

# Cricket and Globalization



# Cricket and Globalization

Edited by

Chris Rumford and Stephen Wagg

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**SCHOLARS**  

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**P U B L I S H I N G**

Cricket and Globalization, edited by Chris Rumford and Stephen Wagg

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION: CRICKET AND GLOBALIZATION

CHRIS RUMFORD AND STEPHEN WAGG

What could be an appropriate indicator of cricket's globalization? The existence of global cricketing superstars - equivalent to, say, Roger Federer in tennis or Tiger Woods in golf – would perhaps be one such indicator. International cricketers Sachin Tendulkar, Shahid Afridi, Kevin Pieterse and Ricky Ponting are known to millions around the world, although those millions are concentrated in a relatively small number of countries. But to be fair not even football penetrates all corners of the world; how many international football-playing superstars (besides David Beckham) would be recognized by the US public? Perhaps an appropriate measure of the global status of cricketing superstars is the extent to which they are recognized outside those countries which play the sport. So, how many cricketers are well-known in the United States? Consider the following, which refers to a portion of cricket-related dialogue from an Oscar-winning movie.

The globalization of cricket was given perhaps its biggest boost by the Academy award winning movie, *Slumdog Millionaire* – a film based on a slum dweller's improbable winning of a television quiz show. The final question for winning the prize, and the subject of incredible suspense, was which cricket batsman had scored the highest number of first class centuries. Now, thanks to this wonderful but violent movie, the whole world knows that it was Jack Hobbs. And what's more, the whole world (even America!) knows that cricket exists.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Globalization – it's not cricket' by Mr Globalization  
[http://www.mrglobalization.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=170:globalization-its-not-cricket&catid=42:culture&Itemid=61](http://www.mrglobalization.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=170:globalization-its-not-cricket&catid=42:culture&Itemid=61)

The 'Slumdog Millionaire' factor should not be underestimated. That cricket is becoming a truly global game is in no small part due to the 'Indianisation' of the game (see both Steen and Gupta, this volume) - which has entailed huge financial revenues generated by TV coverage, coupled with new media technologies which generate a massive global audience for World Cups and other major competitions. Significantly, the globalization of cricket has not followed a pattern familiar in other sports: concentration of wealth, media, and marketing leading to the domination of Western countries over the rest (Gupta, 2004), and this fact alone makes it an interesting 'case study' for scholars of the globalization of sport. Cricket has followed a very different global path; the non-Western countries (former British colonies) have begun to dominate and have taken control of the economics and politics of the game.

The globalization of cricket has received a further boost with the popularity of a new, shorter format of the game (Twenty20) which has the potential to re-launch cricket as a mass TV sport. This development has led to massive investment, especially in the IPL in India (discussed by several contributors to this volume), and the short-lived multi-million dollar Stanford challenge matches staged in the West Indies in 2008. Twenty20 is poised to transform the way cricket is organized and played all over the world, a development which reinforces the idea that cricket has 'gone global' and also underlines that the 'movers and shakers' within cricket are no longer the traditional elites in metropolitan centres but the businessmen of India, the US, and elsewhere, government officials in China, and the media entrepreneurs world-wide who seek to shape new audiences for the game and create new marketing opportunities on a global scale. These opportunities are accompanied by a number of threats which emanate from the rapid commercialization of the game and the unresolved tensions between the different formats which now exist in the international game - Test matches, one-day internationals (ODIs), and Twenty20 internationals - competition between which threatens one or more of the 'traditional' formats. The globalization of cricket has resulted in a game in flux (and vice versa). The future direction of cricket is uncertain and the next five or ten years will no doubt see many more significant changes, and new opportunities and threats.

This book comprises a series of critical interventions on the changing nature of a major world sport. Sport in general is becoming recognised as 'an increasingly significant subject for global studies' (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007: 1) and the particular dynamics of cricket's globalization,

rooted in its unusual (non-Western) global trajectory, make it an important case study. The book aims both to understand the global dynamics of cricket and in so doing inform wider debates in sociology and social science on the nature and dynamics of globalization, and to help make those debates and discussions on globalization accessible to a wider readership.

## **The globalization of cricket**

Properly handled, the IPL concept will bring about the real globalization of the sport for the first time.

—Gerald Majola<sup>2</sup>

A few short years ago most commentators would still have been sceptical as to the global potential of cricket, given the limited number and skewed geographical distribution of countries playing international matches. Following the first three successful seasons of the Indian Premier League (IPL) a groundbreaking media-driven cricketing competition, there is far less scepticism and the realization exists that cricket is now a global sport. It has achieved this, not via the conventional means – expansion outwards from its metropolitan heartlands – but through the pursuit of commercial and media interests in India. As we have already observed, this fact alone makes cricket and globalization an interesting topic: not only for those interested in the development of the international game but also for scholars of globalization. Cricket, as this book makes evident, tells us something new and interesting about globalization.

However, the changes outlined above are very recent and cricket (and its commentators) is struggling to keep up with the rise and rise of the newest form of the game. Twenty20 threatens the future of the existing organization of cricket and at the same time appears to herald a new, prosperous era. Perhaps the most significant threat to the existing order stems from the way fixture lists are being squeezed to accommodate more and more Twenty20 tournaments. The popularity of the new format, and the proliferation of tournaments around the world, means that there is less time in the schedule to play the traditional five-day Test matches and the more established limited-overs internationals (ODIs). Twenty20 is a highly lucrative and TV-friendly form of the game (matches are played to completion within 3½ hours, with ample opportunity for commercial

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<sup>2</sup> ‘IPL for cricket globalization: Majola’

<http://www.cricbuzz.com/cricket-news/14637/ipl-for-cricket-globalization-majola>

breaks. Indeed, matches could be completed in 2½ or 3 hours but for the fact that TV games are stretched to allow advertisements to be broadcast).

There is an irony contained in the quote that heads this section. Majola suggests that with proper handling the IPL has the potential to deliver cricketing globalization. Critics would say that ‘proper handling’ is even more necessary to prevent the IPL, and other Twenty20 competitions, from crowding out other forms of the game. Long term planning has never been so necessary to ensure the health and vitality, not to mention diversity, of the international game. There is no one single globally-recognized cricketing competition, no ‘global spectacle’ which can fix the game in the consciousness of the world sporting public. Cricket lacks the equivalent of the football (‘soccer’) World Cup. Although cricket has had a World Cup (ODI) competition every 4 years since 1975 the different formats of the game continue to throw up their own world champions or number one rated teams (the ODI format has a Champions Trophy in addition to the World Cup). With the rise of Twenty20 there are likely to be more, not fewer, world championships of one kind or another. The Twenty20 world cup (ICC World Twenty20) is held annually, which arguably reduces its significance.

Majola is extremely perceptive in the sense that he correctly identifies the IPL *concept* as being more important than the IPL *per se*. The concept in question is the franchise, a new feature of cricket, but one which is likely to become a major factor in the development of the game over the next few years. Franchises can ‘go global’ in a way that county, or state-based teams cannot. The global reach of IPL franchises is already palpable. According to the BBC News (8<sup>th</sup> February 2010) Rajasthan Royals (one of the IPL teams) is in the process of creating the ‘first global cricket franchise.’ There exists a plan to collaborate with English county side Hampshire, the Cape Cobras from South Africa, Victoria in Australia, and Trinidad & Tobago under the Royals Twenty20 brand. ‘The teams in the Twenty20 franchise will wear the same kit, and players could switch to other sides in it.’ There are no franchises (yet) in English cricket, although a future Twenty20 competition featuring city franchises (as opposed to being based on the existing county teams) has been mooted recently.

Cricket is travelling rapidly along its new Twenty20 trajectory, its destination as yet unknown. Many commentators suspect that the trajectory of Twenty20 will shape the contours of cricket in the foreseeable future. In this sense Twenty20 not only holds the key to understanding the

globalization of cricket but also to the very future of the game. Hindsight may reveal this to be an overly dramatic portrayal of current trends and developments, but it certainly reflects the spirit of the times. However, there are other dynamics at work shaping the global game and these too are reflected in the pages of this volume.

## **The Great Exhibition**

If the IPL is the concept which will enable cricket to become globalized then this globalization will be shaped by only a few key actors. Does this mean that the more traditional organizational and commercial forms of the game which still exist in other cricket playing countries have no chance of going global? It is already evident that the ECB (England and Wales Cricket Board) has become frustrated that it is not able to dictate the direction of the Twenty20 game which it pioneered. In the absence of a UK version of the IPL the ECB, at the start of the 2009 season, during which England would play a Test series against Australia for the Ashes, launched The Great Exhibition, an initiative designed to draw together the various formats (Test, first class, one day) and different 'levels' (from club sides to the national team) of the English game. The Great Exhibition was planned as an 'exceptional feast of international, domestic and community cricket events' (ECB webpage blurb).<sup>3</sup>



It is significant that the ECB chose the name The Great Exhibition in its attempt to connect such a wide range of cricketing experiences, from watching the Ashes Test match series to 'picking up a bat and ball and playing with the kids in the garden or local park'. Of course the idea of The Great Exhibition resonates with the spectacle of the Crystal Palace Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, but beyond this the name is significant

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.ecb.co.uk/the-great-exhibition/the-great-exhibition-opens,304816,EN.html>

because the exhibition, as Lawn (2009a, 8) informs us, writing about the importance of world exhibitions in the C19<sup>th</sup> and early C20<sup>th</sup>, is very much about linking the ‘national and local with the international and global’. The Exhibition is a site upon which ‘national identity, cultural symbolism and grandiosity become entwined’ (Lawn, 2009b, 17) and puts ‘entire nations into an elevated, viewable space’ (Lawn, 2009a, 8). These are very much the ideas behind the ECB’s Great Exhibition of 2009.

What is especially striking about The Great Exhibition is that it was launched at the start of a season which required very little promotion, the Ashes series generating more interest amongst the English public than another other, and with memories of the 2005 Ashes victory still fresh in the minds of the English cricketing public.<sup>4</sup> It is fair to say that because of the Ashes the 2009 season was more eagerly anticipated than any other in recent history. Why, then, did the 2009 season require The Great Exhibition to promote it? And why did the ECB believe that the 2009 season could be associated with, or remembered for, anything other than the Ashes? The answer to these questions suggests a possible future for cricket beyond Twenty20 (or at least places Twenty20 in a different context), although the longer-term commitment of the ECB to this alternative vision is questionable. An abrupt u-turn, if an English version of the IPL looks like becoming viable, cannot be ruled out

On their webpage the ECB asks the question: ‘what will be The Great Exhibition’s legacy?’ One of the stated aims is to generate a lasting interest in cricket; ‘We want cricket to be part of everyone’s Summer, not just in 2009 but beyond ... Once we’ve captured people’s imaginations we will be aiming to encourage more people to become involved in playing, coaching or volunteering at the grass roots level, and supporting England’. What we have here is an attempt by the ECB to draw in the casual cricket fan by lowering the cost of entry into the world of cricket, and linking together different forms and formats of the game in order to demonstrate that anyone and everyone can connect to cricket in a meaningful way. In other words, any and every type of cricketing involvement is a part of the same overall experience. In its promotional material the ECB makes this explicit.

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<sup>4</sup> The Great Exhibition’s logo, according to the ECB webpage ‘was inspired by the “wagon wheel” graphic of Kevin Pietersen’s awesome 158 knock at the Brit Oval in 2005, which helped win the Ashes for England the last time Australia came to visit.’ <http://www.ecb.co.uk/the-great-exhibition/the-great-exhibition-opens,304816,EN.html>

By going to a domestic or international game, watching on TV, listening to radio coverage or via the ECB website, Twitter, Facebook or YouTube channels for updates on the latest cricket news and information. Even if you just pick up a bat and ball and play with the kids in the garden or local park, you are part of The Great Exhibition.

Expressed in terms used to explain the dynamics of globalization (see Holton, this volume) the ECB is encouraging local expressions of the cricketing global, or, expressed in slightly different theoretical terms, the ECB is making an explicit link between *particular* experiences of the game and the *universal* ideal of cricket. We can all, it is implied, connect to 'planet cricket' whether by playing the game in the park, accessing the Test match scores on our mobile phones, or watching the IPL on TV. What is also significant is that many of the ways of 'connecting to planet cricket' outlined here are via new technology. The ECB takes advantage of the possibilities opened up by technology and seeks to 'join the dots' by linking together all possible forms of the game, and making strong connections between following the game, playing the game, and watching the game.

The Great Exhibition is an example of one of two contending dynamics at work in contemporary cricket (and likely to characterise its future development). It represents a nested and networked model in which multiple levels, formats, and experiences are complementary and interconnected. The alternative (represented by the IPL) is a franchised and dis-embedded model wherein teams (and to a certain extent the players representing those teams) exist outside the conventional structures of cricket. If global franchises become a reality in the near future they will be parasitic on teams established in nationally-based leagues and other competitions. Rajasthan Royals may want to expand their franchise by teaming up with Hampshire, Victoria, and Trinidad and Tobago but these teams already exist and are embedded in the structures of domestic cricket in their own countries. The Royals do not exist outside the IPL franchise system. A centrally important feature of IPL cricket is that it stands apart from the rest of 'planet cricket' and is not nested within other cricketing domains. The top teams in the IPL are invited to play in a Champions League competition featuring leading Twenty20 teams from England, Australia, West Indies etc. but this competition is an extension of the IPL itself. The IPL does not dovetail into other cricketing structures; it competes with (and threatens) them. This can have important repercussions for the players involved. Playing for a franchise is not like being contracted to a county or state side. For example, the international players

who play in the IPL may, at the time of the Champions League, be contracted to play for another team. For a player, success in the IPL does not automatically lead to selection for a national team<sup>5</sup>. Many overseas players in the IPL have in any case retired from international cricket in order to play in that competition. In the conventional (i.e. non-franchise) structure of the game players can make their way up the hierarchy from clubs to counties/state sides to the national team. The IPL is not like this; franchises cherry-pick overseas players (and also select Indian players from a central pool) who may or may not play again the following season. Playing in the IPL does not fit into any conventional career structure; it exists as an either/or opportunity.

### **Contrasting careers**

Another way of looking at these contradictory dynamics is to consider the paths of two contemporary players who are the same age (23 years old) and at roughly the same stage of their careers. They are however following very different career paths. West Indian Kieron Pollard was one of the stars of the 2010 IPL season (when Pollard joined Mumbai Indians he was awarded the highest salary in the 2010 draft<sup>6</sup>). He currently holds Twenty20 contracts in Australia (with South Australia), England (with Somerset), the IPL (with Mumbai Indians), and his native Trinidad. Pollard has made his name as an all-rounder in one-day and Twenty20 cricket and stands to make a fortune over the coming decade playing in the shorter formats of the game, but his career is not progressing to anything like the same extent in first class cricket (at the time of writing he has only played 20 first class matches compared with 30 ODIs and 20 Twenty20 internationals). In May 2010 Pollard declined an invitation to join the West Indies A squad on their tour of England, choosing to play Twenty20 for Somerset rather than working on his first class game with a view to becoming a Test match cricketer. This decision may effectively have ended his chances of representing the West Indies at Test match level. His preference for the high salaries of the IPL and other Twenty20 tournaments over conventional cricket opportunities has not gone down

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<sup>5</sup> Doug Bollinger, whose performances in the 2010 IPL helped Chennai Super Kings to the Championship was not picked by Australia for the ICC World Twenty20 tournament which followed directly afterwards. On the other hand, Michael Lumb secured a place in the victorious England team on the strength of his IPL performances.

<sup>6</sup> 'Kieron Pollard, Shane Bond attract maximum bids' Cricinfo 19 January 2010 <http://www.cricinfo.com/ipl2010/content/story/445020.html>



well with the previous generation of West Indies cricketers, who dominated Test cricket during the 1980s and early 90s. Former Test match bowler and cricket commentator, Michael Holding, was very critical of Pollard following his IPL appearances, stating bluntly: 'Pollard in my opinion is not a cricketer'.<sup>7</sup> This can be interpreted to mean that in failing to aspire to the conventional route to success - building a Test match career on a solid foundation of first class performances - Pollard has both shown disrespect for the game of cricket, and the West Indian traditions of playing the game (see Beckles, this volume).

Pollard is carving out a career path not available to previous generations of players. There are a number of other contemporary cricketers who possess a portfolio of Twenty20 contracts and who eschew the more formal routes to success, Dwayne Smith, Dirk Nannes, Ryan ten Doeschate among them. They have become largely dislocated from the conventional cricketing circuits and their aspirations are no longer to play Test cricket but to excel at the game's newest form, thereby earning high salaries in a relatively short time period. For Pollard and the others Test match cricket is no longer uncontested as the pre-eminent form of the game. Significantly, several leading Test match players such as Andrew Flintoff of England, Shane Bond and Jacob Oram of New Zealand, and Brett Lee of Australia, have retired early from Test match cricket in order to ward off injury and by keeping fit prolong their earnings potential in the IPL. Even leading players in their cricketing prime appear tempted by the potential earnings that would accrue from being a portfolio Twenty20 player. West Indies captain Chris Gayle caused a major stir when he declared in 2009 that he 'wouldn't be sad if Test cricket died out'.<sup>8</sup>

The career of Eoin Morgan, Irishman turned English cricketer, stands in contrast to Pollard's. Morgan was a key figure in England's victory in the ICC World Twenty20 competition in May 2010 and has since been selected to play for England in Test matches. He built his reputation as a one-day cricketer first for Ireland (playing 23 ODIs) and later for England. He is currently the only player in history to score an ODI hundred for two nations. As a result of his rapid rise to international prominence and his reputation as a one-day batsmen Morgan joined Royal Challengers

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<sup>7</sup> 'Pollard is not a cricketer: Mike Holding' Cricket Blitz, May 20<sup>th</sup> 2010 <http://cricblitz.blogspot.com/2010/05/pollard-is-not-cricketer-mike-holding.html>

<sup>8</sup> 'Chris Gayle willing to quit West Indies captaincy and face future without Tests' by Anna Kessell *The Guardian* 12 May 2009 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2009/may/12/chris-gayle-captaincy-test-cricket>

Bangalore for the 2010 IPL season, although not securing anything like Pollard's salary. Morgan can be contrasted with Pollard in several interesting ways. Whereas Pollard has not travelled the traditional route of progression within professional cricket, choosing a portfolio of Twenty20 contracts over Test or first class ambitions, Morgan has followed a more conventional path of aspiration. His shift of allegiance from Ireland to England should not cloud the fact that Morgan's career is following a very conventional structure; county cricket for Middlesex, international recognition (with Ireland initially) in ODIs and subsequently Twenty20, followed by a Test call-up. Now centrally contracted by England<sup>9</sup> Morgan's playing schedule will be managed by the ECB to allow time for Test, ODI and Twenty20 appearances for England, the occasional game for his county Middlesex, and the opportunity to play annually in the lucrative IPL. The switch from Ireland to England in fact confirms rather than contradicts this embeddedness. Ireland has associate status with the ICC whereas England has full status (which means that Ireland can play ODIs but not Test matches). In choosing to represent England in international cricket Morgan has ascended the career ladder and chosen the opportunity to progress to Test cricket. The alternative would have been to remain with Ireland (possibly hoping that they could achieve Test status in the next few years), play county cricket when time allowed, and maximize his earning potential through a portfolio of Twenty20 contracts.

Embeddedness does have its limits, however. Although players can progress from county to international cricket they then have very few opportunities to continue to play in county cricket, centrally contracted players often being rested when not on international duty. Once an English player joins the contracted elite they are effectively no longer county players, perhaps playing in one or two early season games as a warm-up to the international season. Decisions on the availability of players for their county are made by the ECB not the county. At the time of writing it has been announced that Kevin Pietersen will leave Hampshire, nominally his county for the past six years. However, 'since making his Test debut in July 2005, he has made just one Championship appearance'. In all, 'he has played just two Twenty20 games, seven County Championship matches

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<sup>9</sup> 'Eoin Morgan given incremental England central contract' Daily Telegraph 3 March 2010

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/cricket/international/england/7360400/Eoin-Morgan-given-incremental-England-central-contract.html>

and 17 one-dayers in six summers on Hampshire's books' (BBC News, 17 June 2010<sup>10</sup>).

The contrasting fortunes of Morgan and Pollard are representative of broader trends in contemporary cricket. The globalization of cricket is commonly thought to be exemplified by the IPL: Twenty20 as an emblem of the mediatization, commercialization, and Indianization of the game. But as suggested here there is another possible response to globalization. By accident or by design the ECB has embraced a model for the development of cricket which seeks to place each format of the game and each competition within a structured whole. Players such as Eoin Morgan can benefit from this structure and develop their careers along traditional lines and, at the same, time participate in the Twenty20 revolution. Of course there will always be tensions and conflicts and top players who feel that their earnings potential is not being realized, by for example not being given the opportunity to play in the IPL, may decide to retire from certain formats of the game in order to focus on others. But the embedded model has the potential to keep a large number of players happy for a good deal of the time, and protect the future of Test cricket in the face of a threat from ODIs, and now Twenty20, which has been a growing issue in recent years.

As cricket is going global it faces future uncertainties. On the one hand, cricket as a Great Exhibition; an international fixture list which nests formats and embeds players in a comprehensive and integrated structure. On the other, cricket as a 'Big Bash,' a plethora of Twenty20 tournaments which generate money within the game but which are only an end in themselves rather than part of a coherent plan for developing the game.

## The Chapters

The book is organized into four sections. The first of these deals with globalization itself, now, of course, a major talking point among academics and social commentators around the world and the subject of numerous conferences, books and learned articles.

The second chapter, by **Robert Holton**, sketches out the contours of the debate about globalization; he takes four specific theories, assesses their

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<sup>10</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/cricket/counties/hampshire/8746686.stm>

merits and discusses their usefulness in making sense of the current world cricket scene. He rejects simplistic notions of globalization and employs the increasingly popular concept of *glocalization* to explain cricket's recent trajectory.

In Chapter 3 **Amit Gupta** addresses the contemporary phenomenon of the 'Indianization' of cricket. For much of its history the game of cricket has been seen as intrinsically English and governed from Lords in north London by English administrators. Moreover, as Gupta points out, in relation to a number of sports the global media have tended to discount teams from outside Europe: football's World Cup, for example, was deemed to have lost credibility when sides from, say, Asia began to do well in it. Now, with transfer of the International Cricket Council to Dubai and the establishment in 2008 of the Indian Premier League, we have, as Gupta argues, seen a genuine challenge to Western hegemony in the ordering and governance of international sport.

Another key issue in the politics of international sport over the last fifty years or so has been the question of morality, particularly as regards 'race'. South Africa had been one of the three founder members of the Imperial Cricket Conference in 1909 and, via the magnate Sir Abe Bailey, its chief instigator. Between 1948 and 1994 the ruling Afrikaner Nationalist Party in South Africa administered an *apartheid* system whereby the black inhabitants of the country were deprived of citizenship and their freedoms (to travel, to associate with whites, to earn above a certain sum...) were severely restricted. By the 1960s international disgust at *apartheid* had conferred the status of pariah on South Africa and the country was suspended by the ICC in 1970. (They were re-admitted in 1991, when African Nation Congress leader Nelson Mandela was released from prison and *apartheid* was scheduled for dismantlement.) In 2003 calls came for Zimbabwe, an independent, former British colony qualified to play cricket Test matches, to be similarly boycotted, among other issues over the Zimbabwean government's policy of expropriating the land of white farmers. Comparisons with *apartheid* South Africa were widely invoked. **Jon Gemmell's** chapter reviews these comparisons in some detail.

Section Two of the book is organized around the globalization of cricket itself. The fourth chapter, by seasoned cricket writer and academic **Rob Steen**, returns to the theme of the 'Indianization' of international cricket. Steen's chapter places the Indian ascendancy in the broader context of

cricket economics and politics. Regional versions of the game – county cricket in England, state cricket in Australia... – do not thrive and are maintained only by the subventions of national governing bodies, which redistribute income from the much more popular Test matches. The quest in the late 1990s for a popular new one-day format to replace the 50 over game led to the adoption in 2003 of the (so far) hugely successful Twenty20 competition. This, combined with the emergence of India as an economic power and the growth of an Indian television audience, based both on a cricket-mad home market and on the Indian diaspora, has made the Indian business elite the leading power in world cricket. This chapter offers a blow-by-blow account of this development and its likely consequences.

The following chapter, by **Philippa Velija**, **Aarti Ratna** and **Anne Flintoff**, offers a stark contrast. Set against the narrative of wealth and global television fame that characterizes the IPL is the story of women's cricket, historically sustained largely by voluntary effort and denied the support by national associations and global sponsors that has recently sustained the men's game. The England Women's cricket team are the current (i.e. 2009) World Cup and Twenty20 champions but the media attention afforded to them is minimal compared with the male game. This chapter records the struggles of women's cricket, particularly in England, and calls for greater recognition for female cricketers who aspire to take part in international competition.

In Chapter Seven **Barrie Axford** and **Richard Huggins** offer a fascinating analysis of cricket in what they call the 'post-television age'. The 'telemediatization' of cricket now takes account of new and social media – computers, blackberries and mobile 'phones and the like – and, as Axford and Huggins argue, these media have, in the age of niche marketing, enabled sport to maintain its hold on a mass audience. In the process, however, they suggest that the relationship between the mass media and their audience has been transformed.

Part Three of the book deals with the relationship of the game of cricket to a sense of national belonging. This issue is addressed directly by **Habibul Haque Khondker** in Chapter Eight. Drawing on arguments from the ongoing debate about globalization and drawing examples chiefly from the cricket cultures of South Asia, he argues that there is no contradiction between globalization and the maintaining of a sense of national belonging

through cricket in various countries. Globalizing processes, then, have not brought the much-feared homogenization of cricket culture.

Chapter Nine is about the West Indies and is written by the leading academic chronicler of Caribbean cricket culture, **Hilary Beckles**. Globalization in the economic and cultural spheres has hit Caribbean societies hard. Despite the collapse of the short-lived West Indian Federation (1958-1962) and the establishment of many islands as sovereign states, West Indian nationalism has lived on, with the West Indies cricket team as its principal flagship. However, this flagship, having dominated world cricket from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, has lately run aground and the crisis in Caribbean cricket has been a major political issue in the region for over a decade. This chapter assesses the crisis – in particular at the level of leadership on the field – and the prospects for West Indian cricket in the age of globalization.

In Chapter Ten, **Alan Bairner** and **Dominic Malcolm** examine the relationship between cricket and national identity in the Celtic societies of Scotland and Ireland. These countries have a widely unacknowledged cricket tradition and, with the ICC seeking to promote credible international cricket performance in a widely range of nations, and the coming preeminence of the shorter formats of the game, both Scotland and Ireland, who, historically, have lost players to the English national side, could emerge into the global arena.

The fourth and final section of the book tackles the limits to the globalization of cricket. The first chapter here – number eleven, written by **Stephen Wagg** – points first of all to the difficulties facing cricket in the countries where it is historically established: the Test-playing nations. It then discusses the progress and prospects of the game in countries where it is currently being adopted and/or promoted – notably Afghanistan, the United States and the People's Republic of China.

Chapter Twelve, by **Dominic Malcolm**, **Alan Bairner** and **Graham Curry** reflects on press coverage of the death, and its aftermath, of Bob Woolmer, the British-born coach to the Pakistan national team, at the cricket World Cup in the Caribbean in 2007. Analysis of this coverage shows that racialised and stereotypical notions of black societies and of Muslims, the roots of which lie largely in the culture of the British Empire are still strongly present in public discourse about cricket.

In the halcyon days of that Empire, Indian princes, having been co-opted as members of the imperial elite, were eligible to play cricket for England. The best example is K.S. Ranjitsinhji, an Indian Maharajah who gained 15 England caps between 1896 and 1902. More recently, given the post-1947 migration to England of so many families from the Asian sub-continent, names like Hussain, Mahmood, Patel and Panesar have begun to feature on the England team sheet. In chapter **Daniel Burdsey** draws on extensive research to analyze the complex identities of contemporary English-Asian cricketers.

The final chapter, written by **Chris Rumford**, uses a series of cricket controversies – including the furore over ‘ball-tampering’ when Pakistan toured England in 1992 – to chart what he calls the ‘post-westernizing’ of the game. Once again, in the transaction of these controversies, a colonialist rhetoric was prominent. Rumford quotes Pakistani fast bowler Wasim Akram: ‘When Pakistan make the old ball swing it’s called ball-tampering, but when everyone else does it, it’s called reverse swing...’

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**PART I:**  
**THE GLOBAL CONTEXT**

# CHAPTER TWO

## GLOBALIZATION AND CRICKET

ROBERT HOLTON

Controversies about the scope, consequences and limits of globalization have generated an immense and wide-ranging literature covering economic, political, technological and cultural themes. Cricket, in its various manifestations, is no exception to this (Appadurai, 1996, Beckles, 1998, Gupta 2004 and 2009, Rumford 2007, Gemmell and Mujumdar 2008, Malcolm, Gemmell, and Mehta, 2009). Not so long ago, the game was popularly seen as a symbol of rather traditional pursuits, growing out of localities, but played at the highest levels in contests between nations. For many it was also played to an arcane set of rules and conventions in which traditions of individual and collective character- building and heroic masculinity suffused desires for victory, ideals of sportsmanship, technical excellence, and athletic pride. Globalization might seem remote from all this.

To be sure, the global geography of the British Empire defined the social spaces in which most cricket was played. Yet cultural and political differences between nations and localities, colonizers and the colonized, gave cricket a strong connection with particular places and networks of players embedded in particular communities. So much about cricket remains particular to place, to history, to local institutions and to the individuals involved - rather than being universal in scope. Context matters a great deal, whether in the form of cricket as Imperial assertion in white settler settings, cricket as colonial resistance and political assertion, or cricket as a form of local community self-expression and often inter-local rivalry. In many settings both the national professional and local amateur games might seem immune to global level influences and pressures.

Cricket, in some senses, was globalized from the outset, with the export of the game to both white settler societies and centres of Imperial

administration. Yet its coverage within the imperial and post-imperial context was uneven and never universal, failing to secure a significant and sustainable role in the USA, Canada, or West Africa, for example. And it is only in more recent years that fuller processes of economic globalization have impacted on the game.

Over the last two decades, in particular, the professional game has become far more closely integrated into highly commercial ways of marketing and playing sport. Corporate sponsorship and changing communications technologies have projected cricket – or at least some segments of the game, such as one-day and Twenty20 cricket – onto a highly globalized stage watched and followed by mass audiences in many countries.

These developments appear on the face of it to usher in a new era in which cricket has become far more closely integrated into economic globalization. The professional game is now thoroughly implicated in the world of global corporations, global information technology, world markets, and cross-border migration. This applies both to the *material* side of the game, the delivery of which is turning professional cricket and professional cricketers into commodities within a market place, but also increasingly to its *symbolic* side, as a source of values and the projection of ways of life. Leading cricketers have now become global celebrities alongside footballers and other sporting idols. Within the global media, their lives outside the game attract as much attention within as within it.

As a notion, globalization may now be everywhere. Nonetheless, what I want to propose in this chapter is that we need to think more carefully about what we mean by the globalization of cricket, as well as taking care to identify the limits to it. The global, powerful though it is, has not and will not sweep all before it. Contrary to appearances, the professional game has not suddenly become a kind of sporting MacDonalds that is the same everywhere, built around standardised marketing and presentation. Rather, in cricket as in life in general, I want to argue that the global and the local interpenetrate, sometimes in conflict, sometimes in collaboration, in complex processes affected by money and power, but also by cultural identity, and values. We cannot therefore simply read-off the fate of cricket from a very general theory of economic globalization and social change.

My aim in what follows is to look at different ways in which we may understand this thing called globalization, using cricket as a way of

refining and reformulating theory. The underlying argument here is about how we might see relationships between the global, the national, and the local in cricket as in life. This argument draws on an approach, largely developed by Roland Robertson (1992, 1995), which focuses on *glocalization* rather than *globalization* - also recently applied to professional football (see Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009). Whereas globalization suggests the predominance of the global over the local, glocalization, somehow, means the interpenetration of the global and the local, in complex ways that need to be teased out.

### **Four theories of globalization**

Globalization is a much used term, but also a very confused and confusing one (for further clarification and elaboration see Holton 2005 and also Held and McGrew 2007). This is partly because it is tied up with advertising hype, but also because it is the site of political and ideological conflict and disagreement. Many people see themselves as either for or against globalization, without necessarily taking much care to think through what exactly it is that they are praising or opposing. In the face of uncontrolled rhetoric and absence of clear definition, globalization has come to mean different things to different people.

Globalization may most usefully be defined as the movement of people, resources, institutions and ideas across borders in ways that create global connections and inter-dependence, and often global inequality too. While often seen as primarily economic in form and centred on free trade, economic deregulation, and powerful multi-national corporations, such approaches to globalization are, however, misleading and arbitrary. There are many social processes that cross borders – political, cultural and religious, as much as economic and technological. Meanwhile conceptions of the world as a single space may equally be found among environmentalists or human rights activists as free traders and corporate strategists.

In situating cricket within processes of globalization it is therefore essential to sift approaches and theories carefully to separate powerful arguments from myth. The idea that globalization is an economic force driven by a single economic prime mover is one of four myths that have been identified as itemised in Figure 1. The point with all of these is not that they are completely false, but rather that they offer only partial insights that conceal as much as they reveal. Myths are in other words, sets

of widely believed ideas that are taken as true and given, yet which do not by any means tell the whole story. This argument about global myths applies in general, but may equally be demonstrated with particular reference to cricket. It may also usefully be elaborated through consideration of the four theories of globalization, listed in Figure 2. These will be summarised and evaluated in turn.

#### FIGURE 1: FOUR MYTHS ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

1. Globalization is an economic process driven by economic interests
2. Globalization means the end of the nation-state
3. Globalization is a top-down phenomenon inimical to community and democracy.
4. Globalization is a new phenomenon of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century

#### FIGURE 2: FOUR THEORIES OF GLOBALIZATION

1. Economic Power on a World Stage
2. Global Political Economic and Cultural Hegemony
3. Globalization as Network Society
4. Glocalization

### **1. Economic Power on the World Stage**

Globalization, according to the first theory, centres on processes like free trade and capital flows across national boundaries, as well as on the international migration of people in search of work, together with technology transfer. The main players in this world are multi-national enterprises and global regulatory bodies like the IMF and WTO, designed to promote orderly market-based transactions within a global division of labour managed through global cities. Such processes and institutions predominate over nation-states and national cultures. Market deregulation reduces or even undermines national sovereignty, while local cultural distinctiveness is eroded, so the theory goes, in the face of global consumerism. Powerful statements of this kind of approach may be found in the work of writers like Harvey (2001) and Sassen, (1996, 1998)

This approach has several important strengths. The first is the emphasis given to the trans-national cross-border character of the global economy. In contrast with pictures of economic life conducted by bounded national

economies, the stress is rather upon the inter-connection and inter-penetration of processes that permeate political and geographic boundaries. Such spatially mobile and weakly regulated patterns of economic globalization are seen as responsible for much of the economic dynamic of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as contributing to the recent global financial crisis.

Economic globalization of this kind and the recent evolution of commercial sport are clearly closely related, in cricket as in other sporting endeavours (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007). From the 1990's onwards, professional cricket has been profoundly influenced by global corporate sponsorship and marketing, linked with satellite-based communications. Both the production and consumption of professional cricket have become thoroughly globalized.

Without the revenues generated by such developments, according to Gupta (2009, 206), national cricket would be hard-pressed to survive. The more far-sighting cricket administrators, notably Jagmohan Dalmiya of the Indian Cricket Board have actively worked to shape a new cricketing world order to secure the financial security of the game.

Such trends may be seen not only in the organisation and marketing of inter-national test and one-day games, but also in the recent development of the Indian Premier League. And they are also very lucrative. It is estimated that the IPL, before a ball was bowled, had generated revenue of \$1.8 billion (Kelso 2008). It is also estimated that the majority of revenue generated within world cricket derives from the Indian sub-continent.

In the economics of the Indian Premier League, established in 2008, the Indian Cricket Board acts as licensee selling eight city-based team franchises (rising to ten for the 2011 season) to corporations and entrepreneurs (Gupta 2009). Each team franchisee then bids for leading players across the global cricket community. While the players for each team span the world of cricketing nations, the interests behind the various franchises are primarily Indian. They include businesses such as Reliance Industries, India's largest private company, headed by Mukesh Ambani, and the infrastructural development company GMR Group, headed by Grandhi Mallikarjuna Rao. Meanwhile lucrative worldwide TV rights have been sold to powerful global corporate interests. These include Sony Entertainment Television (SET), a Japanese business entity that also owns the Columbia and MGM operations, and the World Sport Group. This is