventually I got the chance to do the Academy Directors License' Interviewee 13, England

Interviewees also felt that being pre-positioned as paid or voluntary coaches at professional clubs had enabled them to get practical experiences of coaching a range of younger and older elite level players. This was felt to have had a significant beneficial impact in enabling them to complete

relevant 'on the job' training elements of coach education courses. This was perceived to be especially useful with regard to the completion of higher level UEFA B and UEFA A courses which require greater levels of theoretical and experiential learning. For example:

'[The club] were great for me because they gave me a lot of experiences to work with the youth team and reserve teams at [the club] when I was just 22 years old. That helped to take me through my coaching qualifications, so when I went on my A License I'd already had experiences of coaching professionals so it wasn't particularly daunting for me'. Interviewee 9, England

A number of interviewees from ex-professional playing backgrounds also referenced the ongoing support they had received from key football bodies in terms of awareness raising, mentoring and the provision of financial support to cover the costs of coach education courses. This was especially the case in England where a number of interviewees referenced the positive role played by the Professional Footballers Association (PFA) in this respect. In particular, the work of the PFA was highly commended for enabling access to expensive higher level coach education courses to former professional players for whom the financial rewards of playing the game had been less readily apparent.

Conversely, interviewees from, mainly, non-professional, playing backgrounds referenced the negative impact of being positioned outside of these professional football networks. This was felt to have limited opportunities to access and undertake coaching qualifications, especially higher level UEFA B and UEFA A awards. In particular, it was felt to have positioned coaches outside of the 'eye-line' of key mentors and senior figures at professional clubs and national federations in terms of identification and selection for coach education courses. To this end, interviewees in France alluded to perceptions of the pivotal role played by the FFF/DTN in ensuring that places at higher level coach education courses were allocated to former professional players. Similarly, interviewees in the Netherlands felt that access to higher level coaching courses was prioritised by the KNVB towards former professional players rather than considering applicants with strong coaching track record across all levels of the game. For coaches with no prior professional playing experience, opportunities to access financial support networks provided by players unions and other football bodies were also much more limited. Further, opportunities to gain practical experience of working with elite level youth and adult players requisite for the completion of higher level coach education courses were also less readily apparent. Whilst these structural filters were felt to impact negatively on aspiring coaches from a range of ethnic backgrounds, interviewees felt that many non-black 'visible' minorities with little prior playing connection to the professional game were doubly excluded in this respect. In particular, there was a strong consensus amongst interviewees that these instances might in part account for the relative drop off rate in 'visible' minority coaches across the transition from lower to higher level coaching awards. Interviewees below comment further with particular regard to South Asians in England:

'I do feel that if people aren't in the game at a professional level it is difficult both financially and in terms of giving up your time. It's a lot of time and effort to get your qualifications. You really have to feel that there is going to be a benefit for you if you do achieve them, and for many Asian coaches, it's difficult to see what that benefit is'. Interviewee 1, England

'It's much more difficult if you're not working with players on a day to day basis. You really need to be in that environment and working with good players to help you get your A and B badges. I mean, I've seen coaches, you know, from ethnic minority backgrounds, from the grassroots, and it's hard for them. It's an additional barrier they have to face that the professionals sometimes take for granted' Interviewee 5, England

4.6.5 Content, delivery and outcomes

A number of interviewees across all three countries reflected positively on the professional delivery and applicability of the content of coach education courses. In the first instance, attendance at courses of this kind was felt to have engendered a series of positive personal outcomes, including; increased confidence, communication and organisational skills and enhanced self-esteem. Interviewees also reported on improved technical development skills in terms of principles of play, age appropriate learning and teaching styles, and methods of evaluating player performance. Interviewees suggested that undertaking coach education courses had also encouraged greater self-reflection on the application of existing knowledge and had helped to shape career pathway preferences towards coaching young people or adults. These beneficial impacts were felt by interviewees to be especially important in enabling the transition from 'doing' to 'organising' the game. Interviewees also spoke positively about opportunities to observe different coaching styles and approaches and for information sharing and knowledge transfer between coaches at courses. This was felt to provide a platform for collaborative learning and to help build – and position 'visible' minority coaches more centrally within – coaching networks within the professional game. The interview below reflects on his own experiences:

'On the A License, there were lots of managers and ex-players, so you learn a lot from people on that as well. I think you get contacts because there's a lot of people on my course that are now managing at first team level in the football league that I'm able to pick up the phone and talk to, so I think the contacts is the key thing'.

Interviewee 9, England

A little less positively, interviewees in all three countries alluded to the perceived favouritism shown by coach educators to high profile ex-professional players and the tendency to accord much less value and status to coaches from non-professional playing backgrounds. This was felt to be especially the case at higher level coach education courses in which the successful completion of coaching qualifications acts as an essential conduit into paid coaching positions in the professional game. This imbalance in everyday interactions and processes of assessment was considered to have had a negative on 'visible' minorities with little experience of playing the game at the elite level. More specifically, these coaches were felt by interviewees to face additional pressures with regard to building confidence, proving competence, and gaining acceptance within the coach education environment. The interviewee below offers some personal observation with particular respect to experiences of South Asians in England:

'If people can see that you can play the game it almost becomes an acceptance. So that sort of helped for me, because I could play. But the other Asian guy, he was a reasonable coach, but he certainly wasn't a player, and he wasn't attached to a club. So straight away I think there were negatives for him. You could see that the others on the course made a judgment if you like, which is wrong, but that does happen, so I think some of the Asian lads haven't been made to feel valued in that environment, and if you don't feel valued that will affect your confidence, especially on the practical side of the courses' Interviewee 5, England

For interviewees from ex-professional playing backgrounds, the capacity to successfully complete coaching awards was perceived to be intrinsically linked with their prior experiences of playing the game at the elite level. In particular, interviewees commented on the positive 'knock-on effect' of working with high quality coaches during their playing careers and accruing applied football knowledge to this end. Interviewees from England and France comment further:

'I'm fortunate that I've had a good career as a player. I've played at a high level and I've worked under lots of different coaches. So I've got some idea about how football works at those sorts of levels. Now that doesn't mean I can coach. But it does give

me a good foundation and that knowledge has helped me as I've worked through the courses, because I can bring my own experience to it and help myself make sense of it all'. Interviewee 7, England

'I played in Ligue 1, so it is easier to apply yourself for preparation to certificates. You have the technical and tactical level. It also helped for my examination because it gave me ideas for the training sessions' Interviewee 5, France

Conversely, interviewees felt that for individuals with no experience of playing or being coached in the professional game, the successful completion of coaching awards was markedly more difficult. This lack of experiential knowledge was felt to impact disproportionately on many non-black 'visible' minorities such as South Asian groups in England, Maghreb groups in France, and Turkish, Moroccan and Moluccan groups in the Netherlands and to account in part for the low numbers achieving higher level coaching awards. The interviewee below comments further:

'If it's an Asian lad who's not played the game but has good knowledge and understanding and really wants to progress, I can see it being more difficult. If they've not been around the game it's going to be more difficult to meet the standards required at the higher end'. Interviewee 6, England

Interviewees in all three countries also referenced the enabling influence of wider educational qualifications in helping to complete coaching awards. In particular, academic and vocational degrees or diplomas in sports related subjects. These wider educational studies were considered to have significant transferable benefit in enabling the successful completion of the increasingly theoretical and written elements of higher level coach education courses. The interviewees below reflect on their own experiences in this respect:

'When you're a professional player, the union offers you sessions to manage your money and to educate you and help for your post-career. I did it, not everybody does it. Some players prefer sleeping and going around than reading and studying. But if you read, if you study, if you're interested in different things, it is good because you can become better at writing in the exams' Interviewee 5, France

'I did a degree in Sports Studies and a Masters in Business Management. I think the way football is going with the EPPP it's become quite an academic job. There's a lot of paperwork involved, and with coaching courses you've got to complete folders, essays and assignments. For the Academy Managers License I had to do a 4,000 word essay. So I think given the fact that I'd done a dissertation and a project for my Masters it all enabled me to write a little bit more freely about football and prepared me for the theoretical side of the coaching courses'. Interviewee 9, England

Conversely, interviewees felt that the capacity to process and convey knowledge requisite for completion of higher level coaching awards was likely to be diminished amongst coaches with less formal educational skills. Whilst this was considered to be a potential disabling factor for coaches from a range of ethnic backgrounds, it was felt to have additional resonance for some 'visible' minority groups across key cultural and national contexts. For example, in England, interviewees referenced wider concerns regarding the educational under-achievement (or systemic failure) of young black males in the English schools system and consequences for academic learning within the coach education environment. In France and the Netherlands interviewees referred to the limited language and literacy skills of some 'newly settled' and 'culturally distinct' 'visible' minority populations, especially those drawn from socio-economically deprived locales. This was felt to engender additional challenges in mastering some of the more theoretical and written elements of coach education courses. For example:

'There is a common point between football players. We didn't go to school very far. But what you see is that at some high level among people working in the DTN they find those who know to speak or to write. They were not well known professional players, but they were interested in football tactics or techniques' and they are able to write what they do. For many of us, this is a real problem to write in the same way' Interviewee 6, France

In all three countries, interviewees also referred to the tendencies of white coach educators to design and deliver courses in culturally normative and 'taken for granted' white frames of reference. This was felt to favour white coaches for whom there was a greater educational and cultural 'fit' with these more traditional methods of learning and teaching, and practices of classroom management. Further, these largely unconscious processes of delivering coach education were felt to engender feelings of cultural isolation and to disadvantage some 'visible' minority coaches, especially at higher level courses. Interviewees felt this was especially the case for 'visible' minorities who had experienced negative classroom encounters in the past and/or who lacked the academic confidence and self-esteem to engage positively and productively in these formalised pedagogical environments. Interviewees in France and the Netherlands articulate these themes further:

'Generally we were not good in school. We left very early to play football. School is a bad experience for us. So it is difficult to go back to school when you want to go into getting certification' Interviewee 10, France

'Once you start talking, you start thinking 'don't I talk with too much of a dialect? Is my language and grammar correct?'' Those insecurities are just common amongst us' Interviewee 9, Netherlands

'There is always a problem with language, when you have to explain and above all to write. It is not so important at the lower level, but after it is more difficult. You need to have higher football level experiences and you have more things to explain, why you choose this exercise, why you organize your training session in this way. It is more a school experience in a way. You have to be at ease with a kind of academic expression, which is not easy for us, Blacks or Arabs. Those who succeed are those who have a mix of top level football experience and academic ease. But when you are in training sessions, we, Blacks or Arabs, are with former [white] players who are very close to the instructors in the way to talk, to express their ideas. I think we have some inferiority complex' Interviewee 3, France

4.6.6 Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

The findings in section 4.3.3 of this report highlighted some general patterns in relation to the under-representation of 'visible' minorities undertaking coaching qualifications. Drawing on their experiences of attending coach education courses, interviewees in England, France and the Netherlands echoed these more statistical findings and suggested that whilst they had noticed a small rise in the numbers of 'visible' minorities at lower level coaching courses this had not yet translated to the higher end of the coach education pathway. Interviewees in each of the three countries also noted the relative absence of 'visible' minority coach educators across all tiers of the coach education pathway, with the exception of France in relation to the delivery of lower level coaching courses in urban, multicultural, locales.

Despite the demographic heterogeneity of the coach education environment, a number of interviewees across all three countries felt that courses they had attended had been inclusive and welcoming to coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds. These interviewees reported they had not experienced any differential treatment at an interactional level or in terms of the assessment

process. Further, they did not report experiences of personal discomfort or cultural isolation at courses of this kind. For some, mainly, older, interviewees, the predominantly white landscape of the coach education environment was reflective of their experiences as players and something they had 'got used to' over time. In other cases, interviewees cited their prior high profile status as former professional players and/or their present roles as paid coaches at professional clubs as key factors in ensuring positive experiences at coach education courses. To this end, there was an explicit recognition amongst some interviewees that status, credibility and being 'known' within the game were key factors which had enabled equitable treatment and an inclusive learning environment at courses. Two interviewees from England comment further:

'I wouldn't say it was anything to do with white or black. I just went on the course and because I was an ex-professional I knew lots of people so you're kind of recognized. That was probably the most welcoming thing because we kind of nearly all knew each other. I never felt isolated or like I had to sort of sit in my corner and be quiet. There was no racial connotation to anything that happened, the way I got spoken to, the way I interacted with other people, it was fine. I was able to express myself within the course'. Interviewee 14, England

'They were very professional in the way they acted and delivered and you're made welcome. I've not personally had that bad experience in the respect of being singled out if you know what I mean. I think it helps if you carry a title, and the fact that I was part of a professional outfit really helps in terms of establishing your credibility at these courses'. Interviewee 13, England

In contrast to the more inclusive experiences outlined above, a number of interviewees in all three countries reported experiencing overt and culturally coded forms of racism during coach education courses. This was especially the case in England where interviewees from South Asian backgrounds recalled experiences of explicit racist name calling and more subtle, nuanced and codified forms of racial 'banter' premised on a series of cultural stereotypes and misconceptions. These racist actions and behaviours were reportedly expressed by other coaches and by coach educators at courses and had a deeply negative emotional impact on the interviewees in question. In these specific cases, the apparent lack of recourse against expressions of racism and the consequent pressure to ignore rather than challenge behaviours of this kind further heightened interviewee's sense of cultural isolation from the coach education environment. These interviewees felt strongly that incidences and experiences of this kind had discouraged a number of South Asian coaches from continuing to engage with the coach education pathway, especially at higher level awards where the demographic make-up of coaches and coach educators was almost uniformly white. The interviewees below offer some deeply personal accounts of these negative experiences:

'I walked into the classroom with a beard and a turban, so straight away I did get comments. There was a Premier League player who said a racist remark and it was overboard. I looked over at the coach educator and he actually put his head down and he didn't know how to deal with the situation. I looked over at the other assessors and one of them was laughing and the other two had little smirks on their faces. I thought I can't challenge it there and then because when it's a residential environment you're eating together, studying together, you're on the football field together, so it was just a case of biting your tongue really. I had to put up with it'. Interviewee 1, England

'When I did my UEFA B there was a coach educator who throughout the two weeks that I was there referred to me as 'Gunga Din'. Everyone else felt that it was quite humorous and the others decided that because the coach had called it me, they could call me it as well. When I challenged the coach educator I think he became a little bit more self-reflective and chose to apologise in front of the group for his

behaviour. But ultimately that doesn't mean that he hasn't done it since and isn't going to do it again' Interviewee 4, England

Interviewees also identified more subtle and nuanced actions and behaviours such as being viewed with 'suspicion' and 'surprise' and being spoken to and dealt with differently by coach educators and other coaches at courses. These interviewees felt actions and behaviours of this kind were underpinned by a series of deeply embedded and misplaced cultural stereotypes regarding the perceived (bad) attitude and (limited) aptitude of 'visible' minority coaches. For example:

'I can honestly say to you that they are surprised. I go to football league meetings where it is all Academy Managers or coaching events as part of the national game or whatever and they look across the room and go 'Is he in the right place?' You can get that feeling by people looking at you. I'll be honest with you, I've seen it and I've felt it, but not as obvious as you used to get in the 80's when you were playing and it was blatantly in your face. It's a bit more sort of brushed under the carpet or hidden if you like' Interviewee 13, England

'I think they are really surprised, especially the chairmen or all the federation's representatives, even some coaches at the training, when you speak without accent, when you wear a suit. It is just like we should come to the training barefooted, with lucky charms. For some it is unimaginable to have us pass exams, Interviewee 9, France

'There is a view that the black trainees don't seem to care about the lessons. People see them as nonchalant, the way they move to go to the blackboard. Everything is noted by the instructor. It will be written 'nonchalant' in his file' teacher' Interviewee 11, France

'We are judged on the way we talk, on our attitudes. As I practiced boxing in the past, I learnt some kind of modest attitude. How I present myself. But I know that [other 'visible' minority coach] is considered disdainful by the instructors' Interviewee 4, France

Whilst these racially codified interactions were felt to be largely unintentional and reflective of a distinct 'cultural awareness deficit' on the part of white coaches and coach educators, they were nonetheless felt to have impacted negatively in contributing to a heightened sense of cultural isolation from the coach education environment amongst 'visible' minority coaches. The interviewees below reflect on their personal experiences on this score:

'I think people do things and they don't realize the consequences of them. I've been at coach educational things where I'm the only black guy and there's about five of us talking together. But the guy who's talking doesn't address me at all, he's making eye contact with the others and I'm thinking 'I'm here as well'. I don't think that's a purposeful thing to leave me out of the group, but there's a lot of that and it's kind of subliminal, and it has an effect on me as person because I think 'Why am I being left out of the conversation? Am I welcome here? Do they really want me here or am I just making up numbers?' Interviewee 12, England

'I stopped going to the training lessons. They didn't want to listen to you. They were not interested in your experience. How can an Arab have any idea? It was worse than at school. The problem is co-optation. They choose themselves. They choose those who are the same than them, who played with them, and they're not interested in any-one else or what any-one else has to say' Interviewee 12, France

4.7 Accessing and undertaking coach employment

4.7.1 Enabling and disabling factors: an introduction

This section of the report draws on the findings from extensive interviews with 42 'visible' minority coaches in England, France and the Netherlands to record their own experiences and the experiences of other 'visible' minority coaches in accessing and undertaking paid coaching positions at professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur clubs. More specifically, this section examines the extent and ways in which a number of individual, cultural and structural factors have enabled and/or disabled the progression of 'visible' minority coaches to access and sustain coaching employment. In doing so, this section will focus on the following five key areas of analysis which emerged strongly from discussions with interviewees.

- Personal and professional motivations
- Lack of 'visible' minority coach role models
- Qualifications, experiences, and employability
- Access, opportunities and networks
- Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

4.7.2 Personal and professional motivations

Interviewees in England, France and the Netherlands referenced a series of personal and professional factors which were perceived to have both enabled and/or disabled their own and other 'visible' minority coach's success in accessing and undertaking paid coaching positions at professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur football clubs. For example, interviewees drawn from mainly ex-professional playing backgrounds cited strong personal motivations, drive and commitment to complete coaching qualifications and to develop as professional coaches within familiar club based environments in their countries of settlement or at clubs in their familial countries of origin. Interviewees also referenced strong motivations to 'stay within the game', to pursue opportunities to establish a life-long career path as coaches within the higher echelons of the game, and to achieve commensurate economic reward for their efforts.

Conversely, a smaller number of, mainly, older, interviewees from ex-professional playing backgrounds felt that motivational 'drivers' of this kind had become lessened in recent years as a result of the growth of the wider football industry and the increased range of opportunities for players to develop lucrative post-playing careers outside of club football. This was especially the case in England where interviewees referred to the 'explosion' of broadcast media coverage of football and the growth and take-up of opportunities for positions as commentators and pundits. These new media opportunities were felt to be especially appealing to formerly high profile 'visible' minority players in offering avenues for economic advancement in ways which were felt to have been denied across the transition from playing to coaching in the professional game.

4.7.3 Lack of 'visible' minority coach role models

A number of interviewees across all three countries did not feel that the lack of 'visible' minority coaches in paid coaching and management positions had personally dissuaded them from pursuing careers of this kind in the higher echelons of the game. In particular, a number of, mainly, older, interviewees alluded to their historically limited opportunities to develop post-playing careers outside of football, their personal determination to succeed 'despite the odds' and the positive psychological driving force of the 'pioneer effect'. This cohort of interviewees had achieved significant success as coaches in the game and tended to frame these achievements as resulting from hard work, effort, perseverance, and 'inner strength'. On this latter score, some interviewees here suggested that their prior experiences of overt racism, prejudice and unequal treatment as

players had 'hardened their attitudes' and encouraged increased focus towards attaining key goals as coaches.

Nonetheless, there was a strong overall consensus of opinion amongst interviewees across all three countries which referred to the disincentivising impact of the lack of 'visible' minority coach role models in limiting aspirations towards pursuing careers of this kind. In particular, interviewees reported that they and many other 'visible' minority coaches had become 'disappointed' and 'disgruntled' with the continued lack of opportunities to access paid coaching positions. In some cases, this lack of faith in the closed system of coach recruitment at professional football clubs was felt to have discouraged a number highly qualified 'visible' minority coaches from applying for coaching positions and led them to 'drop out' of the professional coaching labour market. This was especially the case in England. Here, a number of interviewees who had previously held senior coaching and management positions at professional clubs reported experiencing a marked lack of success in applying for subsequent posts. In some cases, interviewees here had since pursued alternative careers in the broadcast media or in administrative or coaching roles at other football bodies. The interviewees below comment further on the relationship between the lack of 'visible' minority coach role models and consequent limited motivations, aspirations and ambitions:

'Because there are only one or two black Managers in employment at the highest level, and that's where most people watch the game, I suppose sub-consciously they think 'Why aren't there any role models? Why is football an industry where I've got absolutely no chance of getting a job?' Now, if you don't see any role models doing a job then you're not going to be drawn towards it, you're not going to be inspired by it, you're not going to train for it, and you're not going to waste your time applying for it' Interviewee 10, England

'A lot of black players want to stay in the game but they don't see a future in it. I think the lack of role models deters them because they don't want to go into an industry where even if you've got the qualifications you struggle to get an opportunity and where you might only get one chance and one shot at it and then you're never seen again, so why put themselves in that position' Interviewee 4, England

Further, some interviewees indicated that that the lack of 'visible' minority coach role models had led to increased tendencies for some unemployed 'visible' minority coaches to actively seek out paid coaching opportunities in their familial countries of origin or in other countries offering employment of this kind. This was especially the case with regard to Maghreb and Black African coaches in France, and Turkish coaches in the Netherlands. Whilst in some cases the pursuit of these global coach employment opportunities was felt to reflect some key personal and cultural preferences, in other cases it was felt that preferences of this kind had been strongly shaped by limited opportunities for advancement within the football industry in their countries of settlement.

4.7.4 Qualifications, experience and employability

In section 4.6.5 of this report, interviewees reported positively on the beneficial impact of coach education courses in enabling increased personal and technical development and the acquisition of nationally accredited qualifications. Here, a number of interviewees in all three countries drew positive linkages between achieving higher level coaching awards, the wider shift towards a qualification based framework for coach employment, and the consequent increased employability of qualified coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds. This was especially the case in England where some interviewees reported this had led to the gradual 'opening up' of opportunities for qualified 'visible' minority coaches to access a range of coaching positions at professional clubs. The interviewees below offer some personal accounts on this score:

'I think the fact that I did my awards and I was an A licensed coach pretty much by the time I was 21, I think that made people sort of stand up and go 'Hang on a minute, he's not bad'. So I think people looked at the qualifications that I'd got rather than looking at the colour of my skin and thought 'You know what, maybe he's worth a chance' Interviewee 9, England

'On the professional side of things its I suppose it's given me the opportunity to be able to coach at this level really because without the qualifications I certainly wouldn't be in the job that I'm in now' Interviewee 14, England

In section 4.6.5 of this report, a number of interviewees across all three countries alluded to the positive impact of being positioned within professional club networks in terms of enabling opportunities to work with elite level players and fulfil the practical 'on the job' requirements of higher level coaching awards. Here, interviewees also reported that experiences of this kind had helped them to 'show commitment', 'establish competence', and 'increase visibility' to employers at professional clubs. To this end, interviewees drew linkages between coaching experiences and increased employability with regard to promotion within existing club coaching infrastructures and strengthening applications for paid coaching positions at other professional clubs. For example:

'I think you have to build up a reputation somewhere, and that's what I'm trying to do now really. I suppose to learn my trade again and I'm learning all the time. I think if I stay at [the club] it allows me that opportunity to learn more and build up a reputation as a good coach. That's really important because you've got a connection and you build a reputation so that people can't help but want to employ you, whether that be in better positions at this club or at other clubs' Interviewee 7, England

'I went down and met the chairman and I think because of my coaching background at club level and with the national under 21's that helped in the interview. He's reading my resume and it looks OK, it reads that I've got every badge, I've been with the u21s, I've done my time at academies, and that helped me through the door in the first place and then helped me to get the job' Interviewee 6, England

Despite the positive assertions outlined above, a number of interviewees argued that 'visible' minority coaches continued to be positioned disadvantageously within the qualifications, experience and employability matrix as a result of playing 'catch-up' in achieving high level coaching awards requisite for employment at professional clubs. Further, interviewees drew attention to the 'catch 22' situation experienced by many 'visible' minority coaches who lacked the relevant coaching experience to be positioned competitively in the coaching labour market whilst simultaneously being denied opportunities to gain experiences of this kind at professional clubs. This dual exclusion was considered to be especially marked for non-black 'visible' minority coaches whose lack of professional playing experience had positioned them beyond key 'insider' support networks and outside of the cultural marketplace for coaching appointments at professional clubs. Interviewees in England and France comment further in this respect:

'If you look at those who are unemployed, and there is a lot, you find former first division players, sometimes with some caps. The problem here is who goes through the trials of certification? Not many Black or Arabs, they didn't go for it' Interviewee 6, France

'In terms of the academies, the jobs are being advertised a lot more. But for some time and for some time to come, the black coaches have been playing catch up because they're having to get their qualifications, whereas there's a huge mass of white coaches who've already got it. If you look at the job descriptions for some of

the EPPP posts, within that criteria they're looking for people with academy experience, so that almost immediately wipes out a load of the possible black applicants and so it is still a totally white landscape in that respect' Interviewee 4, England

'I think it's down to South Asian coaches not having the experience and qualifications that are needed to work in professional football. So I think at the moment it's a vicious cycle where they don't have the experience, they're not going to get the experience until the clubs give them that experience, but the clubs won't appoint them until they get that experience' Interviewee 5, England

A little more critically, interviewees in each of the countries under review suggested that the relationship between coaching qualifications, experience and employability was even less clear cut in practice. To this end, interviewees argued that senior decision makers at professional clubs had traditionally adopted (and continued to adopt) much less formalised and less equitable approaches to coach recruitment. These practices of coach recruitment were felt to be based on personal preference, sponsored mobility and patronage rather than a measured examination of the qualifications and experience of aspiring coaches. They were also felt to favour 'known' (white) coaches from within the dominant social and cultural networks of the professional football industry and to gravitate against 'visible' minority coaches with fewer ties to this informally established occupational marketplace. In some cases, these normative and deeply inequitable approaches to coach recruitment were cited by interviewees as a key factor in informing their decision to 'drop out' of applying for coaching positions within the professional game. The interviewees in England and the Netherlands offer some personal accounts to this end:

'There's a lot of people who just haven't got a real clue and they'll pick people at their football club who they just get on with basically, and they don't really care whether they're qualified or not because they've got to fit. So if you say 'Right, you go and get your qualifications and you will get a job' it's actually incorrect. Because that person can go and get fully qualified, he can get his UEFA Pro Licence, and he turns up to an interview with a less qualified coach, and if the Chairman likes the less qualified coach, he's going to get the job. That happened to me, and that's why in the end I just thought I've had enough of this and I packed it all in' Interviewee 10, England

'I was pretty well qualified compared to everybody else at the club academy. I was more qualified than most. But after seven years I was still working with the under 12s and I wanted to progress up. I felt I had the capabilities but it never happened and I saw people come in and move above me with less qualifications and experience. I didn't feel right about what was happening and I got really disillusioned. I didn't feel that they gave me good enough reasons for not promoting me. It was a big disappointment for me and so I felt I had to leave. I haven't applied for coaching jobs from that point. I thought if something like that could happen to me at [the club], which was my club, what's going to happen if I go to another club. So that was my mind-set. I thought I'm not going to put myself in those sorts of situations ever again because it was really quite damaging for me' Interviewee 12, England

'It does not matter whether you are a good coach or not. If you know others who are willing to give you a chance, you will become a coach. I find that very discouraging for those who have studied to become a coach but who do not have that network. Those are not picked for a coaching position' Interviewee 11, Netherlands

4.7.5 Access, opportunities and networks

The findings in section 4.4.1 of this report outlined the shape of coaching infrastructures at professional clubs in England, France and the Netherlands and the ways in which responsibility for coach recruitment were allocated to club owners and key staff across the senior operational tiers of clubs of this kind. In this section, interviewees in all three countries commented on the ways in which these processes of coach recruitment had enabled and/or disabled opportunities for qualified 'visible' minority coaches to access coaching employment. In the first instance, interviewees suggested that very few professional clubs publicly advertised or operated open application processes for senior coaching positions. Rather, coach recruitment was much more commonly initiated through practices of personal recommendation, sponsored mobility and patronage on the part of club owners, directors, and the first team coaching team. These approaches to identifying and appointing coaching staff were felt to replicate mechanisms for the targeted recruitment of players. To this end, interviewees felt that networks based mechanisms of coach recruitment in professional football differed markedly - and were much less transparent - than those in other areas of public life where there has developed a much stronger adherence to observing equal opportunities policies in employment. The interviewees below comment further in this respect:

'The way the football industry works is that if you've played with someone, you live in the same area as someone, you might have grown up with someone, that's normally the way how you get a job within the game. It's kind of like a bit of code really. So in terms of recruitment, it is pretty much the opposite of what you really want it to be. You want it to be open and transparent, but football doesn't work like that, it works on trust, friendships and things like that' Interviewee 8, England

'I think football is quite a unique environment or industry where more than any other job it's a lot about who you know. It's about friends in the game and calling on favours, and the game is a lot like that. You only have to see how managers drag people about with them when they get new jobs and the backroom staff. So without a proper recruitment process, advertising, equal opportunities and all of that, it's still about how you know that gets you jobs' Interviewee 5, England

In light of the commonly practiced methods of coach recruitment outlined above there was a strong consensus amongst interviewees that access to senior coaching positions at professional clubs was heavily reliant on being positioned favourably within the dominant social and cultural networks of the professional football industry. To this end, interviewees drew clear linkages between capacities for personal and professional networking within the playing, coaching and administrative fraternity of football and an increased likelihood of being considered for paid coaching positions at professional clubs. This was especially the case for interviewees from ex-professional playing backgrounds who drew on their own experiences to identify three main conduits through which networking of this kind had taken place and had enabled them access to paid coaching positions at clubs. Firstly, interviewees alluded to the beneficial impact of building and maintaining personal friendships and relationships with former playing colleagues and other key staff at clubs over time. Interviewees from England, France and the Netherlands offer some personal and observational reflections on this score:

'One of the solutions is to be in a network. It means that you are friends with a well-known coach. You're friends because you played together or because you worked previously in the same club. For example, you're not the main coach, but you were with him when the team has been promoted. This is a chance to be part of a staff without being the main coach.' Interviewee 3, France

'The job at [club 1] was through a friend who was working at the club. He knew that I was playing non-league football and that I had a little bit of time on my hands and

offered me some part-time coaching work. It quickly developed into full-time work, and then the same guy got a job at [club 2] and took me with him. So it's been knowing someone within the game that gives you the sort of leg up to get the jobs. Networking, knowing people and building a relationship' Interviewee 5, England

'People say it's what you know and who you know. I mean I'd spoken to [the manager] probably every couple of months for years since we finished playing. Then I got a call out of the blue saying he needed a development coach because one had gone. We met and discussed what he was looking for. He knew about me, what I could do, and I took the job at [club 1]. A few years later when he left for [club 2], he offered me the job of assistant manager and I took it' Interviewee 6, England

'It is important in the football world that you establish contacts here and there, even if that means that you start a conversation with those who pay your salary after the match. I was always open to people, also with sponsors, they also want to speak to you, and then you just talk to those people' Interviewee 12, Netherlands

In the second instance, interviewees referred to the increased likelihood of accessing paid coaching positions at clubs at which 'visible' minority coaches had previously had a strong connection with as a former player. These assertions were borne out by wider statistical analysis. For example, 17 out of the 20 'visible' minority coaches employed in senior coaching positions at professional clubs in England in 2013 had previously played for clubs at which they had since coached or were presently coaching. This was especially the case for interviewees, many of whom had first accessed coaching employment at clubs at which they had finished their playing careers. Interviewees in France extended this notion to include the concept of 'guardian' or 'stalwart' players who were perceived to have exhibited trust, loyalty and fidelity to their clubs as players and whose professional conduct had been rewarded by club chairmen and key intermediaries at clubs with opportunities to assume coaching contracts. Whilst the notion of 'guardians' is applicable to former players from a range of ethnic backgrounds, it is argued here that in France former players from 'visible' minority backgrounds who have accessed paid coaching employment at clubs have been those who have been more widely perceived as exhibiting these 'guardian' qualities. Interviewees in England and France comment further on the relationship between prior club connections and realised coaching opportunities:

'I think that you get more currency and opportunity as a former player at any football club. I think there is always that thing amongst club owners and amongst the fans that it's a good fit for a player to come through as a coach and manage the club. If we look at the current crop of black coaches, they've all had an association with the clubs that they're employed by. They've had a good playing career and their first step into the game has been via their old club' Interviewee 4, England

'I got a call from [the academy manager] within a year of leaving [the club] basically inviting me back to be involved on the youth side working with the u12's team. So I thought 'Yes, this is a fantastic opportunity to come back, start coaching, develop my coaching skills and finish off my coaching badges, and see where it takes me'.
Interviewee 12, England

'When you coach a team, it is very often because the chairman knows you, he even hired you. This is my case. He accepted the coach's advice to give me the youth and then to coach the first team. As a player I have been distinguished among the others as reliable and trustworthy' Interviewee 8, France

Extending the notion of the 'guardian' player, interviewees in all three countries suggested that players who had previously exhibited strong leadership qualities and/or had held captaincy positions

were often perceived to have the authority, competence and man-management skills to become good coaches. This was felt by a number of interviewees to have enabled their own pathways into paid coaching positions at clubs. Further, captaincy positions were felt to enable greater levels of personal contact with senior decision making figures at clubs and to position captains more favourably in terms of future coaching appointments. Interviewees in England and France comment further:

'There is something you learn, that the coaches are always looking at you and hearing you. Information runs away very quickly. They all know each other, they talk about the players. After a game, they look how you react, if you're cool or unhappy, if you discuss what happened, what could have been done. When he named me as captain, he said 'I saw how you are, you will do a good job'. And before the game, after the training sessions, he spoke with me, we discussed different things. I took his position after he retired. But I am sure he talked a lot about me. They all do this'
Interviewee 7, France

'I was always a kind of a leader type character and I captained the teams I played for, so I believed that I could always affect people around me on and off the football pitch. I suppose that set me up in what I do now, but it also set me up in terms of how other people thought about me and that's helped me to get invites for interviews and job offers and so on'. Interviewee 14, England

Interviewees also drew attention to linkages between attendance at coach education courses, personal networking and increased opportunities to access senior coaching positions at professional football clubs. To this end, a number of interviewees felt that attendance at coach education courses had provided an important conduit through which to build personal relationships and friendships with other coaches and coach educators and to 'heighten visibility' in the professional coaching marketplace. The interviewees below offer some illustrative personal accounts of the cumulative benefits of networking at courses of this kind:

'They're great networking opportunities because you might well meet someone on that course who's going to go and be a successful Manager and later on he thinks 'Do you know what, he's someone I might want on my staff as well'. I mean, I've been on courses with people and you're just chatting and six months later you've had a phone call, 'I remember you on that course, there's a position that's come up at the club, are you interested', and I've taken the job'. Interviewee 8, England

'When I did my A License (Manager A) was one of the coach educators so if I hadn't gone on the course he wouldn't have known me. And I was working at [a club academy] on a voluntary basis just to keep my skills up and help me through the qualifications. Then (Manager A) become the manager of the club where I'm volunteering and an opportunity arose for a permanent position at the academy and I put myself forward and he knows me, he knows I'm a good coach, he knows what I'm all about, and I get the job. Years later when he's moved to another club he phones me and offers me the assistant manager position. So I think what happens in the game is that managers tend to go with the people that they know, and I'd put myself in his eye-line really'. Interviewee 11, England

Despite the positive accounts referred to above, there was a general consensus amongst interviewees in all three countries that experiences and outcomes of this kind remained a relatively rare occurrence rather than a normative feature of the coach recruitment landscape for 'visible' minority coaches. Further, there was a strong feeling that the heavy reliance on networks based methods of coach recruitment at professional clubs had traditionally gravitated against potential applicants from 'visible' minority backgrounds who were positioned outside of the dominant social

and cultural networks of the football industry. This was especially the case for 'visible' minority coaches with no prior experience of playing or being coached in the professional game and who were largely excluded from consideration for coaching posts at professional clubs. To this end, these practices of networks based 'insider' recruitment were felt to have limited opportunities for mainly, non-black, 'visible' minority coaches and to account in part for their relative absence within professional club coaching infrastructures. Interviewees in England and France comment further on these structural filters and their impact on narrowing the demographic scope of the professional club coaching workforce:

'I think you need to have that starting point of being professional players to even get a chance of a job. Not that you can't be a great coach without that, but it's difficult to get into the system. The system is notoriously very closed and difficult to let what you'd called 'outsiders' in. So professional players certainly have an advantage in that respect because they're better known, more visible, and more trusted in that they've been shown to perform at the highest level' Interviewee 7, England

'It's hard enough to get black players with long term careers into the coaching ranks at clubs. For the Asian community, it's an even bigger struggle, it's really difficult. It's twice as hard for them for them because there hasn't been that front load of players in the professional game' Interviewee 12, England

'I have succeeded to coach in the National because I did not meet racism among club representatives or youth coaches. But this is because we are in the Paris area. I think I should not say the same thing if I had to coach somewhere else in France. It is sure you think that you have to stop because it is too difficult to find another interesting challenge. The problem is to be part of a network. If you played in professional football, you are in the network of those who played professional. Not me. My network is local and outside football, maybe too Black. So I think I could drop out, not leaving football, but leaving France, going where nobody knows you, where there is no network of old friends, in America or in Canada'. Interviewee 3, France

Interviewees also felt that access to paid coaching positions at elite end professional clubs was informed by the level at which former professional players had played the game prior to becoming coaches. This was especially the case in France, where interviewees felt strongly that Ligue 1 and Ligue 2 clubs increasingly recruited coaches at all levels of their internal coaching infrastructure from a limited cohort of former Ligue 1 and international players. Similarly, interviewees in all three countries referred to increased tendencies of elite level clubs to recruit high profile foreign coaches. In almost all cases, these foreign coaches were drawn from White European or White South American backgrounds. To this end, in France at least, it was strongly felt that whilst there were evidenced examples of 'visible' minority coaches in the lower tiers of the professional game and in the semi-professional game in the National, CFA 1 and CFA 2, there was a distinct 'glass ceiling' effect which limited their progression to the highest two divisions of club football. For example:

'For the moment, I think the best we can get is like me or [other 'visible' minority coach] coaching in the National, or leaving France to Africa, the States or Gulf countries. You have to have played in Ligue 1. It is like a mafia. If you have not played in Ligue 1, you can't hope to coach in Ligue 1. The problem is the name. You can't coach in Ligue 1 or Ligue 2 if you are not a name. Even in the National, if there is a new chairman with big ambition, he will change the coach and hire somebody with more reputation'. Interviewee 7, France

'There is a gap between the National and the 2nd division. If a club wants to go to 2nd division, it will look at the coaches who are at the end of their contracts or who are

unemployed, but who have coached in the 1st or 2nd division. And there, you find only White coaches". Interviewee 14, France

'For the Blacks, it is worse. OK, Tigana, but who else? Makelele? Yes, maybe he will become head coach in the first division? There has been some progress. There are Black coaches in football at the lower levels. Me and some others, yes, but it is very local, we are local models. It is in football at the higher level like in politics: how many Black mayors? How many Black deputies? How many Black chairmen in football?' Interviewee 4, France

Interviewees also felt that normative networks based approaches to coach recruitment had also limited opportunities for more high profile former professional players from 'visible' minority backgrounds to access coaching employment. Here, interviewees felt that many 'visible' minority players had (and continued to be) marginalised from key power dynamics within team settings, in terms of relationship building with key intermediaries at clubs, and within the coach education environment. To this end, many 'visible' minority players were felt to have assumed the role of the 'outsider within' and remained marginal to the dominant social and cultural networks of the predominantly white landscape of the professional football environment. This was felt to have had a significant cumulative impact in limiting the potential for the transition into the paid coaching environment at professional clubs. Interviewees in France and the Netherlands comment further:

'Today, you have a coaches' social milieu. They know each other because they played in professional teams, because they were in the same training sessions, and they are all White. They make sure they look after each other because they are all friends'. Interviewee 15, France

'Makelele and Zidane played together. They played in the French national team and in Madrid. They are close to each other. This is what is missing, Black and White or Arab who played together, who are friends or who are close. They can speak for each other to the Chairmen. They can help each other, like the others do'. Interviewee 2, France

'It is not about how much you know, but about how many people you know' Interviewee 10, Netherlands

A number of interviewees in all three countries suggested that commonly practiced 'captain to coach' pathways within professional football also tended to gravitate against the appointment of 'visible' minority coaches. In particular, interviewees referred to some historically embedded processes of cultural stereotyping which had positioned black players as peripheral – rather than central – to the organisation of team performance and tendencies to confer captaincy duties on white players playing in central midfield or central defensive positions in teams. Whilst interviewees in France referred to the recent 'centralisation' of 'big blacks' in central defensive and central midfield positions, it was suggested that these players were commonly perceived as 'executants' rather than 'organisers'. To this end, this racialised positional shift was felt to have done little to disrupt the white dominance of team captaincy positions and the consequent cumulative benefits of being perceived as having the appropriate leadership skills and authority to make the successful transition from playing to coaching the game. The interviewee below comments further on the relationship between 'race', captaincy and coaching:

'I think a lot of the time there's a tendency to want someone who's been a captain, a senior player, with a strong association with the club, who you almost think his next step is going to be coaching or managing. But the problem is how many black players have there been that really fit that bill. I mean, they're few and far between,

partly because they weren't given the opportunities or the responsibility to be the captain in the first place'. Interviewee 8, England

Interviewees in all three countries felt that the marginality of 'visible' minority players and coaches from dominant social and cultural networks within football was especially marked in relation to access to the 'inner circle' of almost exclusively white power brokers at professional clubs, such as club owners, club directors and senior executive staff. These key power brokers largely maintain key responsibilities for the appointment of senior coaching positions at clubs. To this end, interviewees felt that many suitably qualified and experienced 'visible' minority coaches remained positioned beyond the consciousness and narrowly conceptualized preferences of these key decision makers and that this social and cultural distance had impacted negatively in restricting access to coaching employment amongst 'visible' minority coaches. Interviewees in England and the Netherlands comment further in this respect:

'The coaches know you, the players know you, the supporters to a degree know you, but the directors don't know you. Because they don't know you, they have a perception of you, so they deem you this or that, because that's what they feel, that's what somebody else may say about you and they draw conclusions from that. Or they just don't think about you at all. Probably the hardest thing is getting through into that echelon of the board room and directors and changing that perception. How do you get into those circles? You're playing career only takes you so far unfortunately' Interviewee 4, England

'I think the big problem for black coaches at the moment is that those networks haven't been built up. You haven't got those connections in the boardroom and people advocating your case, and that's in part a representation issue at that level as well as the coaching level, because the whole thing is connected' Interviewee 12, England

'We are not good in networking. We are not good in lobbying with people who have influence in the football world. Because that is where you have to go to. If I take a look at myself, I am not the type that walks into board rooms regularly. But others may do that. We are perhaps a bit too modest, as we always had to maneuver in a careful, modest role while it would be better to actually open our mouths'. Interviewee 2, Netherlands

The relatively closed approaches to coach recruitment outlined above were felt by interviewees in all three countries to have been informed and reinforced by the wider sports media and its tendencies to frame discussions regarding coaching appointments at professional clubs in ethnically narrow terms. In particular, interviewees alluded to the tendencies of sports journalists in the print and broadcast media to focus on the assumed merits of experienced White players and their potential to make the successful transition from playing to coaching the game. In contrast, many experienced, mainly, black, 'visible' minority players and coaches were notably absent from these powerful media narratives and remained marginal in terms of public visibility and occupational expectations. For example:

'We've often made the point that in the media it always seems to be that no-one was ever talking about whether Rio Ferdinand, Sol Campbell or Paul Ince could be great Managers. Yet all the time you'd hear 'Stuart Pearce, Roy Keane, Gareth Southgate might be great Managers'. I think people are influenced by the media, particularly people in positions of authority and I think people look at that and it perhaps reinforces their opinions if they're saying 'Well everyone else thinks that, the press is thinking that'. Interviewee 2, England

'I think the media does play a part as well because over the years I have seen so many top players coming to the end of their career who are being promoted as the next managers, and I don't see many black players talked about in this way. So now everybody talks about John Terry, Gary Neville, Phil Neville, Frank Lampard. Yet I've never seen Rio Ferdinand's name mentioned once, the captain of his country and the captain one of the biggest clubs in the world. Interviewee 3, England

Interviewees across all three countries argued that as a result of the dominant practices and discourses identified above, coach recruitment had come to exhibit some predictable patterns of racial closure in which experienced white head coaches moved from one coaching position to another at different clubs. Conversely, qualified 'visible' minority coaches remained peripheral to and excluded from this coaching merry-go-round. Interviewees felt strongly that this had led to a 'closed shop' effect in which qualified 'visible' minority coaches remained 'on the outside looking in' at all levels of the coaching infrastructure at professional clubs. Further, these operationally limited and demographically narrow approaches to coach recruitment were felt to have engendered a series of inequitable personal and professional impacts on 'visible' minority coaches and to have restricted the potential to raise the standards of coaching practice across the game more broadly. Interviewees in England, France and the Netherlands offer some personal and observational accounts to this end:

'I think people are a little bit afraid so they go with who's on the merry-go-round at the moment and it's almost like a safe pair of hands. But I think that's a little bit lazy because a lot of people we get in the jobs, they've not particularly done great before. I think every managerial appointment is a gamble, there's always a chance about it, but why limit your choices? You never know who could come through that door. It's a big problem, it's just laziness. It's just inertia'. Interviewee 8, England

'Football has had a group of people that they've just employed and its gone round and round in circles and it doesn't lift the standard at all because nobody's really allowed in. The demand is not put on these people that have always been getting the jobs because they know they're going to get the next one that comes along'. Interviewee 4, England

'The chairmen have their advisors. They won't go to search to discover the great coach. There is a national list. And there is the stars' list with ten or twelve big names, Italians, Dutch, Portuguese, and some French. What Black coach, except Tigana or Kambouare, and maybe Makelele, could pretend to coach PSG or Lyon? If you are PSG, you go now to the stars' list. If you are Auxerre or Lens you go to the national list, you look for a Ligue 1 or Ligue 2 unemployed coach. Some years ago, you could have coaches who have emerged from their modest clubs. Today, it is almost impossible. All is network' Interviewee 3, France

'Do I think I would have been in a position as head coach if I was white? Yes I think so, I do have that feeling. That is frustrating, yes. If I see what I have performed, others have performed less well. I do not know what are their qualities but if I look at my CV; I have a big name as a player, I have performed well as a coach, and I have not been engaged in messy stuff that may make clubs think 'we should not hire him as he gets into fights, he has been into trouble with the board' The coach has just been fired at FC Groningen, the coach at FC Bruges has been fired recently, I have a good name in Belgium. Then I am depressed for a week; why was my name not mentioned? I get really disappointed then; I feel really small' Interviewee 3, Netherlands

These racially 'closed' processes of coach recruitment were also felt by interviewees across all three countries to have limited the types and scope of opportunities available to 'visible' minority coaches in ways which were not apparent for their white counterparts. To this end, there was a strong consensus amongst interviewees that 'visible' minority coaches had to work 'twice as hard' as white coaches to be awarded fewer and much less high profile opportunities to become paid coaches at professional football clubs. Further, where such opportunities existed at all 'visible' minority coaches were felt to face additional pressures to be successful given that they would be less likely to be offered 'second chances' to assume coaching positions at other clubs over time. The interviewees below comment further on the comparatively limited initial and on-going opportunities for 'visible' minority coaches in the professional game:

'The jobs that black managers tend to get offered, they're at the lower end, that's the best they're going to get, despite having playing careers which have been at the highest level, and despite having all the qualifications. There's nothing wrong with that in itself. You have to start somewhere and it can give you a good grounding. But are white managers with the same playing careers and qualifications being asked to start down there. No, at least, not to the same extent'. Interviewee 10, England

'In English football there's always been a bit of a merry-go-round of managers where a manager fails and another Chairman will give them an opportunity elsewhere and sometimes a Manager can get three, four, five, six opportunities to succeed. But with a black manager in particular, it seems that if it doesn't happen first off he's unlikely to get an opportunity to go away, learn and try again and become a better manager' Interviewee 2, England

4.7.6 Racisms, stereotypes and discrimination

In examining the reasons for the low levels of 'visible' minorities in senior coaching positions in professional football in England, France and the Netherlands, interviewees in all three countries reflected on the incidence, types and impact of racisms and stereotypes on limiting career progression in this respect. In the first instance, it is important to note that a number of, mainly, younger, interviewees, reported that they had not personally experienced actions and behaviour of this kind and that they had been welcomed and supported at clubs at which they had been employed. This was the case in relation to clubs in the professional, semi-professional and high-end amateur game. Further, interviewees in France referenced the largely multi-cultural make-up of senior organisers, coaches and players at some CFA 1 and CFA 2 clubs in major urban areas and felt this had been a key factor in limiting experiences of unequal treatment. In England, interviewees at some professional club youth academies also commented on the 'inclusivity' and 'camaraderie' of their football workplace environments and felt their employers and colleagues had 'looked past their colour and culture' to ensure equality of opportunities, experiences and outcomes. Some interviewees in England also reported that they had been offered coaching positions at other professional clubs and that their abilities had been prioritised over their racial background to this end.

Whilst no interviewees reported experiencing direct forms of racial discrimination in accessing or undertaking coach employment, a number of interviewees across all three countries alluded to the continued incidence of more subtle, nuanced, and codified racisms within professional club coaching environments. These more 'hidden' forms of racism were considered to be apparent in the use inappropriate words, language and 'banter' to describe different cultural groups and the questioning of abilities and competence of 'visible' minority coaches in ways which were rarely transferred to the review of similarly qualified white coaches. Whilst actions and behaviours of this kind were felt to have largely been enacted subconsciously by key individuals at clubs, they were nonetheless felt to have accorded less status and value to the efforts of 'visible' minority coaches and to constitute a form of unequal treatment. Further, these subtle applications of racism were felt to have had a

significant negative impact on 'visible' minority coaches in denying opportunities for promotion within club infrastructures and undermining the strength of applications for posts at other clubs. Two interviewees below comment further in this respect:

'I've had black coaches say to me, 'This shit's still going on. The whole racial thing is still going on'. It's a subtle thing. You can't come outright and say 'You black this' or 'You black that'. It's been described to me as a subtle racism. There are things you can say that has a racial connotation to it, and it is racist, but it's not obvious. It's the way it's put and if you get a crowd of people who do things like that then you haven't really got a chance at that club. I've not experienced it myself over the last few years, but I've spoken to other black coaches about certain situations regarding issues around racial activity and stuff like that' Interviewee 7, England

'I think there might be a 'race' issue with individuals at clubs, that's my experience anyway, but it's not always obvious and you might not know they've got a problem with people from other 'races' until it actually comes down to 'would you employ them?'. Sometimes people keep that really personal until a big decision's got to be made. So I don't think it's always in front of your face that someone's got a problem. The issue is if these people have got a big say in the jobs that are coming up, then that certainly is a problem' Interviewee 5, England

Interviewees across all three countries also alluded to the continued existence and subconscious enactment of some deeply held physical and cultural stereotypes about 'visible' minorities by senior decision makers at professional clubs. These stereotypes were felt by interviewees to be rooted in a series of misplaced historical conceptions regarding the 'naturalness' of 'race' and the inevitability of perceived cultural inclination. For example, interviewees felt that senior figures at clubs had historically equated black players with notions of innate physicality and instinct over intellect and organisational skills. Similarly, in France, interviewees felt that many Maghreb players had become associated with notions of individual trickery and cunning over more collectivist team working attributes. Stereotypes of this kind had some common currency in the professional game in England, France and the Netherlands in the 1970s and 1980s and led to the phenomena of 'stacking' of black and other 'visible' minority players in peripheral team positions. Whilst this has lessened at clubs in Western Europe over time, interviewees felt that the growing positional 'centralisation' of 'visible' minority players had done little to challenge or disrupt some long held ideologies in this respect. To this end, interviewees in France cited recent debates surrounding 'big blacks' as 'executant' central defensive and defensive midfield players and the perceived negative impact on the style and success of the French national football team. Interviewees below comment further on these processes of stereotyping and the social and technical marginalisation of 'visible' minority players:

'Blacks are too primitive and we [Maghreb] are too vindictive, too cunning. As players, if we are defenders, we are brutal. If we are attackers, we are too selfish. It is how they see us' Interviewee 12, France

'Blacks suffer from another kind of racism than us, especially if they come directly from Africa. They are seen as good, nice guys, but not very clever, made to be obedient. Or they are seen as wild. I have heard a lot of stories about the way they were supposed to live in their apartments, how they destroyed furniture and used bathroom settings, at a club in Ligue 1! But if they come from the neighbourhood, they are 'scums', like us, but still strong and tough, but wild for other reasons' Interviewee 5, France

'Black players are much appreciated because they are strong, tall, hard worker. The majority is playing in defensive positions. It is supposed to be where most of present coaches have been recruited. But Black players are seen mainly as executants,

workers, not as leaders or as go-between from coach to players. Of course, there are exceptions. I was one of them. Makelele seems also to be an exception, or Vieira. But mainly they prefer a White player, or a South American' Interviewee 14, France

'I don't think they are racist as Le Pen is. I think this is just that they played together and they went through the same training sessions. At their time, there were not many Blacks in professional teams. They think that they can think about football, but not the Blacks who are seen as good spontaneous players but have to be driven. And when you heard about the quota, what has been said. Blacks are big, strong, but lack of real talent. We are still not member of the family.' Interviewee 1, France

Interviewees across all three countries drew attention to the cumulative impact of these physical and cultural stereotypes in positioning 'visible' minority players as marginal to – or outside of – central positions of influence on the field of play. To this end, interviewees suggested that these stereotypical perceptions of 'visible' minority players had maintained some residual permanence over time and that such stereotypes had been transferred across the transition from playing to coaching the game. In particular, interviewees felt that within the predominantly white senior echelons of the football industry, 'visible' minority, especially, black, coaches, were felt to lack the relevant intellectual acumen, organisational skills and leadership qualities to successfully coach teams in the professional game. The interviewees below comment further on the incidence and impact of ideologies of this kind:

'You understand very quickly how football instructors classify trainees. If they are Black, you find contrasted images. On one side, one talks about show off, gold, flashy hair, dress. It seems to me that they are mainly forwards. On the other side, they are seen as very serious players, tough, hard working. They are playing defensive positions. Well, I don't know football enough, but I do know that they are very suspicious about the ability for them to become a good coach.' Interviewee 9, France

'There is still some of that historical mentality. Probably less so now, but there certainly was a perception when black players first came on the scene, they weren't seen as the strategists, the organizers, the central midfielders, the captains, the kinds of players in the positions that go on to become coaches, or at least picked as coaches by clubs' Interviewee 8, England

'It will never be expressed explicitly, but there is a certain feeling that minority ethnic people are less educated and that it [under-representation in coaching] has to do with that. 'They can play football well but they are not fit for certain positions or for policy making'. They just do not see that.' Interviewee 7, Netherlands

'I do believe people don't feel black people in general are able to organize or be able to run a group of people or manage. I don't think that's true, I think they haven't been given the opportunity to do it and so consequently it hasn't been done by too many black people. I think that there are black players who've been capable of managing who haven't had the opportunities to do so and it's a shame, I think football has missed out hugely because of that stereotype' Interviewee 12, England

Interviewees across all three countries also referred to the continued existence of cultural stereotypes held by senior decision makers which drew on misplaced conceptions regarding the perceived limited aspirations and problematic attitudes and behaviours of 'visible' minority coaches. Interviewees also felt that senior decision makers at clubs were much more likely to question the suitability, competence and authority of 'visible' minority coaches in comparison to their white counterparts. This was felt to be especially the case with regard to perceived doubts as to the

abilities of 'visible' minority coaches to manage teams made up of predominantly white players or players from a range of nationalities, including players from less 'racially progressive' countries. In contrast, interviewees felt that similar 'social scrutiny' was rarely applied to white coaches with responsibility for the management of racially diverse playing environments. Further, interviewees in France alluded to the 'suburbs effect' in which the skill sets and aptitudes of qualified 'visible' minority coaches drawn from deprived locales had become pigeon-holed as having greater local rather than national professional relevance. Whilst these stereotypical views and actions were understood to be reflective of the 'cultural ignorance' of some, mainly, older, club owners and directors at clubs, they were nonetheless felt to have had engendered some deeply prejudicial outcomes for 'visible' minority coaches. In particular, in restricting access to new coaching positions or for upward mobility from youth to adult levels of professional club coaching infrastructures. Interviewees in England and France summarise these themes:

'I've found that owners probably don't understand that black players want to stay in the game. I had an owner of a club say to me 'but black players don't want to be in the game', so I said 'That's so wrong, they want to be in the game, maybe they put it across in a different way, maybe they appear a little bit laid back, you might feel as though they're not caring or don't want it, but they do want it, that's what they're about, it doesn't mean to say that they're not as determined or ambitious as the one that's a bit louder' Interviewee 12, England

'I think sometimes the owners have concerns about whether a black manager can handle a team of players from different backgrounds. Especially at the top level where players come from all over the world and as we've seen, some of the players bring certain attitudes with them, you know, towards black people. And at that level, the players are the stars, they are the assets. I wonder whether sometimes it's a concern about authority, you know, about how the players will respond to a black manager' Interviewee 6, England

In extending discussions around racisms, stereotypes and discrimination, interviewees across all three countries also alluded to tendencies on the part of senior decision makers and other key intermediaries at professional clubs to negatively conceptualise 'visible' minority coaches in terms of perceived ethnic and cultural traits rather than in terms of their realised abilities and experiences as coaches. To this end, interviewees suggested that within the dominant (white) narratives of the football industry, 'visible' minority coaches had become socially constructed and defined in terms of their 'racial self' rather than their 'professional self'. This was felt to have led to the questioning of the attributes, competence and decision making processes of 'visible' minority coaches in ways in which were rarely applied to similarly qualified or employed white coaches. Further, interviewees felt that the prioritisation of perceived identity traits over a more balanced analysis of occupational acumen had impacted negatively in limiting access to - and opportunities for upward mobility within - coaching infrastructures at professional clubs. Interviewees in France and the Netherlands comment further in this respect:

'We are French, we have been living here for fifty years, but we are Algerian. You can do what you want, speak without accent, drink alcohol, and eat pork, but for some you will be Algerian, always. This is still the case. If you want to do something, you will be accused of communitarism, of clanism. They always find you're different. This is the old generation. They are disappearing from the boards, slowly, too slowly.' Interviewee 12, France

'Yes, I believe you are being stigmatized easier if you are a minority coach. If a 'foreigner' acts in a certain way, they will say, 'you see'. They lump all individuals together like 'they are all the same'. And for the majority Dutch this is different, I believe they get more chances' Interviewee 5, Netherlands

'If you perform well as a Moroccan then this is seen as good, as normal. But when it is not going so well, they say 'well it is a Moroccan, you see' Interviewee 9, Netherlands

'I have had a few questions earlier in my career after I had hired five players of Moroccan descent. I have asked [the journalist] about the reason for his questions, 'I do not understand why you ask me this, can you explain that to me?' Well then the standard reply was 'Well it is a legitimate question. You are of Moroccan origin, you have been engaged with the theme of ethnicity in football, and you now have five Moroccan-Dutch players in the squad' Interviewee 10, Netherlands

'Well look, our coach will leave this year. And the question is 'who will be next year's coach?' And the technical manager of the club wants to present me as the new head coach. I do not have the required certificate for that yet but it may be possible with his certificate. The only problem is that he says 'how will the outside world react to that, how will sponsors react? How will they react to a foreigner as a coach?' He supports me, he has brought me here. He knows my qualities but he asks himself 'how will the outside world react?' So he is thinking about that, unconsciously. Interviewee 9, Netherlands

Interviewees felt that the deeply embedded and largely unchallenged cultural stereotypes alluded to above had led senior decision makers at professional clubs to conceptualise the appointment of 'visible' minority coaches with notions of 'uncertainty' and 'risk'. This was felt to inform decisions of senior decision makers to avoid and 'shy away' from appointing 'visible' minority candidates with whom they have had little prior personal connection or experience, in favour of the 'safety option' of recruiting white candidates in 'their own image' and with whom they have greater cultural familiarity and social comfort. Interviewees felt this was especially the case with reference to senior coaching positions at professional clubs where there is often regular contact between the first team coaching team, senior executive staff and club owners and directors. The interviewees below articulate these themes further:

'I don't think that black coaches in general are given the opportunity that some others are given. I don't know whether people are brave enough to put black people in those positions. I think in their minds it is more of a risk because they've not worked with a black person at that level, they maybe don't understand enough about black people, so they stick with what they know. They employ people who they obviously feel comfortable around and they can identify with' Interviewee 12, England

'I do believe that what happens a lot of the time is they want to bring in somebody of their own image and somebody that probably looks like they did at that sort of age and behaves like they did because that's what they feel comfortable with. I suppose it's quite a natural thing to do in some ways, but the problem is it doesn't move things along, and ultimately it denies people who they don't look like them opportunities'. Interviewee 7, England

4.8. Models of best practice and recommendations for future action

This final section of the report draws on interview data and wider analysis to identify some existing and preferred models of best practice designed to overcome the structural and cultural barriers which have limited equality of opportunities, experiences and outcomes for 'visible' minority coaches. The section also features a series of practical recommendations designed to inform future

action to increase the numbers of 'visible' minority coaches accessing and undertaking coaching qualifications and coaching positions at professional clubs.

4.8.1 Addressing 'visible' minority under-representation in coach education

There was a general consensus amongst interviewees across all three countries of the need to raise awareness of the low levels of qualified 'visible' minority coaches undertaking coach education and of the incidence and impact of series of key structural and cultural barriers to this end. In particular, interviewees felt that limited levels of awareness and understanding were especially low amongst key power brokers within the game at national federations, national league associations and elite level professional clubs. To this end, interviewees suggested that national federations should work in conjunction with other key stakeholders to implement a series of actions designed to address the underlying inequities which have contributed to this racialised imbalance.

In the first instance, interviewees suggested that national federations should work in collaboration with key football stakeholders and equality bodies to appoint a specified unit to focus on increasing the numbers of qualified 'visible' minority coaches and 'visible' minority coach educators. To this end, interviewees felt that key responsibilities of national federations should include establishing a robust mechanism for collecting data on the numbers of 'visible' minorities achieving coaching qualifications or becoming coach educators across all levels of the coach education process. Conducting a national audit of this kind was expected provide a much clearer picture of the actual (rather than anecdotal) numbers of qualified 'visible' minority coaches and coach educators and to help establish national baseline figures against which progress could be measured. Interviewees also felt that national federations should set clear targets for increasing the numbers and qualificatory levels of 'visible' minority coaches and coach educators and to closely monitor progress over an initial period of three to five years.

In terms of specific actions to address the under-representation of 'visible' minority coaches undertaking lower level coaching qualifications, interviewees felt that national federations should work with local (state) authorities to deliver subsidised coach education courses in 'minority heavy' locales. This assertion was to some extent based on the relative success of the French model which focuses conjunctively on sports and social provision at the local level. A number of interviewees across all three countries also supported the extension of provision of this kind to prominent amateur clubs at which there was a predominance of players and coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds. Targeted provision of this kind was expected to be a particularly useful mechanism for engaging non-black 'visible' minority coaches from non-professional playing backgrounds whose participation in coach education courses seemed especially low. Interviewees framed the beneficial impacts of these proposed interventions in terms of the potential to increase the personal and technical development skills of 'visible' minority coaches in a safe and culturally supportive environment. It was also felt that provision of this kind would increase the self-esteem, confidence and credibility of some 'visible' minority coaches and encourage a stronger throughput into 'open access' higher level coach education courses thereafter. The interviewee below comments further with specific reference to South Asians in England:

'If they're not ready to go mainstream then why not do an all Asian Level 1 or even a Level 2. I've been involved in these in the past and they've worked really well. It's not about getting the red carpet out for Asians, it's about building their confidence in order that they can come out of their comfort zone and integrate and go mainstream when it comes to other courses' Interviewee 5, England

In terms of specified actions to address the under-representation of 'visible' minority coaches undertaking higher level coaching qualifications, interviewees felt that national federations and professional clubs should work in collaboration to review, amend and 'open-up' some relatively closed processes of identification, selection and support for coaches. In particular, interviewees

suggested that more attention should be paid to ensuring equality of opportunities for 'visible' minority coaches positioned within professional club coaching infrastructures to access higher level qualifications. Interviewees also felt strongly that national federations and other key stakeholders within the game should extend financial and mentoring support to include 'visible' minority coaches with no prior connection to the game as professional players and who were presently positioned outside of professional football support networks. To this end, interviewees in England were largely supportive of the newly launched FA COACH Bursary programme which aims to provide practical and financial support to enable 150 'visible' minority coaches to achieve higher level coaching awards and to undertake season long voluntary internships at professional club youth academies. This programme was expected to increase the qualifications, experience and employability of 'visible' minority coaches and to heighten their visibility within professional club networks. To this end, the programme was perceived as a welcome focused addition to wider efforts to dismantle some of the structural filters which had previously limited the qualificatory progression of 'visible' minority coaches and their throughput into employment at professional clubs. The interviewee below comments on the potential success and the preferred future expansion of the programme:

'The idea behind the bursary programme is a good one. It should increase the numbers getting qualified, give them good experiences, and increase the understanding of the culture of the football clubs, so they know what is required. And the football clubs should get a better knowledge of the coaches. But we need to put pressure on the governing body to create a much bigger programme than is in place presently. We need to target certain communities and certain areas and we need to ensure that they've got a support structure in there that will see them right through to the very top of what they can achieve in terms of qualifications and employment'. Interviewee 5, England

Interviewees also felt that national federations should work in collaboration with key football and equality stakeholders to implement targeted and subsidised programmes designed to increase the numbers and qualifications of 'visible' minority coach educators. To this end, interviewees felt that programmes of this kind should seek to identify, recruit and 'train up' a selected cohort of highly qualified coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds to become coach educators. These new 'visible' minority coach educators could then deliver coach education courses to 'open access' and more ethnically targeted groups of aspiring coaches and to act as positive role models in this respect.

Whilst interviewees commented on the lack of 'visible' minority coach role models and the impact on limiting aspirations towards undertaking coaching qualifications, they also alluded to the small recent rise in the numbers of 'visible' minority coaches at professional clubs. This was felt to be especially the case with regard to key coaching support positions within first team adult squads and at all levels of the youth academy environment. To this end, interviewees felt that much more could be done to publicise the achievements of these new 'visible' minority coach role models drawn from an increasing diverse range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Publicity of this kind was expected to increase the profile of these 'visible' minority coaches and to 'shine a light on' their presently 'hidden' experiences of completing coaching qualifications and making the successful transition into paid coaching positions in the professional game. It was also suggested that increased publicity on this score might help to illuminate the increasingly wide range of coaching positions and other technical and physiological support roles at elite level and lower end professional clubs. For example:

'There aren't many black coaches in the game, but the black coaches in the game have got to be role models to show how they did it and that you can do it. We've all got on in different ways, academies, development squads, first teams, so we need to publicise all those different routes into coaching' Interviewee 6, England

'Although there's not many, I think you have to raise the profile of the black and Asian coaches that are actually in the professional game. But they need to be in the media spotlight for what they've done rather than because of who they are. I think if people look at that and think 'He's an Asian coach and he's been given opportunities and he's producing players and he's got in the newspaper', that might encourage people to stand up and go 'Do you know what, I'll give it a go'. Interviewee 9, England

In section 4.6.6 of this report, interviewees across all three countries referred to evidenced examples of overt and culturally coded racisms within the coach education environment and the negative impact in affronting personal dignity, engendering cultural exclusion and discouraging ongoing participation in the coach education pathway. Interviewees felt strongly that there should be a much clearer and more transparent processes for reporting racism and other forms of discrimination within the coach education environment and that stronger measures should be taken against perpetrators of behaviour of this kind. There was also a strong consensus amongst interviewees across all three countries that all national federations should introduce a compulsory programme of cultural diversity training for coach educators and to establish a distinct cultural diversity element within all coach education courses. Interventions of this kind were expected to equip coach educators and coaches with improved knowledge, awareness and understanding of different cultures and to ensure a welcoming and inclusive environment at coach education courses. A greater understanding of cultural diversity was considered to be especially important given the increasingly multi-ethnic make-up of coaches attending courses and the broadening diversity of first team, development squad and youth academy players at professional clubs, with who qualified coaches were working on a day to day level. The interviewees below offer some personal reflections on the importance and practical benefits of increased understanding of cultural difference in the coaching context:

'I often wonder and look back at how many black players or players of different cultural background were lost to the system. I mean, back in the day you couldn't go into a club with dreadlocks or plaits in your hair, times have evolved, that's the norm now. I've seen coaches talking to players and not understanding where they're coming from, you know, thinking players are being disrespectful or rude when really it's just different cultural mannerisms that you learn when interacting with parents and so on, especially in African Caribbean households. You've got to understand cultures. The world now is a diverse world. If you don't there's always somebody on the outside because you think they're this or you think they're that. So coaches and coach educators need to have these skills and know what the norm is and what the norm isn't in different cultures' Interviewee 11, England

'It is just not a theme. If we talk about leadership styles, I believe you cannot leave the subject of ethnicity unmentioned, it is very important. Many participants have another ethnic background, not only participants that participate in the education courses but also those that are not part of the educational courses. If you are a football coach working with youth players, it is important to know how to deal with that [ethnic diversity]. There is a world to win in that area'. Interviewee 10, Netherlands

In section 4.6.5 of this report, interviewees referred to the additional difficulties encountered by some 'visible' minority coaches in completing the increasingly theoretical and written elements of coach education awards, especially higher level awards. To this end, a number of interviewees felt that national federations, professional clubs and players unions might work collaboratively to provide opportunities for aspiring 'visible' minority coaches to undertake additional language and literacy support to help them prepare for – and have a greater likelihood of meeting the educational requirements of – higher level coaching qualifications. Interviewees also suggested that national

federations should review and amend the perceived imbalance between the theoretical and experiential learning elements of coach education courses and the ways in which courses of this kind tend to be delivered in traditional (white) frames of reference. To this end, interviewees here felt that national federations should seek to address the present cultural and pedagogical imbalance between course content, delivery styles, and the learning methods and capabilities of some 'visible' minority coaches.

4.8.2 Recommendations for future action: coach education

Professional clubs, national leagues, national federations and UEFA might consider:

- Appointing specific units with a key focus on increasing the representation of qualified 'visible' minority coaches and coach educators. Key responsibilities might include; collecting baseline data, target setting, implementing positive action measures and measuring the progress of work of this kind over time
- Delivering subsidised lower level coaching courses in 'minority heavy' locales. Courses of this kind might seek to provide a safe and supportive learning environment, increase self-esteem and confidence, and enhance motivations to pursue coaching careers in the professional game
- Reviewing and amending racially closed processes of identification, selection and support for high level coach education. Work of this kind might include the implementation of targeted initiatives designed to increase the qualifications, experiences and employability of 'visible' minority coaches from within and outside of the professional game
- Delivering subsidised coach educator training courses targeting highly qualified 'visible' minority coaches. Courses of this kind might increase the levels of 'visible' minority coach educators and establish a cohort of positive role models to deliver coach education across a range of locales
- Publicising the achievements of 'visible' minority coach and coach educator role models. This publicity might refer to the range of coaching roles being undertaken within football and be used as a key motivational tool to attract 'visible' minorities to pursue professional coaching careers
- Establishing a programme of cultural awareness training for all coach educators and introducing a cultural diversity element into coach education courses. Work of this kind might pay attention to the use of appropriate language and behaviours, discouraging processes of physical and cultural stereotyping, and better dealing with the demographic diversity of coaches and players
- Establishing clear mechanisms for reporting and dealing with racism in all its forms in the coach education environment. These might include; stronger measures against perpetrators of racism and clear and transparent practices for informing victims of the process and outcomes of inquiry
- Providing additional literacy, language and educational support to 'visible' minorities to help them to complete high level coaching qualifications. Attention might also be paid to ensuring delivery styles, learning techniques and methods of assessment in coach education are practiced in equitable and culturally relevant ways.

4.8.3 Addressing 'visible' minority under-representation in coach employment

There was a general consensus amongst interviewees across all three countries of the need to raise awareness of the low levels of 'visible' minorities in coaching employment across all tiers of professional club coaching infrastructures, and the of the incidence and impacts of a series of key structural and cultural barriers to this end. Interviewees felt that limited levels of awareness and a general down-playing of the issue of under-representation of 'visible' minority coaches in

employment was especially marked within national federations, national league associations and elite end professional clubs. To this end, interviewees suggested that national federations should work in conjunction with key stakeholders to address the underlying processes and practices which have led to the relative absence of 'visible' minority coaches within the professional game.

In the first instance, interviewees suggested that national federations should work in conjunction with key stakeholders such as national league associations, professional clubs, players unions and key equality bodies to establish specified units to focus on increasing the representation of 'visible' minority coaches in employment in the professional game. In particular, interviewees felt that the key initial responsibility of these specified units should include conducting a comprehensive national audit of the demographic background of all full-time and part-time coaching staff across all levels of professional club and national federation coaching infrastructures. This was expected to provide a comprehensive empirical account of the actual numbers of 'visible' minority coaches in full or part time employment and the levels of the game at which they were employed. Data collection of this kind would also provide clear base-line figures against which progress could be measured over time, both in terms of the overall numbers of 'visible' minority coaches at clubs and the extent of their upward career mobility over time. Further, these findings could be measured against comparable figures for the employment and career trajectories of white coaches to monitor similarities or differences in the extent and pace of progress in this respect. Interviewees also felt that these specified units should also set clear targets for increasing 'visible' minority representation as paid coaches across the various tiers of coaching infrastructures at professional clubs and national federations. Such targets might feature some degree of departmental 'weighting' with greater immediate ambitions for employment within youth academies and targets for senior coaching positions increasing incrementally over time. These 'weighted' targets would take into account the greater breadth of opportunities for trajectories into youth academy coaching positions and reflect strong expectations towards upward mobility into permanent and more senior positions in youth academies, youth scholarship squads, development squads or first team squads over time.

Throughout section 4.7 of this report, interviewees alluded to a range of structural and cultural barriers which had limited the numbers of 'visible' minority coaches accessing paid coaching positions in the professional game. In particular, interviewees suggested these patterns of under-representation were underscored by processes of physical and cultural stereotyping, the implementation of racially closed and institutionally inequitable methods of coach recruitment, and tendencies to favour white coaches drawn from the dominant social and cultural networks of the football industry. To this end, interviewees argued strongly for a much more open and formalised approach to coach recruitment which included publicly advertising all senior coaching positions and a fair and balanced review of the qualifications, experience and suitability of potential candidates. In doing so, there was a strong consensus amongst interviewees across all three countries in support of the implementation of the Rooney Rule: a positive action approach to recruitment first implemented in the American National Football League as a response to the lack of black coaches at club franchises. In short, and at its most basic level, the Rooney Rule is a 'consideration forcing' mechanism which states that at least one 'visible' minority candidate must be interviewed for all vacant head coaching positions. The 'visible' minority candidate gains no entitlement and must compete with other qualified candidates of which none are excluded from consideration. To this end, interviewees felt that the implementation of positive action approaches of this kind would help to encourage a qualifications and experience based - rather than networks based - approach to coach recruitment and establish an institutionally equitable and transparent approach to the coach employment at professional clubs. For example:

'Why not take a more of a considered recruitment process and look to redress that imbalance and try and include a minority candidate within that interview process. No-one's saying that by using that process you have to employ anybody, all we're simply saying is that at least give someone who has taken the necessary

qualifications and made sacrifices to get qualified an opportunity to showcase those talents to a potential employer'. Interviewee 2, England

'Bring something in that says that you must advertise all the senior posts, because how do you know you're getting the best candidate when you're not even interviewing or you're ignoring a whole section of the population. No-one is asking for preferential treatment, what we're asking for is a level playing field. If you've got the qualifications then you should have an equal opportunity to prove that you are the best candidate'. Interviewee 12, England

For a number of interviewees, the Rooney Rule was felt to be an essential mechanism through which to disrupt those institutionally embedded processes of racial discrimination and white hegemonic privilege which had thus far restricted employment opportunities for 'visible' minority coaches. To this end, there was a strong consensus amongst interviewees in support of the implementation and enforcement of positive action approaches of this kind to help quicken the pace of change in this respect. For example:

'I'm all for the Rooney Rule or something of that type. I just feel that we've waited so long for things to move along naturally. I just think that's a long way round of doing it. I don't think it changes quickly enough when you do that. And football is going to have to change on the coaching and management side because it has to more closely reflect society and be an equal opportunities employer and not discriminate. So I think you do have to kind of push people a little bit to make changes'. Interviewee 12, England

'We talk about educating people, but if people don't want to move on and be educated, if they feel that they're already doing the right thing, how far are you going to move the issue forward? I do believe to make change we have to bring in legislations or rulings or targets to move things along. So I think the Rooney Rule or whatever we're going to call it, is going to be important, I think that's going to almost be the Trojan horse that makes it possible qualified black coaches to get in front of people and have interviews' Interviewee 7, England

In section 4.7.6 of this report, interviewees referred to the continued existence of physical and cultural stereotypes within the game which had framed 'visible' minority coaches as lacking intellect, authority, competence and organisational skills to undertake senior coaching positions at professional clubs. For interviewees here, one of the key expected benefits of the implementation of the Rooney Rule were increased opportunities for 'visible' minority coaches to gain access to interviews and directly challenge and change these negative perceptions. For example:

'In the past in football, you're not going to get a black mid-field player or a black captain because people think they can't think, can't orchestrate, they're thick, etc. There's all these stereotypes that were going round, and maybe still are going round. You think 'Well if that's someone's reality, then it's a shame, but let's change that reality'. We have to be given the chance to get in front of that person who holds that stereotype to just speak to them and change that reality' Interviewee 7, England

'If the hirers and firers don't know you they may not actually employ you because of a certain idea they've got in their head about what type of person you are. Now the only way for that to change is by meeting that person. Now through the Rooney Rule, I could be the one that's been asked for an interview, and previous to this the Chairman has had no experience of speaking to a black man. So then just by me talking to me about football and hearing about my qualifications and experience he might go away thinking 'Ah, he's from an ethnic minority group, I was wrong, that

idea that I had about ethnic minorities is wrong' and I think that for me is what it's about' Interviewee 15, England

Throughout section 4.7.5 of this report, interviewees alluded to the relative invisibility of 'visible' minority coaches from the dominant social and cultural networks of the professional football industry and from the consciousness of senior decision makers at clubs. This was felt to have minimised opportunities to access paid coaching positions and to account in part for the continued under-representation of 'visible' minority coaches at professional clubs and national teams. Whilst the implementation of the Rooney Rule was expected to begin to immediately redress this racialised imbalance, there was a much stronger feeling amongst interviewees that it would also engender a positive cumulative impact in raising the numbers of 'visible' minority coaches in employment over time. To this end, interviewees felt that positive actions of this kind were an important mechanism for raising awareness of key skill-sets and heightening the visibility of qualified 'visible' minority coaches. In particular, it was expected to position them more centrally within the sight and minds of employers and to increase the likelihood of 'call-back' opportunities for re-advertised posts or newly emergent posts in the professional game. The interviewees below comment further in this respect:

'With the Rooney Rule there's no compulsion to employ anyone. It might not be that particular appointment. They might think 'I'm not going to employ him but he came close, he surprised me'. Roll on a year and the jobs come up again and they think 'where's that guy? I wonder what he's doing now?, Would you like to come for that interview again?'. This time he might have had a bit more experience and they think 'you know what, I'll bring this guy in this time around' Interviewee 8, England

'I think the benefits are that even if they don't get that particular job, they're on the radar, hopefully people will know about them. If you've gone into a room, you've had an interview and you might have done very well but not just well enough because somebody else is a bit better than you, then the person's heard you and noted you down and remembered you. That's what happened in the NFL. These guys were getting into the interviews, not getting that particular job, but were getting the next job that came along somewhere else' Interviewee 12, England

In other cases, interviewees referred to the potential of the Rooney Rule to engender significant organisational benefits for professional clubs. In particular, interviewees referred to the added value component of employing 'visible' minority coaches and their potential to 'connect with' and improve the personal, social and technical development of ethnically diverse young scholars in professional club youth academies. For some interviewees, this was also expected to broaden the aspirations of 'visible' minority young players towards pursuing coaching careers as adults and to ensure a generational throughput of 'visible' minorities into coaching in the professional game. Interviewees in England and the Netherlands provide some personal and observational accounts on this score:

'When I look at games at youth level about 50% of the players are black kids, so it just makes sense that some of the coaches have to be black because I think kids can identify with the coach. That's not to say that a white coach can't do a good job, but I think it's important for the youngsters development they see black coaches there. Black coaches might be able to put a different perspective on why that kid is not producing because he's coming from a similar background. So clubs really need to think about who they're employing, why they're employing them, and can they add value to what they're trying to do and produce good young players? Interviewee 14, England

'Soon enough you will have to deal with many foreign players, and especially Moroccan-Dutch youth players who are about to break through. A coach who

understands these young players will perform better than someone who does not understand them. In the latter case you will be confronted with the typical Moroccan attitude, you know. But when the coach is of Moroccan origin, he will understand those players. There will be mutual understanding, the player will react differently and they will perform better'. Interviewee 10, Netherlands

'I went through my whole career and I never had a black coach in my life, and I didn't think anything of it. But recently I've seen it. The reaction of the young black players at those academies to seeing a black coach and feeling very comfortable with a black coach. And not just them, their parents as well. It made me think about the career benefit for that next generation, because suddenly they go 'hang on a minute, I can go there, I could be a coach' Interviewee 3, England

'I have noticed that if there is some issue with a minority ethnic player, they tend to approach me, or their parents approach me, instead of them going to the [White] coach. Just the other day I received a phone call from a parent of a player of another team who is also of minority ethnic background. They were not satisfied about something. I advised them to talk to their own coach. So they approach me, it has to do with the fact that I have the same ethnic background, it makes it easier for them' Interviewee 4, Netherlands

In section 4.6.2 and section 4.7.2 of this report, interviewees identified the lack of 'visible' minority coach role models as a major disincentive in reducing aspirations, ambitions and motivations towards undertaking coaching qualifications or to apply for paid coaching positions at professional clubs. To this end, there was a strong consensus amongst interviewees that the introduction of the Rooney Rule would enable a more equitable process of selection for interview and recruitment into coaching employment. This was expected to increase the number of 'visible' minority coach role models and to consequently encourage more aspiring coaches from 'visible' minority backgrounds to undertake coaching qualifications and seek out paid coaching positions in the professional game. To this end, these proposed structural changes to the coach recruitment process were felt to have potential positive impacts in 're-livening' the perceptions, attitudes and actions of 'visible' minority coaches. For example:

'I think the principles of the Rooney Rule are good. It doesn't guarantee anybody a job, we're not looking to knock people off a short list, and we're just seeing if you add another one on. I think you will then see a lot of black potential coaches and managers going 'You know what, there is something at the end of this, if I put my work in, I know if I've got the right qualifications I'm going to get an interview'. It gives a positive message whereas at the moment there's a feeling of 'they might like us as players but they don't want us as coaches and managers' Interviewee 3, England

Finally, interviewees in all three countries under review drew attention to wider patterns of 'visible' minority under-representation in football and the dominance of older, white, males in senior decision making positions at professional football clubs, league organisations and the games ruling bodies. This demographic imbalance was felt to have had a strongly negative 'knock on' effect in maintaining and normalising a series of 'traditional' and institutionally discriminatory approaches to selection and recruitment to senior coaching positions in the game. To this end, a number of interviewees felt that positive action measures such as target setting and quotas might also be extended to incorporate the senior governance and operational tiers of football. Actions of this kind were expected to have the benefit of 'opening up' the games core power structures to include 'visible' minorities and to engender more progressive approaches to dealing with diversity and ensuring equality across all levels of the game. This was also felt to have clear potential benefits in

encouraging more equitable processes of coach recruitment and establishing a more inclusive and welcoming vision for the game. For example:

'I think first and foremost the clubs need to look at themselves and what they look like as an organisation. What do they represent? Are they open? Are they transparent? Are their policies robust enough to deal with a changing landscape and a changing demographic? My answer to that is simple, it's no, right now. What they need to do is become a more welcoming organisation then you will find that more black and Asian people be attracted to football clubs in all different areas, coaching, administration, as supporters' Interviewee 4, England

'The demographics are going to keep changing and whilst they are not changing in the power structures then all were going to get is a bigger void with more misunderstanding. I think the whole representation issue could be pushed along more quickly. I think that the FA and the clubs need to put into practice positive action, so we can get more minorities into positions of power and authority where they can have a say in the game. Because you need people in board rooms to start thinking about giving people a chance to have those careers in football' Interviewee 2, England

4.8.4 Recommendations for future action: coach employment

Professional clubs, national leagues, national federations and UEFA might consider:

- Appointing specific units with a focus on increasing the representation of qualified 'visible' minority coaches in employment across the professional coaching infrastructure. Key responsibilities might include; collecting baseline data, target setting, implementing positive action measures, and monitoring the progress of work of work of this kind over time
- Ensuring that all professional clubs and national federations adhere to legally binding equality legislation with regard to the open recruitment of coaching staff. This might include ensuring that all paid coaching positions be publicly advertised and feature a clear and transparent interview and feedback process for all candidates.
- Implementing the Rooney Rule across the professional coaching infrastructure. This might include ensuring that all professional clubs and national and regional federations invite at least one suitably qualified 'visible' minority candidate for interview for all advertised positions
- Establishing a comprehensive national database of highly qualified 'visible' minority coaches from which candidates for coaching appointments can be put forward and then selected for interview by professional clubs or national and regional federations
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the structural and cultural barriers which have contributed to the under-representation of 'visible' minority coaches in employment. This might include information which refers to processes of stereotyping, racially closed processes of coach recruitment, and tendencies to recruit coaches from within dominant (white) social and cultural networks
- Educating and informing key power brokers within the game about the benefits of cultural diversity in football coaching. This might include information which refers to the qualifications and experiences of 'visible' minorities and the potential for improved social connectivity with players from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds, especially at youth academy level

5. Addressing under-representation in leadership and coaching: case study examples

5.1 The International Olympic Committee and women and leadership in sport

In 1997 the International Olympic committee (IOC) adopted the following ground breaking proposals regarding women's involvement in decision making structures and leadership positions within its member organisations. National Olympic Committees (NOC's), International Federations (IF's), National Federations (NF's) and other sports organisations related to the Olympic movement were required to immediately set a target of achieving at least 10% of all of the offices in all their decision making structures to be held by women by 2000. The IOC added that this percentage should increase to 20% by 2005 (later amended to 2010). Importantly, the IOC has regularly collected statistics on the numbers of women in each of these organisations and has measured progress towards the achievement of these targets.

Research commissioned by the IOC Women and Sport Commission in 2010 reported on progress on this score. Findings indicated that in total women accounted for 17.6% of the make-up of NOC executive committees and 18.3% of IF executive committees globally. Overall around 80% of all NOC's and IF's had achieved the minimum 10% target and around 40% had achieved the 20% target of women's representation at board level. Further, 75% of NOC's and 50% of IF's had established Women and Sport Commissions and 55.7% of NOCs and 62.5% of IF's had established clear equity policies and guidelines with particular respect to the treatment of women. Since 1997, women's representation within the key central decision making structures of the IOC has also risen steadily. For example, in 2013, women accounted for 26.6% of the IOC Executive Committee, 23.7% of all IOC Commissions, and 22.4% of the overall IOC governance membership.

The target setting approach of the IOC has had the merit of providing a simple, understandable, measurable and transparent policy goal. Research undertaken in 2005 by the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy (ISLP) at Loughborough University suggested that 64% of related bodies had implemented a range of special measures designed to modify and 'open up' some institutionally closed practices embedded within organisational selection criteria within the governance of sports at the national level. These measures included reserving places specifically for women, revising their statutes, encouraging sports federations to nominate women candidates, and through directly approaching suitably qualified women. In some cases, these sporting bodies adopted hard and soft quotas, co-option and committee expansion as a means of increasing women's representation.

Central to realising these more numerical objectives has been significant efforts to nurture, develop and increase women's competencies in sports leadership, administration and governance. For example, the 2005 ISLP research indicated that 27% of all participants to have benefited from IOC training programmes and 30% of successful applicants for IOC degree course scholarships since 2001 are women. The IOC has also provided funding to support women to attend international sport management seminars. More recent research undertaken in 2009 by the Centre for Olympic Studies at Loughborough University extolled the virtues of processes of mentoring enacted within national and international Olympic organisations to this end.

Overall, reported benefits of the increased representation of women in key leadership positions in the IOC, NOC's, IF's and NF's include; an increased diversity and fresh impetus of leadership styles, the stimulation of specialist provision to engage women in sports, the increased input and influence of women on policy, planning and decision making and the consequent shift towards gender mainstreaming approaches in sports. The IOC process of target setting has had clear positive impacts on increasing women's representation and changing the culture of many governing bodies in sports. To this end, it has some significant applicability and transferability to the football context, with specific reference to UEFA and its key stakeholder bodies including national federations, national league associations and elite level professional clubs.

5.2 The Norwegian Football Federation and gender equality measures

The Norwegian Football Federation (NFF) has a strong history of actively promoting gender equality at all levels of the sport. For example, the NFF first established a women's committee in 1976 to help incorporate the women's game into existing football governance infrastructures. Further, in the late 1970s, the development of co-ordinated regional and national competition infrastructures helped to formalise and support the already significant participation in the game amongst women. As part of this process, the NFF's women's committee also focused significant efforts on developing a sustainable infrastructure for the women's game which included the implementation of targeted mechanisms for the recruitment and education of women coaches and referees.

In 1985 the NFF first introduced a 'mild quota' system which stated that there should be at least one woman on each of the central committees of the national association. The introduction of quotas in football in Norway reflected the wider progressive national political paradigm around gender equality and the implementation of positive action measures to engender a more balanced representation of women across other areas of social, economic and political life and in sport. Between 1985 and 1989 the numbers of women on committees at the NFF rose from three to ten. Since the early 1990s, NFF committee level membership has featured around 40% female representation, including at executive board level. In 1996, the NFF appointed Karen Espelund as the first female vice president of the organisation. Karen later went on to become General Secretary of the NFF with responsibility for the administration and development of the game at a national level. Karen has also since featured across a range of UEFA panels and committees and in 2012 became the first woman to become a member of the UEFA Executive Committee. Further, in 2014, the NFF senior management board became the first of its kind internationally to feature an equal 50-50 split of women and men.

The implementation of gender quotas in Norwegian football were consciously designed to – and have significantly addressed - patterns of institutional discrimination embedded in neutral criteria approaches to selection to decision making positions in the sport. They have quickened the pace of change and have enabled 'entry tickets' to women into the previously male dominated tiers of football governance. They have contributed significantly to challenging the notion of the 'male expert' and have enabled the development of – and afforded equal value to – the significant competencies of women at the highest level of the game. The importance of quotas as an initial mechanism for affecting change and engendering more balanced gender representation are illustrated below in the reflections of former vice-president and general secretary, Karen Espelund.

'I worked my way through the club, as a player and an organiser, and then I did regional federation work. I'd say when I was picked and elected as a member of the Norwegian FA, I was quota'd into that position, but I was not quota'd as the Vice President or as the General Secretary. But I would never have been able to prove my competence if I wasn't quota'd into that position in the first provision. You need to break up the traditional view of competence and experience in the first place for entering these bodies. But when you have entered you have of course to prove yourself for further provisions. But quotation is extremely important in the first situation'

The benefits of the positive action approaches enacted by the NFF are manifold and include; harnessing the talents and experiences of women, the incorporation of women into the planning, policy and decision making processes of football administration and governance, the consequent acceleration of the infrastructural development of the women's game, and the positive beneficial outcomes for increasing opportunities for women as players, coaches and in leadership positions. To this end, the work of the NFF has significant applicability and transferability as an exemplar of good practice across football in Europe, with particular reference to its success in dismantling processes of institutional discrimination and increasing the representation of women at all levels of the game.

5.3 The US National Basketball Association and the Racial and Gender Scorecard

The National Basketball Association (NBA) is the pre-eminent men's professional basketball league in North America. It has thirty franchised member clubs in the USA and Canada and is one of the four major North American sports leagues, alongside the National Football League (NFL), the National Hockey League (NHL) and Major League Baseball (MLB). According to research undertaken by the Institute of Diversity and Ethics in Sport in 2011, 2012 and 2013, the NBA features the highest number of minority (mainly, black, African American) players, coaches and managers in professional sports. For example, in 2013, 81% of players, 43% of head coaches, 46% of assistant coaches, 27% of head athletic trainers, and 23% of general managers at NBA clubs were minorities. Further, around 47% of NBA match officials were also from minority backgrounds.

The Institute of Diversity and Ethics in Sport also reported positively with respect to the record of the NBA in recruiting minorities and women to key leadership positions in the administration of the sport. For example, in 2013, minority staff accounted for 28% of all professional administration positions and 20% of senior administration positions at NBA clubs. A further 36% of professional administration positions at the NBA league office were held by minority staff. In addition, female staff accounted for 41% of professional administration positions and 22% of senior administration positions at NBA clubs. Further, 35% of professional administration positions at the NBA league office were also held by women. A smaller, but significant, number of minorities and women held presidential and vice-president positions at NBA clubs. For example, 7% of presidents and 14% of vice presidents at clubs were minorities. Further, 3% of presidents and 18% of vice presidents at clubs were women. The relatively strong levels of representation of minorities and women across all levels of the NBA league and club infrastructure has positioned the NBA as the industry leader among men's sports for racial and gender hiring practices and equal opportunities in employment.

The strong levels of minority and female representation referred to above has been underscored by the implementation of a series of measures and initiatives designed to ensure and promote the value of cultural and gender diversity within the work place across the NBA league and club infrastructure. For example, in 2008, the NBA issued the 'Respect in the Work Place' baseline best practices to all NBA clubs. These were designed to support clubs to improve and adhere to a series of comprehensive policies and procedures in relation to equality and anti-discrimination legislation in employment. Further, all NBA employees are expected to undertake live and online cultural diversity training every two years. This training is supported by web based resources which draw attention to the strong moral and business imperatives and value of increased cultural awareness and understanding. The NBA has also sought to broaden its approach to recruitment to incorporate new global markets through the use of new social media and innovative web based technologies. Further, in staffing its national Associate and Intern programmes the NBA draws on a wide range of key feeder sources. These sources include universities and colleges which exhibit a proven record in attracting a diverse student body and other key organisations with a strong focus on empowering graduates and young professionals from minority and female backgrounds.

Central to the monitoring of progress of the NBA in increasing ethnic and gender diversity and ensuring equality in the workplace is the work with the Institute of Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES) to produce the annual 'racial and gender scorecard'. This process includes the annual collection of data on the demographic background of NBA employees and the monitoring of hiring practices across the playing, coaching and administrative tiers of the sport. To this end, the NBA (along with other key US sports) are awarded an annual 'grade' indicating their success in meeting key goals and achieving appropriately weighted levels of representation of minorities and women. The collection of robust data of this kind and the wider efforts of the NBA to promote diversity and ensure equality in the workplace can be understood to have significant transferability across a range of other sporting contexts and with particular respect to football in Europe.

5.4 The Kick It Out Equality Standard for professional clubs

The Kick It Out Equality Standard sets out a series of measures in a framework document designed to encourage and support the development of equality and diversity practices at men's professional football clubs in England and Wales. Whilst the initial focus of the standard was 'race', it has since 2009 been widened to include other areas of diversity, including; religion, disability, gender, age and sexual orientation. The standard is an evidence gathering and portfolio building exercise which is designed to formalise professional clubs commitment to make football accessible to all. The achievements of professional club are supported by relevant evidence and are verified by an independent accreditation panel.

The Kick It Out Equality Standard is based on three levels of preliminary, intermediate and advanced achievement and covers two main areas of action at each level. The first area of action focuses on the organisational practices of professional clubs. This requires them to demonstrate their commitment to equality by developing internal policies and procedures. This includes developing a written equality action plan and an equal opportunities policy which set out clear employment policies and practices and which encourage involvement and commitment from employees at all levels within the club. Assessment of training needs and the delivery of equality and diversity training to all members of staff are central to this process. The second area of action focuses on supporter and community involvement. This requires clubs to ensure their stadiums are free from discrimination and that they are making positive, meaningful and multi-layered efforts to engage diverse local communities in club activities

Between 2004 and 2009 a total of 29 professional clubs in England and Wales achieved either the preliminary or intermediate level of the Racial Equality Standard. Since the development of the new broadened Equality Standard in 2009, a total of 10 clubs have achieved the preliminary level, four clubs the intermediate level and two clubs the advanced level of the standard. The key beneficial outcomes of the standard include; an increased tendency towards more inclusive marketing and community outreach work at clubs and a more positive brand perception of clubs amongst local minority communities. Importantly, there is evidence to suggest that the standard has also encouraged the development of more equitable recruitment and employment practices and an increased understanding of issues of social and corporate responsibility at clubs. This is most evidenced at clubs where there is strong senior management level 'buy-in and strategic clarity and inter-departmental cohesion around issues of equality and diversity.

It is certainly the case that the implementation of the standard has been most effective at those clubs in the higher echelons of the professional game in England and Wales with co-ordinated operational systems, modern stadium facilities and relatively sophisticated community out-reach schemes. The benefits of having a nationally co-ordinated anti-racism football campaign that is resourced by the games national governing body, competition organisers and state funded equity agencies should not be under-estimated in evaluating the success of efforts to promote and implement the standard. Nonetheless, the equality standard has significant potential for transferability to other football settings throughout Europe given the broad comparability of roles, responsibilities and operational make-up of elite clubs across the continent. On this score, the strength of the equality standard as a model of good practice is probably best understood in terms of its capacity to be flexibly adapted (rather than statically adopted) by professional clubs. To this end, the successful adaptation of this model of good practice is likely to be enhanced by strong knowledge of the local cultural landscape and dominant national paradigms around equality and diversity in social and political life and in sport.

5.5 The US National Football League and the Rooney Rule

In 2002, prominent civil rights lawyer Johnny Cochrane produced a high profile report featuring fifteen years' worth of statistical information which detailed the American Football National Football League's (NFL) 'dismal record of minority hiring' of head coaches, despite the longstanding involvement of minorities (mainly, African Americans) in the sport. At the time of publication of the report in 2002, minority players accounted for 67% of all players in the NFL, and 28% of assistant coaches, but just 6% of head coaches (just two out of 32 head coaching positions) at NFL clubs. Prior to 2002, there had only been three minority head coaches at NFL clubs throughout the history of the game.

A number of academic authors and social commentators have argued that the historical lack of minority head coaches in the game has resulted from the unconscious bias of key decision makers at NFL clubs and that this is reflective of institutional discrimination. To this end, it has been argued that key decision makers at NFL clubs have traditionally held strongly stereotypical views which equate African American players with physical performance attributes and as having limited intellectual capacities to handle the degree of organisational complexity in American football. This is especially the case given complex human resource and specialised coaching tiers within clubs and the high levels of supervision skills required by head coaches. It has also been argued that key decision makers have tended to recruit coaches from within an 'old boys club' of predominantly white social and cultural networks of industry insiders from which minority players have traditionally been excluded.

In response to the report (and the threat of legal action), the quickly constituted NFL committee on workplace diversity voluntarily implemented a unique policy aimed at increasing the number of minority head coaches at NFL clubs. The policy, entitled the 'Rooney Rule' after the head of the committee and owner of the Pittsburgh Steelers Dan Rooney, mandated that every NFL club interview at least one minority candidate upon the vacancy of a head coaching position, or be subject to a significant monetary fine. To this end, the Rooney Rule can be understood to be a 'consideration forcing' mechanism rather than as a hard quota. The minority interviewee gains no entitlement to the head coaching position and must still compete with all other qualified applicants none of whom are automatically excluded from consideration.

Since the implementation of the Rooney Rule in 2002, the number of minority head coaches had steadily grown to a peak of seven out of 32 head coaches (22%) and 12 out of 32 assistant head coaches (37%) by 2010. This included the first minority coach to lead an NFL club to Super Bowl victory in 2007. Whilst the Rooney Rule has attracted some controversy and opposition from inside and outside of the sport, it has also garnered significant support from minority players and coaches and from some white NFL club owners. Supporters of the Rooney Rule have argued that it has been effective in challenging racial stereotypes, expanded previously restricted coaching networks, and broadened awareness as to potential skilled applicants from minority backgrounds. However, more recently, in 2014, following a general decline in the numbers of minority coaches accessing senior positions, there have been growing calls for the Rooney Rule to be revised and expanded to incorporate a broader range of coaching positions at NFL clubs. Nonetheless, despite these recent concerns and debates, the Rooney Rule can be understood to have significant transferability as a mechanism for disabling practices of institutional discrimination and enabling the increased representation of minority coaches in other sports, including, most notably, in football in Europe.

6. End note and contact details

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