

THE TRAVELLING FEMALE ATHLETE:
Cricket, Migration and Globalisation

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the experiences of female athletes from New Zealand and Australia who migrate temporarily to play cricket in England. It locates the migration network of female cricket within the modern global sport space and challenges the overall perception of what the typical global athlete is today.

The game of cricket has long been regarded as the 'gentleman's' game and originated in England as an aristocratic sport, a symbol of wealth and hierarchy among the British elite. It has diffused into many Commonwealth countries and has developed into a game that is played by both sexes. This study is situated within the anthropology of sport and includes aspects of culture, identity, and gender in the globalised world we live in today. It offers a unique perspective because the research is conducted by a migrant female cricketer in the field and combines ethnographic and auto-ethnographic material.

Attention to the migration of female athletes has been minimal but research into this area of the sporting world raises a number of broader questions relating to sporting migration, personal/national identity, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, diaspora, the gender divide in sport and globalisation. This study summarises some of the key literature relating to globalisation, sports migration, identity and gender, applying it anthropologically to the experiences of the migrant female cricketer.

The main finding is the movement of female cricketers from country to country is not influenced by the commodification of modern sport; instead the athletes are motivated by social and personal factors, as opposed to the material (monetary) ones that now apparently dominates contemporary sport. Movement reflects a basic migratory network

that has developed between New Zealand, Australia and England, influenced by seasonal migration, and the social, cultural and historical connections between the countries. The research offers a contrasting perspective on current sporting migration literature by sharing the experiences of female athletes who migrate for sport and locating the findings within larger analytical concepts.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Sport matters to me, it is not just a pastime, it is not just an area of academic interest: sport defines me. I am not only a researcher throughout this study. I am also a participant, which hopefully gives a participant's dimension to the findings and allows for personal insight into the experiences of the 'travelling female athlete' because I am one. As an elite female athlete and a postgraduate student, I have the chance to step out of the shadows and raise awareness about the experiences of females in sport, because there is not only a widening gap between male and female athletes in the sporting field, but also within the literature; female athletes must not be forgotten.

1.1 SPORT AND SOCIETY

Knowledge about sport is knowledge about society - (Elias, 1986:1).

History suggests that the concept of sport has been around since the early days of mankind, and has developed over the centuries to become one of the most common and popular pastimes for both men and women today. Since originating in Greece, western sport has progressively become more organised and regulated, and is now an important element of many societies and cultures (Harris, 2007). Sport has developed into more than a pastime that reflects certain aspects of society, as it also reproduces political, economic, and cultural realities from varying societies around the world. It is a cultural phenomenon “that evokes passion, drives economics, shapes politics, highlights inequalities and underscores national, regional and ethnic identities” (Palmer, 2002:253). It is a powerful cultural institution that demands attention, and it

“matters because no activities have ever served so regularly as foci of simultaneous common interest and concern to so many people all over the world” (Dunning, 1999:1).

The relevance that sport has for the discipline of anthropology cannot be disregarded because “the holistic, cross-cultural and ethnographic traditions that define anthropology as an endeavour have never been more pronounced than in the field of sport” (Palmer, 2002:254). Historically, within the academic discipline of anthropology, “sport has been perceived as an inconsequential form of entertainment, a spectacle, seemingly at variance with, and secondary to, broader political and social discourses” (McGarry, 2010:151). However, it is now widely recognised throughout the social sciences that the study of sport can further our understandings of society and culture. Palmer (2002:253) explains:

Sport and sporting events tap into some of the most enduring themes in social anthropology: how do human beings create and sustain meaning, where is meaning located, and how is meaning transmitted? This is the fundamental reason why anthropologists can no longer ignore sport as a subject of serious research and investigation.

Sport has fast become an important topic within varying academic fields as it lends itself to theorising about culture, society and human interaction. Academics have now recognised sport as a field of study because it is a unique global concept that has shifted solely from entertainment to now capturing the essence of culture, social patterns, business and politics on a global scale; these factors contour and shape modern sport (Maguire, 2009). Sport connects people; it unites groups of individuals on common ground and brings people together from all corners of the globe. It has the power to eliminate social and physical boundaries through the movement of

people while also having the power to highlight national identities and cultural differences. Sport can also emphasise the struggle for equality between the sexes that has been a dominant feature of the western world for decades. The link between sport and society lies at the heart of this study, which not only encapsulates issues such as sporting migration, identity and globalisation, but also emphasises the struggle within sport by female athletes.

The notion that modern elite athletes are the ‘rock stars’ of the sporting world is a popular and common conception amongst individuals, and it would not be wrong to depict top professional male athletes draped in the cloaks of ‘fame’ and ‘fortune’. Male athletes have prospered more than their female counterparts within the global sporting sphere and this has been well documented by academics studying this field (Polley, 2012). The globalisation of sport has changed the way societies consume sport and the way athletes experience it. The landscape of sport changed from being considered ‘pure’ and dominated by amateurism, to one that is now heavily associated with professionalism, commercialism, money and politics, but also by drugs, occasional violence, and corruption. The commercialisation and marketing of sports and athletes has created one of the largest (and growing) industries in the world (Polley, 2012). It has turned athletes into employees and has blurred the mental and geographical gaps between nations. The experiences of migrant male athletes have been well documented by media and academic sources in high profile sports such as football, rugby and cricket. However, there is a distinct lack of knowledge about migration within minor sports and about female sports migrants. The female sporting field is often overlooked and overshadowed with many athletes struggling for social acceptance, funding, employment, and equality. This study aims to shed some light

on the aspect of sporting migration in the female sporting world to understand how they experience sport as travelling athletes.

1.2 CULTURE AND SOCIETY

The philosopher Jacques Barzun (1954:159) once said, “whoever wants to know the heart and mind of the American had better learn baseball, the rules, the realities of the game”, because he insisted that we can understand culture by observing its games. Culture and society are key concepts within anthropology and will be referred to where appropriate in this analysis of migrant female cricketers and their experiences. There is a relationship between culture and society because culture is created within a society that is governed by shared values, rules and beliefs. Culture is a powerful tool that anthropologists describe as the full range of learned behaviour patterns, “a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” (Tylor, 1871:1). Geertz (1994) explains that the academic discipline of anthropology arose around the concept of culture and is principally focused on what ‘culture’ is. The field of sport is one way of understanding and exploring aspects of society and culture.

For example, the study of sport can be used to throw light on regional identity, and also shows how sport has the power to represent global society within a single game, as sport can be seen to express and explore elements of various cultures and societies around the world (Sibley, 2002). Sport has become an integral instrument for expressing differences, as well as similarities, between societies, and participation in

sport has allowed for the exploration of people, places and societies by athletes, coaches and fans alike. Sport represents much more than competition in the modern world as it now divides and unifies people across cultural, national and regional boundaries. It allows for movement of individuals within differing disciplines and differing countries. The migration of athletes and coaches is now a common theme in the sporting field as the global market for buying and selling athletes is a crucial element in most sporting disciplines. Sport is a tool for integration and cultural diversity because many teams and clubs at both national and international level are ethnically mixed and multicultural as a result of the dispersion of elite athletes due to the development of sport as a global market (Sibley, 2002).

1.3 SPORT AND GLOBALISATION

Social scientists have become increasingly interested in sport and its relationship with globalisation “to help them understand the significance of the increasing tendency of sport to operate on a world scale” (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002:25). The development of sport as a global phenomenon has had major implications for economic networks, with regards to male sport, as large businesses and companies are associating themselves with major sports and high profile athletes, through sponsorship and marketing, in pursuit of profits and image enhancement (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002). The media, governments, businesses and major brands have all recognised that sport is a key ingredient for gains in economic, political and social sectors.

Ties of trade, warfare, migration and culture are long standing features of human history, which binds us all together, and sport can seemingly capture all of these

‘connections’ within its framework. Global processes mean that our living conditions, beliefs, knowledge and actions are all intertwined to a degree through the emergence of a global economy, a transnational cosmopolitan culture and a variety of social movements (Maguire, 1999). Modern technologies have aided the process of globalisation with people, images and ideas crossing the globe with ease, which has led to an increased awareness of the world as a whole, and the idea that the world is a single social space (Maguire, 1999). The diffusion of sport in the 19th century is a clear indication of the impact globalisation has had on sport and sport on globalisation. The development of national and international sports organisations, competition between national and international teams, and the establishment of global competitions such as the Olympic Games and World Cups, are all revealing of the globalisation process in the sporting world (Maguire, 1999).

The migration of athletes in the global sporting domain today mainly concerns male athletes within the disciplines of football, rugby, cricket and basketball (Maguire, 1999). Individual male sporting disciplines also involve the migration of athletes in high profile sports such as golf and tennis, where athletes cross borders regularly to compete in tours and competitions. All of these popular sports draw major attention from global brands, buyers and investors who align themselves with teams and individual athletes to ultimately make profit and promote their ‘name’ in arguably the biggest global market. Elite male athletes, specifically within team sports, are bought and sold, which means they are constantly moving throughout their careers (Maguire, 1999). Contrastingly, female athletes in team sports gain nowhere near the same attention as their male counterparts, and very few are fortunate to be classed as ‘professional athletes’. The market for buying and selling female athletes,

specifically in team sports, is generally non-existent; therefore, the migration of female athletes takes place through university scholarships, a desire for off-season experiences, or a permanent move due to employment or family reasons.

Elite female athletes who participate in individual sports, such as golf or tennis, can also be classed as migrant athletes because they cross borders frequently to participate in their chosen fields, sometimes settling permanently in countries other than that of their birth. However, this study focuses on female migrants in the setting of team sport and their experiences of playing their chosen sport within a different country. The objective is to understand why female cricketers from New Zealand and Australia choose to play abroad, how they experience their sport in a different country, their cultural experience and partial assimilation in England and how they describe and feel, not only about their individual identity, but also their national identity in such circumstances.

Importantly, through the global dispersion of elite athletes, sport lends itself to theorising that involves questions about attachment to place, citizenship, identity and nationalism (Maguire, 2009). It also raises questions about the idea of multiple identities in a modern globalised world. These are key concepts in the field of anthropology and need to be explored extensively within different landscapes to understand how individuals view their identity, their society and other societies. Anthropologically relevant is the fact that concepts of person and self are considered to be culturally constructed concepts that may differ from one context to another. So how do individuals view themselves when they are exposed or become attached to different societies with cultural features that may be different from their home

society? Sport enables researchers to explore these ideas because it presents athletes with the chance to cross physical borders and explore new cultural/social frameworks, which encourages research into the impact that sport has on perceptions of identity.

Particularly important to this research is the process of multi-directional movements of people due to globalisation, which has led to theorising about the idea of a 'transnational culture' or 'global culture', where sport plays a key role. This idea includes a shift from ethnic or national cultures to a 'superpower' or 'cosmopolitan' network and it is debated whether global sport is contributing to a homogenised body of culture that is heavily influenced by Western or American characteristics (Maguire, 1999). The movement of individual athletes to other countries and the ease in which this can be achieved in the modern world highlights the idea of the time/space compression. Contrastingly, it is important to gain an understanding on the idea of the local meanings of global products, which is explained further within the background literature for this research. It explores the way the game of cricket is a global game played by many countries, generally with Commonwealth connections, and is governed by a body of international rules and conventions, but what it means to the local people in the countries it is played in may vary. This concept of 'local versus global' is explored by gaining an insight into how the migrant athletes experience the different meanings and value of cricket in England compared to their home environment.

The migration of athletes has been a developing aspect within the sporting landscape since the modernisation of sport, which involved the introduction of rules, competitions and various governing sporting bodies after the industrialisation in the

west in the 1860's (Magee and Sugden, 2002). It has been typical for sports researchers to focus their attention on the migration of male athletes that participate in globally renowned sports, with European football being a key landmark for many researchers. John Bale and Joseph Maguire have been the pioneers of studies in sport migration, and have noted that the migration of sports labour has been an influential force that has spread over extensive geographical borders and sporting subcultures (Bale and Maguire, 1994). It is also noted that female athletes were also becoming sporting migrants but were struggling to find their place within the literature of sports labour migration (Maguire, 2004). The migration of female athletes has been left relatively untouched by researchers; a door unopened. However, migrant female athletes can no longer be overlooked, as analysis of this area of the sporting field allows for insight into the state of the global sporting world, and can be applied to various facets of what it means to be male or female today. Sport has become a reflection of the social world and women in sport are a crucial piece of the puzzle.

1.4 GLOBALISATION AND THE GAME OF CRICKET

The game of cricket has long been regarded as the 'gentleman's' game and originated in England as an aristocratic sport, a symbol of wealth and hierarchy among the British elites. Cricket has received some attention from researchers, mainly focused on English cricket and the effects it had on West Indian culture in the aftermath of industrialisation (Maguire and Stead, 1996). Since its beginnings, the sport has developed into a worldwide spectacle, and is a popular pastime in rich westernised countries such as England, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, but has also developed into a main sport within Asian countries such as India, Sri-Lanka, Pakistan

and Bangladesh. Cricket is played by both sexes, but like many other sports, it is male dominated and female cricketers struggle for equality. In recent years, cricket administrators have introduced 20/20 cricket, where the game only lasts three hours, a format that is shorter than the 50 over version of the game and Test matches. This format has become popular, not only for players and fans, but also attracts high profile brands, sponsors and investors. It has fast-tracked cricket onto the global stage, with interest coming from America, Canada and other countries where cricket is not a dominant sport. Through the development of 20/20 cricket and the introduction of specific tournaments like the Indian Premier League, and The Big Bash (Australia), player movement has become an integral part of the male cricketing landscape. The buying and selling of male cricketers has become almost as important as the game itself. Players are now experiencing different societies to a great extent, unlike players that have gone before. Cricket has begun to follow other major sports like basketball, football and rugby, where players are constantly moving between teams, and spending time away from their home countries and societies. An athlete is no longer confined to one physical setting and this raises questions relating to identities, borderless athletes and the globalisation of sport, as explored in chapters two, three and four.

Cricket is reaching the far corners of the globe through the introduction of 20/20 cricket; however, female cricketers are quickly being left behind. In a world where female participation in sport is often viewed as un-natural and frowned upon by many societies, female athletes struggle to compete in team sports that both sexes can participate in. Women's involvement in cricket has developed over the years to be a key sporting discipline in Australia, England and New Zealand amongst female

sporting participants, but the women's game does not enjoy the same attention or organisation that men's cricket receives. Women's cricket suffers because it is constantly compared to the men's game, a problem that seems to not exist in individual sports like tennis. Female tennis stars seem to demand the same applause and attention as the elite male players even though the physical abilities are different. Men or women do not play the game of cricket differently, but the women are seemingly hindered by the differences in physical abilities, which subsequently impacts the popularity of the game.

Male sporting disciplines and athletes live in a world of high-profile marketing, sponsorships, brands, investors, and public acceptance. Sports like football, cricket, rugby and basketball bask in the glory of global popularity and media attention. Male athletes make careers out of being talented at these 'games' and are invaluable resources to each specific sport. Athletes are bought and sold, forced to live in different surroundings and often not by choice, but because they are the property of the sport. On the other hand, the movement of female athletes in sport is often dictated by choice in order to gain an experience of living in another society or to improve sporting skills. There is no market for the buying and selling of female cricketers and few academic studies deal with migrant female athletes and their experiences. Thus, the motives and objectives of the migrant female cricketer provides the key focus point for this study, because I wish to gain an insight into the world of the traveling female athlete and gain an understanding into the circumstances that facilitate or restrict this movement.

1.5 SUMMARY

In conclusion, research into the sporting field can raise questions relating to culture/society, migration, globalisation, identity and gender relations, which are important focus areas within the discipline of anthropology. The apparent lack of literature on women in sport is the general motivation for this research, as it aims to contribute to the knowledge about the experiences of female athletes in the global sporting landscape. The introduction to globalisation, culture, inequality between the sexes in sport, the migration of athletes and cricket, lays the foundations for further background research in chapter two. These are the main contributing themes and analytical tools discussed throughout the research and are crucial for interpreting the results. The introduction to these concepts provides the initial framework for this study as we progress forward, and places the initial research question in an academic context.

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

In chapter one I have introduced the core components of the research relating to sports migration and female athletes in cricket. I have fundamentally broken the examination down into parts, so that it is clear from the beginning what this study encompasses, and why it aims to contribute to research in sporting contexts.

The paper progresses from this introduction to chapter two. It firstly presents the main aims and the sub-research questions that are relevant to the chief research question, and it gives an account of the research methods used (interviewing, auto-

ethnography and participant observation). An outline of the anthropology of sport is provided next to form the foundation for the research, and why it aims to contribute to this field, which contextualises the research academically. Chapter two then proceeds with the summary of the literature that provides the framework for the analysis of data presented in chapters three and four. The literature review condenses the background information into the main research areas that contribute to the issues of sports migration and female athletes today. The literature first explores *'The Sporting Migrant'* and identifies issues that are relevant to migrant female cricketers, such as motivations, seasonal migration, impacts on host/donor countries, cultural/social impacts, and how migration can affect an athlete's personal/national identity.

Chapter two continues by investigating *'Globalisation and the Spread of Sport'*, which aims to provide a basic understanding of globalisation and its relationship with sport. It is supplemented by the introduction of 'Americanisation' as an analytical tool and its effect on cricket. Globalisation is connected to transnationalism, which is an important analytical tool for understanding the meaning of cricket in England, New Zealand and Australia, as opposed to the example of Trobriand cricket, where the meaning of the game has been changed to fit their cultural and social identity. This raises the questions of the local-global relationship. Diffusion and hegemonic sports cultures are also presented as analytical tools in this section. Transnationalism is a notion that is highlighted here because I aim to challenge it through my findings, and explore the extent that women's sport and migration offer a different perspective on the world of sports migration.

Identity is an important feature of this research and chapter two advances to outlining how this concept applies, while introducing the related concepts of diaspora and cosmopolitanism. It focuses on the Commonwealth relationship between England, New Zealand and Australia, while also exploring past research on the example of Sir Peter Blake and how he embodied these concepts. Exploring diaspora helps to understand how the migrant female athletes adapted to England and the impact this experience had on their identity. I also use Brazilian football players as an example of the relationship between identity and sports migration.

Chapter two continues with '*Women in Sport*', as I seek to give the reader an insight into how issues such as inequality, commercialisation of sexuality, discrimination, gender roles and the media contribute to the current state of women's sport, and how this impacts the female sporting migrant as depicted in this study. Finally, chapter two concludes with '*The Game of Cricket*', where I give a basic summary of its history and the position of women in the game. The theory of established-outsider relations is a prominent feature of this section because it offers an explanation as to why female athletes believe they are not superior to male athletes in cricket, which is used as an analytical tool in chapter four.

Chapter three provides an analysis of my fieldwork observations, my auto-ethnographic accounts and interview data. '*The Migrant Female Cricketer*' is profiled to explain the motivations and the migration categories associated with female cricketers, as adapted from the work of Magee and Sugden (1996). It proceeds to explain why the athletes chose England as their destination and the migration network that has developed between New Zealand, Australia and England.

The social, personal and professional impacts on the athletes are then discussed to provide a general understanding of the impact these factors had on an athlete's experience. It is important to identify any obstacles faced by the participants because this gives a broader view of the challenges facing the athletes, and it is here that notions of integration, assimilation and reintegration are used to analyse the data.

Chapter four encapsulates the findings related to the research data concerning identity and migration. It begins with the findings relating to personal and national identity, which incorporates the use of diaspora, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism as significant analytical tools. It summarises the nature of cricket in England and how the athletes experienced the game in another country. It seeks to analytically explain how this impacts the athletes' consumption of the game, what it means to them through host/donor dynamics and the local-global relationship. The chapter also explores aspects of the relative positions of men and women in dual gender sports such as cricket. It explains the perceptions of women in the game from a female perspective and how this impacts the experience of being a migrant female athlete in cricket. Americanisation and issues surrounding women in sport are used to discuss the findings and how they contribute to or challenge these notions, which is a motivating aim for this research.

In chapter five the overall findings and arguments are summarised by bringing together the differing elements of the research such as globalisation, culture/society, women in sport, identity, integration, gender studies and migration. It is here that I put forward possible focus areas for future research into the experiences of migrant

athletes, and how the results from this study can be applied to other sports and academic studies.

2. AIMS AND BACKGROUND

This research is concerned with the experiences of female cricketers who migrate temporarily to another country. This chapter contextualises this phenomenon and explores the issues that need to be considered. As indicated in the previous chapter, the following issues seem to be of relevance to my study: the migration experience and how the cricketers adapt/integrate into their new environments; the ways in which the fact that they are female affects this; the nature of the game of cricket as it is played in England, and the global nature of the contemporary game.

2.1 AIMS

The primary aim of this research was to examine the experiences of female sporting migrants from Australia and New Zealand who have played cricket in England. The research explores the personal, social and professional experiences of the athletes and how they adapt to sport and life in their host country, while also examining how they maintain their lives and relationships back home. The research investigates how the athletes adjust to an English social and cultural environment, and the differences, challenges, and similarities, in relation to their countries of origin, they may face. This study also considers related questions about identity, attachment to home or to England, and how this might be linked to transnationalism in the present globalised world. It aims to gain an insider's perspective of the travelling athlete in an often harsh and financially poor female sporting world. Sport is a male dominated realm, with issues surrounding men and sport being well documented by academics, which enables this study to shed new light on an area that has seemingly been neglected by

academics previously. It aims to shift the focus away from male athletes, and the continually growing market of buying and selling athletes, to a corner of the sporting domain where female athletes migrate by choice, and focuses on their experiences in all spheres of life in a different environment.

2.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The condensed motivation for this research is investigating how migrant female athletes from New Zealand and Australia experience cricket in England.

The sub questions that formed the platform for the interviews with the participants were (and for the auto-ethnographical reflections):

1. Why do female cricketers choose to migrate and play cricket abroad? Despite the fact that women's cricket is discriminated against, and the athletes do not get paid they want to play abroad – why?
2. What are the social, personal and professional costs and/or benefits of moving away from 'home' to play sport in another country?
3. What are the reasons for choosing to play abroad in England as opposed to other countries?
4. What obstacles do female cricketers face when they play abroad? (Visas, work, income, social, cultural)

5. Do the experiences of female cricket migrants in England change how they view their personal and national identity? Do they start to identify with the host nation or does the experience of being in England make them identify more strongly with home?
6. How do migrant female cricketers in England perceive the nature of the game in the host country in comparison with how they view cricket in their home country? Does it change the way they consume the sport? Does it change their views on females participating in sport?
7. Do female cricket migrants believe their experiences differ from their male counterparts experiences of playing in England? Why? Do these experiences contribute to the subordinate view of women in sport?
8. How do English female cricketers view migrant female cricket athletes from New Zealand and Australia?

2.3 METHODOLOGY

The thesis is constructed around the discipline of the 'Anthropology of Sport', where the use of ethnographic methods is utilised to expose the benefits of anthropologists incorporating sports into the analysis of cultural systems. The research is partly auto-ethnographic and partly conventional ethnography, so the methods that have been utilised for collecting data include auto-ethnography, structured/unstructured interviewing and participant observation.

Auto-ethnography is defined as:

Autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation - (Ellis & Bochner, 2000:742).

Autobiographical ethnography allows anthropologists to “interject personal experience into ethnographic writing” (Reed-Danahay, 1997:2). Chang (2008:4) explains the use of this method below:

Like ethnography, auto-ethnography pursues the ultimate goal of cultural understanding underlying autobiographical experiences. To achieve this ethnographic intent, auto-ethnographers undergo the usual ethnographic research process of data collection, data analysis/interpretation, and report writing. They collect field data by means of participation, self-observation, interview, and document review; verify data by triangulating sources and contents; analyse and interpret data to decipher the cultural meanings of events, behaviours, and thoughts; and write auto-ethnography. Like ethnographers, auto-ethnographers are expected to treat their autobiographical data with critical, analytical, and interpretive eyes to detect cultural undertones of what is recalled, observed, and told of them. At the end of a thorough self-examination within its cultural context, auto-ethnographers hope to gain a cultural understanding of self and others. Autobiographical narratives will add live details to this principled understanding.

This method of data collection is becoming a useful tool within academic research, as it is researcher-friendly because “the method allows researchers to access easily the primary data source from the beginning because the source is themselves” (Chang, 2008:11). It is also reader-friendly because the narrative is more personally engaging as opposed to conventional academic writing (Chang, 2008). The use of this method is an important feature of my research because I wanted to document my own experiences as a migrant athlete, and combine this with my ethnographic findings from the interviews and participant observation. I did not want to rely on my personal

memory as the main source of data. I wanted the reader to be exposed to the 'life of a migrant athlete' and using auto-ethnography was an important tool for achieving this.

The method of interviewing allowed for interaction with the different participants in their environments, which also controlled the amount of information that was needed. The interviews were structured to a certain extent, with specific questions planned, but they were also unstructured because it allowed for an open flow of conversation where extra data was obtained due to the interview not following strict guidelines. The interviews included a sample of eight New Zealand and eight Australian female cricketers who have previously played or are currently playing cricket in England. Interviews focused on personal and professional objectives, their employment and living arrangements, their personal and professional adjustments, and their sense of identity. The sample also included two coaches from the host county cricket clubs and four female cricket players from England that played with/against the migrant female cricketers. These interviews focused on their opinions and experiences of the migrant athletes.

The other research method that was utilised is participant observation, as it permitted for not only a broader exploration of information, but also allowed for an insider's perspective on the migrant female cricketers experience of English cricket. This method of gathering information is extremely useful to this research because it is focused on 'getting to know' the people being studied by entering into their world and participating. As a researcher, I was fortunate enough to be in a position where I was living in England as a New Zealand cricketer playing there, so my first-hand experience within my research area was extremely valuable. Thus, in this case

participant-observation overlaps to a considerable extent with the method of auto-ethnography.

Participant observation was crucial in my overall findings because I was able to observe and participate with four other female participants, two from New Zealand and two from Australia, playing in different regions of England. I was highly aware of not only documenting my own experiences and observations, which may have led to biased insights within my analysis. Therefore, I tried to integrate my own experiences with the data obtained from others. There are few studies of female athletes conducted by female athletes themselves, which makes this research not only fairly unique, but also important as a contribution to the literature on sporting migration. I was able to wholly experience the world of female migrant athletes as a participant, while also having the observer's eye for understanding, analysis and explanation.

2.4 THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF SPORT

If something matters to people, it matters to the anthropologist – especially something that is so obviously engaging as sport – Lithman (2004:19).

The academic discipline of anthropology is “the most comprehensive of the social sciences, the discipline treats every imaginable facet of human behaviour, past, present and future” (Blanchard, 1995:2). There are four main contributing areas of anthropology that include archaeology, linguistics, cultural and physical anthropology, with the anthropology of sport often combining all four of these fields (Blanchard, 1995). It is “a distinctive social scientific approach to the analysis and

understanding of sport and the practical application of the resulting insights to real problems” (Blanchard, 1995:23).

The contributions of anthropology to the field of sport has been limited because few anthropologists have made sport a major focus of their research, and the concept of sport has struggled to acquire priority in the field above various social and cultural qualities that many scholars are focused on (Lithman, 2004). The study of sport encourages anthropologists to focus on people because “what is characteristic of sports – passion, rituals, emotional engagement, aesthetic expression – is certainly outside much social science, but are classical anthropological themes” (Lithman, 2004:20).

It is the influence of social or cultural anthropology on sport that applies to this particular research because “cultural anthropology is the study of human social and cultural behaviour” (Blanchard, 1995:7). The focus is on sport behaviour, the relationships involved and how findings can be applied to deepen the understanding of social life (Blanchard, 1995). The study of sport from a cross-cultural perspective attempts to connect sport to society and culture based on the assumption that sport is culturally defined (Blanchard, 1995).

The anthropology of sport has been gaining in momentum and interest within academic fields over recent years. As Besnier and Brownell (2012:454) put it, the study of sport is important to anthropology because:

Sport is an important realm of anthropological theory because it provides a nexus of body, multiplex identities, and multilayered governance

structures, combined with a performance genre that possesses qualities of play, liminality, and storytelling, that enables us to explore the connections among these dynamics in a unique way.

As Clifford Geertz (1972) showed in *'Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight'*, there is a strong relationship between sport and cultural meaning. Among other things, the research examines the illegal betting that surrounds the 'cockfight' in Bali, and he shows how the rules that dictate 'play' and 'betting' provide an outsider with views into how a particular culture operates; what is important about the cockfights is not money, but status. Geertz (1972:26) states it is "a story (the Balinese) tell themselves about themselves". Blanchard (1995:19) states, he "uses the cockfight as a means of illustrating the problems of interpretation encountered by the anthropologist in analysing any dimension of the cultural experience".

Sport has been included within the category of 'games' in the history of anthropology, and recognition of sport as an area of academic study was the realisation that sport may provide a scholar with answers about culture (Blanchard, 1995). The anthropology of sport provides a framework to address problems like:

The relation between sport and ethnicity, the role of gender in sport, international understanding, sport and ritual, the aging process and recreation for the elderly, and sport and violence in human society - (Blanchard, 1995:23).

Literature concerning sport and anthropology is growing, and one recent study that examines the Mongolian national festival 'Naadam' illustrates how sport can be representative of identity and culture. The festival comprises of a "religious, secular, political or social ceremony followed by the traditional three games of wrestling, archery and horseracing" (Rhode, 2009:2). The traditions and rituals associated with

the festival are distinctly Mongolian and have been preserved for many centuries, which is integral to the construction of the political and personal identities for the Mongolian people. The anthropology of play is a distinct feature of the analysis because ritualised performance is deeply connected to cultural and symbolic meanings (Rhode, 2009). The ritualistic aspects of the games allow the people to express their identity because “the rituals and symbolic actions performed during the games are specifically Mongolian, which come from distinctive and particular environmental conditions” (Rhode, 2009:203).

Sport has captivated anthropologists because the direction of study includes “the relevance or importance of sport as a cultural and social behaviour, as a cultural and social identity marker, and through its structure and within human interactions of the participants, a reflection of the larger culture and society” (Sands, 2010:8). Research into sport creates understanding surrounding the connections between people and their local and national identities. However, the anthropology of sport still needs more ethnographic studies that contribute to theories about - and the relationship between - sport and globalisation (Besnier and Brownell, 2012). Therefore, the main focus areas of this research are on globalisation, sports migration and identity, as it seeks to contribute to the literature on the anthropology of sport.

2.5 THE SPORTING MIGRANT

The sports labour migrant has become a central figure in the emergence of the global sporting village - (Stead and Maguire, 1998:67).

The background information gathered on sporting migration is integral because it is closely linked to the main aim of the research and also connects to research questions one, two, three and four as specified above. These questions explore the reasons for migration and the advantages/disadvantages that are exposed throughout the experience of sporting migrants that will be explored in chapters three and four.

Migration is a key concept within the anthropological study of sport, with Maguire (2009:235) stating, “labour migration is an established feature of the sporting ‘global village’”. This movement of ‘workers’ occurs between different nations and continents on a universal basis, and has been a feature of the sports process for many years, with migrant athletes experiencing many opportunities as well as various levels of exploitation, dislocation and cultural adjustment throughout their time abroad (Maguire, 2009). Approaching sport from an anthropological perspective raises questions about the relationship between sporting migration and concepts such as transnationalism, globalisation and national identity (Besnier and Brownell, 2012).

Athletes now form a mobile category of labour migrants and make up part of a transnational network consisting of sports agents, clubs, other athletes, co-players, recruiters, friends, family, administrators, trainers, social leaders, fans, and general members of the public (Besnier and Brownell, 2012). Furthermore, the migration of athletes is located within the sporting web that is composed of:

Sport-governing bodies (typically nongovernmental organisation), nongovernmental organisations concerned with issues other than sport, national governments, corporations, and other institutions; the production chains of sport-merchandise companies and the migration routes of athletes and coaches; the dissemination of television images and media

reports of major sports events; and the grassroots networks of fans -
(Besnier and Brownell, 2012:451).

The migration of athletes occurs both within and between nations across the different continents. Athletes now compose a mobile workforce as they move from their homes to their places of employment (Maguire, 1994). Migrant athletes “are not unlike other sectors of the workforce who, for various reason, have to ply their trade in various national, continental or trans-continental locations” (Maguire, 1994:453). The migration of athletes is a direct result of clubs and teams who have searched for athletic talent across the globe over the last few decades, and “this expansion of the talent pool coincided with the much-heralded emergence of globalisation, but it was also motivated by the increasing corporatisation and commodification of sport, which had gradually turned the competition for athletes into a matter of money” (Besnier and Brownell, 2012:452).

This form of migration is different to the migration of most other labourers or domestic workers because it often involves sudden success and wealth (Besnier and Brownell, 2012). The economic ‘pull’ factors associated with sporting migration are associated with the quest for higher social and financial rewards in the field of the athletes chosen sport (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009). An example of this is the migration process for Brazilian footballers who take their skills abroad in the hope of improving their value, even though for most of them they do not need to immigrate offshore in order to improve themselves as footballers (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009). My research seeks to explore sporting migration from a female cricketers perspective, which may contradict this idea and highlights why study into the female sporting field is important (see chapter three).

The movement of athletes is connected to the professionalization of sport as sports clubs and employees search more widely for players that will enhance their chances of success on the playing field. Athletes in turn become hungrier for success and the benefits that this brings, and become inspired by greater opportunities; the end result is a growing number of athletes selling their skills overseas (Stead and Maguire, 1998). Study into the migration flow of professional athletes is important because it looks at the “migration impacts on a country’s sporting culture and achievements, on the lives of the migrants themselves and on the number and kinds of opportunities open to young people who wish to make professional sport their career” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:55). There are also negative experiences that need to be understood because “the uprooting of family and self from familiar networks and environments to a new world of people, places and experiences can represent a considerable challenge” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:55). The crucial migrant issues that need to be understood are highlighted below:

Although most elite professional migrant athletes will have been targeted and actively recruited by hiring clubs/hosts organisations, they can meet the kinds of employment difficulties faced by other labour migrants. Exploitation, freedom of movement restrictions and a denial of basic employment rights can exist in the sports labour market as elsewhere. Problems of dislocation and cultural adjustment are also relevant. Likewise, an individual’s sense of national identity can be challenged - (Stead and Maguire, 1998:55).

Sporting labour is usually ‘hired’ by sports clubs/organisations, with athletes dwelling in the host environment they are recruited to for a limited time. However, some athletes migrate permanently and make their new host country their home through marriage or by qualifying for nationality status because of the length of time they have remained in a specific country (Maguire, 1994). This study deals with seasonal

migration, which involves the movement of athletes between the northern and southern hemispheres. It typically comprises of three seasons of continuous play, which is an advantage for migrant athletes in this category. This applies to female cricketers who migrate to England from New Zealand and Australia, as explained in chapter three. It also contributes to why England is a dominant choice for migrant athletes from these countries because cricket is a summer sport, so migrant cricketers from the southern hemisphere can play cricket in the northern hemisphere after their domestic season is over, and then return home again in time for the next season.

An issue that arises from sports migration is the impact it has on host and donor countries. The movement of athletes can contribute to the deskilling of talent amongst donor countries because they produce talent, and when it matures the dominant leagues or clubs, which are the ‘powerhouses’ of the sport, have the economic ability to purchase the talent and nurture it as their own (Maguire, 1994). Sports migration can also contribute to hostility and deskilling in the host country because the “the presence of overseas players denies indigenous players access to teams and could thus lead to personal and national underdevelopment (Maguire, 1994:460). Clubs and teams want to strengthen their sport and the importance of the national team is becoming less important. The underdevelopment of local players is increasing because corporate and financial successes are now overriding factors for most sporting teams and organisations (Maguire, 1994). The impact of sports migrations on host and donor countries relates to female cricket migrants in this research because it explores the attitudes of England, as the host country, and how it effects the experiences of the athletes, as explained in chapter four. It also seeks to explore the extent of this ‘impact’ in a female sport that is not professional.

The relationship between sports migration and the effect on the host and donor countries is a motivation for Stead and Maguire (1998) as they focus on the impact that migration has had on English cricket. They concentrate on the lack of indigenous male cricketing talent coming through the county competitions and the apparent failures of the English international side on the global cricket stage during the 1980's and 1990's. England cricket provided male players with cricketing employment opportunities that other countries could not offer and the influx of imported players raised concerns, which was counteracted by the move in 1982 to allow only one registered overseas player to participate in a county match, and this progressed to one overseas player per side for a season from 1991 onwards (Stead and Maguire, 1998). England cricket "provides a 'finishing school' function where skills, reputation and visibility can be enhanced" (Stead and Maguire, 1998:56). It is also a 'finishing school' for indigenous players who gain professional experience by being associated with international talent in county cricket (Stead and Maguire, 1998). Positive attitudes from the host country reflect the benefits as expressed below:

A revitalisation of the English game; personalities, excitement and new ideas; regular opportunities for the English cricket public to see the world's best; increased club memberships and attendances; more sponsorship and media attention; role models, teachers and challenges for indigenous players; playing success and greater recognition for the employing countries; the availability of talent when it is absent in indigenous players - (Stead and Maguire, 1998:60).

The attitudes of the donor country are generally positive, however:

This may be a changing situation as overexposure of talent to possible international adversaries and too much cricket leading to injury and loss of enthusiasm are being seen to outweigh the developmental benefits to players and, by association, their national side - (Stead and Maguire, 1998:61).

If the exporting of cricketing talent impacted on domestic and international commitments then donor countries begin to have issues (Stead and Maguire, 1998). However, the benefits of migration into county cricket is seen as a beneficial venture for donor countries because “players have developed skills and experience which have helped improve the quality of both their country’s domestic and international cricket” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:62). The main concerns for donor countries revolves around the amount of cricket that players are exposed to when playing in England and returning back to the donor country, because of the amount of domestic and international cricket that is now being played (Stead and Maguire, 1998). Another concern is the overexposure of international players because the “damage to a donor country’s international competitive prospects could come through the loss of ‘surprise’ arising from potential opponents becoming acquainted with the skills of its players” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:63). This relates directly to this research and is explained further in chapter four.

The motivation behind becoming a migrant cricketer in England for male migrant cricketers is due to the goal of having a professional career, because England is renowned for its approach to the professional game (Stead and Maguire, 1998). The cricketing migrants expect to earn an appropriate sum of money while in England as “the overseas recruits are in an advantageous bargaining position and some large salaries and attractive fringe benefits are received” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:63). The kind of financial packages that are now negotiated suggests that money is one of the main attractions for top overseas players, but there are other factors that contribute to the motivation of playing abroad (Stead and Maguire, 1998). Another chief reason was the chance to explore themselves as cricketers and test their abilities, which

provided an insight into the idea that “mercenary motives, tended to be much less prominent than might be imagined, at least in their initial decision making” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:64). Other motives included providing entertainment for the public and also entertainment for financial rewards from cricket (Stead and Maguire, 1998).

The other main motive was dictated by perceived expectations of English cricket as the home of professional cricket, and providing the ‘right’ cricketing environment for becoming a professional player, while developing individual ability (Stead and Maguire, 1998). This indicated that:

The overall picture was one of cricket’s migrant players having informed motives, definitive about the potential role of an English cricket experience in their lives and with a sincere interest in testing out and discovering more about themselves rather than just a preoccupation with mercenary objectives - (Stead and Maguire, 1998:65).

The motivations for choosing to migrate to England for the participants are explored in chapter three, as I highlight why England is a popular choice for female cricket migrants and their main motives for migrating in general. It will be seen that these are in many ways similar to the motivations of male migrant cricketers, except that the financial rewards are absent in the case of women.

2.6 GLOBALISATION AND THE SPREAD OF SPORT

If we already lived in a single world society then all talk about globalisation would be in the past tense. Instead, globalisation is the present process of becoming global... Each major aspect of social reality... is simultaneously undergoing globalisation, as witnessed by the emergence of a world economy, a cosmopolitan culture and international social movements - (Archer, 1990:1).

The relationship between globalisation and the spread of sport connects to my research questions concerned with why the migrant athletes choose to play abroad, how they perceive the game of cricket in a new environment, how it impacts on the way they consume the sport, and how it effects their experiences. The globalisation of sport is a key element of this research because the process has impacted on the movement of athletes within sporting fields, and globalisation needs to be understood to provide an important aspect of the context of this study.

The world is now intertwined through the process of globalisation and has led some to believe the notion that the world is a single global space, which is producing less contrast amongst societies, cultures and identities (Maguire, Jarvie, Mansfield and Bradley, 2002). The globalisation process is described as:

The increase in the number of international agencies; the growth of increasing global forms of communication; the development of global competitions and prizes; and the development of standard notions of 'rights' and citizenship that are increasingly standardised internationally - (Maguire, 1994:463).

Studying international sport provides a valuable insight into globalisation because it helps in understanding “the significance of the increasing tendency of sport to operate on a world scale” (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002:25). Maguire (1994:465) believes that through globalisation “we are witnessing both the globalisation of sports and an increasing worldwide diversity of sports cultures”. The globalisation of sport can be seen through the development of global competitions such as the Olympics, the increase in competition between national sporting teams, global acceptance of universal rules for each sport and the growth of international and national sporting organisations (Maguire, 1994).

Globalisation allows for multidirectional movements of people, practices, customs and ideas, as Maguire et al. (2002) suggests, “we may be at the earliest stages of the development of a transnational or global culture, of which sport is a part”. This contextualises part of the reasoning behind this study because female cricketers are now moving across national boundaries to play sport and contributing to the globalisation process through their sporting pastimes.

Globalisation has arisen due to the expansion of capitalism on a global scale, and is characterised by greater commercialisation and commodification of the public and private spheres (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002). The spread of global consumer sport is one result of the process and is seemingly related to the spread of western culture to other communities around the world (Maguire, 2011). Importantly:

The development of sport as a global phenomenon has become a more or less integral part of the global expansion of the economic network, as business interests move to associate themselves with and increasingly impinge on major sport in search of profits and image enhancement - (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002:32).

Sport is now an important commodity, with companies, brands and governments all realising the benefits that may arise from commercialisation and governmental support of varying sports. Organisations like FIFA (The International Federation of Football Associations) and the IOC (International Olympic Committee) are unsurpassed in terms of examples of globalised sport as they have a popular universal presence. However, sports like cricket, rugby union and baseball are not so extensive in comparison and only incorporate a smaller universal presence (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002). The game of cricket has expanded “with the game’s traditions and rules diffusing out around the world, mainly on the back of British colonial

expansion” (Stead and Maguire, 1998:54). The global spread of cricket is significant within Commonwealth countries, but is improving elsewhere within the men’s game, with countries like America and Afghanistan now participating, but the spread of women’s cricket is slow in comparison. For example, there are no recognised European international cricket teams for males or females, with the Netherlands and Ireland being the exceptions. The lack of participating cricket nations in the women’s game is highlighted in chapter three, when the reasons for choosing to migrate to England are explored.

Importantly, Maguire et al. (2002:6) explains that “recent globalisation processes have unleashed new sets of interdependency chains, the networks that have interconnected people from distant parts of the globe”, and this helps in the understanding of the consumption of elite modern sport. The globalisation of sport has brought people together on common ground, and has influenced the consumption of different societal and cultural features by fans, athletes, administrators and the general sporting public. The global sporting space that has emerged is an important feature of this study because it highlights the relationship between cricket and the different experiences of the migrant athletes, as explored in chapters three and four.

Related to the notion of globalisation and particularly relevant to the globalisation of sport is ‘Americanisation’. This refers to the impact that American culture has had on the global world and popular culture because “what we are experiencing is not globalisation but rather Americanisation as cultural imperialism” (Donnelly, 1996:242). This notion can be used to explain the introduction of sporting codes like 20/20 as a new format of cricket alongside 50-over and Test cricket, and the impact it

has had on the game globally. Americanisation is an example of globalisation “in which American cultural forms, products, and meanings are imposed on other cultures at the expense of the domestic culture” (Donnelly, 1996:242). Donnelly (1996:243) explains that this transfer of cultural knowledge depends on how individuals choose to accept and embrace it and “considering the reasons why certain specific cultural forms migrated from specific cultures and were adopted by other cultures is reiterated in the social science of sport”. The Americanisation of sport is not always obvious because “the product is not always so clearly American” (Donnelly, 1996:245). Typical American sports such as football and baseball are not considered global games, but other sports such as basketball have been distributed onto the global stage (Donnelly, 1996). He explains this in the below statement:

In corporate/Americanised sport, the game has become somewhat less important than its capacity to be a vehicle presenting particular messages to a particular select and often massive audience, but the game itself also expresses ideas about competition, excellence, corporate efficiency, and what it is necessary to do to win – ideas that have their origins in the United States but have now come to characterise global capitalism - (Donnelly, 1996:246).

Donnelly (1996) argues that Americanisation should be considered as a tool within the interpretation of sport because “if cultural globalisation has occurred in sport, then it seems to be a very American form of sport culture that has been spread around the world during the second half of the 20th century” (Donnelly, 1996:249). Sport does not need to have American origins but:

What is important is that the American style of sport has become the international benchmark for corporate sport – ‘show-biz’, spectacular, high-scoring, or record-setting superstar athletes; the ability to attract sponsors by providing desired audiences; and having the characteristics necessary for good television coverage – (Donnelly, 1996:246).

The Americanisation process can be seen within 20/20 cricket, especially the Indian Premier League (IPL), which is an annual tournament held in India involving a mix of the best current and past male international cricketers with Indian players. It challenges the traditional framework of cricket with its mix of coloured uniforms, cheerleaders, club owners, expansive sponsorship and marketing techniques, and excessive input of money. Cricket has had a ‘facelift’ since the introduction of 20/20 cricket over ten years ago; this format is a built for spectators because it is the shortest and most entertaining of all three forms of cricket. The Americanisation of cricket, predominantly the IPL, is influencing the game on the global stage because it is drawing attention from not only the athletes, but also more importantly the fans, sponsors, media and general sporting personnel from all corners of the globe.

The gradual growth of cricket, due to this new format, has had an impact on women’s cricket, and may be a factor contributing to the rising profile of the women’s game in general, and why female cricket athletes choose to migrate to play the game, which is further explained in chapters three and four.

2.7 TRANSNATIONALISM AND THE LOCAL-GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP

While the brand may be global, the sell is local - (Nauright, 2004:1330).

This concept of transnationalism is relevant to my research (see research questions five and six) because it deals with how the migrant athletes perceive cricket in England in comparison to their home nation and environment, how they view their

personal and national identity in England, and how they identify with or fit in with the host nation.

The idea that the local is deeply embedded within the global is apparent because deepening global processes shapes the social, economic and cultural developments that occur within individual nations. Kearney (1995:549) explains this idea as follows:

Globalisation entails a shift from two-dimensional Euclidian space with its centres and peripheries and sharp boundaries, to a multidimensional global space with unbounded, often discontinuous and interpenetrating global sub-spaces. Movement in this direction has gone hand in glove with theory and research that refocused attention from communities bounded within nations and from nations themselves to spaces of which nations are components.

Nauright (2004:1325) also asserts “during the past three decades sport has assumed an ever greater role within the globalisation process and in the regeneration of national and local identities in the postcolonial and global age”. The indication that national identities are being strengthened by globalisation is highlighted by the view that “globalised sport can lead to a strengthening of local cultures by re-marketing the same global product within a new niche” (Nauright, 2004:1330). Global sport can however also contribute to re-imaging the local because displaying culture through sport can reinforce stereotypes about people and places (Nauright, 2004).

Besnier and Brownell (2012:453) indicated, “these issues are rarely tackled in a sustained fashion and have never been posed from the perspectives of migrant team-sport athletes who embody the pride of local and national communities that are not necessarily benign to them”. They claim that sport represents ‘national character’

because fans and athletes identify with their national and local teams; an example of this is the performance of the *haka* by the New Zealand All Blacks, which is a dance of the indigenous Maori people and represents the ‘local’ (Besnier and Brownell (2012). However, issues arise concerning the buying of local teams by companies/corporations with no local attachment and these teams are transformed into global products that are consumed transnationally, for example, Manchester United, The All Blacks and Chicago Bulls. These teams represent the ‘local’ but “are primarily products that can be purchased in the form of fan-club memberships anywhere in the world or through clothing label franchises” (Besnier and Brownell, 2012:453).

The diffusion of cricket to other countries with a historical and cultural connection to England aids the understanding of how cricket is perceived in participating cricket nations. Cricket originated in England as a rural game and quickly became a competitive sport as it “began diffusing to other countries when British soldiers and settlers brought it with them to the various colonies of the empire, and today, most Commonwealth countries support active cricket cultures” (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005:83). Canada was one country that adopted cricket during the late nineteenth century as it was compared to baseball, but then declined rapidly, which was unexpected due to the country’s connection with Britain. This indicates that the “pattern of adoption-then-rejection poses important substantive and theoretical issues regarding the cross-national diffusion of cultural practices” (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005:83).

Diffusion refers to “the transmission, adoption, and eventual acculturation of an innovation by a recipient population” (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005:83). Cricket is used as a means to explore cultural diffusion and “the roles of social structure and cultural power in the diffusion process” (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005:83). Cricket is of interest to scholars who are researching global diffusion because it is strongly associated with its country of origin, England. Cricket was seen as a vehicle for transferring British culture to other populations, and it connected populations of people to England itself (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005).

This was not always successful: Trobriand cricket is an example in which the British game of cricket was totally transformed and given local meaning, and this differs from the way the British nature of the game was adopted by Australia and New Zealand. Trobriand cricket differs significantly from the traditional British game that was introduced by missionaries and has been transformed into a “politically powerful, sensuously aesthetic present Trobriand version (Weiner, 1977:506). Cricket has been adapted to represent the ‘local’ by the Trobriand people, and is a basic representation of Trobriand culture and identity through their use of dancing, chanting, incorporation of traditional practices and performance of ritual warfare as part of the game (Ness, 1988).

In some countries, such as Australia, cricket may be described as hegemonic. Kaufman & Patterson (2005) explain that cricket news dominates the sports pages of newspapers such as the Sydney Morning Herald, where even events in the personal lives of cricketers are reported. The public is not just concerned with what happens on the field, but with the lives of players off the field too. Cricket has not reached this

status in America or Canada because it does not fit into their cultural norms surrounding sport (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005). Cultural diffusion is relevant to my analysis of the female migrant's experience of cricket in England because New Zealand and Australia are both connected to England through Commonwealth ties, and both countries have strong attachment to the game of cricket as a result of the spread of the game from England to its colonies. This helps to contextualise the experiences of cricket in England for migrant female athletes.

Transnationalism refers to the “the flow of people, ideas, goods and capital across territories in a way that undermines nationality and nationalism as discrete categories of identification, economic organisation, and potential constitution” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:588). The notion of transnationalism and how it contributes to the global flow of sporting codes is reviewed further in chapter four, which challenges current claims about sport stars being flexible transnational citizens (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). ‘Flexible transnational (or global) citizenship’ is explained as being “constructed around a small elite of mobile transnational professional workers, termed the ‘transnational capitalist class’” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:589). The group consists of “international business entrepreneurs, media moguls, stars of the entertainment industry and increasingly some international sport stars and associated personnel” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:589).

Transnationalism is emphasised particularly in yachting and events such as the Round-The-World race and America's Cup, as it contributes to the connection between sports fields and transnational areas (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). International yachting events take place outside of the geo-political space that is

defined by nation-states; yachting events traverse the globe (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). The sport has become increasingly associated with transnational practices, and “the teams and crews are often international, with multinational and transnational corporations as backers and sponsors” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:588). The term transnationalism “has been used to describe the growing numbers of people who have the economic, political and legal freedom to move across borders and between cultures, mostly in the context of their business practices” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:588). Transnationalism is a relevant topic for discussion here because it relates to sports migration and the mobility of athletes who have shifting workplaces, and raises questions about global identity. It also relates to athletes who migrate in seasonal ways (international cricketers) between countries, which is the focus for this research.

2.8 IDENTITY: DIASPORA AND COSMOPOLITANISM

It's still England against Scotland, no matter who's playing, but the rivalry is born into the British lads. The Canadians tell you they're British when they get a British passport. That might be so but it doesn't make them English or Scottish - (Maguire, 1994:452).

The impact that globalisation has on sports migrants and how cultures and identities are “weakened, strengthened or pluralized by globalisation processes” (Maguire, 1994:465) forms one focus for this research. The impact that migration has on identity relates to research question five and this will be discussed further in chapter four where my findings in this regard are analysed.

Globalised sport enables the movement of athletes between countries and cultures, which can directly impact upon an athlete's national identity and feeling of belonging. Importantly, through the literature that has been explored, it has emerged that "globalisation can provide the conditions for the emergence of a regressive form of national identity, i.e. a defensive, nostalgic and dangerously racist form of national identity" (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002:34). This is particularly noticeable within the English culture. Sugden and Tomlinson (2002) explain that this is due to the uncertainty and anxiety about national identity that is expressed by the English population due to other global factors like loss of empire, Britain's affiliation with the EU, pressure from Irish, Scottish and Welsh nationalism, and finally the growing multi-ethnic configuration of the English population. This influences the way female athletes who are playing cricket in England perceive English culture and whether or not they incorporate it into their own cultural identity. Citizenship, national and multiple identities are the product of migration for athletes, and this impacts upon their perception of the world, of their sport and of their own individual identity.

The influence of globalisation on the formation of 'identity' captures the imagination of social scholars who believe that the nation is still an important feature of identity and difference (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). Ribeiro and Dimeo (2009:728) explain "sport presents one of the few areas in global society whereby nationality can be defined in an unequivocal fashion". Importantly, "the continuing relevance of sport in the construction and contestation of national identity, especially around the sporting exploits of men, has been well established" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:587).

The analysis of the yachtsman, Sir Peter Blake, and how he represented two nations (New Zealand and Great Britain), forms the basis of Bruce and Wheaton's analysis because they are concerned with "how Blake appears to unproblematically operate as a transnational, cosmopolitan and diasporic citizen and as a potent signifier of a particular national identity" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:587). They argue that Blake's gender, race, whiteness and masculinity were important features of his national identity and contributed to the idea of Blake being a symbol for the construction of New Zealand character. Therefore, Blake's representation was "able to reinforce New Zealand national identity in both Great Britain and New Zealand and to strengthen 'the discourse of globalisation'" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:587). With regards to sporting migration, Bruce and Wheaton (2009:602) explain that athletes may not adopt a differing national identity, but "instead by competing for the nation and publicly identifying as citizens of the nation they actively contribute to the symbolic, imagined, national community to which they have pledged their hearts if not their bodies".

A leading example of the relationship between sports migration and identity is seen in the experience of Brazilian football players. Migrant football players from Brazil "construct a hybrid and ambiguous identity about themselves and their 'family'" (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009:725). The study investigates how players migrate to seek success in other top football centres like Madrid, Barcelona and London because their "bodies are invested with cultural capital which they can translate into economic capital" (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009:725). When players leave their home country they encounter social and cultural changes in their new environment, and are also isolated

from their natural social and cultural habitats, which paves the way for analysis of the formation of a new national identity and belonging (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009).

An athlete's sense of self can be distinguished from nationality because the cultural processes that an individual athlete is exposed to differs from their alignment with their family lineage, place of socialisation and how much they are emotionally attached to a place (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009). In the case of female migrant cricketers, their nationality is not questioned, but rather their sense of self and how they identify with their host environment, which is explained in chapter four.

Cosmopolitanism is connected to the concept of transnational identity, and refers to how individuals identify with the world as a whole as “cosmopolitans can be expected to be comfortable living and working in different countries, familiar with travel beyond their national boundaries, and fluent in languages, as well as connected to international networks through global communications” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:592). Cosmopolitanism deals with questions about belonging, identity and citizenship in the modern global world, which corresponds with transnationalism and relates to female cricketers in England from New Zealand and Australia, as discussed in chapter four.

Transnationalism is also associated to the idea of diaspora, which is used as an analytical tool in chapter four. Diaspora has received little attention within the study of sporting migrants and issues of identity. It is described as “the movement of collectivities of people – whether forced or voluntary – who travel as individuals or in groups from one or more nation-states across ‘borders’ – variously defined – to form

another community but involving some sort of ‘boundary maintenance’” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:594). Bruce and Wheaton (2009) explore diaspora in a New Zealand and British context by discussing the relationship between the two countries and state “that the connections between New Zealand and Britain exemplify a long-term but constantly evolving transnational relationship at the cultural, political and economic level, involving individuals and collectivities, with both formal and informal ties” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:596).

Diaspora offers “increasing challenges to the belief that national communities are bounded by fixed geographic borders, and may offer an alternative paradigm for conceptualising certain forms of identification” (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:596). In 1840, New Zealand became a British colony and the flow of migrants between New Zealand and Britain has been a common feature of the relationship. However many New Zealand migrants still consider themselves to be ‘Kiwi’ even after years of living abroad, and vice versa for British migrants in New Zealand; migrants are comfortable with holding a dual identity and embrace their differing conceptions of ‘home’ (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). Bruce and Wheaton (2009:597) state, “Kiwi values and lifestyle are seen to be compatible with ‘English’ norms”. The Kiwi diaspora in Britain holds a privileged position because they ‘fit’ in and contribute to the nation in positive ways, unlike negative perceptions of the Asian diaspora or of ‘non-white’ immigrant groups (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). ‘Kiwis’ are compatible with British cultural traditions and do not contribute to issues surrounding multiculturalism and ‘race’ that have revolved around the immigration of non –white populations in Britain.

The exploration of Sir Peter Blake's diasporic nature contributes to the idea that being a Kiwi was not restricted to only those New Zealanders who lived in the country, and "recognised that New Zealandness was more about an imagined sense of identity than actual location within the physical boundaries of the nation" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:598). Blake was able to exist as a flexible citizen because he "transcended his national context; he was represented as a transnational cosmopolitan citizen, able to inhabit different places and spaces without contradiction" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:600). The relative free movement of people between New Zealand and Britain contributes to the ease in which people identify with the British way of life because "white settler nations like New Zealand were located within a 'community of Britishness' and 'privileged' by being perceived and acted towards as intimate, close kin" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:599). The example of Blake and New Zealand diaspora is representative of the idea that "many New Zealanders living in the UK do evince a 'diasporic consciousness with a foot in two or more locations'" (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009:602). The ideas associated with 'identity', such as cosmopolitanism and diaspora, form important analytical tools for exploring sports migration, and introduce a site for exploring race, culture, ethnicity, and identity.

2.9 WOMEN IN SPORT

Both sport and the associated images of sporting bodies that are routinely packaged for the consumption of international audiences are heavily gendered - (Stevenson, 2002:209).

As indicated in my research questions, this study is concerned with issues relating to how the experiences of migrant female cricketers differ from the possible experiences

of male migrants in cricket, and how the athletes' perceptions of women in sport influence this.

Sport is predominantly regarded as a masculine pastime and historically women have struggled to be treated equally alongside their male opposites. In the literature reviewed, there are indications that sport was developed first and foremost for men, and that modern sports are segregated to suit either femininity or masculinity. Hargreaves (1994) mentions that females have been socialised to behave in 'feminine-appropriate' ways, which is reflected in the sports that females can compete in, and argues that the idea of gender-role socialisation results in inequalities between the sexes and discriminates against women. Furthermore, Hartmann-Tews and Pfister (2003) believe there is convincing evidence to suggest that sport is based around the hierarchy of the sexes, which is created through discourse, and is constructed and labelled through sports seen as male or female. They also explain that women and men develop preferences for certain sports in accordance with gendered social rules, values and expectations. For example, men choose sporting disciplines that portray strength and aggression because these are seen as masculine characteristics; however, women are expected to behave in feminine appropriate ways, so are socially expected to participate in sports that do not challenge the 'natural' framework of female behaviours (Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003). Women's sport is marginalised and the lack of academic literature that considers women as participants and consumers in sport needs to be addressed, because "an understanding of the gender dimension of global sport will contribute to more general academic knowledge of globalisation processes" (Stevenson, 2002:210). As we shall see in chapter four, the fact that the

participants are women rather than men has significant impacts on the experiences of the cricketing migrants that I researched.

In regards to the globalisation of sport, Hargreaves (1994:158) argues that the gradual growth of female sport is linked to the “commercialisation of the body and the commercialisation of sexuality”. Hargreaves (1994) believes that it reflects obsessions about the female body, which involves the process of consumerism and profit. Sports that emphasise balance, co-ordination, flexibility and grace, such as gymnastics or dance, affirm a popular image of femininity, which draws attention to the sport because it displays ‘ideal’ feminine characteristics. Sport contributes to the gender order and has substantial consequences for both sexes because the “gendered institutions are always dynamic arenas of tension and struggle, but perhaps there is no other institution in which gender is more naturalised than sport” (Anderson, 2008:260). Men who take part in ‘feminised’ sports, like ice-skating, tend to be ridiculed for not behaving in masculine ways, and the reverse applies to women who participate in masculine sports, such as rugby or cricket, because they are regarded as not behaving in accordance with ideal feminine behaviour (Anderson, 2008).

The impact that the global media has in constructing gendered ideals through the packaging of sports and sporting bodies heavily influences the consumption of sport by local and international audiences (Stevenson, 2002). The lack of media attention on women’s sporting events means that it barely enters the national sporting marketplace, let alone the global field (Stevenson, 2002). Sport allows men to affirm their masculine identity and their dominance over women, while the media have struggled to deal with female athletes who challenge ideal femininity. The

sexualisation of female athletes is an attempt to place women in sport within a feminine framework (Stevenson, 2002).

Sexuality in sport also considers the idea that female athletes play like men and “the term playing like a man can be a negative comment on the women’s sexuality” (Stevenson, 2002:218), which contributes to the sexual ambiguity of female athletes. Stevenson uses Tennis as her example and explains how former world number one Amelie Mauresmo was constantly ridiculed for having masculine traits, and how the media and fellow female tennis athletes negatively perceived this. Stevenson (2002) explores tennis and the notions surrounding gender because it is a game played by both sexes. Women only competed with the popularity of the men’s game through sexualising the athletes in the media through the clothes they wore. Stevenson (2002:222) states that the acceptance of certain female tennis athletes by the media and the public “highlights the importance of dress, adornment, and sexuality in the marketing promotion, and media coverage of international women’s tennis, underlining the nexus of global consumer culture and celebrity”. The ideas explored by Stevenson (2002) can be applied to this research because cricket is widely considered a ‘mans’ game and women could directly struggle to be seen as equal because they ‘play like men’, and challenge ideal feministic characteristics, which could contribute to the reasons why women’s cricket has not broken into the global sports market.

As anthropologists have pointed out, sport is a site of contested gender ‘ideals’. Ferguson (2004:14) uses feminist theory to analyse gender within sport and concludes, “we have no essential sense of self; that our ideas of femininity and

masculinity do not derive from nature but develop through the discourses we encounter”. Research into gender relations in sport places importance on questions such as why women participate or do not participate in sport, and explores the relationship between gender and the social construction of sport.

Gender relations can be examined through sport because it “creates and reflects tensions surrounding definitions of sex and gender roles, and perhaps more clearly than any other institution reveals how status, functions and power are assigned on the basis of biological differences” (McCrone, 1988:1). Sport has the power to affirm dominant values because it is essentially a “male preserve related to other forms of patriarchal control, sport embodies and recreates the principals and practices of gender inequality and male dominance and privilege in other realms of life” (McCrone, 1988:1).

These findings surrounding gender and sport allow for a greater understanding of why female sports that do not display ideal feminine traits or are not socially aligned with feminine expectations are not as highly valued or as ‘globalised’ compared to the rapidly expanding world of male sport. This helps to contextualise the findings of the research on the experiences of female cricketers in England, since gender relations and expectations play a crucial part in contouring a migrant's life, which is discussed in chapter four.

2.10 THE GAME OF CRICKET

The focus for this thesis is on the game of cricket in England, so one must comprehend the nature and history of the game in England to understand the ways migrant female cricketers experience it. Williams (1999) explains that understanding cricket in England helps in the overall understanding of English culture and society. The two aspects are connected, and this affects the ways female migrant cricketers experience both the game and English society. The game was developed for the rich as a symbol of class and distinction and “few other cultural institutions made the social inequalities surrounding gender and class so obvious” (Williams, 1999: 13). Cricket in England reinforced social prestige, and importantly “cricket can be seen as a narrative through which the English express their cultural values and their sense of who they are” (Williams, 1999:14). The game was a divider between the rich and poor, between men and women, and was a form of displaying wealth, elegance and power. The traditions of cricket in England have fundamentally stayed the same throughout the game's history, with cricket still seen as an upper class game in English society; despite globalisation of the game this is still the case. One only has to look at the traditions and rules of cricket at Lords Cricket Ground in London to understand that it is still a symbol of the elites within English society (Williams, 1999).

Cricket has developed over the centuries to become an integral part of the sporting field today in various countries and cultures. In the early 1700's women were first allowed to play the game and female participation in the sport continues to grow, although the world of women's cricket is greatly different to that of the men's in regards to money, public and media interest. This is due to the fact that female

cricketers have never truly been accepted in the cricket field, and cricket is still regarded as the ‘gentlemen’s’ game, with it being “central to the process of the reproduction of male dominance” (Messner and Sabo, 1990:174). The traditions, values and the concept of cricket being a man’s game, forms an interesting area of study, especially when researching female cricketers experiences in England, because it raises questions on how the game, traditions and views on female participation, in its country of origin, is interpreted in relation to other nations who play cricket. The rich traditions of cricket also allow for the reasons why female cricketers are not professional to be explored, and the impact this has on the experience of foreign female cricketers.

The position of females’ in cricket is one of the core features of this study, and Velija and Malcolm (2009) highlight the increased participation of females in sports that not only portray female-appropriate characteristics, such as aerobics, but also in sports that have traditional male preserves such as football, rugby and cricket. Women have successfully begun to enter the male sporting field and “the merger of the Women’s Cricket Association (WCA) and the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) can be understood as a part of a wider trend in which female sports organisations have moved closer to their male counterparts” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:629). This was “encouraged as part of governmental pressure to enhance sexual equality through forcing organisations to provide a greater range of opportunities for females to participate in sport” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:630). However, Velija and Malcolm (2009) highlight that female involvement in cricket in England has not steadily increased since the merger of the two boards in 1998, and that cricket remains a heavily dominated male sport.

The theory of established-outsider relations will be adapted to my research as an analytical tool to help aid the understanding of power relations between the sexes in contemporary sport. Velija and Malcolm (2009:632) state:

The theory of established-outsider relations was developed to explore how dominant groups create and maintain feelings of superiority over subordinates who, as a result of the interdependent relationships in which they are enmeshed, come to internalize and normalize their inferior status. It is therefore, particularly useful as a framework for understanding power relations between men and women in contemporary sport because it emphasizes not only the material barriers which perpetuate inequality (such as organizational separation) and which are increasingly coming under attack, but the ideological barriers which are less tangible but – in the case of cricket at least – seemingly more enduring. These ideological barriers, it is suggested, help us to explain why changes to the rates of female participation in the game have been so limited.

The theory emphasises “the way in which established groups were able to convey an image of themselves that was relatively idealized, whilst outsiders came to internalize a view of themselves, which emphasized negative traits” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:637). When applied to cricket “the relative group charisma and group disgrace of males and females has historically rested on beliefs about innate biological abilities” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:637). Thus, it can explain the ways “to which female cricketers internalize their ‘group disgrace’ is the extent to which they attribute differences between the male and female game to biological difference” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:638). Importantly, the extent to which female cricketers use social factors to describe the weakness of the female game compared to the men, is dependent on whether or not the outsiders’ view is challenged or rejected.

The results from their research indicated that younger females cited the different social conditions for differentiations in male and female cricket, opposed to the biological differences that older interviewees stated. Younger participants explained

that although boys were stronger than girls, it was the social differences that separated the sexes, because boys could start cricket earlier than girls and received better coaching because it is more competitive and boys are encouraged to succeed (Velija and Malcolm, 2009). In contrast to the younger participants, the older participants “understood the differences between the men’s and women’s games as the manifestation of biological differences between the sexes” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:638). The participants explained that strength is the key difference, and women can simply not compete with men in this area, which holds female cricket athletes back (Velija and Malcolm, 2009). The results showed “considerable evidence of an internalization of the group disgrace of females based on biological inferiority” Velija and Malcolm: 2009:639).

In conclusion to their research, Velija and Malcolm (2009:639) state, “female cricketers are reluctant to make more radical challenges to their disadvantaged status, and express high degrees of resignation towards their unequal status”. They also explain that the:

Degree to which female cricketers accept male sporting superiority, and the focus on biological rather than social explanations of the causes of this inequality, is indicative of the extent to which female cricketers internalize their ‘group disgrace’ as part of their habitus.

This represents the “gulf in power between the two groups, and a constraint on the ability of the outsider group to successfully challenge such inequality in the future” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:639). The idea of an attitude change, not an organisational change, is explored in order for the female sex to change their attitudes towards their place in sport. The analytical framework that was utilised in this study

of established-outsider relations can be applied to this research when exploring the participants view on female athletes in sport, how this impacts their position within the field, and their overall experience of being a migrant athlete.

2.11 SUMMARY

The literature that has been outlined in this chapter is important for providing background information on the key areas of this research. It introduces the context of the study and offers a framework for the following chapters that explore the collected data. The key themes that have been presented are sports migration, globalisation and the spread of sport, identity, women in sport and cricket. This chapter has also outlined the key aims of the research, the methodologies used and a general overview on the anthropology of sport. The following chapter employs the key background information and applies it to the results directly concerning research questions one-four.

3. THE MIGRANT FEMALE CRICKETER

The relationship between sports migration and elite female athletes is an area of research that has gained minimal attention from academics in varying fields. In this chapter I explore the migration experience of female cricketers and how they adapt to new environments. It also highlights the nature of cricket in England and the global position of the contemporary game.

3.1 MOTIVATIONS

Migrant athletes can be motivated by a variety of different factors, such as, viewing migration as a rite of passage that will heighten their personal/professional development, financial gains and also the desire to be the best at their chosen sporting discipline, irrespective of their own sense of national identity (Maguire, 2009). The motivations behind becoming a migrant cricketer for females forms an important element for this research because it seeks to understand their decisions, and differentiate the motivating factors between male and female cricket athletes.

As an athlete experiencing the field I found myself, like the majority of female migrant cricketers in England, in a position to spend six months abroad because I had no commitments in New Zealand after recently completing university. I was not contracted or paid to play in England and I was not allowed to work there because I was on a six-month visitor visa that does not allow employment. I boarded with a member of the Yorkshire women's county team rent-free as a 'payment' for representing the county, and it made the decision to play abroad easier to make

because I did not have to worry about accommodation or cost associated with this. However, cricket was not my solitary reason to be there; I used it as a reason to stay in England, to travel and to experience life away from home. It was a window of opportunity for myself to experience cricket in a different country during the off-season and presented travelling prospects, because European destinations were close; right time, right place.

Moving abroad to play cricket presented myself with an idea, which led to wanting to understand what motivated other female cricketers to become a migrant athlete in England; so I embarked on an adventure that led me to this thesis. The first stage involved interviews and they were conducted in the host environments of each migrant athlete currently in England, which gave me, as the researcher, an opportunity to experience the different situations each athlete was exposed to. Three interviews were conducted outside of England as these players were past migrants. Firstly, I had to establish why the participants chose to migrate to England, as opposed to other female cricket nations, for example, India, West Indies or South Africa. One of the main reasons why England was the dominant choice was because the English county cricket season coincides with the New Zealand and Australian off-season, which is collectively viewed as a chance to *“develop your game in the off-season as it involves gameplay and not just indoor practice throughout the winter months back home”*. The attraction of playing in England and experiencing the ‘cricket culture’ in what is regarded the ‘home of cricket’ was also a dominant feature for all of the participants, as explained further in this chapter. Importantly, there appears to be a continuous pathway for player movement opportunities that has developed between the three countries. Fourteen of the participants were drawn to play in England as they had

developed contacts through playing with or against English migrant cricketers in either New Zealand or Australia. One participant stated:

I stayed on after representing New Zealand at the Twenty/Twenty World Cup in England and [I] was approached by a friend in the England team that I had played against previously in the domestic competition in New Zealand to play for her county.

The dominance that England, New Zealand and Australia have in women's cricket promotes 'seasonal migration', because the summer playing months differ between the southern and northern hemispheres. This presents the athletes with an opportunity to partake in an active off-season and have three seasons of continual play (home-away-home pattern). The motivation to develop and work on certain areas of their game during the off-season was an overwhelming reason for athletes, that I interviewed, to play abroad. The seasonal differentiation also played a significant part in my motivations to play abroad because, although cricket wasn't the only reason I temporarily lived in England, the lure of an active off-season was a positive feature when making my decision as it allowed me to continue with cricket commitments. It is important to note that the contrast in playing seasons between England and Australia/New Zealand could be a contributing factor to the gap in women's international cricket because the top players are being exposed to a high level of cricket continually, and this can only strengthen the game and it's players in all three countries.

The participants in this study were aged between 20-24 and it became apparent that over the past ten years the female cricketers who had come to England were predominantly within this age range, with the youngest being 19 and two older

athletes (27 and 28) over the age of 24. This can be explained by understanding the life situation of the athletes, which contributed to why they played cricket abroad for a season. Twelve of the participants had recently finished university and wanted to have a gap year before they started work, and saw cricket as something to focus on, which created a social network. Two participants desired a break from their university studies and wanted to play abroad while they were still young or because they wanted to focus on cricket to make the top international side, and wanted to use the off-season as a chance to find some form. This enabled them the chance to concentrate on weaker areas before returning home to their national domestic competition. Two participants were either frustrated with not finding a job at home or had just quit their job and had no commitments, so it was the “*perfect chance to go away and explore the world*”. Two participants cited breakdown in relationships as reasons for leaving. To them there was a “*need to escape to another country due to personal reasons*” and “*cricket seemed like the only excuse to leave*”. This is another clear indication that cricket is often not the sole reason for becoming a migrant female athlete because life circumstances often dictate when and why individual’s play cricket abroad.

The dominant motivations for the athletes and myself promotes an alternating migration flow occurring between England, New Zealand and Australia, which is part of an informal network that has developed to facilitate the movement of female cricketers between the three countries. Women’s cricket is not a professional sport; therefore, there is no market for the buying and selling of female cricket athletes. The migration of athletes between countries is an individual choice and the athletes are left to organise their own movement. The migration network in women’s cricket is player

driven and this involves enquiring about playing for a team, by making contact with various county associations, coaches and/or playing contacts already established. The process of becoming the 'international' for a county team appears to run on a 'who you know' and 'first in first served' basis. There are no contractual requirements or binding documents between the player and the county, the only expectations are that the athlete is available for all games and/or practice commitments.

The following excerpts from the interview data highlight the decision making process for the athletes, which emphasises the notion that cricket must 'fit' into the lives of female cricketers, and the decision to play abroad depends on other factors such as employment, personal situations and relationships.

I was at a loss with what to do with myself after university and cricket was the only commitment I had to adhere to. I was not ready to go straight into a job or settle down anywhere, so I put all my energy into cricket and making the New Zealand national side. I had played with an English girl in my domestic team that I became good friends with and I guess through talking to her and hearing all about the county scene in England I became fascinated with the opportunity it presented.... I knew I couldn't earn money and it was a decision that lacked any financial security, but I felt like I would regret it if I passed up on the chance as I feel it is something every cricketer should do once in their playing career.

I had just quit my job and cricket was everything that I had going for me at that particular time in my life, I knew that with the state of women's cricket and the fact it wasn't professional meant that playing abroad in a place like England was very much based on a 'does it fit your life circumstance' model... I had to take the opportunity because my life presented me with a perfect gap, and it was a chance to travel around Europe as I had saved up some money specifically for that reason... cricket gave me somewhere to be based and also a purpose. It also allowed me to work on areas of my game against different opposition, and hopefully return to Australia a better player, it was the perfect fit for my life at the time.

Cricket was my saving grace after a painful breakup, and it allowed me to get out of the country and into something new, which was England... I

used it as an excuse to escape and take my mind of things. I quit my job and basically ran away, but I used cricket as an excuse to sugar coat all my problems and avoid the questions as to why I was going away. I didn't really think of it at the time but I guess in a way cricket has presented me with a chance to travel and explore something new, but also gave me a focus and I have found that I am really enjoying the game like I did, which has been pleasantly surprising. I am working on my game in the hope that I will go back to my domestic team and be a better player and person for them.

The opportunity to travel was a feature in all of the interviews because England gave the athletes a base that was close to Europe, and they could play cricket and travel because “*England is a tourist hub*”. The athletes were aware that cricket would give them somewhere to be established without having to worry about accommodation, and they could travel around Great Britain and Europe. It was a general assumption that playing cricket for a county team took away the feeling of being a ‘backpacker’, which gave the individuals more certainty in their travel plans. It was also a way to experience England in a different manner because it offered the migrant athletes the chance to become members of local social networks over the period of their stay, which they anticipated would allow them to experience the country from an insider’s perspective.

I never really thought of the travel side of things until I realised how easily accessible Europe is and I thought while I am here in England I might as well tick of some other countries... financially it was expensive but the experience of traveling and seeing the world is priceless so thank god for cricket and having somewhere I could store my personal belongings and return to cost free... one of the biggest perks about playing cricket in a country like England.

Personally, travel was ranked alongside, if not higher, than cricket. I had completed some reading on travelling through Europe during my last year of university, as it was my intention to backpack for six-months (my international cricket commitments interrupted those plans), so I was aware of the connections between England and the

many countries that await you in Europe. The importance of travel varied among the interviewees but my own personal account of being a migrant athlete is laden with the desire to see the world from a secure base in England. It was appealing to me, and other athletes, that England provided a secure temporary home, which made travelling easier and cost effective. The desire to travel coincides with time/space compression associated with globalisation because travelling is relatively easy due to developments in modern technology; meaning foreign destinations are easier to get to and are being explored more readily.

The desire to travel is an obvious point of difference between female sports migrants in cricket compared to the 'average' sporting migrant, which was described in chapter two, where financial factors dominate how sports migration is defined. Athletes in this study listed travel and the chance to play their chosen sport of cricket in another country as the main pull factors in their decision making process. However, sporting migration is largely associated with monetary reasons that override other motivations. There is no quest for higher social and financial rewards by the athletes in this study, as suggested by Maguire (1994), and they are not seeking rapid success and wealth, as explained by Besnier and Brownell (2012). The participants of this study were not motivated by money because there simply is no financial market for women's cricket, which meant that the athletes did not 'sell' their skills overseas. This allows the analysis to bring to the forefront of sports migration studies a new perspective on why athletes in an amateur sport, like women's cricket, choose to migrate and play abroad. The distinct lack of the economic pull factors in this research, that is now heavily associated with sports migration, exposes gaps in literature on sporting migration.

The desire to attract media attention, corporate sponsors and fans is now a dominant catalyst for sports organisations and “we should not be surprised that high-level sport has been transformed into a commercialised, commodified, and massified phenomenon” (Frey & Eitzen, 1991:508). This directly impacts on sports that do not deliver the wants and needs of commercialised sport, meaning that female athletes are often left behind. Females in cricket are not caught up in this commercialised web, therefore, are not motivated by reasons that align themselves with achieving media, corporate or sponsorship attention. The athletes are simply motivated by the game itself and the experiences that can be had through playing abroad. The game of cricket for female athletes is still very much about ‘play’ and has not traversed into the world of sport becoming work.

Nevertheless, their move to play in England has to be seen in the context of the globalisation of sport and the growing prevalence of sporting migration. The participants in this study acknowledged that if it were not for their involvement in cricket then the option of moving abroad for six months would not have come into consideration. The global sporting space has emerged as a result, with the globalisation of sport bringing people together on common ground; in this case cricket. Although the movement of female cricket migrants is often limited to three countries, it can still be seen in terms of the relationship between sport and globalisation.

The participants also spoke about the excitement of being in a new social and sporting situation for a period of time, as it broke up their usual routines in their home setting. England was a country that the participants could rely on in terms of what they

expected to experience with regards to language, food, accommodation and a general western way of life, but also a place where they expected to find some differences. One participant explained that *“England could guarantee no language barriers, or unexpected cultural traditions, so it would be an easy transition”*. The attraction of meeting new people by playing sport for a team was an exciting prospect for all of the participants because it *“would challenge me and take me out of my comfort zone”* and *“constantly forming and maintaining friendships is what life is all about, England offers something different in this regard because it is exposing us to different traditions and experiences through new people”*.

One story collected from the interviews stuck with me because I consider that it sums up this desire for new social interactions and experiences:

From a social perspective, the excitement of meeting new people was a big contributing reason in my decision to play abroad because I was kind of bored of my same social routines and networks that I have had for years so I thought ‘bring it on’... England was just a home away from home, except they [the English] all speak funny and have different ideas on social outings, like going to the local pub at lunch and drinking cider... the pub life was something I had to get used to. I don’t meet my new friends at a local café for coffee or lunch, I meet them at chain restaurants like Costa or Starbucks, which is something I noticed straightaway, the café scene is not like that of New Zealand where chains are outnumbered by individually owned unique cafes... I don’t meet my friends to watch a rugby match, I meet them to watch football and drink with other local fans and have a curry... all little twists on how I usually socially interact and I love it.

From my perspective, I found the changes to the way I socially conducted myself as similar to the above extract. I missed the café culture that New Zealand offers and my typical local haunts down Cuba Street in Wellington. I tried to explain this part of Kiwi life to my newly established friends while sitting in Starbucks one day, and they couldn’t comprehend the picture I was trying to paint for them; a slice of home I

dearly missed. I also found the ‘Sunday roast’ that is strongly associated with being ‘British’, like the typically Kiwi tradition of Friday night fish and chips, is usually an important social gathering for friends and family. The notion that food is closely connected to national traditions and social exchanges was definitely proven for the interviewees and myself during our time in England. New social routines and experiences was an attractive feature for all of the participants and myself. I personally found that after a few wild years at university I was ready to branch out further and I knew that cricket would allow for new interactions because it is a team sport.

One analysis on the motivations of female sporting migrants is explored by Agergaard (2008) and emphasises the differing incentives that they have. He explores the reasons why migrant female handball players move to Denmark to pursue their sport. Agergaard (2008) explains that sporting ambition, personal well-being and also the experience of a new ‘handball culture’ were among the most important reasons for moving to Denmark to play. These athletes did not mention the idea of moving to another club and country to experience a different culture, and mentioned only that they moved to experience the different sporting culture (Agergaard, 2008). Some of the athletes also mentioned that they moved because of friendships and acquaintances that were formed through competitions and tournaments prior to moving. Agergaard (2008:13) states, “the foreign players have their motives for coming to Danish clubs but when they arrive in the clubs they are met with a social reality that might be different from their motives”. Therefore, although many of the players did not move to experience the culture or country, they end up being expected to immerse themselves in local culture to become apart of the team. All of the players indicated

that they would not settle in Denmark and intended moving back to their home country as there was no financial gain, and they were young and only wanted the Danish experience for a short period. This study by Agergaard (2008) reaffirms the findings regarding the motivation for athletes in this research.

The decline of amateur sport and the rise of professionalism has seen the characteristics of amateurism, such as participation for its own sake and general love of the sport, become overpowered by the desire for extrinsic material rewards (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). It may be true that “intrinsic motivation and reward are still relevant, but their significance seems to be devalued by the rising importance of monetary rewards (legal and illegal) for athletes (Frey & Eitzen, 1991:509). The association of athletes with success, profit and entertainment in professional sport did not feature in this research, and this highlights the importance of intrinsic motivations that are still linked with amateur sports, like women’s cricket.

The principal factors that motivate female cricketers to migrate abroad are: professional development of their game during their home off-season, travel, the experience of cricket in a different country, and social opportunities that were either new and/or already developed. These factors are heavily dictated by personal circumstance and desires. Importantly, the participants were not motivated by financial gain, which reflects the current amateur state of women’s cricket.

3.2 SPORTS MIGRATION CATEGORIES

There are various analytical approaches to the migration of athletes that include geographical, sociological and historical. This study is based on athletes' motives and experiences as migrants, and the data outlined above can be looked at in terms of the approach developed by Maguire in 1996. Maguire suggested five categories for sports migrants: pioneers, settlers, mercenaries, returnees and nomadic cosmopolitan. Magee and Sugden (2002) developed the categories further after interviewing 22 foreign athletes playing football in England. They adapted Maguire's categories to the following: *the mercenary*, *the settler*, *the ambitionist*, *the nomadic cosmopolitan*, *the exile and the expelled* (Agergaard, 2008).

'The mercenary' is the athlete that is driven by money and economic gain. The athlete is regarded as an employee and fulfils the job before moving onto a new job. This type is "not connected to neither the places where he or she stays nor to his or her homestead" (Agergaard, 2008:7).

'The settler' is the athlete "who has moved to another country and stayed there for four or five seasons" (Agergaard, 2008:7). This type of migrant may also consider staying in the host country after finishing his/her sporting career and is common among athletes who have young families that see the benefits of staying in the host country.

'The ambitionist' is divided into three sub types. Firstly, there is the athlete who wants to achieve a professional career. Secondly, there is the athlete who has dreamt

about playing sport in a particular country and/or club throughout their childhood. Thirdly, “some migrants are ambitious about playing in a club with the highest possible sporting level giving them the possibility of improving their career and receiving more medals” (Agergaard, 2008:7).

‘The nomadic cosmopolitan’ is motivated by the chance to experience different countries and cultures and is drawn to major countries and cities. This is a major category for female cricket migrants in England as London is a major city.

‘The exile’ is the athlete “who for sport-related, personal or political reasons leaves their country voluntarily or because of threats to his career” (Agergaard, 2008:7).

‘The expelled’ athlete is the opposite of this category and is the migrant who has been forced to leave because of various issues, normally behaviour and media exposure problems.

This approach is relevant because, although it consists of ideal types, it concisely categorises the migrant athletes into a theoretical model. This can be applied and compared to various other sports that female athletes participate in to gain further perspective on the movement of migrant female athletes within sport.

The analytical approach by Jonathan Magee and John Sugden (1996) on sports migration can explain the findings reported above, regarding why female cricketers chose to migrate to England to play. The results indicate that the average female migrant cricketer can be placed into the nomadic cosmopolitan or the ambitionist categories. The state of women’s cricket generally eliminated the probability of

athletes falling into the other categories because there are commonly no financial motivations in the decision to play abroad, as the mercenary category suggests, and the settler category is eliminated because of the visa and life situations for the migrants. The lack of media attention and the low profile of women's cricket means the exile/expelled category would rarely apply to female cricket because it would be rare for an athlete to be forced out of their home country due to issues regarding media exposure. However, the exile/expelled category can still apply because it would not be unexpected for a female cricketer to become a migrant athlete due to personal and/or sport-related issues, such as conflict with teammates, coaches, the media and/or issues relating to playing form.

Fifteen of the participants in my study indicated they were in the nomadic cosmopolitan category after reading the various definitions. They were motivated by the chance to experience different cities, countries and cultures. One participant was in the ambitionist category because she had ambitions relating to playing cricket at the highest possible level for a county team. However, she also indicated that she could fall into the nomadic cosmopolitan category, but was driven higher by the experience of cricket. These two categories give a general understanding on the state of women's cricket and are reflected in the migration experiences and motivations.

3.3 DESTINATION ENGLAND

The relationship between cricket and England is a chief factor in the decision to play abroad because the country is considered the 'home of cricket'. Cricket makes up an important part of the national sports culture in England and it portrays the traditions

that are normally associated with the game. The migrant athletes had a strong idea of what to expect, not only from the country itself, but what the game would offer because of the history associated with cricket in England, the representations of it through media sources and the success of the England women's team at international level. English cricket is steeped in tradition, so playing there for a season presented the athletes with an opportunity to play the game in its place of origin, which proved to be a motivation in itself for the participants. It appeared to be a 'rite of passage' for all cricketers who had the chance to play there. One statement summed this up: "*it is something every cricketer dreams about doing at least once in their career and if the chance arose to play abroad in England you had to take it, no questions asked*".

The following interview selections capture the general reasoning behind choosing to migrate to England to play cricket:

It is England, it is like a cricketers dream to be able to play there at least once and say to people that I once played at the home of cricket... if you have the chance to play there you have to take the opportunity because it is as much about the experience as it is about actually playing.

The English women's team is a top female cricketing nation so they must be doing something right at domestic level, so there isn't really a reason to say no is there? You know as a player what you are going to get and the country itself is like the Mother of New Zealand, so I saw it as an easy transition and wouldn't require too much change in how I normally live.

I used various contacts that I had made through English players migrating to Australia to play and that is basically how I chose England, which sounds really simple, but it was as easy as that... I also kind of predicted the level of cricket to be suitable because my friend had talked it up and the national side was always strong... not much other choice anyway.

I chose to migrate to England because the country's reputation speaks for itself. I was intrigued by what it had to offer as a travel destination, and the history associated with it, so I saw cricket as my pass to go and explore all that it had to offer. The history of cricket and the rich traditions associated with the game in England also fascinated me; I knew it was like a rite of passage for any cricketer and I couldn't ignore the opportunity to combine both my desire to play cricket there and my desire to see the world. I also found that being an international women's cricketer, I was aware that playing a season in some other country might not offer me the same benefits as being at home for the off-season. Although travel was high on my agenda, I also had to pay close attention to my commitment to cricket, both personally and from a national perspective as a member of the New Zealand women's team. I was responsible for having a productive off-season because I was absent from national training camps back home. Therefore, I had to be playing a suitable level of cricket to ensure I was being challenged; something that I knew England would offer due to its strong cricket reputation. This was also the case for other participants who represented either New Zealand or Australia at the elite level.

The majority of migratory movements in women's cricket occur between New Zealand, England and Australia. It was revealed, when speaking to the head of women's cricket in England, that there have been only three occasions on record where female athletes from outside this group (from the West Indies, South Africa and Pakistan) have migrated to play cricket in England. There has been no record or common knowledge of any female player from New Zealand, Australia or England becoming a migrant cricket athlete in any country outside of this network. The continual formation of social relationships between female cricketers from these three

countries contributes to this informal migrant pathway, which is also suggested by Agergaard (2008) in his study of female handball players. The bonds that are formed by playing with or against other migrant athletes create routes that are easy for athletes to pursue because they have already formed an initial contact. Therefore, cricketers that do want to play abroad follow a path dictated by friendship or word of mouth. The success at international level that New Zealand, Australia and England has achieved also contributes to this small network because migrant female cricketers want to be exposed to the best cricket standards possible, which places these countries in an advantaged position. Players want to spend their time in a strong cricket environment where they are guaranteed a high level of cricket, and for the facilities to meet expectations.

I consider the impact of this 'divide' a major contributor to the gap between the top and bottom teams within international women's cricket. If there are no top players willing to play abroad in less successful cricketing countries then consequently there is no pathway for the lesser countries to improve the level of play within their domestic competitions. There was no interest from any of the participants when asked about playing cricket in any country outside of the 'normal' network because there were too many differences and unknown factors to consider. England was a safe option because the athletes generally knew what to expect from cricket and the culture.

I would rather travel to places like India and Sri Lanka for a few days, but the thought of playing there for a season did not appeal to me, I mean where would I stay? What would I eat? How would I understand everyday life? For an amateur female sports person it just does not appeal to me... too much change, too much of the unknown and just didn't fit with what I

wanted to gain from staying away from home for a few months... as a traveller sure, but as a female cricketer, no.

The expected standard of cricket in other countries was also an issue because it would not offer the opportunity to improve their game and the players expected the quality and standards associated with cricket to be adhered to in England. An overwhelming reason for not choosing 'other' countries is because England offers "*normality, it does not offer dramatic change socially or culturally, whereas being a migrant athlete in a country like India would require changes on many levels both socially and culturally due to religion, food and traditions*". This was a statement that expressed this view:

I wanted to be guaranteed a good level of cricket or my off-season would be a waste... I just anticipated the level of cricket to be lowly in other countries like Sri Lanka and South Africa because internationally they are fairly poor compared to England... it is probably a boring choice but a safe one.

The movement of migrant athletes between England, Australia and New Zealand not only reflects movement within the women's game, but also indicates an unwillingness to experience greater cultural and social differences because there is no player movement outside of this network. It highlights the lack of desire from top female cricketers to experience vastly different countries and why the development of the women's game is affected, because there is no 'female cricket market' or significant money within the women's game to influence player movement among more participating cricket nations.

This alternating network that has been formed between New Zealand, Australia and England is having a detrimental effect on the women's game at the highest level.

This network is highly selective and highlights the preference of athletes for the 'known' as opposed to the 'unknown', where it is easier to feel at 'home' and where the standard of play is at an acceptable level. Female athletes have freedom to play where they want and this is why they choose New Zealand, Australia and England. The athletes travel to where they believe they will have the best 'experience' and will be exposed to the best cricket. The lack of movement to 'different' countries reflects a cultural laziness that can be transferred to many areas outside of sporting fields. Money does not dictate player movement within women's cricket like it does men's, and the networks that are created are smaller and cultural exposure is minimised. If women's cricket was professional then all of the participants agreed that female cricketers would be spread around the participating cricket nations (seasons and international commitments permitting) because they believed they would receive superior treatment in countries like Sri Lanka, India and West Indies. As a contracted overseas player you would expect to be put up in nice hotels, guaranteed independence, and gain substantial financial support, which would improve the overall experience in these 'lesser' countries.

The network that has been developed between New Zealand, Australia and England does not necessarily indicate the creation of a 'global market' for female cricket talent, as movement is marked by regional orientation instead of global placement (Taylor, 2006). Although there are no employers and there is no 'market' in women's cricket, the argument that Taylor (2006:21) presents indicates that people "prefer to engage in repeated transactions with reliable or known sources and these transactions are heavily influenced by social and cultural ties and by established historical and economic relationships". Migration patterns in female cricket should be looked at in

the same way that Taylor (2006:21) insists football migration should be explored, with the migration of female cricketers being a “series of interlocking migration systems or networks rather than a single global labour market”. Importantly, the pathway that has been created between the three countries in this study align with the idea that migration is not an impulsive occurrence because “people build migration paths on previous traditions, using past experiences and the useful information gained from them” (Taylor, 2006:30). The participants of this study used information from England based players they had played with/against and also relied on the strong historical connections between cricket and England.

It is here that I want to introduce the ‘systems approach’ to the migration network that has developed between New Zealand, Australia and England in women’s cricket. It has been a popular analytical tool for studies on contemporary migration and “according to this perspective, migration is a part of wider flows of goods, services, ideas and information and takes place within a set of circuits that form distinct geographical systems” (Taylor, 2006:21). It allows for migration patterns within particular geographical locations to be understood in terms of global migration. A migration system consists of countries that exchange migrants with each other and can include temporary and permanent migration (Taylor, 2006). The system would include “other linkages between countries, such as historical, cultural, and colonial ties, a long of course with economic connections” (Taylor, 2006:22). The systems approach to the migration network that has emerged in this study is a useful analytical tool because, in my view, the movement of players in women’s cricket cannot be placed within a global migration network due to the migration flow dominantly occurs between three countries. It also applies because the three countries are linked

through important historical, cultural and colonial ties through their Commonwealth connection.

3.4 SOCIAL IMPACTS

Understanding the main motivations behind why the participants migrated abroad to play cricket introduces this next section to gain an understanding on the social costs/rewards of their decision. Having the opportunity to create a new social network (or to strengthen an existing one) and making new friendships was central to enjoying their experience as migrant female cricketers.

My own social experience aligned with the views of the other participants and had a positive impact on my time abroad. It involved forming a new social network while maintaining my social ties in New Zealand. My time was spent dominantly with my housemates, joining in with their activities involving their social network or other migrant athletes. The formation of these new ties was integral to my social experience abroad. There was no distinct period of ‘integration’ into England because I had already been in the country for three weeks on an international tour with the New Zealand women’s cricket team. Therefore, there was no welcome to the new environment and club; I was left to integrate myself. I did encounter some difficulties because my club, Yorkshire, was a county team that did not train together due to the geographical dispersion of the members, which made it hard to integrate myself into the team environment because it was difficult to socialise on match days. The traditional after match ‘drink at the pub’ was the only time we could spend as a social unit, which was one difficult area for myself because I wanted to socialise more with

my team. Yorkshire could not train together as a team because our lives led us elsewhere, which is an issue that would be avoided if we were professional (paid) cricketers and cricket was our job. The inability to train together is not the case for some of the more fortunate teams whose members live in the same local area, which is why the experiences of migrant female cricketers differ from player to player because it is not one collective programme. Experiences differ for the players depending on which county they are representing as shown in the following interview excerpts:

I am part of a county that trains together once a week, I guess I would find it a bit weird just turning up to play a game without training with my team and it's a positive because I have come to know my team better as a result... I remember my first training, I was jetlagged, tired, anxious and nervous all in one and I wanted to make a good first impression, but it was overwhelming meeting so many new people all at once. Training and meeting my team mates at the same time was perfect though because the cricket took away some of the unfamiliarity and I could throw all my nervous energy into that and I felt part of the team straight away, they are great.

We don't train together as a team, it is all done on an individual basis, which I found hard at first because I didn't know anybody or what to do if I wanted to train... after a few games and social outings afterwards at the pub I began to form new friendships and I learnt a little more about the county set up itself... it is frustrating though because everyone else just carries on with normal life and because we are so spread apart I am often left alone trying to fill my time, which left me wanting more socially.

The participants explained that their individual integration into new surroundings was usually a positive experience, which made the crossover easy to manage. The feeling of nervousness was a feature throughout all the interviews with regards to settling in, but they were confident that it would not be difficult to overcome because there were no language barriers or cultural differences to adjust to, it was just about 'fitting in' and "building a new social network as fast as possible". Fourteen of the participants

described how they were welcomed into their new cricket teams through a team dinner, where members all come together to celebrate their arrival and officially welcome them before any training sessions or matches. The event would involve meeting the manager, coach and players, which made the migrant cricketers feel “*welcomed and accepted*”. The participants believed this method was a positive way to meet everyone because it was in an informal social environment, and they felt there was no expectation placed on them other than to be present and socialise.

Two participants explained how they were integrated into their new team at training, and described the experience as “*easy because it was informal and I did not feel like the new kid at school*”. It was a comfortable environment where they were allowed to act like themselves without feeling overwhelmed by the amount of new people, and the cricket training allowed them to be distracted from the pressure of trying to fit in. In other words, the global nature of the game of cricket, the similarities in how the game is played across the countries involved, facilitated their integration into a new environment. In addition, being part of a larger network of migratory cricketers meant that not all of the people the migrants encountered in England were ‘strangers’. Fourteen participants had already formed a relationship with a member of their new team because they had either played with or against them previously. This was a positive feature for the athletes because they felt that they were not alone and their contacts had communicated with them about what to expect, which prepared them for their new experience. All of the participants also knew the other migrant athletes from their home country who were playing in England at the same time, which allowed the athletes to move within England and between social networks developed by other players; this enabled a broader social platform to experience. This made it

easier for the participants to settle into the team and helped them build new social networks and relationships. The knowledge of having connections already within the team and in other teams gave them confidence in being themselves, which led to a greater positive experience.

Linguistic, cultural and sporting ties between the three countries under study also meant there was an overwhelming feeling of ‘acceptance’ from all the participants who described their new environments as ‘friendly’, ‘safe’, ‘fun’, ‘accommodating’ and ‘judgement free’. They believed it was easier coming into a new team environment being able to speak the same language and having the knowledge that there were no significant cultural barriers that would limit their interaction or integration fully. It was also identifiable from the data that the participants were treated like family by their hosts and they were not treated like outsiders. The hosts were aware of the participants becoming homesick and therefore made an effort to speak about home or actively seek out physical Kiwi items for their bedroom or around the house, like the flag and pictures of New Zealand/Australia. Integration sets the tone from the outset of the experience and assimilation is an important element in the female migrant athlete’s journey, and could heavily affect other facets of their experience if this is negative or positive.

Coming home one day and finding my room had been turned into what seemed like an All Blacks supporters heaven was incredible, I almost felt like crying because it made me miss home but also because I knew my new network of friends were really trying to help me... I realised they had done it because the All Blacks had a game against Australia, so we all gathered to watch it and what struck me the most was that evening my host Mum had gone out of her way to cook me a ‘Kiwi’ dinner, just amazing.

The data also highlighted how the traditional English pub was seen as a key integration tool because it was a dominant feature in all of the social interactions described by the participants. The ‘pub’ was also a distinct social feature for myself and changed my perspective on what a pub is. In England, the local pub was the cornerstone of most communities and townships, loaded with history and always had a distinctly English feel about it in terms of names and interiors. Having a ‘pint down at the local’ was regarded as a social thing to do and the norm; it wasn’t uncommon to walk past a full pub on most days, especially when football was on. It was where I spent most of my time meeting and catching up with friends during the day and became a dominant feature of my social experience. One participant explained that *“the pub was my social hub, I probably spent more time in one of those than I did on the cricket field and it definitely was a change to my normal social outings back home”*.

It also emerged from the data that all of the participants felt homesick at one stage during their time away, with thirteen athletes explaining that their English friends and contacts did not fully understand the difficulties associated with being away from home. The athletes felt that members of their new network thought they had an *“easy lifestyle of playing cricket and not working”*, and did not understand the complexities of their homesickness. It was unanimous amongst the participants that it was critical to maintain relationships and networks back home to control their homesickness. As ‘global subjects’ then, the quality of their ties with home and host countries were different, with ‘home’ retaining a certain affective priority. They regularly found it difficult to manage both social networks with the time difference between countries, and communication with ‘home’ could severely impact on their experience in

England if it was positive or negative. Two of the interviewees describe this, and these are the kinds of nuances that disappear under the macrocosmic gloss of concepts such as ‘the global’ and ‘transnationalism’.

It feels like you have a hand in each cookie jar and you have to balance two lives because you want to experience all that England had to offer, but in the back of your mind you know you have to return home and if you let relationships fail then returning is going to be difficult, so you have to ensure you give attention to friends and family as well as maintaining relationships and building networks in your new environment.

Home is my priority... my friends and family were top of the list and I knew I had to keep in regular contact to ensure I wasn't missing anything and was in the loop... England is just temporary and is nowhere near as important as home is.

Homesickness was also a particularly poignant feature of my migrant experience. I had been documenting my experiences as a migrant athlete with relative ease, but when I was homesick, I could not put down in words how I was feeling. It became apparent when searching back through my notes that when I was homesick there would typically be days of no recorded information, and I recall that this was because I felt guilty or overwhelmed at being away from my home, my family and my friends. I would lose motivation and no one around me could relate to this feeling, which at times made me feel isolated and misunderstood, but it was all part of the experience.

All of the athletes commented on social growth through having to meet new people and sustain new friendships, with this factor being described as “*a chance to understand your own social skills and overcome any social fears*”. It was an opportunity to work at communication and social skills in a new setting, and also with their natural environments as it was forcing them “*to grow up and be an adult*”,

which again highlighted the fact they were out of their comfort zones and normal routines, but also drew attention to some of the challenges and potentially positive aspects of transnationalism.

3.5 PERSONAL IMPACTS

The interviewees indicated that there was a high personal cost associated with playing abroad because their chosen countries did not pay for their services as the ‘overseas player’. However, this finding was predictable because women’s cricket is not professional and there are currently no major competitions in global women’s domestic cricket that has a substantial monetary reward for winning. Therefore, there is no significant financial motivation or reason to spend money on buying international female cricket athletes by clubs or associations. This is a major difference between male and female cricket because since the introduction of 20/20 cricket the global consumption of the game has changed, and it has subsequently attracted attention from major sponsors, organisations, business moguls, and corporate giants that has turned cricket into a powerful sports business. Elite male cricketers are now sought after assets within the modern game, with the majority of clubs and cricket associations focussing their finances and attention on not only the buying/selling of male athletes, but also accommodating the needs of the athletes. Migrant female athletes are commonly left to look after themselves and the financial costs associated with playing abroad are the responsibility of the players. Although women’s cricket will benefit from the developments in men’s cricket on some level, it has yet to see the financial benefits that the men’s game has.

Firstly, the data indicates that it was not financially difficult to keep in contact with 'home'. Participants stated that modern technology facilitated connections to friends and family through tools such as Skype, texting, emailing and phoning. All of the participants agreed that Skype over the Internet was the best form of technology because it allowed them the ability to visually see friends and family, which helped ease homesickness and did not cost anything. The use of mobile phones and the advanced technology associated with them, such as mobile Internet, also proved to be an effective and low cost tool for maintaining contact with home. This was also the case for myself, because communication with home was important for keeping spirits high. This connects with the view of globalisation as time-space compression, with such compression becoming ever more marked as communication technology advances. Modern technology condenses the global landscape because the world is now more accessible than ever before, which has increased the consumption of different societal and cultural features. In my view, technology aided my ability to communicate my experiences as they happened to my home network of family and friends, which may otherwise have been left untold, and enabled them to live the experience with me through the use of these tools.

This experience would be a lot harder if modern technology was not as advanced as it is... in fact, it would have potentially deterred me from coming over because if I couldn't keep in contact with home then this experience wouldn't be worth it. I need technology to get support from home and to keep me up with events occurring with family and friends... it is a lifesaver and has a massive impact on my personal experience here.

One factor that eliminated some of the financial burden placed upon the athletes was that all of the participants were fortunately accommodated free of charge by the families of local players or local players themselves. This differentiated them from

the average traveller, and was an advantage for travel, as it gave them “*somewhere to base themselves and eliminate accommodation stress and cost usually associated with travel*”. One participant explained:

Living with a family made you feel like you were apart of the team instantly and eliminated the fear of being alone and left to sort yourself out, which would have been extremely hard in a new country without really knowing anyone.

The athletes all agreed that having a base with a family or teammates was like “*having your own tour guide*” and it “*made forming connections with new friends and surroundings easier*”. The organisation of living with families or teammates took away the stresses of finding somewhere to live, and made it easier when deciding to become a migrant cricketer “*because all that had to be done was book flights and pack your bags*”. It also enabled the athletes to be immersed into a ‘group’ within English society and being an ‘insider’ meant they could have the opportunity to “*experience the English way of life, customs and traditions*” that may not have been presented to them. However, independence was an issue as a result of living with other people because thirteen athletes felt they were obliged to do what others wanted and their individual freedom was compromised. It was also rare for the athletes to have a car to use, with only three participants declaring that they had regular access to a vehicle, which gave valuable independence.

My accommodation experience was similar to the participants and I found that living with English people made myself feel more integrated and took away some of the financial burden because it was free. This was also a positive social experience because I was not alone and my flatmates helped me find my way around the local

town and included me in their social events. Independence was not an issue for me because I was allowed to use a car and I was situated within walking distance of shops.

Another aspect that helped minimise cost was coaching, with four of the participants provided with work by their counties and paid in cash, because they could not be officially employed due to visa restrictions. This work *“was not much but put extra dollars in the pocket which eased the everyday stresses of trying to survive”*. The participants also explained that having the distraction of coaching gave them a focus and purpose, which was often a non-existent quality amongst female cricketers who had *“nothing to do on most days”*. However, it was also an un-wanted feature of their time in England due to the desire to travel because it would mean they would have to stay in their local areas due to coaching responsibilities on typical days off.

I personally found the financial cost of playing abroad a heavy burden to carry. Yorkshire, like other counties, was not in a position to provide me with financial support or coaching opportunities. I had to support myself but I was fortunate to have substantial savings and parental help, which is a crucial element when deciding to become a migrant cricketer. The inability to work was a hurdle that had to be overcome, and having secure finances dictated the experience and how much travelling or ‘living’ you could do. Life felt like it was on hold, and at times this was difficult because Yorkshire did not train together and I had a lot of spare time that was often filled with travelling or social events that required money. In essence, I was experiencing the glorified hobby that is women’s cricket and paying a heavy price financially.

The data also showed that all of the athletes mentioned their time in England was a personally expensive experience too, even though accommodation was free, because they had to pay for return flights to England, general transport, food, clothing and social events. One migrant cricketer stated:

I used savings in order to survive the period abroad, without savings I just could not play in England because I have to spend money on food, social outings, clothes, travel, transport etc. It really does make me aware that I am a female playing sport.

All of the athletes were away from home for a significant period for the first time in a different country and were thriving on the chance to lead their own life, which was helping them learn vital skills they knew would be important. One athlete described the experience as:

A chance to catch a breath and come up for air away from everyday responsibilities back home, that allows for a chance to really think about where you want your life to go and what career you might want to pursue so cricket was a good distraction away from the pressure of settling down to a normal 9-5 life.

In this sense the transnational experience was a liberating one, facilitated by the international nature of the game of cricket that connected the three countries in question. This was linked also to the transformation of the migrant cricketers from parochial to (at least partially) transnational subjects. Fourteen of the participants explained that living away from home for the first time enabled them to learn about themselves and learn to become independent. They described this as a learning curve and it opened their eyes to how diverse the world is outside the “*pocket of normality*” they were used to. The independence they encountered while being migrant athletes involved learning how to use new public transport systems, managing their money,

cooking and organising their everyday life. All of the participants commented on feeling like better people for the experience and adapting to differences was forcing a new outlook on life away from cricket. One passage from an interview sums this up:

One of my first experiences of the famous London Underground really made me stop and realise that I was out in the world and living for what felt like the first time, I mean all these people were going past me, all knowing what they were doing and I was standing there with a map trying to figure out the maze in front of me... it was real, I was in London and I felt independent... at this stage I knew that although money was an issue, it was worth it because I was experiencing and I was living.

3.6 PROFESSIONAL IMPACTS

The professional impact of becoming a migrant athlete had a positive influence in relation to the development of their cricket, but it was hard to gauge the impact it had on their professional lives outside of cricket. The participants could not disagree that having an active off-season was beneficial because it allowed them to train and play outdoors, as opposed to the traditional indoor winter programmes in New Zealand and Australia. Having the opportunity to play and train is hard to turn down as it presents a chance to work on areas of your game away from the pressure of the domestic competition at home. However, one disadvantage that emerged from the data was the players missed out on off-season training away from match play and team building opportunities with their home teams. They were anxious about how this would affect their place in the team socially and professionally.

The professional impact of being a migrant athlete was minimal for myself because I had finished university and I was aware that I could not work on a visitor visa. Luckily, the experience introduced me to the next chapter of my life, which was this

research and I can only imagine about the different courses my life could have taken if I did not become a migrant cricketer in England. I remember documenting how fortunate I was to have followed my dream of pursuing further study in anthropology; a dream I was able to connect with my sporting passion. In my opinion, the six-month period spent in England is as much about exploring what you want to do with your life as it is about cricket.

The impact on the participants' professional lives outside of cricket was minimal because all of the athletes had either recently finished university/school, resigned from their job, or were completing a gap year. The athletes had time on their hands and thirteen of them explained that they needed time to figure out what they wanted to do with their lives or that they needed a break away from home, which cricket gave them. All of the participants entered England on a six-month visitor visa, which meant work was not permitted. This would be an issue if they needed work to support themselves and/or wanted employment experience. However, the participants were aware of the restrictions and it did not impact their experience because no participant wanted to work.

The visitor visa is free and does not require any documentation, which is a positive factor for the migrant athletes because it covers the duration of the cricket season in England. The inability to work due to the restrictions of the visitor visa meant that the athletes had to rely on personal savings or counties to supply coaching opportunities that paid in cash, which only four of the participants were able to access; this did not stop them dipping into their savings. This basic denial of employment rights faced by migrant female cricketers was an issue that was addressed by Stead and Maguire

(1998) as a problem in the sports labour market. The athletes dealt with this and knew they had to find ways of surviving in order to enjoy and survive the experience. This again indicates that women are chasing a glorified hobby.

Although these athletes could only enter on a six-month visitor visa, it brings to the forefront the limitations placed on migrant female athletes in cricket and how they cannot be placed in the global sport labour market. Modern day athletes often chase economic capital in exchange for their skill and are eligible for 'sports visas', where international clubs and corporations buy athletic talent, resulting in athletes qualifying for various work visas. These types of athletes are global subjects that form part of the mobile category of labour migrants who exchange a skill overseas in return for economic rewards. The female migrant cricketers in this study can simply not be categorised in this way because their skills are not purchased and they are not contributing to the migrant labour market.

It really is just a six month holiday, we can say we are here for cricket all we like, but we are unemployed hobby chasers in my eyes... we cannot work or get paid for playing and so we are basically on holiday... I am just using this time to figure out what I want to do in life... it really does show our position in the cricket pecking order though.

While they did not feel exploited or unduly restricted, the inability to work contributed to fourteen of the athletes feeling professionally stunted. They would have liked the chance to play cricket in combination with gaining work experience, because the majority of athletes had just finished university and this would have benefited them upon arrival home when applying for work. The participants were all aware that being a female cricketer did not supply career options, and they felt restrictions placed upon them would have a negative impact on them professionally

because it was holding them back from starting a career and earning income. However, the participants explained that this was the risk they took and it was good timing for them to be a migrant athlete due to having no commitments at home.

It meant it is ticked of the list and out of the way with regards to experiencing playing cricket abroad because there is no way a female cricketer could do this if they had family, children or a career back home because it is not financially viable.

Most of the participants explained that they would never get another chance to focus on cricket, like the men do, without the pressure of work and family or concerns about money. This was a great opportunity to put cricket first and try to develop their game as well as travel and meet new people from a different environment. In the words of two participants:

Cricket gives a taste of a life I would love to lead but the reality is that women will not be professional cricket players for a long time, and although it is a struggle at times and is an expensive lifestyle, the experience is worth it.

The personal benefits outweigh the financial, work and homesickness issues because an experience like this is often a once in a life time occurrence, so you have to grab it with both hands and run with it... so, professionally speaking, the experience is very much worth it.

3.7 INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

Given their location in a country other than their own, it is pertinent to consider the questions of integration and assimilation when analysing the experiences of the female athletes within their host country. In terms of the approach developed by Agergaard (2008), the general question of integration raises three issues: assimilation,

integration and segregation. Assimilation is “a process, where the minority (the foreigners) give up their own culture to adapt to the host culture” (Agergaard, 2008:14). Secondly, there is integration itself, which is really a matter of partial integration and involves the “process where the foreigners act according to the host culture but also preserve parts of their own culture”. Finally, segregation “is a process, where the foreigners preserve their own culture and there is little contact between the minority and majority”. To consider the question of integration one needs to focus on how the migrant athletes relate to, and absorb, their new surroundings and the influence this has on the connection to their ‘home’ country versus the connections to their ‘host’ country. It enables an understanding to be formed on how the experience of differences in culture and society impact on individuals. It also raises questions of identity and attachment to place, which are aspects of this study that will be dealt with in chapter four.

It is the question of social integration that is most relevant because the participants were not immigrating to England permanently and their migrant status was for a period of six months or less. Social integration is related to the social and cultural dynamics of the host environment and concerns cultural traditions, values, language, religion and beliefs. The integration of these participants into English society is explored only briefly because the athletes were only present in their host environment temporarily and full assimilation into English society and culture was not a possibility. The excerpt below describes how one participant viewed their integration:

In England they drive on the same side of the road as us, they speak the same language, there are no forced religious traditions or ceremonies that

I had to adhere to, so culturally I didn't feel the need to change how I acted.... sure there were different ways of doing and saying things but essentially it was a really easy transition and living life was normal... I am only here for a short time but I feel at home and everyday living is straightforward, which I like... for me it is just about becoming familiar with how the English do things, like eating curry all the time, sipping tea or saying sweets instead of lollies... it is fun getting to know these things and trying to be English for awhile.

The data showed that all of the athletes were assimilated and integrated into their new host environment to a considerable degree and there was no segregation. The cultural make up of England is very similar to New Zealand and Australia, which made integration easier for the athletes. The participants did not suffer 'culture shock', but did have to adapt to difference in food, physical surroundings, terminology, and in the sporting culture and traditions. Nevertheless, they adapted to their host environment quickly and all of the participants wanted to immerse themselves fully into the English way of life. In my own case, I enjoyed the experience of playing cricket in England and the process of integrating into a 'new' culture was not difficult because there are no language barriers or political or religious conventions that I had to adapt to.

The following table summarises the basic findings in the four categories of female migrant player experience that include personal, professional, social and cricket.

Figure 1.0: Summary of Migrant Experiences

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>SOCIAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Away from social network • Away from family • New social experiences • Loneliness/homesickness • Transport Issues • Independence issues • Building new relationship networks 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>PROFESSIONAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No work opportunities • Limited coaching opportunities • Visa restrictions • Visa Process • No financial benefit
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>PERSONAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New adaptations • Personal changes/adaptions • New personal experiences • Financial insecurities/cost • Maintaining relationships back home • Experience of new traditions • Adapting to changes in sporting culture within England • Travel opportunities • ‘Gap’ in life back home lead to opportunities of playing abroad • No commitments in home environment • Integration into new environment 	<p><u>CRICKET</u> (explored in chapter Four)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Differences in playing/training conditions • Varying differences in how cricket is played in England (red ball/whites) • Low standard of club cricket • Superior set up of England women’s programme • Lack of support from county cricket associations • Change in coaching advice/training habits • Development of own game during off-season

3.8 REINTEGRATION

Reintegration for the participants into home environments was similar to how I felt upon my arrival back home. I found my reintegration period relatively easy, as everything was the same because I had not been gone for a long period of time. However, I found myself comparing everything from the food in the supermarkets to the cider in the bars; I had developed a greater appreciation for the Kiwi lifestyle. I struggled at the beginning to ‘fit’ back into my social network because I had missed out on a lot during my time away; feeling ‘natural’ again took me some time. While I was in England I would speak about New Zealand and now the tables had turned because I would find myself speaking about England. After a week I had stepped back into my usual ‘Kiwi’ lifestyle and everything felt normal.

I managed to contact all of the participants after they had arrived home in either New Zealand or Australia, and they all reported similar experiences to myself. Ten athletes felt overwhelmed by feelings of sadness during the first 24 hours after arriving home because their overseas experience had come to an end, but were excited to be home around familiar surroundings like friends, family and food. The remaining athletes felt they had dealt with this issue during their flight home and were excited about commencing ‘normal’ life again. The reintegration phase was not difficult because the resemblances in culture and ‘living’ between all three countries meant there was no significant change to the athletes while they were away, and they could easily step back into their former lives. This is expressed in the two passages of interview data below:

Coming home was an experience, I felt overjoyed and overwhelmed all in the same breath. I was sad because I knew my time in England was over and in a way I wish I could have stayed longer but on the other hand I was relieved to be home, surrounded by familiar things and people... it took me a few days to adjust but I just wanted to eat all my favourite Aussie foods, catch up with my friends and family and just fully immerse myself back into my normal life... after a few days it felt like I had never left.

I think I cried all the way home because I had become so attached to England and the people I had developed relationships with, but it was funny as soon as I flew over Auckland and I saw the Sky Tower I just felt happy and lucky to be able to have had the experience I had... I was ready to be home and although at times I wish I was still in England, I just feel like I have a fond attachment to that place and this is where I want to be, in New Zealand with the beaches, the coffee and the jandals.

Reintegration into home domestic teams was also not an issue for the participants or myself. I was nervous about re-joining my team because I felt I had something to prove as I had been absent from off-season training and I had missed out on socially bonding with the squad. I also sensed pressure to perform because I felt there was expectation placed upon myself from my teammates and coaches due to extensive match play and training outside in England. My nerves were forgotten with the first 'hello' and I reintegrated effortlessly. After initial questions about my time abroad, it was like I had never left, but I felt the experience of cricket in England had allowed myself to grow as a cricketer, and I was offering more to the team than ever before. It strengthened my sense of self in relation to cricket and my relationship with my domestic team because I was now more aware of what else was out there and thankful for what I had in my home country; my appreciation for the game had improved. Other participants explained that they too felt a sense of self-pressure and nerves about fitting back in, but there were no reported issues with reintegration from a cricketing perspective. The athletes felt that the experience helped them grow as players and appreciate their social and sporting networks more than before.

Neither the participants nor myself suffered from dislocation as explained in the case of Brazilian football players mentioned by Ribeiro and Dimeo (2009). They describe how some athletes pay a high psychological price when they migrate abroad and then later try to fit back into their home environment. Dislocation highlights the issues that arise from sporting migration because when migrants leave their home country they are often isolated from cultural and social changes that occur when they are away, and find that their former life cannot be resumed when they return (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009). Ribeiro and Dimeo argue that the experiences of migrants differ depending on the conditions in their host environment, which are heavily dependent on the cultural and social similarities to home. The economic and cultural capital gained can negate troubles surrounding dislocation because “if an individual feels ‘at home’, respected and given opportunities for a good standard of living, then his reflections on nationality are much less problematic” (Ribeiro and Dimeo, 2009:731).

Dislocation is not an issue in this case study of migrant female cricketers because the countries involved (New Zealand, England and Australia) do not have significantly contrasting cultures. The profile of women’s cricket is low and the amount of time spent in the host setting is not long enough to create dislocation.

3.9 SUMMARY

To conclude this chapter, the experiences of migrant female cricket athletes from New Zealand and Australia were not unexpected from my perspective as both the researcher and participant within this study. Becoming a migrant athlete in women’s cricket is a largely unsupported pathway and it is the athlete’s choice to play cricket

abroad; the results reflect this 'individual choice'. It also mirrors the player network that has developed between Australia, New Zealand and England, which heavily influences the decision to migrate to England opposed to other countries. They are not paid professionals and do not have contracts with the chosen county cricket associations. Cricket is not considered the only reason for migrating because athletes described travel and personal situations as other motivating reasons behind their decision. The experience of cricket in England forms a small percentage of the overall experience for the migrant athletes because it basically presents the athletes with a reason to leave home and experience the world while the opportunity is available. The results reflect the standard age bracket of 19-24 because the athletes usually have no commitments due to finishing university, being unemployed, breaking down of a relationship or finishing school. They have the chance to experience playing cricket abroad because of their life circumstances and cricket is a hobby that has to 'fit' with their lifestyle. Integration into host environments was a positive experience and the athletes did not suffer from dislocation when reintegrating into their home settings. Playing cricket in England allows the athletes to temporarily embed themselves into a new social space for a period of time; a platform for experience.

4. IDENTITY, CRICKET AND WOMEN IN THE GAME

This section is concerned with how the migrant female cricketers perceived the nature of the game in England compared to their home environments of Australia and New Zealand. It also explores the impact that the migratory experience of playing cricket in England has on identity, while also investigating the male versus female dynamic in cricket, and how the migrant experiences of the female athletes highlight the differences between the sexes.

4.1 PERSONAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY (TRANSNATIONALISM, COSMOPOLITANISM AND DIASPORA)

When athletes leave their home country to play sport in another country they are often met with social and cultural changes that isolate them from their normal social and cultural habitats, which can lead to the formation of a new national identity and belonging. The majority of long-term migrant athletes aim to translate their cultural (sporting) capital into economic capital, and over time this can translate into a shift in identity. However, in the case of female cricketers there is no 'economic' capital to gain. There are nevertheless important questions related to 'sense of self' and how this is impacted on through playing cricket in England. The short length of time and lack of significant cultural differences between the three countries involved essentially eliminates changes to how the athletes view their national identity. One should still ask, however, to what extent they identify with their host country and to what extent they become emotionally attached to England.

The initial perception of England was similar to how all of the participants had imagined it to be because of portrayals through media and descriptions from friends who had experienced England before. It is not uncommon for British television shows like ‘Coronation Street’, ‘Emmerdale’ and various other series to be shown on New Zealand or Australian television, which exposes these countries to the English way of life and seemingly desensitises them to changes. None of the participants suffered ‘culture shock’ or were surprised by the reality of their temporary ‘home’. They knew there would be differences, but it was not until they were immersed fully into English life that they realised they were living in a space full of subtle changes that were constant reminders they were in a new country. One participant summed it up by stating:

It was not the cultural changes that were noticeable because living was conducted in the same way as at home, but it was the changes in traditions and everyday features that made you aware of being in a different country because of the differences in supermarket names, the food, the money, the television programmes, the obsession with tea and the pub. It was about getting your head around these small changes, but they were changes that made you aware of where you were.

All the athletes commented on these understated changes that made life a little different to the norm in their natural environments, but they regarded it as part of the experience.

I remember my first supermarket experience, I was just standing in front of the packets of chips wondering where Bluebird chicken chips were and what some of the chips actually were... silly story, but I realised I was living in a completely different world where my norms had changed.

Eleven participants explored their new surroundings alone after their arrival and tried to familiarise themselves with the layout of the town and transport systems, while the

rest were “*shown the ropes*” by their host families or teammates. The adaptation to life in England was not a difficult process and on average it took two weeks to become accustomed to the money, food, transport and landscape changes. The athletes found it an exciting process to go through, especially the introduction to new food and exploring new places. They were asked about their initial observations compared to their final perceptions of England, with no athlete describing any significant differences over time. They explained that experiencing new features was a characteristic of their time in England from when they first arrived till when they left. Fitting into the English way of life and becoming familiar with their physical surroundings was a simple transition.

It took me a couple of weeks to realise that everyone will be speaking differently to me and that I would be a novelty to them I suppose... the getting used to the coins and saying pounds instead of dollars and accepting that the English food brands are different... just little things like that I guess were reminders of where I was, but living was essentially very easy because it didn't require a lot of change to how I normally do things.

This transition to becoming a temporary ‘insider’ in England was made simpler because there was no behavioural changes expected of the migrants. The participants did not have to change their cultural selves in order to adapt to life in England. This made it easy for participants to seemingly carry on their normal ‘home’ lifestyles, but in a different country. All of the participants mentioned that when they visited London it became more apparent that they were living in England because there was more exposure to British features, such as, double decker buses, black taxi cabs, the London underground, tearooms, and various well-known landmarks that are heavily associated with England from an outsiders perspective. All of the participants were

located in areas outside of this 'hub' and were less frequently exposed to these well-known features of England.

It is interesting to note that fifteen participants noticed the influence that the arts have on British culture and society, with particular mention about the importance of music festivals and concerts in British people's pastimes. Music was noticeably important to the identity of Britain and this was on a larger scale than what the participants were accustomed to. I was also aware of the place that music had in English culture; it felt like there were always concerts on or festivals to go to, and was a popular feature of social pastimes. I found this particularly significant because New Zealand does not generally attract well-known or popular international bands on a consistent basis, nor does it produce artists or bands that perform on the global stage regularly. A music event is normally seen as a big occasion that captures the attention of the entire country, however, in England major concerts and festivals are a normal occurrence, with music holding particular prestige in its cultural heritage. I was not accustomed to being exposed to music on this large scale. This dictates the cultural significance of music as a form of the arts in New Zealand compared to England, and it dawned on me just how influential England is as a country.

It was also not surprising, as mentioned in chapter three, that every athlete commented on the drinking and pub culture that is so often described as a key English feature. The 'pub life' was hard to escape for the participants because it was described as "*the social hub*" and "*the thing to do on most nights with friends*", which they expected and it was "*all a part of the traditional English experience*". As the excerpts below explain:

It became a part of life to meet people at the pub for a pint of lager, watch football at your local pub with cider or have dinner at the there because it is what English people do and an easily accessible place to go.

You never truly feel like you are in England until you arrive at the pub and have a Sunday roast with a lager, nor can you say you have experienced England without stepping foot in an old pub... that is all I really associated with England prior to arriving; the pub, tea and football.

The general sporting culture (cricket not included) was another difference, with most participants struggling to embrace the dominant football culture in Britain. A participant explained:

It was hard to get into the football atmosphere and culture because it is very different to the sporting environment at home, which is focused mainly on rugby and cricket... I had no idea who any of the English football players were and I only really knew about a couple of the teams through watching the sports news back home... I came to realise how it must feel being in New Zealand and being mad about rugby... it was just the English 'thing'.

The athletes missed the routines and traditions associated with the typical sporting culture in their home countries. The Australian participants missed the traditions of watching Aussie rules and rugby, while the New Zealand participants noticed the significant gap left by the absence of rugby during that particular time of year. They spoke about the way these 'national' sports were the focus of weekends, social events and the sports media; the sports were a part of their national and personal identities. They would look for Internet sources to ensure they were kept up to date with the sporting world in their home environment and every participant would try to involve members of their new social network when they watched an All Blacks game or a Wallabies game, which was described as a proud moment to be a Kiwi or an Aussie. The athletes felt like they were sharing their identities with their new social network and they felt this strengthened their sense of self. Ten athletes tried to experience

football, which is at the heart of English sporting culture, because it is all about being a part of the English sporting landscape. The rest showed little or no interest in experiencing the football culture of England because it was hard to adapt to, was too different from home or did not interest them. These observations reinforced the 'Kiwi' or 'Aussie' identities of the migrants.

My own transition to a temporary 'insider' didn't involve personal change on dramatic levels. I did not have to adhere to different ways of doing every day tasks or follow religious or political rules; I simply lived in another country, as I put it. I recall that after two weeks in England everything became easier and I felt like I had adapted to the food, the money, the dialect and the general way of doing things in England. I noted: *"living in England is just a variation on my normal life and I appreciate the subtle differences, but New Zealand is never far from my thoughts and the changes here are just a constant reminder of where I am from"*; this sums up the personal implications for me wholly.

As the literature surveyed in chapter two suggests, there is now a transnational group of people that consists of international entrepreneurs, media groups/individuals, entertainment personnel and international sports stars (Bruce and Wheaton, 2009). Transnationalism has been associated with yachting because these events take place outside of nation states and teams often consist of multiple nationalities and transnational sponsors or owners. But can it be attributed to female sports migrants in cricket? My answer is no. However, with the formation of the IPL (Indian Premier League) and The Big Bash League, the game of cricket itself and male cricket athletes could be loosely associated with flexible transnationalism because this tournament

includes teams that are multinational and sponsors/owners are not exclusive to India or Australia. Elite male cricketers are traversing the globe to play cricket, with their 'work' place often changing depending on where the game takes them. There is no pathway for female cricketers to become 'transnational' because there are no tournaments or competitions like these that encourage transnationalism in the women's game. The athletes are also restricted by legal restrictions through immigration rules and cannot migrate freely. It is common for female cricket athletes to only migrate once in their career because it is highly dependent on a number of other factors such as work, income, and personal situations, as suggested by the findings of this research.

Similarly, one can hardly apply the notion of diaspora to female migrant cricketers because they return home after only a short spell abroad. Whether the term applies to male cricketers, such as those playing in the IPL is also debatable. In the sense that male professional cricketers from one country (such as Australia or New Zealand) are found in many different countries at any one time, they might be said to be a diaspora. However, the extent to which they take their families with them, settle permanently or semi-permanently in host countries, or return home on a regular basis, would need to be examined before coming to the conclusion that they constitute a 'diaspora'. These differences between female and male migrant cricketers are taken up in the next section of this chapter.

However, the term 'cosmopolitanism' can be associated with the participants in this study. They are cosmopolitan athletes in its basic form because they are comfortable living in another country and are familiar with travel beyond their national boundaries

(extensive or not). This research does not challenge the ideas associated with the term because England is not considered a hard place to travel to, especially from New Zealand and Australia. However, the willingness and attitude towards wanting to travel abroad indicates a cosmopolitan element to the participants of this study, which also alludes to the acceptance of British culture and traditions. The athletes are not rigid or exclusive with their personal identity and the research suggests the desire to travel was a crucial component in their decision making process.

Cosmopolitanism is connected to globalised sport because globalisation enables the movement of athletes more than ever today, and this movement can have varying impacts on an athlete's identity. The athletes all commented on the multi-ethnic configuration of England and felt like they were witnessing a number of different national cultures without actually experiencing them. All of the participants noted that London was a multi-cultural hub of different ethnicities and at times felt they were not in England. The ethnic formation in England was different to New Zealand and Australia, which has strong ethnic ties to the Pacific Islands, Maori and Asian groups. The athletes perceived the ethnic categories in England as markedly different to their home nations because Black African, Middle Eastern, European and South Asian groups were dominant. One participant stated:

It felt like pockets of culture spread throughout England, and if you weren't from that certain country then you did not mix with that particular group... if you were white and spoke English you remained within that framework, so although you could see different nationalities and perhaps ways of doing things, you did not change your cultural self because you were not interacting with them.

The Commonwealth connection between England, Australia and New Zealand means the impact on national and personal identity is limited. The length of time spent as a migrant athlete in England (six months) also negates any real threat to an individual's identity. However, the experience of different traditions seemingly connects them to the English environment on an emotional level, which one athlete described as *“forming an emotional attachment because experiencing the pub, drinking tea or watching football is quintessentially English and whenever these features are mentioned in my normal life, it will always present me with memories of my time in England”*.

Furthermore, the experience of living and playing cricket in England opened their eyes to how 'others' live. It made them personally aware of what they had *“at their own front door and that they wouldn't take it for granted again”*. All of the migrant athletes felt a stronger connection to home as a result of their experiences in relation to all aspects of life in England from the people to the food to the landscape. Their sense of identity as an Australian or a New Zealander was strengthened. There was no sense of blurring personal national identities or feeling 'English'; borders were crossed but not identities.

4.2 CRICKET IN ENGLAND

The organisation of women's cricket in England involves the top female cricketers dispersed amongst the Division One county teams (usually Kent, Sussex, Yorkshire, Middlesex, Nottingham, Berkshire and Somerset). Each county side plays each other once during a regular season, and the top two teams at the end of the competition play

for the title championship. Each county is only permitted one overseas-based player in their squad at any one time. Every year there is an elimination playoff at the end of the season, where the last placed team in Division One plays the winner of Division Two in a relegation match. The winner subsequently gains a spot in the Division One championship for the following year. The volume of county teams means there are three divisions made up of women's county teams in England, which is different to the one level of domestic competition in New Zealand and Australia.

The experience of cricket in England was mixed for the migrant athletes, with participants unanimous in agreeing that expectations surrounding the standard of club cricket did not align with reality. However, county cricket was generally viewed as a good challenge. As explained earlier, one of the key motivating reasons for choosing England was the predicted high level of club cricket and domestic county cricket. This is due to the known success of the England women's cricket team at international level and prestige of the game. However, one participant explained:

I think I am a little shocked and surprised at the overall standard of cricket here. I mean it is at a good level but the gap between the top and average players is bigger at club level than I am accustomed to. I guess it is understandable considering there are a lot of counties spread across the divisions and maybe the fact the game is played in a traditional sense here takes some of the professional feel away from playing that I am familiar with, such as using a white ball and playing in colours.

It became apparent, throughout the interview process, that the level of club cricket differed from the level of county cricket (each participant is expected to play for a club within their county and for the top county team – club cricket was played on a Sunday when there was no county fixtures scheduled) and this impacted their views on the overall standard of English women's cricket. I found that the chief reason for

the low standard of club cricket was due to the general low volume of women cricketers that was spread out amongst the teams in each county region. This meant there was a more diversified range of skill level because club teams could not afford to be selective in choosing their players. The ‘club scene’, as it is referred to in England, was the main negative factor about the cricket experience, with comments including “*surprising*”, “*unacceptable*”, “*dramatic drop [in standards]*” and worries about the “*development of own game against weak opposition*”.

My first experience of club cricket was definitely an eye opener that’s for sure, it worried me because the level was so poor that I had concerns for what county cricket would be like... one of my team mates was practising bowling and it was clear the standard was going to be low, at that point I was really worried I had made a big mistake in coming to England.

Twelve athletes struggled to adapt to the lower level of cricket and as a result lost interest in trying to “*play good cricket*” at club level, so they focused on “*trying new things*” and “*focusing on areas of the game that needed improvement*”. It was apparent in all of the interviews that the athletes wanted to have a productive off-season and attempted to gain the most they could out of the challenging cricket circumstances they were presented with at club level.

Club standards in women’s cricket are usually impacted because it does not have the luxury of having high volumes of players that can be spread out among different divisions of club cricket. Usually there is only one women’s team in each club, and from my experience, women’s teams often struggle to get eleven players on the team sheet, which directly impacts the skill level of cricket. The participants believed that club cricket standards were lower in England due to the greater number of clubs, because there were more county regions than in New Zealand and Australia.

Therefore, the range of skill level is on a larger scale due to the gap between the top and bottom players.

My experience as a migrant female athlete playing club cricket in England was similar. My expectations were high because the England Women's Cricket team was ranked number one in the world at the time, so I was predicting the domestic and club scene to be first class in standards. I was a member of a strong club team, as there were six Yorkshire representatives and three of those were England players. We won every game comfortably because the opposition teams were weak and the challenge to my game was insignificant. I found myself playing shots that I would not normally play, and I used club cricket as a platform to try new things and work on specific areas in a game situation.

All of the participants were in agreement when it came to county cricket standards because they had all represented a county in Division One (the top level). The chance to play with/against all of the current or recent England women players aided the experience and lifted the standards dramatically from club cricket.

I was relatively impressed with the standard of county cricket, I had three England players and one academy player in my team and each week I was exposed to other England players... I enjoyed the challenge of this and playing against new players that I knew nothing about.

One of the main criticisms about county cricket that emerged from the interview data was the length and organisation of the competition. All of the participants agreed that playing against other Division One teams once was not enough and playing on a Sunday made the competition feel amateurish. The participants from New Zealand

and Australia were accustomed to playing all weekend against another domestic team, which means they play three games (Friday/Saturday/Sunday) and are exposed to higher levels of skill for a longer amount of time. In the New Zealand and Australian domestic competitions, individual athletes can play up to twenty or more games each season, as opposed to their English counterparts who can play up to seven games in a regular county season (weather permitting).

I guess I was sceptical after having a few games of club before county started, but I was relieved when the standards were high. I found that only playing one county fixture every couple of weeks and only playing against another county side once a season very frustrating and weird... so really only being guaranteed five or six quality games a season was not ideal.

The athletes were not surprised at how the game in England was played - traditionally with a red ball and in whites - all of the participants embraced this difference from the more modern features of cricket they were accustomed to back home. One participant stated:

I am pleased it is traditional, after all I am in England and this is the home of cricket... so I felt like I was playing the purest form of cricket, which was a very positive experience... I had not played with a red ball and in whites at domestic level for so long, but in England it feels like the right thing to do.

I had been accustomed to the modern version of cricket for eleven years prior to my arrival at Yorkshire, where white cricket balls and coloured uniforms were the norm, and lunch had taken over from the traditional 'tea break' in cricketing terminology. I felt like I had been thrust back fifty years in time and was experiencing cricket as it was, not as it is today. I enjoyed the traditional aspects of cricket in England and I felt like it made the experience more worthwhile; after all I was playing in the home

of cricket. However, I did feel it took away a professional aspect of the game and I felt like I was a long way from the professional format of the New Zealand domestic competition.

It became more about the experience than the cricket for me because I felt like I was witnessing traditional English cricket in its purest form as part and parcel of British culture. Locally, the game of cricket in England remains traditional and this seems to be the preferred perspective on the game. The modern day game involving the white ball and colours is not followed for women's cricket at domestic or club level. The athletes mentioned the change to the red ball, white uniforms, traditional 'teas' and county grounds as the only significant differences in the way the game was played; the meaning of the game and rules were the same.

Cricket is a basic representation of British culture and is relevant to the local-global relationship, as explored by Nauright (2004) and Besnier and Brownell (2012) in chapter two. The diffusion of cricket to Commonwealth countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, functioned to spread an aspect of British culture. The adoption of cricket as a game played in the same way as it was in Britain and the fact they regularly play against each other, underlines this Commonwealth connection. These countries that have chosen to adopt it haven't changed the game of cricket. A contrasting example is how Trobriand cricket is adapted to reflect their culture and society, which instantly changes the local-global relationship because the local meaning of cricket for the Trobriand Islands is distinctly different to the global meaning of cricket holistically.

The way in which cricket was diffused may also indicate that the local meaning of cricket in New Zealand and Australia is not significantly different compared to England. Kaufman and Patterson (2005) explain that British soldiers and settlers introduced cricket to Commonwealth countries and that is why these countries have similar functioning cricket cultures today. Cricket is a dominant Commonwealth game and has not been globally adopted successfully by nations outside of this relationship. Cricket is an obvious example as a vehicle for transferring elements of British culture to other populations and this is why cricket in New Zealand and Australia is very similar to England. Although the traditional aspects of the game are upheld in England more so than New Zealand and Australia, the rules and general nature of cricket, as well as the role that cricket plays in society as a whole, are very similar.

The acceptance of cricket as game in New Zealand and Australia reflects the historical relationship outside of sport between these countries and perhaps indicates how sport can inherently reflect the historical state of national relationships. For example, France did not adopt the game of cricket, so what does this say about their historical ties to England? Questions like this highlight the importance of sport as a social area of study. According to Elias (1986:39) sport:

Has a relative autonomy in relation not only to the individuals who play at a given time, but also to the society where it developed. That is the reason why some sports which first developed in England could be transferred to and adopted by other societies as their own.

It is apparent in the findings that all three countries have similar cricket cultures, as described by Kaufman and Patterson (2005) in chapter two, because cricket fits into

their cultural norms surrounding sport. All of the athletes mentioned the extensive media coverage and public attention cricket gained in England, and it was not dissimilar to the cricketing culture in Australia and New Zealand. This was also noticeable from my perspective because it gained a lot of coverage through various media outlets and it was a popular summer game for fans. In general, the culture of cricket in England reflected the cricketing culture in New Zealand and Australia. This represents the intrinsic cultural relationship between all three countries and reflects the easy adjustments experienced by all of the participants.

Domestic cricket is not professional or modern in England and the county associations are responsible for the funding of it, unlike in New Zealand and Australia, where national bodies fund it. This leaves more money in the English Cricket Board's coffers for the England women's and Academy programmes. Therefore, the organisation and quality of the domestic competition doesn't impact on England's top female players as much as first anticipated, but as a migrant female athlete coming to play, it leaves a note of disappointment because the athletes feel that the domestic level is not professional in England and impacts how they view the competition.

The England Cricket Board work around the organisational difficulties through a competition called the '*Super Fours*', where the top players from across all divisions make up four teams (Emeralds, Diamonds, England Academy and Sapphires) who play each other over three weekends during the season. This is the chance for the players to use a white ball and coloured uniforms to replicate international cricket. Unfortunately, this is only available to the English players, which is a negative for

migrant cricketers, like myself, who suffer substantially by missing this opportunity to play quality cricket against England's best players. The England Cricket Board and management of the England women's team were not only wary of player development but also the over exposure of existing England players and game plans to other existing international players like myself. This highlights the clever delivery of funding by the England Cricket Board because it places more importance on the international level of women's cricket in England.

It was not surprising to hear the disappointment from the migrant cricketers about not being allowed to participate in the Super Four's competition. Twelve participants felt angry and did not understand why the England Cricket Board had a closed-door policy to overseas players because they felt it would improve the overall standard and be beneficial for the England female cricketers. The rest of the participants viewed the competition as an 'England trial' and thought it would be inappropriate for overseas players to be involved because it would impact on the development opportunities for younger English players.

The limit of one international player per county team counteracts the 'deskilling' of indigenous talent, as explained by Stead and Maguire (1998) in chapter two. The notion concerning excess overseas players denying indigenous athletes the opportunity to play for top teams and contributing to the underdevelopment of the national side is apparent in the female game, as the results have indicated. Although the impact is less significant than in male cricket, the findings still indicate the protective instincts of the host nation over indigenous talent and the top national team,

as proven by the 'one overseas player per county' rule and the exclusion of migrant athletes in the Super Four's competition.

This also leads to analysis of the attitudes of donor countries, as introduced by Stead and Maguire (1998) in chapter two. As far as cricket back home was concerned, migrating to play in England did not compromise the player's commitment to participate in their domestic season. The athletes expressed the view that their home coaches were only concerned with the amount of cricket they would be exposed to. Three consecutive seasons in a row could lead to a loss of enthusiasm, injuries and loss of focus leading into the home domestic season. International playing commitments were also not compromised because these worked around the domestic seasons in all three countries. However, the eight athletes that represented New Zealand or Australia internationally were expected to be available for duty if an international tour was scheduled. There was no concern from the donor countries about the exposure of their elite athletes to the top athletes in the host country, and the general perception was that the experience of playing with and against top English cricketers would only benefit the personal games of the migrant athletes.

The ability to train and play matches outdoors was an advantage to the Australian and New Zealand athletes who would normally be training at indoor facilities and receiving no match play at home. Fourteen athletes said this was a huge advantage, while two athletes explained that training outdoors was positive, but the standard of training was poor, which did not benefit them. Five participants were worried about not having an off-season and the higher risk of injuries or burnout from the overload of cricket with no break. The other athletes were conscious of the amount of cricket

exposure prior to arriving in England, but once they knew the standard of cricket and what to expect from training they viewed not having an off-season as a positive because it meant they could continue to work on their game without “*burning out or getting sick of cricket*”. Fifteen athletes commented on the positive aspect of playing with and against new players because it allowed them to experience different bowlers and batters, which challenged their own individual game. It was also an advantage having new coaches with different opinions because it gave all of the athletes a fresh approach to cricket and allowed for an opportunity to gain new advice on their game.

I found it refreshing training with new people, although facilities weren't great, it was a good change to face different bowlers and I found my coach gave me a different outlook on my game and identified areas I guess my regular coach overlooks... a fresh change did me the world of good, regardless of quality.

Looking holistically at the larger picture, English women's cricket appeared to be in a better position relative to women's cricket in New Zealand or Australia because of the support at the elite level of the game. England cricket have national training squads that consist of the under-17 age group, the under-19 age group, the national academy squad (England A) and the top England women's squad. These players have training camps and tours throughout the year, and are given access to the best coaches, physios and conditioning coaches in England.

It was brought to my attention that during the cricket season eight female cricketers, from the ages of 18-23, were involved in a programme called the ‘MCC Young Cricketers’ that is based at Lord's Cricket Ground in London. These players are either England or Academy players who are paid to train full-time during the season with a head coach. The players get access to the best training facilities in England

through the programme, which consists of cricket training, games, fitness and mental coaching. This type of programme is not available in New Zealand or Australia currently.

All of the players agreed that what cricket in England lacks at domestic level, it makes up for within the elite women's programme, and this is a major contributing factor to why England are a dominant force in women's cricket. They acknowledged the efforts of the England Cricket Board and how they felt the England women's team was closer to professionalism than any other country. The monetary support and importance placed on elite women's cricket by the England Cricket Board was described by one participant:

It is what separates England from the chasing pack as they recognise that it would be impossible to have a professional domestic competition due to the sheer amount of player numbers and teams, and the associated costs of travel, accommodation, clothing etc. So they prioritise the England development programmes and ensure the top women's players in England are supported once they break into this structure.

This also made the migrants more acutely aware of significant differences in the support the game at the highest level enjoyed in their home countries. All of the participants commented on the impact that money and support has on women's cricket from the national sporting bodies, with all of the New Zealand athletes agreeing that lack of financial support was stopping the game and players from progressing in their country. Twelve participants explained they would prefer to have a weaker domestic league and for more money to be spent on developing a better elite structure in their countries.

It all makes sense now since being over here and witnessing the professional approach to the England women's setup. I understand why the domestic organisation is how it is and why the top team does so well internationally because the resources at their disposal are exceptional... I think the domestic competitions in both New Zealand and Australia should follow this model... hearing from some of the English girls about the support they receive is why they are leading the way in the female game.

However, the rest of the athletes disagreed and believed that the domestic competition is the best way to develop the game and players because it encourages participation through the high standard of cricket and it subjects players to international playing conditions with the white ball and colours. They believed it was up to the national sporting bodies to organise the elite structure better and it was their job to ensure the international programmes were well funded and supported. Thus migration to England opened player's eyes to other possibilities in their home countries. One participant states:

It would be unfair to change the domestic competition because it has a professional approach that makes people want to play the game, if this was to change it would have a critical impact on participation numbers that would cancel out the elite pathway anyway.

In my own experience, I found the England Cricket Board (ECB) is highly supportive of the women's game and this was reflected in the recognition of them, as a team and as athletes, through financial and service support. I quickly became aware that the elite structure was superior to what I had been accustomed to in New Zealand and the priority placed on the national team meant that domestic cricket was not as important because the Super Fours competition and the England women's programme are put in place to ensure that high levels of cricket are being reached.

The results from the interviews indicate that migrant experiences of cricket in England did not differ dramatically from initial predictions. The standard of club cricket was poor but the county competition delivered a high level of cricket that the participants wanted. All of the athletes expressed disappointment in the lack of support for women's domestic county cricket compared to Australia and New Zealand, but were impressed at the support the England Cricket Board gave to the England women's programme; this was the difference between all three nations. England cricket directed more of their resources towards the top tier of women's cricket in England, as opposed to the domestic level, but Australia and New Zealand spread resources over domestic and international levels, which impacted the elite level and top players within each country.

4.3 ENGLISH PERCEPTIONS OF MIGRANT FEMALE CRICKETERS

This exploration could not be complete without gaining an understanding on how these migrant athletes are viewed by English female cricketers and members of county cricket associations. I could not go in-depth within the area but I wanted to create a snapshot of an outsider's perspective. The selected participants all believed that having an overseas player in their county and club team was "*beneficial because these athletes were elite and bring a lot to the setup such as experience, a different skill set and knowledge on the game*". They all felt they had a responsibility to the migrant athlete to ensure they were well looked after and integrated into their new environment because they had chosen to play for their team and they knew the sacrifices they had to make to play, particularly financially.

It was important for the English athletes to create a positive experience for the migrant athletes because they felt it was imperative for forming connections between countries that will encourage movement, not only to England, but also to New Zealand and Australia. They recognised that it was heavily reliant on reputation for migrant cricketers to choose to play abroad and county associations were picked on reputation or through word of mouth, so it was important to make sure the athletes had a positive experience on and off the cricket field. There was a collective view that it was fortunate the off-seasons were different because New Zealand, Australia and England are the best teams in the world and it gave the top athletes from each country the chance to play quality cricket against elite opposition. This highlights the importance of creating a positive experience so that movement can continue to happen and benefit the elite cricketers from the top tier of women's cricket. They wanted to treat the migrant athletes as "*one of their own*" and make sure "*they were blended into their new environments easily*". It is also important to note that they all had a positive impression of migrant athletes who came to England to play, with most of them willing to adapt and embrace their new 'home', and no issues or problems were raised from any of the English cricketers.

The associations said they had little or no involvement with female migrant cricketers in England because it was usually organised by coaches and players and would not go any higher than that. It was a 'hands tied' approach from associations because they had no investment in the athletes and no responsibility to them. It was unanimous that they wish they could do more for the migrant athletes but there was simply no money or reason to invest in them, which unfortunately reflects the state of the

women's game. The only involvement they had with the migrant athletes involved the signing of the paperwork for their specific county.

4.4 BATTLE OF THE SEXES IN CRICKET

The Indian Premier League (IPL) is an obvious example of the state of the men's game, with male cricketers around the world being bought/sold by the different franchises for large sums of money and once sold they are essentially 'cricketing property'. Elite male cricketers are employees in cricket and they go where their job takes them; crossing borders is part of their job and they typify the modern globalised athlete. Female cricket athletes are different from their male counterparts because the women's game is not professional. There are no lucrative leagues like the IPL or Big Bash League; playing cricket is a hobby. There is no reason for cricketing organisations around the world to offer contracts or 'buy' female cricketers because there is no monetary return due to the non-existence of a market. The female version of the game does not attract money from the general public; it is not a spectacle or a widely viewed event. There are no television rights, or gate fees, even at international level; there are no returns from the female game for cricket associations, the media and any potential sponsors. Female cricket players experience a vastly different world to their male counterparts, as this study has shown, and although this research concentrates on the experiences of migrant athletes, it also paints a picture of the cricket landscape for females, which differentiates them from men in the game.

The participants' experiences of cricket in England reaffirmed their understanding of their position as women in a sport dominated by men. Their status as female

cricketers and the lack of financial rewards associated with this was emphasised by being away from home and in another environment. One participant stated:

It was a harsh reality to be faced with, the fact that cricket is simply a hobby for female cricketers and the personal cost of playing in England for females compared to males basically sums up this difference... I mean I was not head hunted or contracted to play, I simply chose to play in England for the experience.

The athletes' felt more aware of their position within the overall sporting field and the inferior treatment that women in sport are exposed too was disheartening. The perception of female cricket or how they participated in the game became more acute for the migrant athletes. It was a collective view that women's cricket struggles to receive the same attention from the public or the national sporting bodies of each country as the men.

I think being in another country only reaffirms my view on women in cricket. I mean there is no media interest in the county competition, the England women's team are not on television unless the men's team is playing a 20/20 after them, and nobody comes along to watch a top level county women's game... it is just the state of the game, even in England where cricket is held in high regard here.

The nature of the experiences for the players that I interviewed, and the findings of my analysis in terms of globalisation, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and diaspora in the world of sport, highlights the important differences between female cricketers and their male counterparts. The professional state of the male cricketing realm dictates movement of players in relation to contracts and the buying and selling of athletes; male cricketers are assets and their job is cricket. The movement of male migrant cricketers is not often by choice but by 'offer' and usually involves lucrative contracts, especially if they are considered to be elite. One does not have to look

further than the media to understand the cricket market for men, with player deals and movements well documented.

All of the participants were aware of the differences in relation to money, but surprisingly they all thought the general experience of different countries by men and women would be the same regardless of this factor. The need for adaptation to differences in their surroundings, food, culture and how they maintained and built relationships at home and away were the main reasons for this view.

Overall, yea maybe the general experience of culture, traditions and social network building would be similar, I mean it is the same country, just different migrant conditions and I think if we looked past the contracts, the money and playing support then yea the actual experience of England as a place might be similar... we all have to adapt to the same differences like money and food and maintain relationships at home using the same tools.

However, all of the athletes were unanimous in the view that the experiences differed in relation to the standard of cricket/practices, training facilities, and support from their new cricket associations in relation to male cricket migrants. One participant stated:

The elite male cricketers are the rock stars of the game, while female cricket athletes are the groupies and you don't have to look any further than the movement of all players in the game because it really highlights the state of both cricket worlds. I mean top male players jump from season to season, contract to contract in different countries where as female cricketers maybe only migrate once for experience.

From my own experience and observations in the field, the apparent disparity in the cricket experiences of male and female migrant cricketers filters down to money. The county teams that I observed had coaches that were either volunteering or were paid

very little to be in charge of Division One county teams. I predict that county men's teams would have coaches on top salaries and would spend money to ensure that facilities, training equipment and services would be top quality. The top female women's teams struggled to have enough practice balls at the best of times, and their training facilities were often poor in quality. Therefore, this highlights the general difference in migrant cricket experiences for female and male athletes and it all centres around financial frameworks.

Most of the interviewed athletes were frustrated that the globalisation of cricket/sport in general had left female athletes behind, and it was hard to watch elite male athletes earn 'big money' while they struggled to chase their own dreams in sport. However, all the athletes understood that their sporting field is what it is, and they could only hope that developments in cricket would one day mean that female cricket would become professional and they could experience the sport the way men do.

The differences expressed by the female migrant athletes about the gender divide in cricket follow the ideas explained by Stevenson (2002), where sports and sporting bodies that are globally consumed are heavily gendered. Female athletes in cricket are at the mercy of the general public in terms of the consumption of the game and the attention it receives. Following Hargreaves (1994), as noted in chapter two, female cricket might be disadvantaged because the athletes do not behave in 'feminine-appropriate ways', which severely impacts on their acceptance in the sport. Women are expected to behave in feminine appropriate ways and sport is heavily centred around the hierarchy of the sexes, which is created through discourse on masculine and feminine characteristics (Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003). When female

athletes participate in sports that challenge the social differentiation of the sexes then they often struggle to gain acceptance from society. Cricket is considered the ‘gentleman’s game’ and female athletes might always struggle to shake that title as alluded to by the findings of this research.

As mentioned in chapter two, Hargreaves (1994) argues that female sport is linked to the commercialisation of sexuality/the body and the consumption of women’s sport reflects obsessions about the female body. Females that play cricket are widely criticised and discriminated against because they play a sport that was created for males and associated with masculine characteristics. All of the participants in this study commented on the masculine nature of the game, and felt there was no room for feminine characteristics because it is rough and fast, the players’ sweat, they use strength to bat and bowl and their uniforms leave no room for sex appeal. The public are witnessing women play a mans game and that does not appeal to the majority of the cricket fans, not only because the men play at a significantly higher level than women, but because they are not behaving in ideal feminine ways. Men bowl faster and hit the ball longer; it is impossible to compete with how the men play in most areas of the game.

I am under no disillusion that female athletes running around in long pants and shirts is not sexy to say the least, but it is just the nature of our game, and I believe is one of the chief reasons why our game is not followed by more people and gains little media interest... the fact that our sport is played by men does not help because of course they will produce a game that is more attractive to watch and we simply cannot compete with that.

The lack of media attention and public support for women’s cricket are contributing features to the gender divide in cricket, and Stevenson (2002) alluded to the idea that

global media plays an important role in the construction of gendered ideals which is why there is no national sporting marketplace for female cricket. Cricket allows men to affirm their masculine identity and dominance over women in the sport, which is helped by how the media have struggled to deal with athletes who challenge ideal femininity, as explored in chapter two.

The sexualising of female athletes is explained by analysing female tennis players who only competed with male athletes in the same sport because the media heavily sexualised the ‘product’ of women tennis players for the public, mainly through the clothes they wore (Stevenson, 2002). This idea on ‘sexualisation’ reaffirms the general perception that gendered ideals and societal views of women heavily influence the acceptance of women in cricket and why females struggle to close the gender gap that has developed. It also confirms the argument presented by McCrone (1998) in chapter two, who believes that sport is basically a male preserve and it embodies the principals of gender inequality and male dominance in everyday life.

Men can play cricket and be accepted because I guess they look masculine, it is not like they are wearing skirts and tank tops or look feminine... I guess for female cricketers we look masculine in a sense through how we act and what we wear... we do not conform to the ideal social view on what women should wear or behave like, which is part and parcel of the women's game and why there is a gender gap in the sport.

The position of females in cricket can also be analysed using the model ‘established-outsider relations’, as described in chapter two, because it focuses on how “dominant groups create and maintain feelings of superiority over subordinates who, as a result of the interdependent relationships in which they are enmeshed, come to internalize and normalize their inferior status” (Velija and Malcolm, 2009:632). It was evident

from the interview data that the participants attributed their group disgrace to the biological gender differences. The data confirmed the analysis of female cricketers by Velija and Malcolm (2009) because the participants of this study were older and understood the biological differences between the sexes. The data reaffirmed what Veliga and Malcolm (2009:639) stated because female cricketers show “an internalisation of the group disgrace of females based on biological inferiority”. This group disgrace is highlighted by acceptance of biological differences as one of the contributing factors to the divide between males and females in cricket.

Biological difference is a major contributor to the divide between genders in cricket because men can naturally hit the ball harder and bowl the ball quicker... they are men and sport was made for them so women are always going to be inferior to their biological superiority.

The development in cricket due to the introduction of the 20/20 format as mentioned below because the associated entertainment elements could make women’s cricket more appealing to the public and bridge the gap between males and females in the game. The shorter version of cricket has made it a spectacle for fans and the entertainment value of the sport has increased, with many predicting the game will go truly global within five years. It has attracted media attention and business opportunities, which has made it a profitable asset to national cricket bodies, regional associations and sponsors. 20/20 cricket fills stadiums with supporters, which has changed cricket consumption dramatically. This development of the game has led to the introduction of lucrative cricket leagues around the world and has put cricket on the sporting map. The game has broken away from its traditional and often boring characteristics that it has struggled to break away from; it is now a modern game that is an exciting entertainment spectacle. Elite female cricket has benefited from these

developments, as seen with both the men's and women's 20/20 World Cups being jointly held together since 2009.

The development of 20/20 cricket is a by-product of the commercialisation of sport because there have been significant changes to the way cricket is played, and rules have been designed to make the game more appealing to viewers and fans of the sport. The development of this new format also aligns itself with how the "orientation or values of the participants may change from those based on self-development and satisfaction to those of entertainment and self-interest" (Frey & Eitzen, 1991:508). The shift in focus from an aesthetic orientation to a more heroic orientation emphasizes the ideas of excitement, danger and victory (Frey & Eitzen, 1991).

The modern developments in cricket can also be attributed to the process of Americanisation, in my opinion, because the traditional nature of the game has been changed due to the introduction of 20/20 cricket and entertainment spectacles like the IPL. The Americanisation of cricket may have a defining role in the global spread of the game to countries like America because it is becoming more appealing through the entertainment elements that are a feature of the shortest version of cricket. 20/20 cricket has attributes associated with show-biz traits that are linked with American culture and sport due to the fast nature of the game, use of cheerleaders and music, and the excitement factor is high. The IPL is laced with expansive sponsorship, extreme marketing techniques and excessive amounts of money that draws large crowds and appeals to audiences on a global stage. If you compare the similarities between an IPL match and an American baseball or basketball match, one could predict the entertainment components of each game would be notably similar. The

Americanisation of cricket is challenging the British nature of the customary game and making it more appealing to a global audience because its entertainment value has improved because it has broken free of its rigid traditional framework.

The ideal view of how a female should behave impacts on the acceptance of women who play a sport that challenge these notions and this impacts the professionalism of female sport. Female cricketers are associated with masculinity because cricket is considered the 'gentleman's game', therefore, social acceptance and public attention is hard to obtain. The gender divide in sport between males and females is evident within cricket and directly impacts the labour within the sport. Cricket is a professional game for men, which reflects the public acceptance of the game. However, the game for women is still holding amateur status because women cannot compete at the same level as the men and struggle to break free of social stereotypes. The social constructs surrounding gender restricts female athletes in many sports and is highlighted within this research because women's cricket struggles to progress towards professionalism and be treated equally alongside their male counterparts.

4.5 SUMMARY

The data that has been presented here indicates the influence that time and cultural/social difference has on national and personal identity. The migrant athletes in this study are only temporary visitors to England and the data has implied that this is not a substantial amount of time to significantly change an individual's sense of self or national belonging. The strong historical, cultural and Commonwealth ties between England, New Zealand and Australia meant that the athletes did not suffer

from cultural shock or had to adhere to significantly different ways of living on a daily basis. The athletes had to adapt to differing traditions in England but essentially it reinforced the 'Kiwi' and 'Aussie' identity. Transnationalism and diaspora do not feature strongly, but the athletes can be considered cosmopolitan because they show willingness to travel, live in and explore other countries.

The experience of cricket in England reflected the expectations associated with traditions and standards of county cricket, but the experience of club cricket was generally negative. The organisation of English cricket concentrates more on the elite structures of the game compared to Australia and New Zealand, which highlights various differences at domestic level. Chapter four concludes with the argument that female cricketers experience the game differently to their male counterparts due to stereotypes and the struggle to play the game in the same way. Differences in ability severely impact this divide between the sexes and social acceptance of women in the game influences its popularity. This means the women's game struggles to stand on equal ground and break into the professional sporting world in a dual gender sport. However, developments with 20/20 cricket could bridge this gap because the game is becoming more appealing to the global audience.

5. CONCLUSION

The findings from this research are of anthropological interest because researchers are increasingly looking through the 'sporting lens' to understand culture and society from a different perspective. The process of globalisation has directly impacted on the way individuals consume sport and the way athletes participate in it. The economy, media, modern technology, and developments in transport has shrunk the world and brought everyone closer together, which has made it easier for people to cross boundaries and to understand the world. This time/space compression in sport offers anthropology a different pathway to explore the differences and similarities of popular culture, and a different way to explore the field through the study of athletes.

The primary aim of this research was to examine the experiences of female sporting migrants from Australia and New Zealand who have migrated to play cricket in England. As a researcher I wanted to contribute to the literature on females in sport, and this study allowed for a look into an area of globalised sport that has been relatively untouched by researchers from varying academic disciplines. I wanted to investigate the experiences of elite female athletes who are at the bottom of the sporting ladder but are moving within their chosen sport of cricket, and are still motivated by intrinsic rather than extrinsic factors, such as monetary rewards. This study explored the personal, social and professional experiences of the participants and how they adapted to life away from their home environment. It also aimed to examine the social and cultural differences, challenges and similarities in the host setting. The research has explored questions relating to identity,

integration/reintegration, global migration processes, the globalisation of sport, and importantly sports migration.

The current focus for research into the migration of athletes has been heavily centred on male athletes and movements within high status team sports, such as football, basketball, and baseball. This inspired my research into the female sporting field because there have been few studies conducted on the migration of female athletes due to most female sports being amateur. Therefore, this affects the movement of players and also interest in the sport itself. As a researcher, I combined ethnographic, auto-ethnographic and participant observation together in the aim of contributing to this apparent gap in literature. My methodology allowed for aspects of culture and society to be explored through the eyes of the participating athletes themselves.

I wanted to highlight the female sporting world that exists under the growing shadow of male sport. The migration of male athletes is often connected to lucrative contracts, and multi-million dollar transfer deals; it is not uncommon for elite male athletes to migrate by order and not by choice, they are assets with price tags. As an elite female athlete myself, I wanted to draw attention to female athletes, especially within a dual gendered sport like cricket. I wanted to portray a world that is not controlled and dictated by money or professionalism. The results paint a picture of the 'female athlete' without the professional contract or 'price tag', which exposes the layers of what professional sport has become through the powerful forces that now control sport. The athletes within this study are experiencing sport as a glorified hobby, a social pastime.

The athletes believed that playing a season in England was considered a 'rite of passage' for any cricket player and female cricket migrants are motivated by the chance to have an active off-season and opportunities to travel. The results indicate that life circumstances and age of the participants are key concepts to consider, as it highlights the reality that female cricket athletes have to prioritise the game amongst other factors in their life, and they only choose to play abroad because they have no work, no study, no relationship; these athletes are commitment free. Cricket is a hobby for these participants, not a career, and cricket must mould into their lifestyles, not dictate it. Life circumstances had presented the participants with the chance to play abroad, while also offering opportunities to travel and explore different cultures, societies and traditions. Being a migrant female cricket athlete is an individual choice and the experiences of the participants reflect the absence of professionalism in the sport. One could almost describe the female migrant cricket athlete as a 'glorified traveller'.

The movement of athletes between New Zealand, Australia and England has created a migration network in women's cricket that works on a seasonal basis. This could be perceived as directly influencing the state of women's cricket at international level because it appears to be an exclusive network that enables high standards of cricket to be adhered to, and top players constantly being exposed to other elite players in the women's game. The network is built on knowledge and previous experiences, which promotes repetitive migration flow. The systems approach to the migration pattern that has emerged in women's cricket applies because a dominant circuit has emerged, and the three countries are linked through historical, cultural and colonial ties through Commonwealth links. This network does not necessarily imply the creation of a

‘global market’ for female cricket talent, but is formed because of regional orientation instead of global placement.

This study only examined athletes over a period of six months, so the impact that integration had on identity was not a major element of the findings. But it did allow for an understanding of how athlete’s developed into temporary insiders in English society, and looked at traditional and social similarities/differences between the host and home environments, which is anthropologically significant. The relationship between integration and identity is a key concept when analysing migrant athletes over a period of time. Future research could explore the influence of integration on identity for female athletes who become migrants for a longer period of time and who submerge themselves within a cultural and social setting that significantly challenges their normal cultural/social environment.

The research has indicated that there is a high financial cost associated with being a migrant female cricketer in an amateur sport. The inability to work for six months meant the athletes had to be self-funded, but free accommodation eased this burden. Personal cost was also limited through modern technology both emotionally and financially, which made the stay in England less emotionally demanding for the athletes; this highlighted time/space compression. In this sense the transnational experience was a liberating one because the athletes were independent and were forced to look after themselves. This period presented the athletes with the opportunity to travel and focus on their cricket, which aided the development of their game.

The migrant experiences of cricket in England did not affect the athletes' sense of self or their national identity for various reasons. Firstly, they were not in the English environment for long enough to affect or change their national identity. The second point relates to the cultural framework of England, which can be considered very similar to that of New Zealand and Australia, therefore, there was no dramatic change to the knowledge and belief systems of the migrant athletes. Finally, the traditions and customs, although different to their home environment, did not directly change or influence the individual's identity. The athletes embraced the traditions and customs of England and this impacted on their experiences, but was not influential enough to change their sense of self.

However, for the six-month period the athletes adapted their 'identity' to become a temporary insider and adopted the English way of life, while remaining firmly Australian or New Zealander. One could say that the migrant athletes developed a cosmopolitan identity while in England because they were a 'Kiwi' or 'Aussie' living the same way as an English individual throughout their period of stay. This raises an area of interest for further academic research into the relationship between identity and the migrant athlete when they move permanently to another country to play their chosen sport and would predominantly apply to elite professional athletes. The results of this research point to certain factors that can influence identity and can be applied to various situations even outside of the sporting field, for example, working abroad. The main factors are: length of time in host environment, cultural similarities/differences and degree of integration.

This research relates to the process of globalisation because sport is a vehicle for individual movement across countries, and although the global market for women's cricket is minimal, it is still associated with basic globalisation processes, particularly in the western world. The athletes are using their sporting capital to traverse the globe, not to exchange it for economic capital, but to simply experience another country. These athletes cannot be placed within the larger global labour market that has emerged in modern sport because they are not paid for the exporting of their skill. Cricket is allowing them to become 'global subjects' without the price tag.

The notion that sport contributes to globalisation is further established by the findings despite these participants not being professional cricketers. Global processes have intertwined our beliefs, knowledge and actions through a variety of social movements, sport being one of them (Maguire, 1999). The movement of individuals within sport and for sport are crucial additions to globalisation; sport has brought culture and society to people. Globalisation has transformed sport from a pastime and entertainment spectacle to a global business that it is now a vehicle for the global consumption of culture. Sport is key to this process because it enables individuals to experience different parts of the globe that they may never have reached if sport was not a contributing factor/reason for movement. Sport is deeply connected to the idea that globalisation has made the world smaller, almost borderless, and that culture is debatably losing its unique qualities. It is evident in this study that the athletes experienced similar sporting and cultural norms between Australia, England and New Zealand. The athletes did not have to significantly adapt to a different cultural system in England because the 'way of life' was similar.

Sport is a unique entity with a specific set of rules for varying games being recognised globally, which allows for nations and people to come together. If each sport had a different set of rules in each country then there would be no such thing as the Olympics, Commonwealth Games or World Cups because there would be no competition or set of common goals. The collective set of rules spanning across the different sports encourages competitions between countries and individuals; it unites the world together. Athletes in this research wanted to experience their chosen sport of cricket in a different country, and it highlights the importance of sport as an opportunity for travel and new experiences. Countries that do not participate in certain sports would subsequently not be included in the sporting migration flow. For example, Russia or France do not have women's cricket competitions, therefore, there would be no opportunity for movement of female cricket athletes to either of these countries for the game. There is no denying that sport is a vehicle for movement across national borders.

This study into the migration of female athletes in a dual-gender sport like cricket brings attention to the female 'side' of dual-gendered sport, which is often overpowered by the success of the male version. The male sex has long been considered the more dominant of the sexes and sport is a phenomenon that reflects this notion while reaffirming female roles in society. Cricket is one of many sports that have the ability to reflect the social construction of gender and this research indicates that females struggle to stand on equal ground because of their sex; this is more apparent in a sport that is dual-gendered. The female sporting world has been directly hindered by historical views that women should not behave in masculine ways and it is not natural for women to be 'rough', 'dirty', and 'sweaty', which severely impacts upon

the general public acceptance of women's sport. It is natural for male athletes to behave in masculine ways, but due to learned ideals surrounding behaviour and femininity, female sports struggle to break free from these shackles. Male dominance and success in dual-gender sports is common and one does not need to look further than rugby, cricket, football, basketball, and baseball to witness this. Investigating the migrant life of female cricketers paints a picture of the female game; it is a glorified hobby for female cricket athletes, it is not a career. There is no denying that the participants in this study are elite athletes who are passionate about their chosen sport. In my opinion, the athletes are 'pure' because they are participating in a sporting world that is not controlled by money or influenced by contracts, lucrative sponsorship deals, and politics; female cricket athletes are not puppets on strings.

With regards to future research, it is disappointing, as an elite female athlete and researcher, that there is currently no pathway for the study of migrant female cricketer's experience in countries such as India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan due to migrant female athletes not choosing to play abroad in these countries. This would offer a contrasting analysis in the cultural and social experiences of female cricketers. It also reflects a reluctance to experience a vastly different world to that of England, New Zealand or Australia. A crucial element of this research is the absence of professionalism and money in female cricket, but it did not stop the movement of athletes within the game. However, it is the 'choice', which these non-professional athletes have, that has a detrimental effect on women's cricket because it directly impacts on the state of the game. The player movement network isolates the other prominent female cricket nations. In my opinion, the choice that is available to female cricket athletes dictates the strength of the game because the three countries

that would be 'easy' to adapt to are also the top three nations in women's cricket. The women's game cannot progress or develop if there is a gap that is continually widening between the top and bottom teams. Professionalism generally eliminates this 'choice', and if the women's game did turn professional then the isolation of the bottom teams from the top teams would hopefully be disregarded because the migration network would widen to include all of the participating countries. However, professionalism will not be achievable in the women's game if the strength of cricket does not improve, and this cannot be a reality if there are only three or four top teams.

The support of the England Cricket Board (ECB) was mentioned by all of the athletes as being superior to what women's cricket receives in both New Zealand and Australia, and is seen as a contributing factor to why the England women's team succeeds on the international stage. However, since collecting the data for this thesis there have been various developments within the women's game, particularly in New Zealand and Australia, to push the game towards a semi-professional era. The England Cricket Board and Australian Cricket Board have been setting the standard for women's cricket over the past six years with player payments and coaching programmes that allow elite female cricketers the chance to earn money while training and playing at the top level. The sport is slowly developing towards a semi-professional era, and New Zealand joined England and Australia at the end of 2012 by offering the top four female cricketers contracts at \$35,000 (NZD) each. These players are expected to work part-time for their major cricket associations and also train (New Zealand Cricket, 2013).

In even more developments, recent progress by Cricket Australia (CA) has now dramatically changed the face of women's cricket by announcing a restructuring of the contracting system for international and domestic female players during May 2013. The new system means that the top Australian female cricket players will become some of the top paid athletes in the world because the:

CA Board has approved a restructure of the contract system with a move from a three-tier payment retainer system to a squad ranking system. The top player retainer increases substantially from current \$15,000 to \$52,000 and the minimum retainer increases from current \$5,000 to \$25,000 - (Cricket Australia, 2013)

Player international tour fees also increase from \$100 (AUD) to \$250 (AUD) per day and with 85 tour days scheduled within the next year, players could earn \$20,000 (AUD) on top of their original contract. This means that the players have the potential to earn approximately \$70,000 - \$80,000 (AUD) during the next 12 months (Cricket Australia, 2013). In addition to this, Cricket Australia "will provide each state and the ACT with \$100,000 (AUD) a year to help fund minimum standards for female cricketers contracted to play in our national competitions" (Cricket Australia, 2013). The players are still expected to carry out study, promotional and coaching duties, but this increase in funding is reflective of the success the Australian women's team have had over the past 12 months, which "has led to unprecedented media coverage and recognition, as well as playing a significant role in driving an increase in female cricket participation by 18%" (Cricket Australia, 2013). Cricket Australia has raised the bar and they expect other national cricket boards to follow in their footsteps towards the aim of female cricketers being able to earn a full-time, professional living from cricket.

However, the funding that is available to the elite female cricketers in New Zealand, Australia and England is concentrated on players in the top team of each nation and does not filter down towards the buying and/or selling of athletes at domestic level. The distinct lack of money at domestic level indicates that player movement in female cricket will still be individually funded and the decision to play abroad will still be individually driven. The experiences of future migrant cricketers will continue to be impacted by the lack of money at domestic level and lack of major domestic competitions like the IPL. Migrant female cricket players are not driven by lucrative contracts or money; they are driven by their own sporting passion and opportunities to pursue travel and personal change.

My hope as an elite female cricketer and academic is that the migration pathway will begin to include less dominant countries like South Africa and Sri Lanka, because this will have far reaching benefits for the state of the game in years to come. Women's cricket may never truly stand on equal ground with men's cricket, but that is the sad reality and one can only hope the women's format begins to stand on its own two legs and have a voice of its own, instead of constantly trying to compete with the men.

In conclusion, this paper represents an effort to understand why female migrant athletes move to England to play cricket and to help fill a gap in current sport labour migration research between male and female athletes. The typology used showed that migrant female cricketers typically play abroad to experience different countries and travel, while having the chance to play and train during the off-season. The absence of professionalism has an obvious impact on their reasons for migrating and their experiences. This paper aimed to bring together key ideas surrounding the

globalisation of sport and the marginalisation of women in sport to produce an overview of the world that the female migrant athlete lives in. To conclude, sport is a dominant feature of the modern world and it contributes to the social and cultural landscape we live in. The power of sport should never be underestimated nor ignored and I hope that the final words of this research are not the last that is written on migrant female athletes because it is a crucial piece of the sporting jigsaw puzzle that needs to be given attention by researchers. Sport stands alone, cloaked in power and popularity. Sport is like a religion, a global phenomenon that will continue to shape the world we live in today and it demands attention; “knowledge about sport is knowledge about society” (Elias, 1986:1).

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