



Migrant Tests: The Experience of Migrant Cricketers in the Australian Cricket Pathway

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MIGRANT TESTS: THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT CRICKETERS IN THE AUSTRALIAN CRICKET PATHWAY

Work submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of multiculturalism in Australia through the lens of Australian cricket, revealing the tensions between elements of Australian society which seek to retain links with an Anglo-Australian history (represented in this thesis by the Australian Cricket Board), and the growing numbers of migrants who seek to maintain their own cultural identity in a new country.

It establishes the importance of cricket as an Australian cultural institution together with its historical positioning in Australian culture, and examines how the governing body of the sport addressed the apparent lack of cultural inclusiveness in its representative Test team. It also reveals from the perspective of some migrants involved in the sport how they have dealt with the power of the cricket authority to manage the way they participate.

The Board's annual reports between 1983 and 2014 were critically examined with a view to establishing the nature of Australian cricket during that period and the Board's strategies for engagement with a growing migrant population. The accompanying area of research, semi-structured interviews with south Asian and Pacific Islander migrant cricketers, documented the experiences of some migrants with Australian cricket, both on and off the field. The two areas of research employed a critical discourse analysis (annual reports) and content analysis (interviews), with conclusions from both areas developed using a grounded theory method.

The thesis findings contribute to the general as well as academic body of knowledge relating to the significance of cricket as a major Australian sporting institution, and its role in political and social changes in the Australian cultural landscape. It identifies changes over time in the strategies, language and images the Board used in its official documents as it shifted its public stance on cultural change within Australia. The strategies and alternative cricket structures established by migrant cricketers to enable them to participate under terms of their own choosing were also recorded and analysed. The research provides an enhanced appreciation of how migrants in contemporary Australia are able to exhibit significant agency in the way they participate in cricket on a new cultural playing field.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that this submission is all my own work, completed under supervision of the University of the Sunshine Coast. The work does not contain material which has been previously published or written by any person other than me except where due and proper reference has been given in the text.

David Utting

Date: 11 November 2015

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACB	Australian Cricket Board.
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
BBL	Big Bash League. A domestic T20 competition in Australia
CA	Cricket Australia (formerly the Australian Cricket Board).
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
Cricinfo	International cricket website run by ESPN
CV	Cricket Victoria
ICC	International Cricket Council which controls the sport at International level.
In2Cricket	See Kanga Cricket
IPL	Indian Premier League. T20 competition conducted in India.
Kanga Cricket	Junior cricket development program which became In2Cricket.
MCC	Marylebone Cricket Club. Traditional home of cricket in England (Lords).
MCC	Melbourne Cricket Club
MCG	Melbourne Cricket Ground
NESB	Non English Speaking Background
ODI	One-Day International cricket game consisting of 50 overs each team.
T20	Tewnty- twenty competition – a short form of the game where each team bats for 20 overs.
SCG	Sydney Cricket Ground
VSCA	Victorian Sunday Cricket Association – consisting mainly of teams from Melbourne’s Eastern suburbs.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

1. In 2002-03 the Australian Cricket Board changed its name to Cricket Australia. The Board structure of fourteen representatives from the various State cricket associations remained the same until 2012 when three independent Board members were appointed. I have chosen to simply refer to the “Board” which is intended to represent the Australian Cricket Board (ACB) and the Board of Cricket Australia (CA) throughout this thesis unless in specific citations.
2. Similarly, a principal source document for this study was the annual report of the Board. For ease and brevity of citing from these documents I have used the term “ACB” followed by the year of publication and the relevant page number when citing from the annual reports in footnotes. The full citation is set out in the Works Cited.
3. Throughout this thesis the term “Asian” is used in cited works and in the body of the thesis. The term has been loosely used in immigration discourse to refer to Chinese immigration, Vietnamese and Cambodian immigration and in more recent times, immigration from India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. The thesis attempts to delineate such definitional issues in the text. It is recognised that the “Asian” immigration of the 1970s and 1980s is different from “Asian” immigration which is reflected in the interview subjects who come from South Asia (a term which avoids the further complication that Sri Lanka is not “sub-Continental” in a strict sense).

PUBLICATION AS A RESULT OF THIS THESIS

The research contained in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 has been the subject of a published article in the peer reviewed journal, *Journal of Australian Studies*:

Utting, D. (2015), 'Multicultural Cricket? National identity and the Australian Cricket Board's annual report', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 39:3: 362-380.

MIGRANT TESTS: THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT CRICKETERS IN THE AUSTRALIAN CRICKET PATHWAY

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this thesis is the way that the sport of cricket has engaged with migrants to Australia since the 1980s and how migrants, particularly from South Asia and the Pacific Islands have experienced the Australian form of the sport. This chapter provides a discursive reflection and overview of the thesis topic and the literature and methodology which supports the research undertaken. Chapter 2 (Literature Review) and Chapter 3 (Methods and Methodology) provide a more detailed engagement with these headline areas, and the main elements of the research will be discussed in Chapters 4 to 10. In particular, Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are framed around interviews of migrants involved with cricket in Australia, and for this reason I have given particular consideration to the matter of reflexivity. Mary Maynard, in an article about a research project involving the interviewing of older women, suggested that reflexivity is “one of the major ways of assuring rigorousness and reliability.”¹ Reflexivity is important in three ways in relation to this research – a) that I am open with the *interviewee* about the reasons for the research and my position in it, b) that I have *self-awareness* of my position in the research as a man with particular life experiences, sensibilities, thoughts and beliefs; and finally c) that this positioning is available for *the reader* of this thesis – the output of my research. In regard to the first of these reflexive positions, each interviewee was provided with a research information sheet which included the following:

About the researcher:

David Utting is a Doctor of Philosophy student at the University of the Sunshine Coast in the Faculty of Arts and Business. He holds degrees in Sociology and Economics and a Master of Arts Degree in Australian Studies. His recent research work has involved Australian cricket and its place and influence in the development of Australia’s history and culture. David is a mature aged student who, prior to undertaking this project, worked for thirty years as a Human Resources professional. In these capacities, he has had extensive experience in interviewing and mediation in

¹ Maynard, M. (2002): 38.

the workplace. He has been a playing member of football and cricket teams in his youth and more recently president of a country AFL football club in Victoria.²

For the second and third positions (above), I have introduced each chapter of this thesis with a reflective piece which serves to establish, in a less formal way, the background and content of the chapter. However, it also serves the purpose of providing the reader with detail of my own background in order to assist in evaluating the thesis findings. These pieces also served to remind me of my own placement in this story.

² Excerpt from the Research Information Sheet provided to each narrator prior to their interview.

Reflections

The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. The individual, even the one who only cheers, becomes a symbol of his nation himself.

[E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1992).]³

My first recollection of Test cricket was a visit to the MCG with my parents on Boxing Day in 1954 (I was 9 years old). Frank 'Typhoon' Tyson with his long run up to bowl and the antics of frenetic English wicketkeeper Godfrey Evans are etched in my memories of this encounter which ended badly for the home team.⁴ The white-flannelled Englishmen on the field that day looked no different from the home team players, except for the colour and shape of their caps.

In 1961 as a fifteen year old I attended the second day of the second cricket Test match between Australia and the West Indies at the Melbourne Cricket Ground. I remember the size of the crowd,⁵ and particularly the dismissal of diminutive West Indian batsman, Joe Solomon. His cap was deemed to have fallen on his wicket while playing a shot. Bullying appeared to be on display – not only of an individual player by a bigger and taller opponent (Australian Captain Richie Benaud) – but the bullying of a black cricket team by a nation which prided itself on the notion of a fair go. To use a phrase adopted in more recent years, this display was deemed by the crowd as 'un-Australian'.⁶ Gerry Alexander, the white wicket-keeper for the West Indies, was to me incongruous in the team of black cricketers. Until that tour it had been mandatory that the West Indies team be captained by a white man and this series was the first occasion on which Frank Worrell had led the team, replacing Alexander.⁷ On that day I was more interested in watching cricket than understanding the

³ Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992): 143.

⁴ England won with Tyson taking 7 wickets in Australia's futile run chase.

⁵ The crowd was a record for a cricket game for many years – 90,800. See: 'Record Test Crowd in 1961' accessed on 29 April 2015 at

<http://www.mcg.org.au/History/Cricket/Memorable%20Moments/Record%20Test%20crowd%20in%201961.aspx>

⁶ These events and the crowd reaction are documented in Coward, M. (2000): 81-87.

⁷ George Headley, an Afro-Caribbean cricketer, captained the West Indies in the first Test against England in the 1948 series.

politics of West Indian selection and its relationship to West Indian social issues. Later reading of C. L. R. James's book *Beyond a Boundary* about West Indies cricket brought the whole notion of cricket's place in national politics and social intercourse into a different perspective.⁸

The match against the West Indies was played in February 1961 which belies the tradition that the Melbourne Test match has always been held on Boxing Day. The 'traditional' Boxing Day Test did not begin as a tradition until 1980 it seems, perhaps an invention like much else about the promotion of this sport, giving sustenance to Eric Hobsbawm's thesis about the invention of tradition.⁹ Nevertheless, I cannot remember ever having missed one of these games since then.¹⁰ Over this period of attending the Boxing Day Test, I watched from the MCC members' pavilion and noted significant changes, not just in the physical environment of new and towering grandstands but also in the demeanour and composition of the crowds and the on-field behavioural performance of the players who represented the nation. I watched as Australian supporters flowed into the stands, eskys of beer in hand for a day of drinking and good fun; the sight of fast bowler Merv Hughes and the crowd in Bay 13 playing to each other with stretching exercises, connecting the audience with the players; and the development of the accursed Mexican Wave, an innovation which required the crowd to jeer when the MCC members did not participate: an apparent show of disdain of privilege, power and conservatism which MCC members represented to them. The events on the field became secondary – even in the members' pavilion where public school old-boys held their annual reunions and businessmen entertained their clients. In the members' bar many saw little cricket and were in many cases in a similar intoxicated state to those in the outer. Both on and off the field, elements of Australian character and identity were on display. Boxing Day at the MCG rang with the Australian crowd anthem "Aussie, Aussie, Aussie, Oi!, Oi!, Oi!," perhaps only surpassed as a parody of national pride by the chant "You are a wanker!", reserved for the police and security personnel who were evicting their drinking mates.

⁸ James, C. L. R. (1980).

⁹ Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger T., eds., (2004): 1. Hobsbawm suggested that such traditions "seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past". Much of the tradition of cricket will be shown to be a modern iteration of past events – the Ashes myth, the Baggy Green Cap, along with the Boxing Day Test and the 1868 Indigenous cricket team.

¹⁰ See MCC website which gives a history of Boxing Day Test matches at the MCG, accessed 14 May 2015 at <http://www.mcg.org.au/History/Cricket/Boxing%20Day%20Test.aspx>. Also see Niall, J., 'The People's champions', *The Age*, 26 December 2011, Sport: 4-5.

In recent years I have been witnessing a decline in the extent of such display of Australian identity, perhaps as a result of restrictions on bringing alcohol to games, or the price of alcohol at the venue. Cricket authorities have been trying to make the day more family friendly even though the beer product advertised by their sponsors helps contribute to the very behaviours the authorities are trying to curb. The electronic scoreboard now admonishes the crowd not to encroach on the playing arena, while also declaring that smoking is not permitted anywhere in the complex and that racial taunts will not be tolerated from the crowd, among other dos and don'ts. Even the sponsors have changed from the tobacco days, although the moral positioning of the management's choice of commercial partners, such as betting agencies and alcohol producers, is still questionable.

The growing diversity in the Boxing Day crowd continues to catch my imagination. The English supporters who come to the game bring their trumpeter and sing English songs and are present in large numbers. They chant and sing in a kind of unity, are better organised, and the Australian response *Oi! Oi! Oi!* seems crass and lacking in any sense of history or cultural anchoring in comparison. It is as if the Australian ability to bring thousands of drinking strangers together in a song of more than six words is beyond them. There are no Australian songs that can compete with *Land of Hope and Glory* or *Jerusalem*. From my vantage point on the other side of the arena, the relationship between these crowd elements is one of friendly banter.

The Indian crowds bring colour and noise and a real appreciation of the game; above all they increase numbers attending the cricket. The Sri Lankans also bring colour and noise and again larger numbers. However the relationship between these crowd elements seems more unsettled, as if the Australian supporters do not know how to deal with the different barracking styles on display. In fact there is little noticeable relationship or interaction at all. When India and Sri Lanka play there is a falling away in the Aussie chants – as if the presence of a large knowledgeable cricket group has influenced the way cricket is now watched. While many of the Indian and Sri Lankan supporters in the crowd might be international visitors, supporters from migrant communities in Australia are also present.

My recollections of the Melbourne Cricket Ground Boxing Day Test match for over thirty years are not simply of watching the rise and fall of Australian cricket on the field and the skills and wizardry of particular players, but of observing a microcosm of Australian social and political history. Inherent in my observations are all the elements which I explore during

the next nine chapters – cricket as a metaphor for, or demonstration of, the struggle of Australians to establish an identity separated from Britain; the role of the cricket authorities in how cultural identities are formed and maintained; the often conflicted demonstration of cricket values both on and off the cricket field; the agency of migrants in maintaining their own identities within the strictures of the cricket rules and regulations; and the use of history and nationalism in promoting cricket identity.

Cricket provides an enactment of the nation, not just by the cricketers on the field who perform to an identity which has been fashioned for them by the media, by politics, by social conventions and by their employer. It is also enacted by the people in the grandstands who are in many ways more representative of the nation and its changing face than the official representation on the field. These people include women and Indigenous groups as well as migrants; while the former two groups have also not been well represented in Board privileging of male Test cricketers, which will be discussed below, the focus of this thesis will be on migrants.

1.1 Thesis topic overview

The link between Australian-ness and sport is sometimes represented as so intimate that the Australian national sporting team is understood to stand for the nation.

[Catriona Elder, *On Being Australian* (2007).]¹¹

Australian cricket has plans to introduce the sport to Australians of all cultures, races and religion. Cricket is a game for all Australians.

[Australian Cricket Board strategy document *From Backyard to Baggy Green* (2005)].¹²

Australia I am living here. I am eating here. I have a house here. Why still can't I back Australia? I want to tell you. Still Australian cricket has not come to my heart. I still think I am outside Australian cricket. [Australian Cricket] did not ... win me. Still I'm a stranger.

[Interview with Sri Lankan migrant, Manoj Kongalage.]¹³

¹¹ Elder, C. (2007): 289.

¹² Australian Cricket Board (2005): 17.

Australia has long been regarded as a ‘sporting nation’ where sport is held by some to be a primary social force which “does not merely reflect other social processes: it is an active and powerful agent in forming social and cultural values”.¹⁴ Others hold this role to be problematic but still regard sport as “an important lens or mirror for examining larger ideas and issues in human society.”¹⁵ Governments contribute considerable funding for sport as a means of creating national pride and cohesion as well as introducing and furthering social and other policy objectives.¹⁶ Amongst Australian sports which have been given a sense of primacy in the role of nation building and national representation has been the Australian men’s Test cricket team. Yet, as suggested by Sri Lankan migrant Manoj Kongalage, the Australian national cricket team does not represent him.

The relevance of Australian cricket to the notion of national character and national identity lies in the nature of cricket. Cricket is a game likely to have originated in England and has been widely said to have played a ‘civilising’ role in maintaining British rule in its colonial possessions as well as defining a quintessentially British identity with its basis in a moral code of fair play.¹⁷ Men who are selected to play for Australia in its Test team are individuals with a high public profile and their on-field and off-field activities receive considerable national attention in media and academic circles. The captain of the Test team has routinely received Australian and Imperial honours¹⁸ and the team has received diplomatic and political attention through events which have occurred on the field of play.¹⁹ The Test team and its players are regarded as serving the nation, playing for the nation, representing the nation and characterising the nation. Yet writers and commentators in both academic and popular culture have remarked on the appearance of the national Test team: that it does not reflect the Australian population in that there have been few first and second generation cricketers from

¹³ Interview with Manoj Kongalage on 11 May 2014. Manoj is a Sri Lankan migrant to Australia who lives on the Sunshine Coast and has been engaged with Australian cricket through his son.

¹⁴ Cashman, R. (1995): Preface vii.

¹⁵ Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): XII.

¹⁶ See for example Australian Government (2010), where the government announced \$1.2 billion in sport funding and discussed encouraging active lifestyle amongst school children, encouraging women’s sport, social inclusion of vulnerable groups and support for people with a disability: 2.

¹⁷ See for example historians such as Stoddart, B. (1988); Mangan, J. A. (2010), and Sandiford, K. A. P. (1983).

¹⁸ Of the twenty-five captains since 1945, nineteen have received Australian honours, including the knighthood of Bradman. Three current players who have captained Australia (Clarke, Watson and Smith) and three others (Ian Chappell, Graeme Yallop and Kim Hughes) have not been so honoured. Referenced from searches of *Its an Honour* website, at <https://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/>.

¹⁹ For example the Bodyline controversy in 1933, the Chappell underarm incident in 1981, and a number of racial vilification issues.

a non-Anglo-Celt background who have been selected over a period of significant immigration to Australia.

This thesis investigates this apparent paradox, and in the absence of any suggestion that the Board of Cricket Australia has had a policy of specific exclusion of migrant cricketers from the Test team (other than citizenship requirements), the thesis proceeds on the basis that there must be some factors which intervene in the player development process or in the way the game is presented to migrants which might inhibit the progression of migrant cricketers to national representation.²⁰ The research considers how Cricket Australia managed its approach to the participation of diverse groups from the Australian population and how it portrayed Australian Test cricket as a reflection of the Australian nation, and the particular ‘Australia’ that it reflected. In addition it seeks to understand how migrants in Australia, who are connected with cricket, experienced Cricket Australia’s promotion of the game and its development pathways at suburban level. The thesis considers the representative role of Australian cricket from 1983-84, the beginning of a time during which the impact of migrants on Australia’s identity and characterisation was under intense political and academic scrutiny.

Cricket is a sport played by over one million people across Australia in 3995 clubs and 477 cricket associations.²¹ It is enjoyed by large TV and radio audiences and is regarded as the Australian national summer sport. Cricket was introduced to Australia on or before 1803 by the British colonial garrisons in Sydney and the first match played on even terms between the colonies team and England was played in Melbourne in 1877 between a group of Australian and English-born cricketers, representing the colonies, and a group of visiting English cricketers.²² In the latter part of the nineteenth century cricket contests between Australia and England were regularised as ‘Test’ matches.²³ Other nations have gained Test match status and there are currently ten nations which contest games at this level, all of which have historical connections with British colonial control.²⁴ The Australian Test team consists of eleven players who must be citizens of Australia. Between 1877 and the end of the 2014-15

²⁰ In 2002-3 the managing body of cricket changed its name from the Australian Cricket Board (ACB) to Cricket Australia (CA). See ACB (2002-03): 2.

²¹ Cricket Australia media release, 11 August 2014, accessed on 9 January 2015 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/news/media-release-national-cricket-participation-hits-one-million/2014-08-11>

²² See Harte, C. and Whimpress, B. (2003): 2 and 93.

²³ A designation whose origins seem obscure but generally regarded as meaning a test of the cricket strength of two nations. See Lynch, S. (2004), ‘Missed targets, cheap wickets, and the origin of ‘Test’, accessed on 6 April 2015 at <http://www.espnricinfo.com/magazine/content/story/141605.html>

²⁴ See the ICC website, ‘ICC Members’ accessed on 14 May 2015 at <http://www.icc-cricket.com/about/58/icc-members/full-members/australia>

season, Australia had been represented in international Test cricket by 441 men. For most of Australian cricket history before 1945, the Test team was almost exclusively composed of Anglo/Celt-Australians.²⁵ Since 1945, 278 men have been selected for the Australian Test team and of those only nineteen or 6.8% have been first generation migrants or their children. Of those only five men are of Asian descent (all connected with India or Sri Lanka), contrasting with the growing presence in Australia of migrants from Asian countries during that period.²⁶ The Australian Bureau of Statistics commentary on the 2011 Australian census revealed that 26% of Australian residents had been born overseas and a further 20% were second generation migrants. The report stated that the proportion of migrants born in Asian countries increased as a proportion of the overseas population from 24% in 2001 to 33% in 2011.²⁷ At the same time, overseas born residents from Europe had fallen to 40%. The trend towards increasing migrants from Asia was also the subject of a remark of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship that the trend reflected “the emergence of an Asian Century [as] seven of the top 10 source countries in 2011-12 were located in the Asia region.”²⁸ It is not so much the statistics about migrant numbers and the number of migrants in the Australian team (which are difficult to correlate), but it is the *perception* of a correlation between the two sets of statistics that has been the source of comment.

From as early as 2009 a newspaper article noted the appearance of the team, asserting that “the Australian team remains as solidly Anglo as in the days of Bradman and Miller”.²⁹ Keith Miller and Sir Donald Bradman played together in 1948 in the famous Australian cricket team known as the Invincibles. In 1948 Australia was a country of predominantly English and Irish descendants and the ‘Invincibles’ were all born in Australia and came from English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish heritage.³⁰ The Australian team at this point was arguably a reflection of the Australian population of the time. From 1948, however, the cultural makeup

²⁵ Bransby Cooper was born in Dacca, India (now Dhaka, Bangladesh), though of Anglo-Celtic background, and played in a Test match in 1877. All other pre WWII Test cricketers were born in Australia, England, Ireland, Scotland or New Zealand.

²⁶ See Appendix 1. Statistics are drawn from Cricket Australia’s website, *ESPN CricInfo* website and other cricket sources. It is indicative of the role of cricket in Australian culture that the heritage of its national representatives is available across a range of such sites.

²⁷ Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012), *Cultural Diversity in Australia*, accessed on 4 June 2015 at <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/lookup/2071.0main+features902012-2013>

²⁸ Australian Government (2013): 4.

²⁹ Elliott, T., Jensen, E. and Harvey, E. “Australian cricket ‘needs its ethnic stars’”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 25, 2009, accessed on 18 May 2012 at <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2009/08/24/1251001857688.html>

³⁰ All were born in Australia. Nine of the seventeen players received British/Australian honours for service to cricket.

of Australia changed dramatically with the adoption of a migration policy which accepted increasing numbers of non-Anglo, European settlers – many displaced from the effects of World War II. What changed in Australia's population was the ratio of British and Irish heritage peoples in Australia to other nationalities – Italians, Greeks, eastern European and since the 1970s Middle Eastern and Asian migrants. The government policies changed from the White Australia Policy which persisted to 1973 to a policy which embraced multiculturalism.³¹

White Australia was born of a desire to maintain an Anglo-Australian nation, a white population unadulterated by migrants from other countries and particularly Asia.³² Australia entered a period of reconstruction after the end of the Second World War, allowing the entrance of migrants from non-British countries, and their settlement was couched in terms of their assimilation into Australian life. Assimilation had the connotation of whiteness – that migrants would look and speak like Australians in time – if not the first generation, then children of migrants would become like Australians.³³ The Whitlam government removed discrimination on the grounds of race and colour in 1973 and this heralded increasing debate about the directions of Australia's future identity. The increases in Asian immigration from Vietnam and Cambodia during the late 1970s and early 1980s and the adoption of the notion of multiculturalism focussed attention once again on 'white Australia'. Ghassan Hage explained the complexities and nuances of a change of the idea of "multiculturalism as a form of welfare and of cultural government to a multiculturalism that is more prescriptive and perceived to be primarily about national identity".³⁴ During this period multiculturalism became a source of what Hage described as a "White paranoia": that it became "imperative to maintain a white society as racially pure as possible."³⁵ Hage was prompted to make these observations in the light of the views expressed by historian Geoffrey Blainey in his Warrnambool speech in 1984, and the role in the 1996 election of politician Pauline Hanson among others.³⁶ The discussion about multiculturalism and Australian identity grew apace during the Keating and Howard government years of the 1990s and the early 2000s – whether Australia remained essentially an Anglo nation with many cultures within its borders, or

³¹ See Elder, C. (2007) for a summary of these developments and Koeth, E. (2010) for a more detailed history, as well as Jupp, J., (1998); Theophanous, A. (1995), and Lopez, M. (2000).

³² See Elder, C. (2007): 118-122.

³³ See Hage, G. (2002): 426; Carter, D. (2006): 322, and Elder, C. (2007): 130.

³⁴ Hage, G (2002): 428-9.

³⁵ Hage, G. (2002): 423.

³⁶ Blainey in that speech questioned the level of Asian immigration to Australia at that time.

whether the nation had been transformed by those cultures and was now more widely multicultural in its identity.³⁷

It is this area of Australian history and culture which this thesis seeks to explore through the lens of sport, and cricket in particular. Sport history as a field of study and research in Australia is a relatively new discipline coming into prominence in the 1970s. Sport Historian Daryl Adair suggested that the designation of sport history as the ‘toy department’ of Australian academia “is illogical, because sport can provide important insights into themes and issues that have been pivotal to the evolution of Australian history.”³⁸ The literature about the representational role of Test cricket in Australian political and social history and its relationship with migrant participation however is limited. Historians W.F. Mandle, and Ric Sissons and Brian Stoddart argued during the 1970s and 1980s that cricket played a key role in nation formation and the development of an identity which distinguished Australia from Britain.³⁹ Mandle’s role in the elevation of sport history to a significant area of study in Australia is acknowledged by Douglas Booth in an article about Mandle’s work and its linking of sport to nationalism; scholarship Booth claimed “helped give sports history legitimacy.”⁴⁰ Other historians and cultural studies academics have examined sport and cricket in terms of its reflection of Australian approaches to a range of social and economic issues – women, class, Indigenous disadvantage, commerce and professionalism.⁴¹ Sports historians such as Cashman, Adair and Vamplew, and Stoddart have made claims about migrant participation in sport and cricket in particular, but admit that such claims are anecdotal and that more research needs to be done.⁴²

Cricket has been a site for research and academic attention in other countries – England, South Africa, Norway, Fiji, and the West Indies among others – but little research has been carried out in Australia about the relationship between an archetypal Australian national sporting institution and migrant interface with it. Cricket, with its associations with British colonialism, heritage and history has been asserted as a foreign game for south and central European migrants and other migrant cultures. Cricket, which might have been a lens through which to gauge the relationship between migrants and the Australian majority population, has

³⁷ See Hage, G. (2002): 429.

³⁸ Adair, D. (2009): 406. See also Hess R. and Klugman, M. in Cashman, R. and Hess, R. eds. (2011): 165-72.

³⁹ Mandle, W.F. (1973) and (1980); and Sissons, R. and Stoddart, B. (1984).

⁴⁰ Booth, D. (2002): 151.

⁴¹ For example Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000).

⁴² Cashman, R. (1995), Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. (1997), and Stoddart, B. (1986).

been eschewed in favour of the sport where migrants have more obviously expressed their identity and their agency in making a place within Australian cultural life.⁴³ It has been soccer which has received scholarly attention as the sport of choice of migrants, while cricket has been regarded as the national sport of the Anglo-Australian population.⁴⁴

In 1999 the body controlling cricket in Australia made a significant entry into the discourse about Australian national identity and cricket's place in Australian cultural history, declaring that it had historical and ongoing significance in the development of the nation and Australian character and identity.⁴⁵ The Board's declaration was made with the strong support of the then Australian Prime Minister (Howard) who continued to be aligned with Australian cricket over the following seven years and beyond. Cricket, with its historical, cultural and political connections provides a lens for examining the changing Australian population and the response of an important Australian cultural institution to those changes. The Board itself changed little over the years of this study remaining entirely male until 2012-13 when the first woman was appointed. As far as can be determined, only one Board member of migrant background has been a Board member since 1983-84 – Harry Harinath who is of Indian background. Its members were drawn from the various state associations until 2012-13 when the structure changed to provide three independent Board members. Cricket appeared to be a conservative organisation which not only effaced migrants in the sport, but for many years seemed to ignore other groups within the nation it purported to represent – women and Indigenous groups.

The research considers how Cricket Australia managed its approach to the participation of diverse groups from the Australian population and how it portrayed Australian Test cricket as a reflection of the Australian nation, and the particular 'Australia' that it reflected. The annual report of the Australian Cricket Board/Cricket Australia is regarded for the purposes of this study to represent a primary source for knowledge of the approach taken by cricket's managing body in the administration and promotion of the game and its attention to diversity in the sport. Every year, the Board records its annual performance, both financially and in playing terms in its annual report, fulfilling the Board's constitutional and legal requirements

⁴³ See Hay, R. (2002); Ricatti, R. and Klugman, M. (2013), and Danforth, L. (2001) for example.

⁴⁴ Since the institution of the A League and Australia's performances at the last two world cups the game has been growing in its national flavour, perhaps reflecting the growth of the game and the growth of migrant presence in Australia.

⁴⁵ Australian Cricket Board, (1999), *Putting Runs on the Board*: 25.

to government and to constituent associations. Since 1998-99 the report included details of strategies and programs and reported annual performance against those strategies. The annual report is a public document and it is a formal report about the activities of the organisation: its rules, processes, strategies and programs, and performance for the previous year. From 1998 it also included future strategy and proposed action plans. The authorship of the document has changed over the years, but it has an importance recognised through its acceptance by the annual general meeting of the Board each year.⁴⁶ The annual reports chosen for this part of the research were those produced over a period between 1983 and 2014. In the early years of this period, (between 1983-84 and 1998-99) the annual report was edited by Board Media Manager, Ian McDonald, but from then on editorial responsibility was simply attributed to the Australian Cricket Board or Cricket Australia.⁴⁷ Later reports seemed to have been produced by media companies contracted to the Board, but in all cases the responsibility for its content was assumed by the Board at its annual general meeting. A critical discourse analysis was adopted as the means by which the annual reports were analysed, enabling the documents to be understood in the context of concurrent political and social discourse in the wider Australian community.

I chose to limit my study of the Australian Cricket Board's policies to its official annual reports, not seeking interviews with the organisation's management or officers. I judged that from interviews which I had read and seen of the Board's officials about policy matters, the words used closely echoed the language and words used in the annual reports and strategy documents. Rather, I let the official reports and published strategy documents speak for the organisation. I also used media accounts and popular culture sources only to corroborate (or otherwise) matters raised in the Board's reports. There are many websites which provide for cricket fans (both in Australia and in the migrants' homeland countries) which might have been a further area for significant study but again I chose to use these sources only for corroborative purposes.

This thesis seeks to understand how migrants in Australia connected with cricket experienced Cricket Australia's promotion of the game and its development pathways at suburban level. While Australian cricket has been criticised for not being more representative of the

⁴⁶ All the early annual reports (between 1983-84 and 1997-98) included a formal notice of meeting and an agenda item: "to receive and consider the Board's annual report, balance sheet and income and expenditure". See for example ACB, (1983-84): 3.

⁴⁷ See ACB, (1998-99): 33.

population, there has been little or no analysis of cricket diversity in Australia which speaks with migrants themselves about their experience. Analyses of semi-structured in-depth interviews of twenty migrants and the children of migrants involved in cricket in Australia provided a primary source for the research about how migrants interface with the sport. This approach allowed the inclusion in the study of migrant cricketers' perspectives and experiences of Australian cricket which were not available from the pages of the Board's own works. As migrants are a particular target of the Board's programs and strategies after 1999, the experiences that they record were considered important insights into the efficacy of such programs. The interviewees were also able to explain how they experienced their interface with Anglo-Australians and other ethnic groups through the medium of cricket in a suburban setting. The interviewees are from a range of different ethnic backgrounds from South Asia (India, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, and Pakistan) and the Pacific Islands (Samoa, Fiji and New Zealand). From different age groups they are involved with cricket as players and former players, as coaches, administrators and parents of younger cricketers. The interview recordings and their transcripts were regarded as texts for the purposes of analysis through a content analysis method. A grounded theory approach – which will be explained in Section 3.4 – was taken as a means of bringing the two forms of data and their analyses together and to provide for the development of theories and conclusions from the two forms of data.

1.2 Overview of the structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of ten chapters:

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter establishes the setting of the research and purposes of the thesis and provides an overview of the literature, methods and findings.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The chapter identifies the secondary literature on which the thesis builds and establishes the uniqueness of the study in Australian cultural and historical studies. It discusses the literature about Australian migration policy and issues since 1945 as background to the thesis research as well as the place of cricket and sport in cultural studies.

Chapter 3

Methods and Methodology

The research for this thesis focussed on two areas of investigation and each required different methods and methodologies. A historical study of the Board's annual reports was undertaken using critical discourse analysis to establish the changes in the Board's approach to diversity over time. This method provided the data to be assessed for changes in the Board's approach as well as the relationship of these changes with contemporary social and political discourse relative to diversity in Australia's population.

I had been concerned that diversity in sport had generally been written from the point of view of Anglo Australia and that the point of view of migrants had been provided by assertions and assumptions being made about migrant participation. I chose to adopt an interview method for migrant cricketers in order to establish a more authoritative analysis of migrants' experience in the Australian game. The form of the interview was a semi-structured in-depth interview method aimed at understanding how migrants participated in the game and what form that participation took. The analyses of the interview transcripts were also conducted through a content analysis method.

The sources selected were the thirty-one annual reports of Cricket Australia between 1983 and 2014 and twenty interviews of migrants and children of migrants who participate in suburban cricket in Australia. This data was supplemented by other primary sources related to the participation of migrants in cricket and secondary source material about contemporary Australian political and social developments and migrant agency in Australia. A grounded theory method was adopted as the means of bringing the two areas of data analysis together.

Chapter 4

Analysis of ACB Annual Reports 1983-84 – 1997-98

This chapter (and the following two chapters) is generally informed by the Board's 1999 strategic plan *Putting Runs on the Board* which established a strategy for increasing diversity in Australian cricket.⁴⁸ The analysis of the reports between 1983 and 1998 reveals how the Board portrayed itself and the game during the years of the Hawke-Keating Labor governments: a time of discourse in Australia which questioned the level of Asian immigration, which questioned the settler treatment of Indigenous peoples, which introduced new approaches to women in the workplace, and debated Australian identity and the place of Australia in the world.

It develops the argument that the Board was a socially conservative organisation, concerned only about cricket and willing to participate in government social policy delivery only to the extent that support for the government did not impinge on the commercial activities of the sport. There is little or no particular observable interest in cultural diversity and the sport regarded itself as one of the quintessential Australian sports which is identified as white, Anglo and male. The cricket development pathway did not provide any difference for diverse groups in participation, suggesting that migrants were required to tread the same path as any other cricketers – a form of cricket integration.

Chapter 5

Analysis of ACB Annual Reports 1998-99 – 2006-07

The annual reports during this period changed dramatically in their content and display. They coincided with the political ascendancy in Australia of John Howard's coalition government and the continuing important national discourse about Australian history and identity, multiculturalism and migration, the history of settler relationships with Indigenous peoples and the future of the relationship of Australia with Britain. This chapter examines the efforts of the Board to construct a form of Australian identity through cricket history, ANZAC connections, and Australian cricket values and finds a strange and at times contradictory approach to its stated objective of engaging migrants in the game. The specific and targeted strategies which are put in place for other diverse groups – women and Indigenous peoples – are not adopted by the Board for migrant cultures which were expected to join the normal development pathways and be integrated as Australian cricketers.

⁴⁸ Australian Cricket Board (1999): 25.

Chapter 6

Analysis of ACB Annual Reports 2007-08 – 2013-14

The change to a Labor government in 2007 was accompanied by an apparent change in the Board's strategy, with the Board distancing itself from the approach it had adopted in the previous ten years. The Board was faced with a growing migrant reality as well as pressures on the game from the rise of cricket influence in India. The government changed and some of the Board's rhetoric about history, values and identity dissipated. The growing influence of India in international cricket brought a new form of the game (Twenty20 or T20) and a different marketing brand, yet little seemed to change in the Board's requirement that migrant cricketers come through the same development pathway as all other cricketers. The Board gave (and continues to give) no special assistance for the participation of migrant cricketers. Australian cricket expects migrant assimilation or integration into the game. Cricket was promoted in a way which had little or no relevance to migrants. Its strategies were not followed through in its reporting and its imagery and historical and cultural positioning was at odds with its stated diversity objectives.

Chapter 7

The Australian Way of Cricket

This chapter examines what the Board said it did and stood for and what was experienced on the field by some migrant participants in the game. The contradictions between the Board's approach to alcohol, boorish behaviour and racial sledging and the 'on-the-ground' fact are considered alongside the narratives of some migrants involved in cricket. This chapter provides a bridge between the different parts of this research – the words of the Board and the experience of migrants.

Chapter 8

A Migrant Way of Cricket

Culturally specific teams and associations

This chapter and Chapter 9 are informed by the migrant interviews and supporting primary sources and provide knowledge of how migrants have been able to participate in the Australian game and have used the game for purposes connected with the maintenance of their own heritage. In this chapter the agency of migrants to participate in Australian cricket is explored. Migrants who want to play cricket must find a club which suits their needs, often requiring adherence to the social mores of the club and facing sometimes hostile attention from opposing clubs. The interviews suggested that many are turned away by these behaviours but those that continue have either made the transition to the ‘Australian way’, accepting it or coming to terms with it, or have joined or formed clubs and associations that are ‘culturally specific’ to their own cultural background. In addition, migrant cricketers have developed supporting organisations – coaching academies – to assist young cricketers to bridge the gap between migrant clubs and other Australian clubs as well as fulfilling a role in the maintenance of homeland values. This chapter discusses some of the purposes of such clubs, the strategies developed for migrant participation, how the Board’s structures and rules are circumvented or manipulated to enable migrant participation, and how such organisations seem to threaten the Board’s power to control the sport at local level.

Chapter 9

A Migrant Way of Cricket

Special cricket events

The development of migrant communities is explored through the lens of cricket with material from the interviews providing an insight into the operation of such communities and how such a generic term as ‘migrant community’ hides or masks the more specific sub-cultures and individual relationships within this term. The term becomes a convenience of description but does little service to knowledge of personal relationships, histories and experiences of individuals. Cricket becomes in this context a convenient and rich source of knowledge of migrant participation in Australian society more generally.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

This thesis demonstrates and argues how Australian cricket has contributed to the discourse regarding Australian identity over the past thirty-one years in Australian culture. Australian cricket provided for the Howard government an observable example of a particular Australian identity, built from its settler connection with England. The Board and its media partners set about creating histories and myths which emphasised this history and a range of values which were said to tie the spirit of cricket with Australian values. This promotion and history-making excluded migrants who had no connection with this history and while the Board tried to suggest it was dealing with migrant participation, its efforts were minimal, clearly preferring a model which required migrant integration. Migrants were urged to understand and accept the Australian cricket story and to participate in the Australian cricket pathways if they wished to take part. The observations and insights gained as a result of the research undertaken reveal a continuation of the importance of cricket for many Australians and Cricket Australia continues to be its official and definitive voice. However, research into the individual responses of migrants and their respective communities revealed the extent, or otherwise, of this organisation's efforts to recruit them. As migrant numbers grew and communities developed, migrants began to build their own teams, and cricket structures, working within and around the Board's regulations. It became evident through this research that migrants have a significant presence in cricket in suburban Australia. This is particularly so of migrants from south Asia (India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan) who have a homeland tradition of cricket. Other Asian, Middle Eastern and Pacific Island nations were also playing cricket in suburban areas of Australian cities. Drawing upon its two apposite avenues of research, this thesis establishes that cricket has been enlisted in the struggle to define a post-colonial and multicultural Australian identity and that migrants entering the 'playing field' of Australian cricket have attempted to build and maintain their own identities in a new cultural environment.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Reflections

In 1966 my parents gave me a book for Christmas. I idolised Bill Lawry whose progress in cricket I had followed avidly since he made 266 in a state game in 1961. He was subsequently selected for the English tour that year. The book *Run Digger* was the first in my collection of cricket ‘literature’ which has grown to over seven hundred.⁴⁹ The vast majority are written as popular histories, life writing to a set formula (often with ghost writers as in Lawry’s case), and tour diaries which are cricketers’ notes about each day of a cricket series. Many are simply expanded score cards providing details of the fluctuations in each day’s play and others have collections of action cricket photographs. I have stored all of these titles in a non-critical way, placing them in alphabetical order on shelves. Merv Hughes’ *My Life and Other Funny Stories* stands alongside Gideon Haigh’s more learned observations about cricket and Chris Harte’s serious *History of Australian Cricket*.⁵⁰ Max Walker’s fifteen books of cricket and other anecdotes (such as *How to Kiss a Crocodile*) are located not far from Jack Williams’ more thoughtful *Cricket and Race*, in which he examines English cricket history with respect of race and identity.⁵¹

In recent years I have perceived underlying meanings in their subject matter, their lack of criticism and the apparent market for them. I have discerned interesting trends: Australian tour diaries were predominantly about Australian tours to England and English tours to Australia; other diaries negatively described the accommodation, food and strangeness of the culture of the host nation, an example being from Test cricketer Tim May:

Bombay! No amount of mental rehearsal can ever get you quite prepared for the first noseful of that unmistakable Subcontinental waft. I suppose with nine hundred million people out there eating curries it’s not surprising it smells.⁵²

⁴⁹ Lawry, B. and Tressider, P. (1968).

⁵⁰ Hughes, M. (1990); Harte, C. and Whimpress, B. (2003).

⁵¹ Walker, M. (1989), and Williams, J. (2001).

⁵² May, T. (1998): 14. May’s description suggests a placement of the writer in a position of some cultural superiority, which was not new to touring Australian cricketers. Heenan and Dunstan in an article about the history of Australian/India cricket relationships to the 1960s quote from the memoirs of Australian cricketer Norman O’Neill who commented on the ‘primitiveness’ of Bengalis which “inadvertently marked his racial and cultural superiority” (Heenan, T. and Dunstan, D. (2013): 2136.)

The book is somewhat of a parody. May's title, *Mayhem! The Truish Story of the Australian Cricket Team on Tour* suggests an amusing yarn but I have often wondered how the Indians or an Indian migrant might consider this addition to commercial Australian cricket literature and what it says about Australian views of the subcontinent.

The Australian captain almost invariably has had a book published by him or about him, suggesting the importance of this position in the game and in Australian culture. The captain's books are always more circumspect, serious tomes about the state of the game and the team. It is the lesser players who present their personae as caricatures – the jokers, the drinkers, the hard men and funny men. As with many other aspects of the game of cricket, this commercial literature tends to perpetuate and aid the directions of the game in Australia. Heroes are made and written about, heroic deeds committed to print history, teams and men from the past resurrected and clashes with England privileged. These works are non-critical of the directions of the sport and what it purports to represent but are part of the myth-making that surrounds all aspects of the game. This chapter though considers the more serious scholarly writings about cricket and its place in Australian culture.

2.1 Cricket in Australian culture

Writing at a time of Australian introspection about its own place in the world in the 1970s and 1980s, W. F. Mandle argued that sport, and cricket in particular, had a very significant role in defining Australia, observing somewhat simplistically, that Scotland is defined by bagpipes and whiskey and the French by *haute cuisine* and therefore why should there be a surprise about Australians in the nineteenth century choosing sport to define their national image?⁵³ Mandle had earlier instanced the formation of a 'national' team from the disparate colonies then existing, the adoption of an 'Australian' coat of arms emblem and a distinctive 'Australian' uniform, as evidence of the role of Test cricket in the formation of the Australian nation.⁵⁴ Mandle considered the defeat of English cricket teams by Australian teams in the latter half of the nineteenth century as important in Australia's ability to separate itself from England; to distinguish itself from being regarded as "southern hemisphere Englishmen".⁵⁵ Warwick Frost more recently, added to Mandle's hypothesis suggesting that nation formation

⁵³ Mandle, W. F. (1980): 31.

⁵⁴ Mandle, W. F. (1973): 64.

⁵⁵ Mandle, W. F. (1973): 55.

in fact began earlier than Mandle had asserted, with the visit by an English cricket team in 1862.⁵⁶ Mandle's work became almost a mantra for cricket writers of popular culture as well as sport historians: that Australia is a sporting nation, and that sport is an integral part of Australia's cultural fabric, not only reflecting but also actively participating in the formation of the nation's cultural and political values.⁵⁷ Sport historians Sissons and Stoddart provided further evidence of cricket's connection with national identity with their analysis of the political ramifications of the so-called 'bodyline' series against England in 1932-33, a series which they suggested changed the relationship between England and Australia, certainly in the popular consciousness if not more deeply.⁵⁸ These writers were at pains to link the national cricket team with Australia's political and cultural development, particularly in terms of Australia's connections with Britain.

While popular sources even now maintain the tradition of cricket as an important element of national culture, Australian historians in other fields charged Mandle, among other historians of the 1970s, with attempting to find some evidence of struggle against the hegemony of British colonialism. Historian Neville Meaney argued that until the 1970s, Australians were still essentially British in both their political and legal institutions as well as in the cultural expression of their national character. "Britishness", he said, "was more pervasive in Australia than in Britain itself notwithstanding the attempts of Australian nationalist historians to show otherwise",⁵⁹ and that Mandle and other historians were searching for a means to fill the void left by the British withdrawal from Empire.⁶⁰ James Curran and Stuart Ward took up this theme, describing the fading notion of Australia as a 'new Britannia' after the Second World War: a period of global decolonisation and the international disapprobation of "the moral and racial assumptions of European imperialism", together with Britain's seeking of new partnerships in Europe.⁶¹ The arguments here were about the history of Australian nationalism and attempts of historians to find a moment in Australian history which defined the birth of Australia as a distinct and separate entity from Britain.

Undaunted by the critiques of Meaney, and Curran and Ward, sports historians Peter Horton and Allan Bairner, in separate studies, used Australian Test cricket to make observations

⁵⁶ Frost, W. (2002).

⁵⁷ See Stoddart, B. (1986): 13, and Cashman, R. (1995): (vi).

⁵⁸ Sissons, R. and Stoddart, B. (1984): 2-3. Bodyline was a tactic devised by the English team as a counter to the dominance of Australia's Donald Bradman and involved short fast bowling aimed at the batsman's body.

⁵⁹ Meaney, N. (2001): 79.

⁶⁰ Meaney, N. (2001): 77.

⁶¹ Curran, J. and Ward, S. (2010): 15.

about the Irish contribution to the Australian national narrative. Horton argued in connection with Irish members of the Australian Test cricket team, that character traits (which might be regarded as ‘Irish’) can be seen in a projection of the Australian “national psyche”.⁶² Bairner used cricket as a lens to investigate the historical role played by Irish immigrants to Australia and sectarianism in Australian history.⁶³ These papers might be seen to be trying to somehow separate and highlight the ‘Celtic’ element from the ‘Anglo-Celtic’ description of the Australian national story, and do so by linking the Test cricket team composition with a wider national identity.

Sport historian Richard Cashman regarded sport as important in defining Australian identity: “Australian sport ... provides some insights as to what being Australian ‘is really like’”.⁶⁴

Cashman had earlier addressed aspects of Australian culture through sport, and concluded that “while Australia has inherited or borrowed much of its sporting culture, this culture has been transformed to such an extent as to have become distinctly Australian”.⁶⁵ A number of sport and cultural historians discussed the role of sport in Australian culture grounding their analyses in the ‘myth’ of the commonly expressed Australian idea of a ‘fair go’, in sport.⁶⁶

Kell identified certain character traits demonstrated by Australian sporting people around the world as having been “appropriated as desirable national characteristics and evidence of a unique Australianness”.⁶⁷ Many of these works linking sport and cricket and national identity describe a form of nationalism in the negative – identifying an Australian society through its *lack* of ‘sporting’ characteristics. Historians Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz distanced themselves from Mandle’s thesis that sport and cricket helped to unite the Australian nation, perhaps on more prosaic grounds – that “sport only connected those who were and are already connected in a substantial sense by either class, religion, gender or race” asserting that “sport was peripheral, something secondary, distinct and apart from real life”.⁶⁸ Perhaps in contradiction of their own statement, Booth and Tatz used sport to highlight issues within Australian society which did not accord with the idea of a fair, egalitarian, and classless society. They described, through sport, what Australia *was not*. Tatz, in an earlier discussion of Aboriginal experience in sport said that “Sport is a mirror of many things. It illuminates

⁶² Horton, P. A. (2000): 70-71.

⁶³ Bairner, A. (2007).

⁶⁴ Cashman, R. (2002): 5.

⁶⁵ Cashman, R. (1995): 203.

⁶⁶ Tatz, C. (1996); Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. (1997), and Kell, P. (2000).

⁶⁷ Kell, P. (2000): 26.

⁶⁸ Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 3.

political, social, economic and legal systems. ... sport is a measure of Australian racism”.⁶⁹ Both works are informed largely by the historical study of the treatment of minority groups by Australian government policy and practices. So while finding Mandle to be wanting, the site of sport remained for these writers, important as a reflection of Australian national character.

It was not only popular and scholarly writers who sought in cricket a connection with Australian character, but also leading politicians who used cricket as a means of defining or characterising the nation. This has particularly been the case with the Liberal side of Australian politics. Australia’s Post-war Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies wrote about cricket and his relationship with the game in his memoir *Afternoon Light*. The chapter on cricket is effusive in its reminiscence of his connection with Australian cricket history and Australian cricketers and implies a wider connection between cricket and England. This connection is emphasised in Menzies description of American understanding of the game:

“its [cricket’s] failure to achieve major status in America is one of those things that have operated to limit that full mutual understanding between the United States and the other English-speaking countries which is so vital in this difficult and dangerous world”.⁷⁰

In this and other references in this chapter Menzies suggested that cricket provided a point of difference from the United States and emphasised Australia’s connections with England. Menzies had a deep and well known connection with the game, contributing an article to Cricket’s Wisden Almanack in 1963 and establishing the Prime Minister’s XI game in 1951. He mixed regularly with Australia Test cricketers whom he described as “the most ‘clubbable’ of people”.⁷¹

While Menzies connection with cricket suggested his involvement was a distraction from politics, Liberal Prime Minister John Howard in the 1990s and 2000s was more aggressive in his strategic use of the game as a means for putting forward a view of Australian national character. Judith Brett observed that Howard “used many occasions to speak to Australians about themselves” citing Australia Day, ANZAC and cricket events as a means of

⁶⁹ Tatz, C. (1995): 43.

⁷⁰ Menzies, Sir Robert, (1967): 341.

⁷¹ Menzies. Sir Robert, (1967): 342.

expounding his views of Australian character.⁷² For example, in 1997 Howard presented a tribute to Australian Test cricket captain Mark Taylor wherein he said:

All my life I really have regarded being Captain of the Australian Cricket team as the absolute pinnacle of sporting achievement and really, the pinnacle almost of human achievement in Australia. And that is the sentiment that millions of Australians throughout my life have had and to you Mark, it is a tremendous personal pleasure to be here today to salute somebody who represents some great Australian characteristics.⁷³

Howard went on to list some of those characteristics. As Brett suggests, “his statements of the nation’s virtues [in such speeches] ... articulate ideas about what it is to be Australian with deep roots in both historical and contemporary experience”.⁷⁴ Cricket became under Howard an important vehicle for furthering his view of Australian national character.

The above discussion is an analysis of the making of an Australian identity, and while Australia was (and is) said to be a sporting nation, it is the ‘national’ sport of cricket which stands out in the analysis as having meaning for Australian nationalism. But whose national sport is it? Cricket was essentially an English game, with an English heritage, and was played within a strict code of behaviour and moral values. While Australians were said by Mandle and Cashman to have more or less appropriated the game as their own and played it in a different way, it nevertheless remained essentially the English national game, epitomising ‘Englishness’. Historians Keith Sandiford⁷⁵, Brian Stoddart⁷⁶ and J.A. Mangan⁷⁷ each developed the argument about cricket’s role in nation-building in England: that cricket defined English national identity and was a key element in the transfer of imperial ethics and social mores to its colonies, even going so far as to see it as a means of social control.⁷⁸ British historian Jack Williams also followed this theme, seeing the representation of cricket as being more than a game:

⁷² Brett, J. (2005): 33-34.

⁷³ Howard, J (1997): np.

⁷⁴ Brett, J. (2005): 35.

⁷⁵ Sandiford, K. A. P. (1983).

⁷⁶ Stoddart, B. (1988).

⁷⁷ Mangan, J. A. (2010).

⁷⁸ Mangan, J. A. (2010): 329.

It was invested with special moral worth. Cricket discourses stressed that it was permeated by a spirit of sportsmanship and fair play which expressed English character and extended to other areas of life.⁷⁹

When superimposed on the discourse about population change as a consequence of recent immigration, this discussion has fluctuated between an Australian national view back to England and an alternative view towards Asia. If cricket is said to define *England* and British imperial colonial rule, what is its contemporary role in Australia, with particular reference to migrant cricketers, as well as the wider Australian cultural landscape?

2.2 National representation

Throughout our history, sport has both characterised the Australian people and united us ... Sport also provides a common ground that allows both players and spectators to feel included and a part of something that is important to Australian society.

[Australian Government policy document, *Australian Citizenship: Our Common Bond* (2009).]⁸⁰

The national cricket team reflects changes in Australian society through the decades more than any other sporting team.

[Sport Journalist Jake Niall, writing in *The Age* newspaper prior to the Boxing Day Test match, 2011.]⁸¹

This thesis topic arose from the simple observation that the Australian Test cricket team has been white and almost mono-cultural in its composition, an observation that, placed beside the clear description of Australia in recent years as a multicultural society, suggests there is some lack of connection between the national Test cricket team and the national culture it is said to represent. If sport (in this thesis, the ‘national’ summer sport of cricket), does not include significant migrant representation, then what does that say about the reality of Hobsbawm’s “eleven named people” in an imagined community symbolising the Australian

⁷⁹ Williams, J. (1999): 1.

⁸⁰ Australian Government (2009): 43.

⁸¹ Niall, J. ‘The People’s Champions’, *The Age*, Monday, December 26 2011, Sport: 4-5.

nation? How true is the Government's assertion about sport in the above Citizenship document? And how may it be said that Test cricket is reflective of Australian society? Inherent here is the idea that the team reflects the nation; its behaviour is a guide to what all people of the nation represented are like; and the background of team members reflective of the background of the nation's ethnic, religious and other social constructions.

The question of whether a sporting team, which is said to represent the nation, should also reflect the social and cultural character of the nation is discussed in some depth in a South African context by philosophers Douglas Farland and Ian Jennings.⁸² Their analysis was prompted by the South African government's introduction of an affirmative action process of quotas of black players in South Africa's national sporting teams. Farland and Jennings concluded, philosophically at least, that ethnic representation is not a requirement of national team representation since such a proposal would mean the team is unrepresentative in other ways, such as merit and skill. But they seem to go beyond their philosophical brief to conclude, in South Africa's case, that the team, even in post-apartheid South Africa, is unrepresentative for reasons of racism and lack of access and opportunity.⁸³ The question here is why does this matter – why should it be a concern if the team is white or black or a mixture as long as the best skilled team is fielded? For UK sport historian Jon Gemmell, again in the South African context, it should matter. Gemmell suggested that “advances in cricket have to be considered alongside those made by the population in general”.⁸⁴ On the other hand, historians Christopher Merrett, Colin Tatz and Daryl Adair assert that by insistence on quotas of non-white players, South Africa is “re-racialising” sport.⁸⁵ The debate about selection of players to represent South Africa, demonstrates a history in South Africa which closely associated sport (and particularly cricket) with the national policy of racial exclusion (apartheid). Debate in and about that country's policy towards sporting team composition is clearly important in a broader social and political context; the composition of the national cricket team being perceived as a form of litmus test for changed social and cultural circumstances in that country.

The composition of the English Test cricket team in the early 1990s, which had ‘imported’ cricketers from Australia, South Africa and Ireland and made them what sport historian Mike Ticher referred to as “notional Englishmen”, prompted Ticher to consider the meaning of

⁸² Farland, D. and Jennings, I. (2007).

⁸³ Farland, D. and Jennings, I. (2007): 825-26.

⁸⁴ Gemmell, J. (2007-2): 49.

⁸⁵ Merrett, C., Tatz, C. and Adair, D. (2011): 771.

national representation. He noted that the compositions of national sporting teams are “barometers of changing perceptions”.⁸⁶ Stephen Wagg discussed the “malleable definition of English nationality” in the selection of the national cricket team,⁸⁷ and Joseph Maguire and David Stead examined cricket as a “global finishing school”, for overseas migrants playing cricket in England.⁸⁸ These latter articles are more about the itinerant nature of sportsmen and the ambivalent attitude of some national authorities to the birthplace of their representatives as well as the commercial value of ‘nation’ in selling the game. Their analyses suggest that for England, national representation is far more flexible than it appears to be in Australia. But the eligibility for national selection has presumably been met and England has chosen teams from a variety of cultural backgrounds who meet basic selection requirements. If England chooses players who were born in Pakistan, West Indies, India, Ireland, Zimbabwe and South Africa to represent them, and this is a reflection of the ethnic mix existing in England, what does the predominantly Anglo-Celt composition of the Australian Test team say about Australia’s view of itself as a multicultural nation?

Qadri Ismail, in a discussion of the composition of the Sri Lankan cricket team, observed that a national cricket team is chosen by a national cricket board which is not an elected government and team members are from a range of different positions of power within the team structure (a captain, a vice captain, superstars, specific role players and reserves) and power relationships suggested in the class, religious and ethnic backgrounds of team members. A team he says “is not an assembly of homogenous equals but an entity enmeshed in power, marked in different ways. Like nation it is no integer.”⁸⁹ Ismail’s discussion, while grounded in cricket, is about nation and how nationalism “appropriates and engulfs cricket because it uses every opportunity possible to further enhance its reach.”⁹⁰ Nationalism is embraced as a means of popularising and selling the sport of cricket, but for Ismail, this would be an indication that nationalism is selling itself through cricket. But as Smith and Porter observe about English sport, sporting events between nations are important as they provide occasions “when nations are embodied in something real and visible” and “the possibilities for defining or redefining what it means to be ‘English’ are inextricably linked to what happens on the field of play”.⁹¹ Whether or not it is logically flawed to invest in a

⁸⁶ Ticher, M. (1994): 87.

⁸⁷ Wagg, S. (2007): 11.

⁸⁸ Maguire, J. and Stead, D. (1996): 1.

⁸⁹ Ismail, Q. (1997): 38.

⁹⁰ Ismail, Q. (1997): 51.

⁹¹ Smith, A. D. and Porter, D. eds. (2004): 2.

national cricket team the character and characteristics of a nation, the fact is that governments, writers of popular culture and scholars have done so and are continuing to do so, providing evidence for Ismail's thesis.

It is not just national team composition which scholars and others have found important in a cricket representation of nation. Considerable discussion in England has centred on the ethnic mix of spectators at international cricket matches as a rich site of analysis of national loyalty and ethnicity. What would normally be expected by the English to be a home cricket game against national teams from Pakistan, India and even the West Indies, in fact takes on the feel of an 'away' fixture with supporters, who live in England but whose heritage is with the visiting teams, barracking for the team of their birthplace or their cultural backgrounds. British politician Norman Tebbit in 1990 proposed a form of loyalty test. The 'Tebbit Test' suggested that loyalty to England be measured in whether immigrants cheered for England when England plays international cricket teams such as India or Pakistan.⁹² Historians Chris Valiotis and Satadru Sen each grounded their discussions of ethnicity in English cricket in the 'Tebbit Test' and the circumstances which surrounded its proposition.⁹³ The Tebbit Test sparked considerable academic debate in Britain and India about ethnicity and loyalty to nation. Cricket became a site of discussion of racism, class, colour and disadvantage and particularly the 'in-between' status of members of diasporic communities in the host country. Pnina Werbner, for example, discussed the situation of Pakistani women living in Britain who are caught between an old high culture Islamic tradition and a new South Asian liberal male 'cricket' and female 'wedding' culture in an English setting.⁹⁴ She said that urban diasporic ethnic groups create spaces for themselves and that:

it is in these spaces that 'culture' becomes a contested terrain, as social classes and categories, positioned differently vis a vis each other, struggle to define the cultural shape of their shared collective identities.⁹⁵

Sri Lankan/Australian ethnographer Michael Roberts suggested that the behaviour of unruly and fervent south Asian barrackers in England had parallels with the fervour of British-born

⁹² See Ismond, P. (2000): 127-145. The history and discourse around the Tebbit Test is available in this article.

⁹³ Sen, S. (2005): 118, and Valiotis, C. (2009): 1797. See also Malcolm, D. (2001): 257.

⁹⁴ Werbner, P. (1996).

⁹⁵ Werbner, P. (1996): 107-08.

Islamic jihadists whose marginalisation and disadvantage is marked out on the cricket fields of England.⁹⁶ As English sociologist Dominic Malcolm observed:

The racial stereotyping and abuse of individuals, the questioning of the allegiance of spectators and the questioning of the ‘commitment’ of ethnic minority English players all illustrate the central role which cricket plays in debates about integration and separatism of ethnic minority communities in Britain today.⁹⁷

Roberts also used cricket in a separate article to describe issues of Sri Lankan identity through analysis of an exchange between Sri Lankan supporters at an international cricket match in Sri Lanka. The supporters’ interchange became a lens for discussion about ethnic divides between Burgher, Sinhalese, Malay and Tamil identities within the national cricket team representation of a single united ‘Sri Lankan’ identity.⁹⁸ Clearly, a national cricket team, its representatives and its supporters, is a site of discussion of nation and national representation more broadly as well as underlying social issues in those countries.

National cricket team selection is apparently not only controversial because of the choice or omission of players whose skills and performance are scrutinised, but also for who they are, their skin colour, their racial or ethnic background and their religion and class/caste. These issues are best exemplified in the South African context where sport and cricket (as earlier demonstrated) have long been the public battleground for issues of race and colour. The historical exclusion of black cricketers from the national team in the apartheid era has been extensively studied.⁹⁹ Cricket in other national contexts has also provided a basis for the research of issues of identity through methodologies which go beyond simple observation and critical comment.

Chris Valiotis’ study of the Pakistani diaspora in England built on Werbner’s discussion about the in-between nature of migrant identity, using a study of the Quaid-e-Azam League, a league which was established in West Yorkshire in England of mainly British-Pakistani cricketers.¹⁰⁰ His study was informed by (among other sources), interviews with key officials from the league and he highlighted “the role of cricket as a conduit for cultural unity and

⁹⁶ Roberts, M. (2004): 660.

⁹⁷ Malcolm, D. (2001): 257.

⁹⁸ Roberts, M. (1985).

⁹⁹ See for example, Desai, A., Padayachee, V., Reddy, K. and Vahed, G. (2002); Mangan, J. A. and Richie, A. eds. (2004), and Booth, D. (2003).

¹⁰⁰ Valiotis, C. (2009): 1810.

individual expressions of self-empowerment among the diaspora”.¹⁰¹ A more detailed “process of ethnographic fieldwork based on 21 semi-structured interviews, two focus interviews and participant observation” was carried out in clubs from the same league by Thomas Fletcher.¹⁰² Fletcher used his study to discuss the experience of Asian migrant communities in light of “dominant” claims about British sporting team selection: that “British sport is meritocratic and that recruitment and selection procedures are ‘colour-blind.’”¹⁰³ Fletcher also collaborated with Thomas Walle in a study of cultural identity among migrant Pakistani cricket teams in Norway.¹⁰⁴ Cricket for scholars in English, Norwegian, and South African situations and many other countries is a rich site for study of diversity, national identity and a range of social and political subjects.

Cricket is of academic historical, sociological, political and ethnological interest because of its close connection with colonial England.¹⁰⁵ While many of the English studies address the identity of migrants who have settled in Britain, some have considered the national identity which has changed in the countries left behind. Arjun Appadurai built on Benedict Anderson’s theme of an imagined community, formed through ‘print capital’¹⁰⁶ and suggested that Indian cricket has been indigenised through the role of the wider media:

Cricket is read, heard, seen, and the force of daily life experience of cricket ... conspire not just to vernacularise cricket but to introject the master terms and master tropes of cricket into the bodily practices and body-related fantasies of many young Indian males. Cricket is no longer English-mediated.¹⁰⁷

India, for Appadurai, has been through a period of colonisation then post-colonial rule and through cricket is in a recolonising state – recolonised by commercial and media interests.

The literature linking cricket and identity is a fertile site for discussion about identity and social and cultural difference in nations such as England, India, and South Africa through detailed ethnographic and other systematic research about the experience of migrants in cricket in other nations. Fletcher and Walle’s study in Norway mentioned earlier for example; a study by historian Narelle McClusky of the interaction between Indian diaspora and

¹⁰¹ Valiotis, C. (2009): 1794.

¹⁰² Fletcher, T. (2011): 18.

¹⁰³ Fletcher, T. (2011): 17.

¹⁰⁴ Fletcher, T. and Walle, T. (2014).

¹⁰⁵ See for example Stoddart, B. (1988), and Williams, J. (2001).

¹⁰⁶ See Anderson, B. (2006).

¹⁰⁷ Appadurai, A. (1996): 104.

Indigenous Fijians through the lens of Fijian cricket history; and Lin Yan in a Masters Thesis which examined the role of cricket in the expression of a diasporic Indian identity in Singapore, were studies in nations where cricket is not a major sport.¹⁰⁸ Cricket elsewhere has been seen by scholars as a medium for the discussion of relationships between migrant and minority groups with the host societies.¹⁰⁹ Cricket is regarded as an important site of research and social comment by a range of scholars in many countries where cricket is played and in a number where it is played little. And yet similar studies about identity, diversity and cultural inclusion in Australian cricket are difficult to find.

2.3 Multiculturalism in Australia

The issue is the sort of Australia we want our children and grandchildren to inherit. Will it be a relatively cohesive society that studies Shakespeare, follows cricket and honours the Anzacs; or will it be a pastiche of cultures with only a geographic home in common?

[Tony Abbott speaking about multiculturalism in 1990.]¹¹⁰

The future Prime Minister Tony Abbott was expressing a concern which was being felt by some in the community in the early 1990s about the future of the policy direction of the government in respect of immigration. Abbott's statement showed signs of what Ghassan Hage referred to as White paranoia – a fear of loss of identity to non-White migration to Australia. A key element in the discourse around that fear was the White Australia Policy which was based on the notion of maintaining a White racial identity. Hage summed up the arguments and discourse in the following terms:

The more a White society is penetrated by non-White elements, the less it is capable of expressing the values of White civilisation; therefore, it is imperative to maintain a White society as racially pure as possible.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Lin, Y. (2006).

¹⁰⁹ McLusky, N. (2005).

¹¹⁰ Tony Abbott, *Australian*, 31 May 1990: 8 (quoted by Marr, D. (2012): 40). Abbott was later to become the first executive director of Australians for a Constitutional Monarchy in 1992, Leader of the Opposition in the Australian Parliament in 2009 and Prime Minister in 2013. He was replaced in this role in 2015 by Malcolm Turnbull.

¹¹¹ Hage, G. (2002): 423.

Hage argued that the multicultural debates during the latter part of the twentieth century were used as a “potent political force”, bringing the White paranoia which had underpinned the White Australia policies, back into Australian cultural discourse.¹¹² Abbott’s statement expressed elements of the White paranoia evident in Hage’s discussion on Australian identity and multiculturalism. It is this debate which will inform much of the analysis of the data gathered for this thesis. As Abbott asserts, cricket is a central feature of his notion of Australian identity, cricket being on a level with the study of Shakespeare; both allusions being to significant elements of Britishness.

By the end of World War II the Australian population was essentially Anglo-Celt with Indigenous Australians and non-Anglo-Celt migrants making up a small minority. Political scientist James Jupp suggested that in 1947 Australia “was one of the most mono-cultural societies in the world ... Australia could claim to be 99% white and 96% British”.¹¹³ Government policy at colonial level and then at Australian national level was aimed at retaining a population of British stock. As Catriona Elder observed, the “dominant idea of the Australian nation, professed in 1901 and still powerful today, is of a ‘white’ place, a nation made up of a single people, a single language and a single culture”.¹¹⁴ The Australian immigration policies after 1945 brought migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and significant challenge for notions of national identity. Richard White referred to the idea of ‘The Australian Way of Life’, a state to which, in the 1950s and 1960s, migrants to Australia were “expected to conform”.¹¹⁵ The policies of assimilation and integration were based on this idea that in time, migrants would be indistinguishable from other Australians.

Throughout the decades of the 1980s and 1990s immigration and multiculturalism had become a significant issue in Australian social and political discourse. The debate about immigration policy was sparked by Geoffrey Blainey’s Warrnambool speech in 1984 (which will be discussed in Chapter 4) in which he questioned the level of Asian immigration.¹¹⁶ In 1987, the Labor Government commissioned a report on immigration policies and the subsequent inquiry report tabled by Dr. Stephen Fitzgerald in 1988 recommended that “immigration policies be developed in the national interest and for all Australians, and that in the philosophy of immigration emphasis is given to Australia, the Australian identity and

¹¹² Hage, G. (2002): 418.

¹¹³ Jupp, J. (1998): 132.

¹¹⁴ Elder, C. (2005): 99.

¹¹⁵ White, R. (1979): 535.

¹¹⁶ See Blainey, G. (1984), where he wrote of his views and the events of 1984 in Warrnambool.

commitment to Australia”.¹¹⁷ Gwenda Tavan described the Hawke/Keating years of 1986-96 as a period when “strong efforts were ... made to develop multiculturalism as a nationalist ideology, with public political discourse strongly emphasising ‘cultural diversity’ and ‘tolerance’ as core characteristics of Australian cultural identity, crucial to the country’s future prosperity.”¹¹⁸ The Coalition’s ‘One Australia’ policy on immigration and ethnic affairs in 1988, sought to abandon the term ‘multiculturalism’ and create an Australia that:

respects our cultural diversity and acknowledges that we are drawn from many parts of the world but requires of all of us a loyalty to Australia at all times and to her institutions and her values and her traditions which transcends loyalty to any other set of values anywhere in the world.¹¹⁹

Andrew Theophanous observed in 1995 that “critics see multiculturalism as a philosophy which is in direct opposition to social solidarity and to those elements of Australian social life which contribute to our sense of nationhood and even our identity”.¹²⁰ Theophanous saw “the paranoia of many opponents of multiculturalism, ... that somehow multiculturalism is a threat to Anglo-Celtic roots or all the key Anglo-Celtic features of Australian identity”.¹²¹ This was a period of discourse about Australian identity, about the changes which immigration had introduced to the cultural landscape of Australia. Under threat was the traditional view of Australia as a colonial nation which had grown from the struggles of settlers who had arrived from Britain and Ireland over the period to 1945.

Ghassan Hage saw the White Australia Policy as an expression of what he referred to in Freudian terms as “a castration complex, a constant fear of losing what gives our life a sense of distinction” – in this case the possession of ‘Whiteness’.¹²² Assimilation, he argued, was meant to assuage the paranoia of White Australians offering the promise that they would not lose their Anglo-Celtic culture.¹²³ The side-by-side existence in Australia of different cultures, recognised in government policy, blurred the lines of identity “between multiculturalism as cultural government and multiculturalism as national identity”.¹²⁴ Elder explained that the political presence of migrants in the Australian community and their lack

¹¹⁷ Fitzgerald, S. (1988): 119.

¹¹⁸ Tavan, G. (2006): 5.

¹¹⁹ Quoted from Jupp (2007), 106-7.

¹²⁰ Theophanous (1995), xii.

¹²¹ Theophanous (1995), xv.

¹²² Hage, G. (2002): 420.

¹²³ Hage, G. (2002): 424.

¹²⁴ Hage, G. (2002): 427.

of social service assistance; the need for special and specific policies which acknowledged cultural differences, led to governments providing “migrants, particularly ones from non-English speaking backgrounds ... the services required by new citizens to share equally in the prosperity of the nation”.¹²⁵ Other writers all make the point that multiculturalism essentially grew from assimilation as a policy; as a reaction to the practical need for social service provision for migrants whose assimilation and integration had been hampered by the unrealistic requirement for migrants to speak and understand English.¹²⁶ These changes in population composition and the government approach to migrant participation in Australian culture, placed considerable pressure on ‘Australia’s’ perception of its identity. As a national institution, cricket was certainly a part of the Australian ‘way of life’ as suggested by Tony Abbott in 1990 (above). Yet its composition did not appear to reflect the population changes.

2.4 Research on migrant participation in Australian cricket

Adair and Vamplew provided an outline of migrant experience in sport in 1997 in a general text about sport in Australian society, identifying soccer as the game played by migrants, concluding that:

The involvement of more recent ethnic minorities such as South East Asian Australians in mainstream sport is also a matter for further research, as is the long term importance of ethnic-based sports for minority groups themselves.¹²⁷

In 2015 this remains true and is a situation which this thesis has set out to change. The involvement of migrants and their children in Australian cricket has been largely ignored as a site of research of assimilation, integration or multicultural experience, and the role of the controlling body of the sport in the participation of migrants has not been evident in scholarly studies. Research about migrants and cricket participation in the past has been limited to a questionnaire survey of eighty cricketers by Cashman and Hughes in 1995 which simply sought to know the numbers of migrants involved in Under 19 state and territory representative cricket and the language spoken at home.¹²⁸ In Australia, it has been association football (soccer) that has been the sporting lens through which research into

¹²⁵ Elder, C. (2005): 111.

¹²⁶ See Jupp, J. (1998), 144; Lopez, M. (2000): 38, and Hage, G. (2002): 428-9.

¹²⁷ Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. (1997): 77.

¹²⁸ Mosely, P. A., Cashman, R., O'Hara, J. and Weatherburn, H. eds. (1997): 180-81.

migrant experience and identity within Australian sport has been examined. Soccer was the sport played by migrants and studies have been undertaken into the role it has played in migrant acculturation, and the interface of migrants with Australian society. Soccer seemed a good basis for studying migrant integration as it was regarded as a game which had been appropriated by migrants in Australia. Ricatti and Klugman, for example, examine the role played by 'ethnic' soccer clubs in the 1950s and 1960s in the identities of migrants from Italy, through oral history interviews. The changes in the structure of national soccer competition since the 1990s has led to Italian migrants' sense of loss of the memories and shared relationships which had sustained them in their early years in Australia.¹²⁹ However, cricket and its relationship with migrants and migrant communities has not been significantly researched. There have been few cogent attempts to explain the reasons for the apparent 'failure' of the representative Australian Test team to keep pace with the changing Australian population composition. In 1986, Brian Stoddart observed that:

the Aboriginal and non-Anglo-Saxon experience of sport in Australia is little understood and requires considerable further research to determine its precise nature. But even from this outline it is clear that sport has been one of the main agencies by which these groups have had to come to terms with Australia's dominant culture.¹³⁰

In terms of cricket, Stoddart provided a short and un-substantiated assertion that "for many migrants Australian games such as cricket took far too long to play, entailing an undesirably long absence from the workplace, particularly if that was a small self-run business".¹³¹ In 1995, Cashman concluded that the majority of non-English speaking (NES) immigrants were unfamiliar with most of the mainstream sports (cricket, Australian football and the rugby codes), turning to more familiar games such as soccer. He observed that:

there has been limited study of how, and under what circumstances, NES immigrants or their children gravitate to more established Anglo-Celtic sports. ... It seems to be more difficult for people of NES backgrounds to acquire the skills of this game than any of the football codes.¹³²

¹²⁹ Ricatti, F. and Klugman, M. (2013): 478. See also Hay, R. (2001), and Hallinan, C.J. and Krotee, M.L. (1993).

¹³⁰ Stoddart, B. (1986): 181.

¹³¹ Stoddart, B. (1986): 173.

¹³² Cashman, R. (1995): 167-8.

Some other academic observations have been made about migrant participation in cricket and include Mike Ticher's suggestion that Australian and Test cricketer, Kepler Wessels, (a white South African immigrant to Australia in the 1980s) considered his selection was not welcomed by Australians as he was not regarded as a true Australian.¹³³ Richard Cashman contributed a ten-page chapter about the history of migrant participation in cricket in Australia to a book about migrants in sport.¹³⁴ He observed that:

[i]t is likely that because there have been relatively few immigrants in Australian cricket, immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds have not been made welcome nor have they been as readily accepted in the game as has been the case in the various football codes.¹³⁵

UK sport historian Jon Gemmell, noted the apparent "racial exclusivity of Australian cricket" and instanced "the plight of Aborigine (sic) cricket to see how racist norms and values infect all areas of life", which suggested that he regarded it important for Australia's national identity, that more Indigenous people should be playing at the national level.¹³⁶ His analysis rests on history and reports from works of popular culture to make findings about Australia's approach to cricket inclusion and racial abuse of migrant cricketers at Test level. He drew conclusions about Australia's endemic racism from such sources, as well as Tatz's work on Indigenous disadvantage.¹³⁷ These articles provide critical comment about Australia and Australian cricket based on perception and a number admit to a need for greater research effort.

The administration of cricket and the relevance of cricket management strategies and processes for migrant involvement have also not been critically researched in relation to their role in Australian cultural diversity. There have been two substantial works which deal with cricket history and the role of the Australian Cricket Board in the management of cricket: the broad history of cricket by historian Chris Harte (updated by Bernard Whimpress), which observed the history of the development of current day cricket including the structure and workings of the Australian Cricket Board, and sport journalists and historians Gideon Haigh and David Frith who wrote a history of the Australian Cricket Board from the Board's

¹³³ Ticher, M. (1994): 80.

¹³⁴ Mosely, P. A., Cashman, R., O'Hara, J. and Weatherburn, H. eds. (1997).

¹³⁵ Mosely et al. (1997): 183.

¹³⁶ Gemmell, J. (2007-1): 34.

¹³⁷ See Gemmell's bibliography, Gemmell, J. (2007-1): 47-8.

archives.¹³⁸ Neither study addressed in any specific way the Board's approach to diversity and inclusiveness in cricket participation.

The only scholarly work which addressed the issues which are the subject matter of this thesis in any detail is by Brett Hutchins, who contributed a chapter to a social history of sport and its role in post-colonial national identity in 2005.¹³⁹ Hutchins examined the historical colonial connections of Australian cricket to the British Empire and how cricket is appropriated by politicians in the furthering of ideas of identity. He observed that cricket is constructed as part of mainstream Australian culture, and "excludes marginalised political and/or cultural identities".¹⁴⁰ It is a sport he argued "that shows a limited desire to shake the vestiges of a past that is intimately connected to the British Empire".¹⁴¹ Much of Hutchins's analysis is informed by the work of other writers, both sport historians and journalists and popular cricket writers, and his own cultural analysis of the myths surrounding Sir Donald Bradman.¹⁴² Hutchins saw the game as a 'national' game of a mainstream conservative Australia, and stated that cricket "will never appeal to all groups who make up the Australian community, but can aspire to represent a broader cross section of the population by creating a more inclusive environment".¹⁴³ As with other writers, there is veiled criticism of the cultural appearance of the team and a suggestion that there is an environment around cricket that discourages migrant participation.

Each of the writers who discuss the lack of migrant and Indigenous inclusion in the Australian Test team, do so from the point of view that it is important to Australia's identity that such players appear in the team or that their absence is indicative of a sinister aspect of Australian culture. These studies are somewhat dated and have a very limited specific research base. None has determined whether migrants might want to play cricket and if they aspire to represent Australia. One exception is a doctoral study of secondary school students in Adelaide and the relationship between sport participation and cultural identity.¹⁴⁴ This

¹³⁸ Harte, C. and Whimpress, B. (2003); Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007).

¹³⁹ Hutchins, B. (2005). Note that Sharda Ugra, a sports journalist who is a senior editor at ESPNcricinfo, has contributed a paper to a publication of the Australia-India Institute which explores many of the issues which are the subject of this thesis: Ugra, S. (2015).

¹⁴⁰ Hutchins, B. (2005): 17.

¹⁴¹ Hutchins, B. (2005): 9.

¹⁴² See Hutchins bibliography: Hutchins (2005): 25.

¹⁴³ Hutchins, B. (2005): 24.

¹⁴⁴ Manium, V. (c2012), *Adelaide Secondary School Students' participation in sport and their cultural identity: a humanistic sociological study*, University of Adelaide. This study analysed written responses to an open-ended questionnaire about students' "views and experiences concerning playing sport, and their sense of cultural identity", ix. This study was aimed at children's participation in sport, and cricket was one of a number of sports

study drew no specific conclusions about cricket except to suggest that the non-participation of culturally diverse respondents in a sport (cricket and netball are specified) was an indicator of 'exclusion'.¹⁴⁵ The literature assumed that migrants do wish to play cricket and wish to do so at elite levels of the game. Since there are so few who do reach such a level, it is then further assumed that there is some form of institutional or cultural barrier to them doing so.

Two articles present the voice of migrants in Australia in relation to cricket. Australian-Sri Lankan academic Suvendrini Perera explored issues of the in-between nature of migrant identity. Her article is a personal reflection of her place as a woman between two cultures who is:

... called on to 'take sides' in the cricket: my viewing position can be explained neither by my assent to the nationalist appeal of a unitary Sri Lanka, nor by a position 'outside' politics, as a knowing connoisseur of the game. It is constituted, rather by my constant interpellation as a foreigner to the country whose passport I now hold, but whose privileges of citizenship I can never fully assume.¹⁴⁶

The other article by auto ethnographer Manu Madan used a One Day International cricket competition in Australia to explore diasporic Indian identity, and presented a similar view to Perera. It is as a spectator of international cricket that "diasporic Indians can practice their politics of identity and allegiance".¹⁴⁷ She concluded that:

The diasporic Indian subject has little choice but to articulate its definitely transnational, and increasingly postnational, identity through the discourse and language of Nations; through race or "shared claims to blood," because "soil" has been forsaken and "language" lost to generations of migration.¹⁴⁸

The contributions of Perera and Madan are important to this thesis in the sense that they provide a voice to migrants that has been missing in much of the literature; a primary source for migrant experience and the personal struggle to understand the idea of nation and identity

discussed. The research was conducted into the reasons for children engaging in sport in general and the experience with sport at school and its relationship with a number of factors of ethnicity, religion, and family and other influences. The specific experience with cricket was only a small part of the study which looked at sport participation generally.

¹⁴⁵ Manium, V. (c2012): 335-6.

¹⁴⁶ Perera, S. (2000): 26.

¹⁴⁷ Madan, M. (2000): 30.

¹⁴⁸ Madan, M. (2000): 34.

through the use of cricket, a game which is common to both Australia where they live and their cultural backgrounds. These articles point to a need for further exploration of the voice of migrants in cricket rather than assertions made from the appearance of Australian team members and the history of the game in Australia. They point further to the complexity of migrant inclusion as a function not only of forces which might be in play from the governing authority in cricket but in the tensions experienced by migrants in their relationship with their homeland and its culture. It is this area of migrant experience with the sport of cricket which this thesis sought to examine.

2.5 Conclusion

Australian post-colonial ‘nationalism’ developing after World War II was under a degree of pressure almost before it was able to define itself. Migration from Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia influenced this attempt at definition. Anglo-Australians were forced to create and maintain their own space while at the same time migrant communities themselves were struggling to build or maintain their own cultural identities. This struggle was also being played out in world cricket administration and management which was once the preserve of ‘white’ nations such as England and Australia. As suggested by Satadru Sen, politics within the International Cricket Council subverted the ownership of cricket:

This subversion of ownership is not limited to the politics of the ICC or even to a shift in the relationship between the ‘east’ and the ‘west’. It is reflective also of tensions between the easts and wests *within* the societies that play cricket in the modern world and that have been subject to dramatic movements in race and class.¹⁴⁹

Sen’s observation echoes the struggle for identity in Australia between migrants in a strange land and by descendants of early settlers who feel threatened by the rise in the numbers of different cultures. This review of the literature suggests that there is a significant gap in the academic study of Australian Test cricket as a representation of the wider contemporary Australian culture and this struggle for identity. The studies have tended to analyse and describe Test cricket as a representation of an Anglo-centric Australia, making value-laden observations about the game’s lack of inclusiveness and historical racism. There has been little critical scholarly analysis of the role of the governing body of this Australian sport in

¹⁴⁹ Sen, S. (2005): 118.

the diversity (or lack of it) in the Australian team. The game has been observed in a one-dimensional sense: a head-count of numbers of migrants who have been selected which is taken to indicate deep and meaningful national identity issues. There has been little or no research of the experience of migrants themselves, or of the efforts of the cricket governing body to include them. This thesis provides research material from both the managing body of the sport and its attempts to engage migrant communities, as well as from migrant interviewees about their experience with the sport in Australia.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

Reflections

The year was 1965. Professor Max Marwick was a man of studious appearance, tall as I recall him dressed in sports coat (perhaps a bow tie?) and glasses. He was lecturing at Monash University in Clayton in anthropology and sociology. His specialty was witchcraft among African Indigenous peoples where he had undertaken field work. His lecturing team was considering the case for sociology (and anthropology) to be regarded as sciences, and much of that first year I was not studying sociology or anthropology as such, but examining the scientific method. I discovered the difference between inductive and deductive reasoning, about general laws and their weaknesses, and statistical analysis was a compulsory part of the course.

In second year we were introduced to the main thinkers in sociology and anthropology – Marx, Durkheim and Weber. It seemed structural functionalism was the current direction and social class was a special area for consideration. I was unaware of the term ‘ontology’ in 1965-67 – perhaps it wasn’t taught as such or I had not taken sufficient lecture notes. But I did have a brief foray into a year of philosophy which taught me the background of the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum* which probably served a similar purpose. It was not until I returned to formal study after forty years that I became reacquainted with some of the terms associated with sociological theory and methodological approaches. More than a generation later, the field had progressed (perhaps an unfortunate word, as ‘progress’ has all sorts of connotations with the apparently outdated ‘modernism’). Sociological theory had moved through many and varied approaches, providing a bewildering range of other possible choices of method and nuances of grand general theory. I wondered where the shining light of structural functionalism had gone.

In 1966 I volunteered to assist a university research study into social class structures in the Melbourne eastern suburb of Doveton where, armed with questionnaire and lecture board, I knocked on doors and talked with total strangers about their lives. I was uncomfortable doing this but found many subjects quite prepared to share their stories. I regret that I cannot recall the questions but each session took what seemed to be around an hour to complete and delved into respondents’ income and lifestyle choices. I remember this experience in Doveton because the suburb now sits within the migrant communities which formed part of this thesis

research. At that time, the subjects were mainly from a white Anglo working class background which is an example of the change in Melbourne's demographic over the past forty years.

My return to study in Brisbane in 2009 placed me in lectures and tutorials with students who might have been my own children and even grandchildren. As we discussed Australian history and major aspects of Australian culture I realised that I had lived that history – I had been in the Vietnam conscription ballot (and balloted out), I had agonised over the decision to march in the Vietnam moratorium march (I did not because my brother was fighting there). I had attended the *It's Time* rally at Festival Hall in Melbourne in 1972. I had shared the anger at the Whitlam dismissal, I had attended the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and seen Bob Hawke in action arguing for wages issues, and felt the excitement and national pride as I listened to the strange experience of radio commentary of a yacht race when Australia II won the America's Cup.

I looked again at these events which had occurred in my lifetime – the period of my research – and decided that it was change which I was researching – changes in population, changes in government and government policy, changes in attitudes, changes in identity, changes in rules and procedures. Change is a word which is based in time, and history is a function of the passing of time. As a method, history sat well with what I was trying to elicit about the official position of cricket's controlling body. My greatest difficulty was in finding a way to study changes in the migrant experience of cricket in Australia. In all my reading of the scholarly articles discussed in the previous chapter, what stood out was the grounded nature of the articles produced by Pnina Werbner, Suvendrini Perera and Madu Madan. These women were writing in scholarly works in a scholarly way, but their articles were in fact personal accounts of their own experiences as migrants. They were recording their experience of changes and issues within their own migrant communities. These articles seemed to me powerful illustrations of the value of the collection of migrant stories and what could be achieved by speaking with migrants as a means of finding their voice in cricket, an approach which I decided to adopt. I needed to find a complementary methodology.

3.1 Introduction

The area of study for this thesis is diversity in Australian cricket, an area which arose from consideration of the popular and scholarly observations about the cultural appearance of the representative Test team. The literature was shown to be critical of Australian cricket because of its mono-cultural appearance, suggesting that it was not representative of the nation as had widely been suggested of cricket's positioning in Australian culture. What was required was a way of understanding migrant participation in cricket; a question which led to a process of asking migrants directly about their experience. But I regarded a research process which simply sought interviews with migrant cricketers about their experience as having little meaning without an examination of the environment of cricket in Australia – the playing field that migrants would need to walk onto if they chose to participate. This meant an understanding of the game as it stands in Australian culture, the nature of the controlling organisation and its views on migrant participation, the rules for participation and the nature of the pathway to cricket elite representation. In addition, as the literature suggested that cricket had cultural meaning for Australian political and social discourse, I considered an analysis of the development of the cricket environment over time was important for an understanding of what might face potential migrant participants in the sport in Australia. In turn, that study required a broader knowledge of the social and political environment in which cricket itself developed over a period of significant population change.

For the migrant participation element of the research, I sought to understand whether migrants wanted to play cricket and if they did so, how they engaged in the sport, where they played it and under what conditions they participated. I also wanted to understand their experience of playing in teams in the Australian cricket environment.

These areas of questioning place diversity at the centre with an approach to understanding the problem from:

- a. the direction of Australian cricket: its position in Australian culture and how it used that position in terms of power and influence over time to accommodate migrant cricketers in the sport, and
- b. migrant cricketers: their interactions with Australian cricket and their means of participation within and/or outside the formal Australian cricket pathway.

The research sought to establish the nature of the sport of cricket and its relationship with diversity, with national identity and with Australian political and social discourse through a historical analysis of the Board's annual reports since 1983-84. Cricket has had a position in Australian life predicated on its history and meanings for national identity and therefore it was important to establish how cricket adapted to the changing nature of the Australian population it was said to represent. The historical method was adopted as a basic approach to this area of analysis and was assisted by elements of a critical discourse analysis which allowed the historical analysis of the content of the annual reports to be placed in a wider social and political context and to gain greater understanding of the meanings of the Board's actions and words.

The main focus of the research however was Asian and Black migrant participation in the game and this was the area which was seen as neglected in scholarly analysis of cricket diversity. I chose a process of direct migrant interviews using an in-depth interview approach.

The two areas of enquiry were brought together through a grounded theory method, building theories and conclusions as the data revealed areas of further research and analysis. The choices of these methods and the methodological approach are discussed in this chapter.

3.2 Analysis of the Cricket Australia annual reports from 1983-84 to 2013-14

While the issue of racism in sport is still prevalent, attitudes condoning racism have gone by the wayside. The age old adage 'what happens on the field stays on the field' is not sufficient justification anymore.

[Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Report into racism in sport in Australia: *What's the Score?*, (2006).]¹⁵⁰

Cricket in Australia is a business which tries to tightly control the image of the game it manages. Sport historian Chris Harte referred to "the freemasonry of Australian cricket" in reference to behind-the-scenes Board activities which rarely became known to the public.¹⁵¹ Cricket journalists Gideon Haigh and David Frith produced a history of the Board in 2007, titled *Inside Story: Unlocking Australian Cricket's Archives*, which suggested that the Board

¹⁵⁰ Oliver, P. (2006): 9.

¹⁵¹ Harte, C. and Whimpress, B. (2003): xvi.

had “not been known for its openness”.¹⁵² The well-known cricket saying “what happens on the field stays on the field”, (noted above in the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission report on racism in Australian sport) suggested that at all levels of cricket there are occurrences and interactions which occur in and around the sport that are not reported; that do not become knowledge in the public arena.

The choice of the Board’s annual report for historical and critical analysis was based on a need to seek knowledge from what is an official source document produced by the subject organisation. While it might seem incongruous that the Board would divulge in its official report anything which it wanted to “leave on the field” the reports nevertheless provided an area of research for understanding what the organisation said it stood for and what it said it was trying to do. The annual report of 1983-84 was chosen as the starting point of the analysis because that was the year that the Board introduced its junior development program which it called Kanga Cricket. Kanga Cricket was a modified version of cricket played in primary schools and this time represented a period when the Board set out to increase participation in the game through the education system.¹⁵³ The year also coincided with the beginning of a period of Labor government in Australian politics and in particular the beginning of an open debate in Australia about the level of Asian immigration.¹⁵⁴ This timeline for this study was considered an important one for establishing where Australian cricket had come from in terms of its approach to ethnic diversity in the sport.

The challenge for this research was to find a means of building knowledge of the cricket context in which migrants engage in Australian culture and uncovering the nature of the institution of Australian cricket as presented by the official cricket body. Had this nature changed over time and what was the Board’s approach to diversity in the game? What, if anything, did it do to embrace the growing migrant population? The nature of these questions suggested a history methodology which required the establishment of reliable primary source material from which to “build meanings”.¹⁵⁵ Macintyre and Clark explain that in its traditional sense, history:

¹⁵² Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007). See Author Acknowledgements: 8.

¹⁵³ See ACB (1983-84): 5.

¹⁵⁴ See for example Macintyre, S. and Clark, A. (2003): 72-92, and Theophanous, A. C. (1995): 34-35 suggesting the Blainey speech in Warrnambool as a key point in Australian discussion about Asian immigration.

¹⁵⁵ Howell, M. and Prevenier, W. (2001):1.

obtained knowledge by chains of reasoning from the sources. The historian applied criticism to establish the provenance, authorship and transmission of the documents, and trained judgement to ascertain their meaning and veracity.¹⁵⁶

This was what Black and MacRaild refer to as “old history” or traditional history which tended to focus on politics and “Great Men” and required “facts” as evidence.¹⁵⁷ New history, they suggest, introduces such notions as history from below, and sources which are not necessarily written.¹⁵⁸ The historical method requires the corroboration (or otherwise) of the facts cited in the primary source with other source documentation. Historians Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton asked in relation to the key elements of the method: Does the source have “intra- and inter-textual coherence – that is, internal coherence within the work and coherence between the work and other sources?”¹⁵⁹ Other historical written primary sources about cricket and particular events in cricket helped to inform the analysis about the events reported.

I chose to include elements of a critical discourse analysis (CDA) in the study of the annual reports. I had noted in my reading of the annual reports the Board’s narrative approach was not simply told through words in the text, but also through the imagery and the choice of images used to illustrate elements in the text, and by the placement of such images in the text. Norman Fairclough defined CDA as:

analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.¹⁶⁰

The application of a critical approach suggested to me what the literature review had exposed: that the Board and its sport held a powerful position in Australian culture and certainly in its ability to control access to the sport. I considered a critical approach might

¹⁵⁶ Macintyre S. and Clark, A. (2003): 19.

¹⁵⁷ Black, J. and MacRaild, D. (2007): 42.

¹⁵⁸ It was attractive to me to use two different sources – written and oral. This would provide source data and analysis which reflected the polemics of the history wars in Australia and might illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of each – history from above in the sense of the Board’s annual reports as a powerful institution and a source from below – the words of the migrant cricketer.

¹⁵⁹ Donnelly, M. and Norton, C. (2011): 59.

¹⁶⁰ Fairclough, N. (1995): 132-3.

enable the understanding of how the organisation exercised such power in relation to migrant cricketers. This method widened the analysis to provide for an examination of silences in the texts as well as images and their placement in the context of wider political and social discourse in Australia. The approach to sport history study needs to account for the role of sport images. As suggested by Douglas Booth, “an understanding of sport, which is inextricably tied to corporeality and movement, would be nigh impossible without testimony of images that appear in numerous mediums ...”¹⁶¹ A number of studies of cultural and political issues have used photographic imagery as the primary source document.¹⁶² And it was the silences in the Board’s written texts which became meaningful in the understanding of these sources. Why would the Board, during the Prime-ministership of John Howard, be loath to use the term ‘multicultural’? How is it possible to code a negative – that any migrant cricketer whose image appears in the annual report has no mention of his ethnicity when this was said by the Board to be a major area of strategy? Why did the Board fail to report any activity on diversity in certain years and yet show photographs of Asian and black cricketers in its pages? The analysis of both text and images against the background of contemporary political and social discourse was used to interpret the data and the findings, and then referenced to other primary and secondary research material: a critical approach which was informed by reference to external political and social discourse.

The Board’s annual reports over the years changed in the level of detail in the text, the number and type of photographs and even the technology used to deliver them (for a number of years the report was delivered as an e-brochure). Photographs became less formally-posed shots of cricket teams and more action photographs of cricketers. The report included imagery according to the prevailing Board strategy, including photographs of Indigenous cricketers and fans and women where this was emphasised in the report. When the strategy emphasis turned to fans, the imagery reflected that thrust of the Board’s plan. The photographic imagery in the Board’s reports were a way of highlighting the Board’s message and became an important factor in the analysis of the reports.

The process of analysis required a systematic and consistent approach to the coding and thematic development of the data in the texts. The annual reports were closely read, and the computer-based tool, NVivo helped identify patterns in the text. The initial themes which

¹⁶¹ Booth, D. (2005): 98.

¹⁶² See Gary Osmond’s study of the Black Power salute from the 1968 Mexico City Olympics (Osmond, G. (2010) and Mathew Klugman and Osmond’s book about a photograph of AFL footballer Nicky Winmar’s black pride gesture (Klugman, M. and Osmond, G. (2013)).

were developed related to the research question which sought to understand the Board's approach to diversity and the development of players in its training and education programs. NVivo queries were made to group statements under themes which were developed from the initial readings, which the Board made about other cultures ("diversity", "culture", "identity", "nation"), about cricket player development ("Kanga cricket", "Milo In2Cricket", "under age cricket"), about its organisation structure relative to different aspects of its activities ("Committees", "Board members"), and to whom it related in wider Australian, socio-economic and political life ("sponsor", "Prime Minister", "media"). The search under "diversity" yielded references to the Board's approach to different areas of diversity: women, Indigenous communities, and migrants were specific areas mentioned in the Board's reports as "requiring attention."¹⁶³ The grouping of search queries from the text provided a convenient means by which to collate and store information which could then be analysed and further queries made of the text to develop themes and conclusions. Particularly, the NVivo queries allowed the tracking of particular themes over time. By asking NVivo to show references to "Prime Minister" for example lead to grouping from the annual reports of the Board's references to the Prime Ministers and included the context in which the reference was made. Further specific queries about (for example) John Howard, showed how the Board had written about its relationship with this politician and how often and in what context.

The emphasis of the study was always centred on the written text and imagery and its placement as a primary document from the Australian cricket environment within the wider context of the Australian cultural landscape, from 1983 to 2014.

In keeping with Donnelly and Norton's assertion about textual coherence, the analysis of patterns and themes was undertaken as an analysis of the internal consistency of each report and then across all the annual reports to identify consistency, inconsistency and changes over time. I began to develop theories about the 'Australia' being represented in the annual report pages and the connection this representation had with government social and cultural policy and changes over the period of examination, particularly in relation to migrants in Australian culture.

The analysis of the annual reports was undertaken to establish the political, social and power environment which had developed in respect of cricket diversity in the years of increasing Australian immigration from non-European countries. The research activity then turned to

¹⁶³ Australian Cricket Board (1999) *Putting Runs on the Board*: 25.

those migrants in Australian suburban areas who had experienced this environment of cricket and what had been the nature of that experience.

3.3 Migrant interviews

I had noted during my initial study of the thesis topic that much of the literature referred to assertions about migrants' non-participation in cricket as a function of the cricket culture (or lack of it) in their homeland. Yet the criticism of the Test team had been its lack of black and Asian representation. My own experience suggested that south Asian migrants had a great knowledge of and passion for the sport and I therefore sought to interview migrants from this demographic. In the event I was able to interview twenty migrants with varying Australian cricket experiences who came from south Asian and Pacific Islander backgrounds. While this is a small sample and not representative of migrants in general, it seemed to me to offer an opportunity to examine aspects of the way some migrants had engaged in the Australian version of the sport.¹⁶⁴

The form of interview method afforded the migrant interviewees the widest possible opportunity to explain and discuss their experience. I considered a quantitative process of questionnaires but was more drawn to the advantages of interviewing to allow for migrant cricketers to provide a richer and deeper account of their experience and for me as the interviewer to delve deeper into that experience. I examined the continuum of interview models which ranged between highly standardised and structured interviews through to unstructured life history or oral history interviews.¹⁶⁵ The difference between the interview methods along this continuum is the degree of direction and structure in the form of questioning from the interviewer and the freedom of the interviewee to control the direction of the conversation.

I chose an in-depth semi-structured interview method. In-depth interviewing is described by Seidman as “an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.”¹⁶⁶ Minichiello et al. suggested that “a primary focus of in-depth interviewing is to understand the significance of human experiences as described

¹⁶⁴ I discuss the issues of sample size in Section 3.3.1.

¹⁶⁵ Minichiello et al. (2008): 47.

¹⁶⁶ Seidman, I. (2013): 9.

from the actor's perspective and interpreted by the researcher."¹⁶⁷ In semi-structured interviews Morris suggests "the interviewer has topics that they want to cover that are related to the research question/s, but there is plenty of scope for digression".¹⁶⁸ The in-depth interview seemed to meet the need of this research to understand a particular element of migrant experience in Australia without extending the search for knowledge into a full life history or oral history approach. Nevertheless, the methodological issues for in-depth interviews are in many respects common to both in-depth interviewing and oral history interviews – the relevance of the sample, the notion of a voice from below, the validity of generalising from a small sample to a population, the place of the interviewer in the process, the handling and analysis of the recording and the transcript, and the memory of the interviewee. Some of these issues are discussed below.

Researcher Paul Thompson explained that the power structures of history tend to have controlled the stories of history. "Since the nature of most existing records is to reflect the standpoints of authority, it is not surprising that the judgement of history has more often vindicated the wisdom of the powers that be."¹⁶⁹ What an in-depth interview process allowed was the inclusion in the study of migrant cricketers' perspectives and experiences of Australian cricket that were not available from the pages of the Board's own works. As migrants were a particular target of the Board's programs and strategies, I regarded the experience they could record as important in considering the efficacy of such programs. At the level of Australian cricket practised in suburban cricket centres migrants would also be able to explain how they experienced their interface with Australians and other migrant groups through the medium of cricket. I considered an in-depth interview process would provide, in a sense, a "voice from below" which would be a counterpoint to the power of the Board to control the story of migrant participation.

The criticism suggested in Chapter 2 was that cricket was not welcoming of migrants; that cricket was a game for white Anglo-Australians. The interest therefore in the selection of the sample of migrants to be interviewed focussed on the fact that they were neither white nor of British heritage. South Asian cricketers are known to have a presence in south eastern suburbs of Melbourne, so my initial focus was Sri Lankan and Indian migrants in Melbourne. During the course of my research, I also had the opportunity to interview a number of other

¹⁶⁷ Minichiello et al. (2008): 11.

¹⁶⁸ Morris, A. (2015): 10.

¹⁶⁹ Thompson, P. 'The Voice of the past', in Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (1998): 24.

non-Anglo men who participated in cricket in suburban Australia from backgrounds of Sri Lanka, India, the Pacific Island nations and Afghanistan who were now living in Victoria and Queensland.

3.3.1 Interview Sample

Many of the critics of the appearance of the Australian men's Test team tried to explain the relative absence of Asian and Black cricketers in terms of the difficulties migrants have in adapting to cricket's laws, skills and culture. While this explanation might apply to (say) Chinese and Vietnamese migrants, it seemed to miss the point of the strong presence of cricket in South Asian countries such as India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. It occurred to me that the migration to Australia of Sri Lankan people since the 1950s might have led to more than two representatives in the Australian Test team from a Sri Lankan background over the past sixty years, given the strong popularity of the sport in that country. My starting point in the choice of interview sample was migrants from Sri Lanka with whom I had some personal experience in the 1960s.¹⁷⁰ My focus later expanded to migrants from other Asian and Black nations. Given the difficulties of making generalisations about any group of migrants and their experience, the sample was considered to provide some insights, albeit necessarily limited, to migrant experience with Australian cricket. As the criticism, in recent years in terms of the non-participation had not been particularly aimed at European migrants, I chose not to broaden the study in that direction. As discussed below, the sample of migrants for this study is small and confined to sub-Continental and Islander migrants in Melbourne and South East Queensland.

The twenty interview subjects were chosen through a theoretical sampling process, the objective of which "is to identify the full range of possibilities which have proved to be theoretically relevant to the evolving data."¹⁷¹ Minichiello et al. suggested that sampling in this form can combine two case-selection procedures – purposefully selected because they "have been identified as relevant categories in the literature" and a second type where "the researcher can fortuitously discover and recognise ... the analytical importance of an event,

¹⁷⁰ Explained in my 'Reflections in Chapter 8

¹⁷¹ Minichiello et al. (2008): 174.

incident, place or situation emerging from the ongoing data.”¹⁷² A third selection type was also used – “snowball sampling” where one interviewee suggests and introduces a colleague or acquaintance as a possible subject.¹⁷³ The common thread in this selection process was that the interviewees belong to significant migrant communities which have grown since the 1980s in Australian urban centres. They play cricket or have a strong connection with cricket through their sons. A total of twenty interviews were conducted for this research. Details of the interviewees appear in Appendix 2. The interviewees may be summarised as follows:

1. Birthplace: All but one interviewee was born overseas as follows: Sri Lanka (11), India (2), Fiji (2), Afghanistan (1), Iran (1) and New Zealand (2).
2. Ages: Eighteen to thirty (7), thirty-one to forty (2), forty-one to fifty (8) and over fifty (3).
3. Location of interview: Melbourne (12), Brisbane (6), Sunshine Coast (2)

The relatively small number of interviews covered a range of different cultural backgrounds, ages and experiences and provided a rich response about experience and migrant agency. I found that recorded experiences of the young migrants who were making their way in Australian cricket was counter-balanced with discussions with parents of some of those men. I met with influential men in the Sri Lankan and Indian communities who had direct insights into cricket participation within their communities. I was also introduced fortuitously to a number of Pacific Islander cricketers in Brisbane and the Sunshine Coast who became further interview subjects and who came from the migrant demographic I was interested to research. I came to a point where I needed to decide whether to further develop and broaden the limited research base of my interviews or to narrow the study. Within the time constraints of a PhD thesis I decided to focus on these interviewees in order to understand and explore how some migrants have been able to participate in Australian cricket. These intimate conversations about cricket experience allowed me to identify key elements and developments in the way migrants are involved in the sport. The sample which is represented here gave a spread

¹⁷² Minichiello et al. (2008): 174. The interviews began with a Fijian migrant who introduced himself to me following a university talk about my research. He was a former captain of the Fijian national cricket team and I arranged to interview him as a migrant cricketer. His interview led to contacts with other Islander cricketers in the Brisbane area. The assistance of an Adelaide academic who is of Sri Lankan heritage and a cricket enthusiast provided points of contact in the Melbourne Sri Lankan cricket community. The identification of other categories of migrants participating in Australian cricket (coaching staff, parents of cricketers and tour organisers) arising from these interviews led to further interview subjects in Brisbane and Melbourne.

¹⁷³ Morris, A. (2015): 58.

between age, direct experience in playing the game, direct involvement in organising teams and associations in the game and men with children involved in the game (the next generation). They also covered areas of ancillary cricket organisation in which migrant cricketers have been involved.

The twenty interviews were conducted in accordance with the ethics practice negotiated with the university ethics committee which required the prior notification to interviewees of research project details and the signing of relevant consent forms. This establishment of the interview by having the interviewee sign consent forms set a very formal tone which the researcher was then required to overcome in order to establish an atmosphere; a rapport in which the interviewee felt comfortable providing his story. Seidman suggests that “rapport implies getting along with each other”, a process which can “transform the interviewing relationship into a full “We” relationship in which the question of whose experience is being related and whose meaning is being made is critically confounded.”¹⁷⁴ This development of a rapport is part of the complicity of the interviewee with the researcher in the oral product.¹⁷⁵ This provides special challenges in dealing with analysis and interpretation which might be explained through the experience of one interview conducted for this research.

3.3.2 Interview with Tui Tulili on 9 November 2013

Tui is a New Zealander of Samoan origin. I sent a copy of the paperwork (research background and consent forms) ahead by email. I met Tui at his home – the front garage was open and set up as a kind of ‘men’s space’. Tui wore a sport T-shirt in the colours and insignia of Pasifika United XI cricket club. There were two photos among those on the walls which were referred to in the interview – one of a group of men explained by Tui as the first Pasifika team, and the second of a formal staged photo of a group in team uniform (similar to the one worn by Tui). Tui’s first approach was to offer me a beer. I then proceeded to explain again the research and the requirement to sign the consent forms [Excerpt from my notes of my interview].¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Seidman, I. (2013): 98.

¹⁷⁵ I discuss in more detail the issue of reflexivity in Section 3.3.3.

¹⁷⁶ This excerpt is a summary of my notes of the interview of Tui Tulili which was conducted on 9 November 2013.

The almost universal element identified in the literature about the in-depth interview process is the fact that the interview is not simply a recording of the thoughts and experiences of the interviewee but by definition is a two-way conversation in which the researcher plays a clear part. It is therefore important to understand what part is played by the researcher in the product of the conversation and how the relationship is developed and influenced. Tui had been prepared by the provision of the Research Information Sheet which detailed information about me as the researcher. At our meeting Tui would also have observed that I was an elderly male of Anglo-Australian appearance. As Yow pointed out, the interview is vaguely impinged upon by a power relationship between the interviewer and the narrator, a relationship which “is affected by age, race, class, status, ethnicity, gender and knowledge”.¹⁷⁷ Portelli argued that the idea of difference in such a dialogue shapes the type of information given, the form of the narrative which is provided: “what the interviewer reveals about him or herself is ultimately relevant in orienting the interview towards monologue or self-reflexive thick dialogue”.¹⁷⁸ Elsewhere Portelli explained that “the interview is based on common ground that makes dialogue possible, but also on a difference that makes it meaningful,” the meaningful difference being the learning situation for the interviewer and teaching situation for the narrator.¹⁷⁹ The differences between Tui and I were evident in many of the areas mentioned by Yow and yet we had a point of connection which was cricket: my interest in learning about his cricketing story, and his willingness to tell it. It was evident that Tui had taken some trouble to prepare for the interview. Whether the wall photographs were a permanent feature of the room or were placed for my benefit I am unable to say, but Tui had certainly dressed for the occasion anticipating a discussion about Islander cricket and his place in it. The narrative that Tui was to give was therefore initially influenced by my position as a researcher and his need to provide a setting in which to present his story.

Abrams discussed the performative aspects of oral history interviews with the interviewee preparing a stage on which to conduct a performance for the researcher.¹⁸⁰ The setting, the clothing, the offering of food and drink are part of the staging of the performance. The offer (and my acceptance) of a drink seemed to change the nature of the interview, drawing me into a less formal conversation.

¹⁷⁷ Yow, V. R. (2005): 157.

¹⁷⁸ Portelli, A. (1998): 31.

¹⁷⁹ Portelli, A. (2005): np.

¹⁸⁰ Abrams, L. (2010): 147.

During the interview I asked Tui about sledging and the question had not been completed when he began the answer in the form of an anecdote; a story, which was structured as a performance. It related to an incident at a cricket match involving individuals in his team and in the opposing side. It was not a narrative but a script, which had him playing the role of both himself and other parties. His performance included modulations in his voice which ranged between shock, disbelief, anger, sarcasm and a range of other emotions. He told me that the Islander cricketers often got together to tell ‘war stories’ about their experiences, usually over a drink or two, and this seemed to have been one such story. The nuances of the story being told by Tui presented difficulties in the way I recorded the interview as a transcription. As Portelli insists, “oral sources are *oral* sources”, and the speaker’s intonation, language, form and volume are unable to be reproduced or represented objectively on the transcript.¹⁸¹ The point is made that the researcher needs to ensure that the narrator’s story does not get lost in the move from the oral to the written. The interview with Tui might have been analysed and interpreted as a written transcript, but such a narrow analysis would have missed the nuances of speech and language and without doubt the importance of the story to him.

Tui used the expression, “go eff yourself” in his performance of the sledging incident, in reference to his personal thoughts about what had occurred to him, rather than the expression he almost certainly would have thought at the time: “go fuck yourself”, an indication that he was trying to speak in a form that was acceptable (in his perception), to the sensibilities of a researcher from a university, or that the story was being recorded so he moderated his account accordingly. As Shopes observed, interviewees “assess interviewers, deciding what they can appropriately say to this person, what they must say, and what they should not say.”¹⁸² In any event, the speech and language Tui was using for the interview would have been tailored to his expectation of what I as the researcher and my audience were likely to find acceptable.

Towards the end of the interview, when asked whether he would like to add to what had been said, Tui tabled his proposal for an international Islander cricket competition – he seemed almost disappointed that the interview had nearly concluded and the subject had not been raised. The ready access to the copy of his proposal (which he provided for my research) and his anxiousness to explain it, seemed to have been an objective of his participation in the

¹⁸¹ Portelli, A. in Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (1998): 64-65.

¹⁸² Shopes, L. (2002): 8.

interview and part of his preparation for it. The interview with a researcher into cricket seemed to provide Tui with an opportunity to make his work more public, to advertise his ideas in a more formal environment beyond the discussions with friends over a few beers. As Grele observed, the interviewee “not only speaks to himself and to the interviewer, but he also speaks through the interviewer to the larger community and its history as he views it.”¹⁸³ Tui had shared his dream with me as an interviewer but was addressing a wider community audience about the proposal. In doing so he had developed for me a level of responsibility to tell his story; to help advertise and further his dream.

While only one of twenty interviews, this one seemed to capture many of the elements of an interview method: performance, staging, rehearsed scripts, the interaction and influence of the researcher in the creation of the interview, the problems of capturing the sense of the words said in a written transcript and the responsibility of the researcher to accurately and positively convey the story told. The key element of the interview became not only what Tui told me, but how he told me, and the reasons which seemed behind what he was telling me. I learnt about Tui’s continuing relationship with the country of his birth (New Zealand), the country to which he seemed to have the greatest connection (Samoa) and the local Islander community in Brisbane. The interview became less about cricket and more about belonging.

3.3.2 Analysis and Interpretation

Such a process where the researcher is inextricably bound in the creation of the artefact requires the interpretation and analysis to be as rigorous as the analysis and interpretation of written sources. Interviewees have an agenda of their own which needs to be critically examined. Shopes makes the point that “as with any source, historians must exercise critical judgement when using interviews – just because someone says something is true, however colourfully or convincingly they say it, doesn’t mean it is true”.¹⁸⁴ Portelli urged checking the interview data for “their factual credibility with all the established criteria of philological criticism and factual verification which are required by all types of sources anyway”;¹⁸⁵ a suggestion also seen as important by Shopes.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Grele, R. J., in Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (1998): 39.

¹⁸⁴ Shopes, L. (2002): 5-6.

¹⁸⁵ Shopes, L. (2002): 5-6.

¹⁸⁶ Shopes, L. (2002): 6.

The interviews began as a means of finding practical information about migrant participation in cricket and their exposure to the Board's programs and their experience of participation in school and club cricket development. However, the interviews became more and more concerned with how migrants participated in the game and what agency they had in their participation. The analysis examined the narrators' stories for an understanding of what was not said or what was implied by the words; how words were said and in what context they were used. This was a form of content analysis, a process which "combines theoretical or interpretive insight with the evidential" and is widespread in oral analysis.¹⁸⁷ Krippendorff suggests that "text" in fact refers to "printed matter, recorded speech, visual communications, works of art, artefacts" which for this research allowed the recordings and transcripts to be analysed using the method.¹⁸⁸ Krippendorff defines content analysis as "a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use."¹⁸⁹ Two elements of this method are the notion of context and the process of inference. In this part of my research, the text is taken to be the interview recording and the transcript of it, the context is the physical context of the interview itself and the field of cricket as described in the annual report analysis, and the valid inferences are made through inductive and deductive reasoning.

In practical terms the analysis sought factual evidence of patterns in the narratives, developed common themes and checked the themes and patterns with secondary literature about migrant agency and migrant experience. I chose to transcribe the interviews personally which enabled a greater familiarity with the interview content. The transcripts were entered into NVivo in coded and themes developed in a similar way to the analysis of the annual reports. NVivo was again used to help group data from the interviews around particular themes, such things as "culture", "school cricket", "Cricket Australia". The analysis was further informed by other primary sources such as the rich source of information provided by clubs on the Cricket Australia *MyCricket* website as well as secondary texts about aspects of migrant agency.

The analysis required a close understanding of the aural recording, a close reading of each transcript, a contextual placement of the interview through researcher notes of interview and the development from these three elements of the data of patterns and themes for further examination and interpretation. It shed much deeper meaning on the notion of migrants

¹⁸⁷ Abrams, L. (2010): 15.

¹⁸⁸ Krippendorff, K. (c2004): 19.

¹⁸⁹ Krippendorff, K. (c2004): 18.

playing cricket than the written and staged photographic text on display in the Board's annual reports.

3.3.3 Reflexivity

Mary Maynard, in an article about a research project involving the interviewing of older women, suggested that reflexivity is “one of the major ways of assuring rigorousness and reliability.”¹⁹⁰ Reflexivity is important in three ways in relation to this research – a) that I am open with the *interviewee* about the reasons for the research and my position in it, b) that I have *self-awareness* of my position in the research as a man with particular life experiences, sensibilities, thoughts and beliefs; and finally c) that this positioning is available for *the reader* of this thesis – the output of my research. In regard to the first of these reflexive positions, each interviewee was provided with a research information sheet which included the following:

About the researcher:

David Utting is a Doctor of Philosophy student at the University of the Sunshine Coast in the Faculty of Arts and Business. He holds degrees in Sociology and Economics and a Master of Arts Degree in Australian Studies. His recent research work has involved Australian cricket and its place and influence in the development of Australia's history and culture. David is a mature aged student who, prior to undertaking this project, worked for thirty years as a Human Resources professional. In these capacities, he has had extensive experience in interviewing and mediation in the workplace. He has been a playing member of football and cricket teams in his youth and more recently president of a country AFL football club in Victoria.¹⁹¹

For the second and third positions (above), I have introduced each chapter of this thesis with a reflective piece which serves to establish in a less formal way the background and content of the chapter. However, it also serves the purpose of providing the reader with detail of my own background in order to assist in evaluating the thesis findings. These pieces also served to remind me of my own placement in this story.

¹⁹⁰ Maynard, M. (2002): 38.

¹⁹¹ Excerpt from the Research Information Sheet provided to each narrator prior to their interview.

3.4 Interconnections between the two areas of data collection and analysis

Uniting the two sets of data (annual reports and interviews) in a meaningful analysis was achieved by a process of using one source (migrant interviews) to challenge, validate or contradict, and to provide greater meaning for, the other (annual reports), and vice versa. In addition the analyses used other primary and secondary source material to attempt to establish meanings and explanations of discrepancies and inconsistencies between the two areas of data. The above approaches sought to have methods and sources in a sense speak with each other – to interact in such a way as to provide a more powerful picture of the organisational, political and cultural environment surrounding the sport and how it was perceived by, and experienced by some of those who participate in it.

Use was made of a grounded theory method wherein it is suggested “that ideas, concepts and theories are developed from the data, rather than using data to test ideas or prove theory”.¹⁹² The method was developed by sociologists Glaser and Strauss to provide a “middle ground between extreme empiricism and complete relativism, in which data collection could be used to develop theories that address the interpretive realities of actors in social settings.”¹⁹³ Grounded theory according to Kathy Charmaz refers to both a method of enquiry and to the product of inquiry, and methods associated with grounded theory allow researchers to develop middle level theory “through successive levels of data analysis and conceptual development.”¹⁹⁴ Suddaby regards grounded theory as a method which “is most suited to efforts to understand the process by which actors construct meaning out of intersubjective experience” which seemed for this research to offer a way of linking the two areas of enquiry.¹⁹⁵

The research sought to establish what the Board had done to attract and retain migrant cricketers in the game. Having identified Board strategies and programs, the discourses with migrants sought migrant knowledge of and experience with such programs. These in turn provided knowledge of migrant experience which led to further analysis of the Board’s annual reports to establish interpretations of the Board’s silence in reporting such experience. An example of this process related to the Board’s policies and procedures for dealing with

¹⁹² Minichiello et al. (2008): 284.

¹⁹³ Suddaby, R. (2006): 634.

¹⁹⁴ Charmaz, K. (2005): 507.

¹⁹⁵ Suddaby, R. (2006): 634.

racial and religious vilification. These Board initiatives received regular attention in the annual reports and on the face of it, the Board could be said to be taking strong action in this area. The migrant dialogues included many anecdotes about the well-known cricket strategy of sledging or verbal intimidation, some of which was of a racial nature. A number of migrants said they were unaware of the Board's processes or chose for various reasons not to invoke the process. I sought to check back with the annual reports about the practice of sledging and surprisingly found that the term 'sledging' had only been used on one occasion in thirty-one years of reporting. It was this type of inconsistency which required further detailed investigation, reference to other sources and the development of interpretations as to the reasons for the disparity. The development of meanings and interpretations about the data came from a critical examination of each data source in its own right, a critical examination of the consistencies and inconsistencies between the two sets of data, checking against other primary sources and referral to secondary literature about the issue and then proffering interpretations and theories about what had been observed. Validation was sought from sources such as other Board corporate documents, Board media releases, cricketers' autobiographies, cricket statistical summaries, Cricket Australia and other cricket and sporting websites, and contemporary newspaper articles.

3.5 Conclusion

The so-called 'history wars' which took place in the 1990s and early 2000s in Australian cultural discourse, about the (re)interpretation of Australia's history, coincided with much of the period addressed in this research.¹⁹⁶ The sources of historical knowledge which were debated during the history wars – primary written official documents on the one hand, and unofficial accounts both written and oral on the other – are used in this thesis as a means of understanding the involvement of migrants in cricket. These research methods utilised throughout the thesis were effective in providing a deeper perspective of an interface between a significant sporting institution in Australia and a part of the culture it purported to represent. The methodologies and attendant methods provided different and somewhat surprising results.

¹⁹⁶ See MacIntyre S. and Clark, A. (2003).

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS OF ACB ANNUAL REPORTS: 1983-84 TO 1997-98

Reflections

In my younger days I would lie in bed listening to my transistor radio while the Australians, nine and a half thousand miles away (it was miles then) played against the Auld Enemy, England. The BBC commentator John Arlott would produce a kind of distinctive poetry in his descriptions of the game and the ABC's own Alan McGilvray as Australian guest commentator would try and bring his own style to cricket description. By 1983 Bill Lawry had long gone having been deposed as captain by the Australian Cricket Board and to me this heralded an end of the idyllic game I had come to love. Not so much because Lawry was a Victorian and the powers that be had cruelly removed him from office, but because his successor Ian Chappell, in a few short years, would be responsible for his/my team being labelled the 'Ugly Australians'. To make matters worse Chappell would become involved in a further upheaval in the country's cricket equilibrium. In 1978 an alternative 'national' game (World Series Cricket) was introduced by media owner Kerry Packer with Chappell as its leader. An aging Bobby Simpson, a former captain and the son of a Scotswoman, took over what was left of the 'real' national team. Australia was for two years represented by two national teams.

I saw the schism in cricket as a national calamity. I was asked to take sides in this civil war – either support the 'pyjama game' which was what World Series Cricket came to be called, or the ACB's true Australian team. It seemed a revisiting of the political schism that had occurred three years earlier when the Whitlam government was dismissed and the country had seemed to fracture. On reading the narratives of Italian migrants in Ricatti and Klugman's article on migrant sense of loss when the Australian soccer A League replaced ethnically based clubs, I understood as an Anglo-Australian the loss of part of my own heritage.¹⁹⁷

The two sides were reconciled in 1980 and once again the nation was represented by a singular Test team, but in 1983-84 the team had still not recovered from the events of 1978 and was struggling. This seemed to reflect during the period 1983 to 1998 a wider sense of loss of Australia's sense of itself. The people of New South Wales celebrated their bicentenary; calling it Australia Day to the bemusement of many Victorians, and Indigenous

¹⁹⁷ Ricatti, F. and Klugman, M. (2013).

Australians called it Invasion Day. Boat people from Vietnam were arriving and we began talking about a republic and seeing ourselves as part of Asia. The world for me was like my Australian cricket team: adrift in a sea of discontent with no strong sense of direction.

In this chapter I consider the directions taken by the Board in its attempts to reunite cricket and the response it made to the changing Australian political and social environment in which it was a key institution. The analysis seeks to understand the background to the Board's sudden change in 1999 in its approach to Australian national identity and to cultural diversity. I argue that rather than reflect a multicultural Australia, the Board paid lip service to the government's social policy objectives, representing a sport which connected with white, male, Anglo Australians and with the business and media elite. There was little in the reports to suggest it was promoting itself as a cultural leader in Australia as it would later do in 1998-99 and beyond. Rather, there is much evidence of a cultural conservatism, a reluctance to embrace cultural and social change.

4.1 Australian political and cultural discourse in the Hawke and Keating years

In March 1984, historian Geoffrey Blainey spoke at a Rotary luncheon in Warrnambool in Victoria on the rate of Asian immigration at that time. Blainey's comments at that function suggested that Asian immigration was proceeding too quickly and that the current immigration policy was arrogant and insensitive to public opinion.¹⁹⁸ Blainey later explained and added to his comments stating that "the controversy about immigration is a controversy about who we are and where we are going,"¹⁹⁹ and that "the multicultural policy has, at times, tended to emphasise the rights of ethnic minorities at the expense of the majority of Australians, thus unnecessarily encouraging divisions and weakening social cohesion".²⁰⁰ The Warrnambool speech and subsequent statements began a public discourse in Australia about national identity, immigration, multiculturalism and race.

The White Australia Policy had been dismantled in terms of legislation by the Whitlam government in 1973 and multiculturalism as a term for migrant integration was introduced by the Fraser government and later reinforced by the Hawke government. Hawke in 1984, prior to the Blainey speech, made a firm statement about multiculturalism being more than a term

¹⁹⁸ Blainey, G. (1984): 25.

¹⁹⁹ Blainey, G. (1984): 164.

²⁰⁰ Blainey, G. (1984): 170.

delineating a society of different ethnic groups, but also “an approach to policy formulation and resource allocation which seeks to provide for equality of access and opportunity.”²⁰¹ It was during the Hawke and Keating years that multiculturalism became not only a policy for access to government services but also an expression of identity.

Paul Keating became Prime Minister in 1991 and delivered a number of important speeches which commented on Australia’s identity and place in the world. In 1992 he delivered the Redfern Address which acknowledged injustices done to Indigenous people by non-Indigenous settlers:

Isn’t it reasonable to say that if we can build a prosperous and remarkably harmonious multicultural society in Australia, surely we can find just solutions to the problems which beset the first Australians – the people to whom most injustice has been done?²⁰²

Keating argued that Australia’s future lay not with Britain but in the Asian region:

My criticism is directed at those Australians or, more accurately, that Australian attitude which still cannot separate our interests, our history, or our future, from the interests of Britain.²⁰³

He saw multiculturalism and the increasing immigration from Asia as positives in Australia’s standing in Asia. In 1995 he took the debate about Australia’s legal connection with Britain further when he announced the government’s intention that Australia become a republic by 2001.²⁰⁴ In a speech to a Global Diversity Conference in Sydney in 1995, Keating discussed changes in the concept of nation and the nation state. The challenge he suggested “is how we can create societies rich in cultural, racial and religious diversity but do so in ways which encourage rather than compromise a sense of national identity.”²⁰⁵

In his response speech to Keating’s announcement of a move towards a republic, John Howard as Opposition Leader acknowledged the changing attitudes in Australian society towards the constitutional monarchy. His alternative proposal to that of the government was

²⁰¹ Hawke, R.J. (1984): 2.

²⁰² Keating, P. (1992-2): np.

²⁰³ Keating, P. (1992-1): np.

²⁰⁴ Keating, P. (1995-1): np.

²⁰⁵ Keating, P. (1995-2): np.

the formation of a people's convention to consider a range of options, rather than put a single option to a referendum (an option which he said would be that of Paul Keating – not the people).²⁰⁶ Howard also began to push back against particular interpretations of Australian history:

There is ... a broader challenge involved. And that is to ensure that our history as a nation is not written definitively by those who take the view that Australians should apologise for most of it. This 'black armband' view of our past reflects a belief that most Australian history since 1778 has been little more than a disgraceful story of imperialism, exploitation, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination.²⁰⁷

This period became known as the history wars, pitting a "black armband" view of history against a "three cheers" view.²⁰⁸ The Liberal/National Party coalition itself was undergoing challenging times with the rise in influence of Pauline Hanson and her One Nation Party. Hanson was elected in the 1996 election in which Howard's government came to power. Hanson had defected from the Liberal Party and was elected as an Independent, espousing strident views on what she saw as Indigenous advantage, the rate of Asian migration and multiculturalism:

I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we're in danger of being swamped by Asians.²⁰⁹

It is in this climate of strident and often divisive debate in Australian political and social life that the Australian Cricket Board and Australian Test cricket continued to represent Australia to the world.

4.2 The Board and cultural diversity

Australian institutions should acknowledge, reflect and respond to the cultural diversity of the Australian community.

[Australian Government policy document: *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia ... Sharing our future* (1989).]²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Howard, J. (1995-1).

²⁰⁷ Howard, J. (1996).

²⁰⁸ MacIntyre, S. and Clark, A. (2003): 3-4.

²⁰⁹ Hanson, P. (1996).

The government's 1989 goal suggested that Australia's diversity should be reflected in Australian institutions and cricket, as a significant institution which represented Australia in international sport, was one. Sport gained considerable attention under the Hawke Labor government with the Prime Minister regularly aligning himself with successful sporting people and teams. The Fraser government in the late 1970s had recognised the importance of sport in the national imagination following what had been seen as an embarrassment for a sporting nation when the Australian Olympic team failed to return from the Montreal Olympics with a single gold medal.²¹¹ The Australian Institute of Sport (AIS) was formed in 1981 as a response and was meant to be a means of increasing sporting participation and fitness in the community leading to sporting excellence at national level.²¹² The motivation for governments to provide funding for sport included community health, social cohesion and economic return and the belief that funding elite sport would lead to participation at a grass roots level and that such increased participation would widen the pool for selection at national level.²¹³ During the Hawke government years, sport became a significant area of Australian government policy and funding. The Australian Sports Commission (ASC) was formed in 1984-85 and its chairman's report that year claimed that sport "makes a major contribution to the development of our national life, and to the well-being and security of all Australians".²¹⁴

In 1983-84 the government provided funding for a school cricket development program called Kanga Cricket. The government was funding development of cricket at grass roots level as well as at the elite level of the sport in keeping with its general sports policy objectives. In 1983-84, the Board was a small organisation, with four management and five full time administrative staff.²¹⁵ At that time the main function of the Board was to select the national Test team, to manage international competition and to arrange sponsorship and advertising revenue. In 1985-86 cricket was introduced as an AIS sport²¹⁶ and the following

²¹⁰ Australian Government (1989): 2.

²¹¹ Jolly, R. (2013): 5-6.

²¹² See Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 175.

²¹³ See Jolly (2013) for a summary of the history of government involvement in sport funding particularly at pp. 1-3.

²¹⁴ Australian Sports Commission (1985): 2.

²¹⁵ ACB (1983-84): 17. By 1997-98 the annual report is able to provide an organisation chart which has 28 named staff positions. See also Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007), for comment on the size and operation of the Board's staff in the early 1980s: 208-9.

²¹⁶ ACB (1985-86): 9.

year the Board advised of the establishment of an elite cricket training facility in Adelaide in partnership with the AIS.²¹⁷

For Australian cricket as reflected in the pages of the Board's annual reports, Asian immigration numbers seemed hardly an issue with the only images of cricketers from Asian and other non-white backgrounds being team photographs of Australia's opposing nations of West Indies, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. When Geoffrey Blainey remarked in 1984 on the pace of Asian migration, the only Asian-born players to have represented Australia since 1945 were Rex Sellers, who was born in India and played one Test match in 1964, and Dav Whatmore, who was born in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and played seven Tests in 1979.²¹⁸ The Blainey report of disquiet in Australian society about Asian immigration seemed a long way away from Australian cricket and if the Board had plans for embracing the new and changing community diversity, there is no evidence in the annual reports of this period. The Board regularly reported on participation but there was never any breakdown of participation figures on the grounds of ethnic background. Participation simply meant the numbers of people playing the game.²¹⁹ The school programs Kanga Cricket and later Milo Cricket A to Z had no apparent separate or different programs for migrant children, suggesting that it was simply assumed that the children of migrants would take up the game under the same terms and conditions which applied to any other Australian children.

In the 1980s and early 1990s the only evidence of the Board's approach to matters of race and racism in the annual reports was its reporting of issues relating to sporting contact with South Africa. The Gleneagles Agreement adopted by Commonwealth governments in 1977 banned sporting contact with South Africa in protest at that nation's apartheid policy. The agreement impacted cricket tours of South Africa and by South African teams touring Australia (and other nations).²²⁰ During the early 1980s the issue for the Board became extremely significant when groups of Australian players were enticed by the South African Cricket Union (at that time the controlling body of South African cricket), to join so-called 'rebel tours' of South Africa as an 'Australian' team.²²¹ The 1984-85 Chief Executive's

²¹⁷ ACB (1986-87): 5 and 10-11.

²¹⁸ ACB (1990-91): 14 showed a photo of Rex Sellers (who was presenting a trophy on behalf of a sponsor). Sellers was an Indian born Australian Test player but his place here is as a sponsor's representative and no mention of him other than his name is made.

²¹⁹ See for example ACB (1993-4): 16 where participation means "boys and girls".

²²⁰ See Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 169-174 for a discussion of the Gleneagles agreement and its application.

²²¹ The history of the rebel tours is well discussed in Cashman, R. (2008); Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007): 224-241, and Heenan, T. and Dunstan, D. (2015).

report spent two pages (of a 32 page document) outlining the crisis in Australian cricket which was caused by the organisation of a 'rebel tour' of South Africa by Australian cricketers. For the Board, the player actions were "a major threat", and the Board was concerned at the "high tax-free remuneration to be paid to those players going to South Africa; and the serious disruption to the important Australian Ashes tour of England" due to the likely loss of players to the rebel team. The Board report also said that "[t]he Board commenced litigation for the purposes of protecting the validity and enforceability of the Board's player contracts".²²²

The issue of cricket contact with South Africa was dealt with in each of the Board's annual reports over this period to 1992 but there is no admonition of rebels for supporting a repugnant South African social policy; merely concern at the impact on the Board's player stocks and commercial interests.²²³ The issue of contact with South Africa was not new to the Board. Historian Richard Cashman quoted a letter from the Board Chair, Sir Donald Bradman, in 1972 to the Prime Minister's Department which indicated the Board's concern at the loss of profits and a concern that:

... so long as the South African Gov't forbids the selection of a coloured man in a cricket team to represent South Africa, then apparently the Aust. Trades Union and the Anti-apartheid people, will continue their opposition to any resumption of matches.²²⁴

Bradman had been a champion cricketer in the 1930s and retired in 1948, soon after taking up a position on the Australian Cricket Board and later becoming its Chair. The tone of this letter suggested little sympathy for the position taken by protestors. A study by Tom Heenan and David Dunstan reveals that behind the scenes, "Bradman and the Board lobbied Australian politicians and diplomats in an attempt to keep white South African cricket in the international arena."²²⁵ They assert that "through his furtive lobbying of both Liberal Coalition and Labor governments, he sought to make Apartheid palatable to the Australian public and politicians so that cricket relations could continue with the whites-only SACA".²²⁶

²²² ACB (1985-86): 6.

²²³ ACB (1985-86): 6.

²²⁴ Cashman, R. (2008): 13.

²²⁵ Heenan, T. and Dunstan, D. (2015): 1110.

²²⁶ Heenan, T. and Dunstan, D. (2015): 1111. South African Cricket Association which controlled cricket in South Africa up to the mid-1970s.

Cricket writers Gideon Haigh and David Frith summed up the Board's approach to apartheid by describing the position of the Queensland Cricket Association representative on the Board, Clem Jones, who was quoted as saying "I believed that apartheid was abhorrent, and I believed we should have no part of South Africa." Haigh and Frith suggest that "[o]n the Board, that made Jones a lonely man".²²⁷ Haigh and Frith also remark that "a clear majority of its members wanted the Prime Minister to lift the bans on rebel players from other countries."²²⁸ The text of the annual reports confirm that the Board's only concerns of the rebel tours were their impact on the efficacy of the Board's restrictive player contracts and issues of restraint of trade, rather than South Africa's policies.²²⁹ The one report which did make an oblique reference to South Africa's racial policies was in 1988-89 when the Board reported that:

A group of former players and media representatives from Australia visited South Africa and returned with impressive reports of the rapid and substantial steps being taken towards the development of non-racial cricket in South Africa, and in particular the township coaching program of the SACU [South African Cricket Union] where some 60,000 non white young people have received specific and on going coaching over the past two years.²³⁰

Over the years 1983-1998 this is the first and only acknowledgement by the Board in its annual reports of the basis for the international concern about South Africa's racial policies. Until then the Board showed itself to be a reluctant participant in sporting sanctions and this latter comment is almost a sigh of relief that the matter is nearing a resolution. It may be that the issue had received considerable attention in newspaper and other reporting and that the Board took the issues to be well known. But the annual reports as official statements of position were generally silent on the apartheid question.

South Africa was re-admitted to world cricket in 1991 and the Board report of that year showed a photograph of the Board's Chief Executive Officer with his South African counterpart (Ali Bacher), arms entwined.²³¹ The South African team included one non-white player, Omar Henry, who played during the world cup tournament but whose photo was not used. The Board never reported on how the sanctions matter was resolved, simply advising

²²⁷ Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007): 153.

²²⁸ Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007): 228.

²²⁹ See Christopher Merrett's entry in Cashman et al. (1996): 490.

²³⁰ ACB (1988-89): 10.

²³¹ ACB (1991-92): 6.

that “South Africa emerged from 21 years isolation from world cricket”.²³² If the Board had had any sympathy with the objections to apartheid, it might have been expected that something be made of Henry’s selection but instead, the very man (Bacher) who had a deep involvement in the ‘rebel’ tours which so divided Australian cricket and was seen as subverting international efforts to bring about an end to apartheid, was now a brother in arms.²³³

Much has been written about the Board and its attitude to the Gleneagles agreement and the rebel cricket tours with arguments being put by both sides: the political rather than humanitarian objectives of the agreement, the apparent hypocrisy of government in dealing with South Africa in trade but not in sport, the Board’s disagreement that sport should be used as a political tool, and the charge that the rebels were giving comfort to a morally corrupt regime.²³⁴ The Board is shown to have been dealing with commercial, cricket and organisational issues rather than being closely aligned with the objectives and strategies of the government. The government was giving funding to the game but was instituting policy which directly impacted the Board’s cricket activities. The Board’s reluctance to recognise political and wider community shifts towards more humanitarian attitudes reflected a perception of the cricket environment as largely Anglo Australian. The reports showed no sign of recognition of the growing cultural diversity of Australia’s population – there is little evidence in the reports between 1983 and 1998 that the Board perceived itself as anything but a white, Anglo-Australian sporting organisation of and for white, Anglo-Australian men. The game of Test cricket was played among diverse cultures at international level but the resolve of the government to have diverse cultures reflected in its institutions was not an apparent priority for the Board until 1998-99. Cricket was simply a ‘not-for-profit’ business providing entertainment while representing the nation.

4.3 Cricket and its relationship with government and business

Prime Minister Bob Hawke used Australian sporting achievement and sporting teams for positive promotion of himself, his government and government programs.²³⁵ Cricket was a

²³² ACB (1991-92): 6.

²³³ ACB (1991-02): 6. See also Williams, J. (2001).

²³⁴ See for example, Francis, B. (1989), written by former cricketer Bruce Francis who organised the Australian rebel tours and wrote about the process and subsequent court hearings.

²³⁵ See Cashman, R. (1995): 120 and 124, and Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. (1997): 44.

significant area of such activity. Hawke had been a competent cricketer himself²³⁶ and during his term as Prime Minister his government oversaw the creation of the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS) cricket academy in Adelaide, the launch of a government funded school cricket program and the reinstitution of the Prime Minister's XI cricket match in Canberra. The relationship between cricket and the Prime Minister is shown in the annual report pages to work symbiotically – the government providing funds for its programs and receiving political connection to a popular institution, and the institution receiving assistance with its development programs and a raised level of status from its association with political power. The relationship with government is also important to understanding the political and social discourse about diversity in Australian life and how cricket participated in specific elements of that discourse.

The front cover of the 1983-84 annual report showed a small inset photograph of Prime Minister Bob Hawke and his wife with Test captains Kim Hughes (Australia) and Clive Lloyd (West Indies). The caption gave no indication as to the circumstances of the photograph nor was it otherwise mentioned in the report. It is likely to have been taken at a reception as part of the Prime Minister's XI cricket game in Canberra about which the Board Chairman (Fred Bennett) said within the report:



Figure 1

the Board was extremely pleased Mr. Bob Hawke reintroduced the Prime Minister's XI match with a game against the West Indies in Canberra. Mr. Hawke also launched the new Primary Development Program – Kanga Cricket – which will be introduced to Australia's two million primary school children this summer.²³⁷

“Reintroduced” refers to the annual match which had been instituted by Liberal Prime Minister Menzies in the 1950s but dropped by later Prime Ministers.²³⁸ The game provided an indication of the connection between cricket and national political power in Canberra and the involvement of Labor Prime Minister Hawke indicated that cricket had meaning for both sides of politics.

²³⁶ See Barrett, C. and Hogan, J. (2013), ‘Bob Hawke keeps talking a good game’ *Sydney Morning Herald* accessed on 16 February 2015 at <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/cricket/the-tonk-bob-hawke-keeps-talking-a-good-game-20131215-2zfdm.html>Ref

²³⁷ ACB (1983-84): 4.

²³⁸ Sir Robert Menzies' last Prime Minister's XI was in 1966. Subsequent Liberal Prime Ministers did not continue the event until after Hawke.

The Executive Director's (David Richard's) Report also acknowledged the Prime Minister – “The Board greatly appreciates the Prime Minister's interest and patronage of cricket”,²³⁹ and a photograph of Mr. Hawke who “opens-up for Kanga” is shown on page 7 (Figure 1). In the context of this thesis, it is interesting to note that the young child in the photograph with Hawke appears to be a boy, who is fair and wearing Australian insignia on his uniform. There is a long association of Prime Ministers and senior Federal and State Government politicians with cricket in the pages of the annual reports. For example Hawke and Victorian State Premier John Cain are shown at the toss of the coin in 1984-85²⁴⁰, John Brown, Minister for Sport was shown at the announcement of the new AIS facility,²⁴¹ South Australian Premier John Bannon is reported to have been a speaker at the opening of the AIS in Adelaide²⁴² and (not unsurprisingly) an almost annual photograph of the Prime Minister of the day with the Prime Minister's XI team photo.²⁴³ Politicians associated themselves with winning Australian teams with Hawke shown on the front cover of the 1989-90 report surrounded by the team which defeated England.²⁴⁴ The Chairman (Colin Egar) in his message reported that the returning players were given a ticker tape parade through Sydney and a welcome home dinner in Melbourne “where the Prime Minister congratulated the team; and sparked off spontaneous cheering from the 100,000 crowd at the MCG” concluding that this “was convincing proof that cricket ranked high within the community as a national sport”.²⁴⁵ The team was given a similar welcome home from the West Indies in Sydney in 1995 where NSW Labor State Premier Bob Carr hosted a victory reception. This was an experience for the Chairman (Alan Crompton) which “made me feel proud to be an Australian”.²⁴⁶ These statements connect cricket with political power and influence and suggested a two-way relationship – cricket being able to indicate to its constituents that it had a presence with the political elite while politicians received the political capital from a close association with popular culture as well as being able to have cricket deliver aspects of their social policies.

In 1991-92, Australia and New Zealand jointly hosted the Cricket World Cup – an International One Day competition which at that time was contested by nine national cricket

²³⁹ ACB (1983-84): 5.

²⁴⁰ ACB (1983-84): 9.

²⁴¹ ACB (1985-86): 9.

²⁴² ACB (1986-87): 12.

²⁴³ See for example, ACB (1986-87): 34 and ACB (1989-90): 34.

²⁴⁴ In 1983 Bob Hawke revelled in the Australia II victory in the America's Cup. Booth and Tatz discuss this alignment of political and national fervour over sporting achievement in Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 182.

²⁴⁵ ACB (1989-90): 4.

²⁴⁶ ACB (1994-95): 1.

teams. The front and back covers of the annual report that year showed a colour photograph of all nine teams arrayed on seats aboard an Australian warship on Sydney harbour with the harbour bridge and opera house in the background. The report showed another photograph of the nine team captains on the deck of the ship, with the caption advising that “HMAS Canberra was provided by the Royal Australian Navy for the official teams photograph”.²⁴⁷ This understated comment was an indication that cricket had such importance that the nation’s defence force was at the disposal of the Board for this event. The annual report included photographs and stories about government political figures but never politicians from opposition parties. The preoccupation with the government suggested that the Board was meeting its obligation to the government as a source of funding rather than sharing any particular political philosophical position with these Labor politicians.

Hawke’s interest in the sport was carefully orchestrated to gain popular attention. His last Prime Minister’s XI was in December 1991 and the Board’s report said that “Mr Hawke’s political career ended soon after and the ACB would like to record its appreciation of the tremendous support he gave cricket during his term in office”.²⁴⁸ This did not mean that his successor, Paul Keating would be ignored. The new Prime Minister was featured looking a little uncomfortable in the team photograph in 1992.²⁴⁹ Mr Keating was not noted as an aficionado of cricket but in 1994-95 he is shown being presented with “his own One-Day International shirt” by Board members at the season launch in Canberra.²⁵⁰ The Keating Government was defeated in 1996 and in the annual report of 1995-96 the new Prime Minister John Howard gained his first mention, paying tribute to former Test cricketer Ray Lindwall.²⁵¹ But it is a photograph of Prime Minister Howard in the 1997-98 annual report (Figure 2) which is revealing of the relationship between the Board and Howard. The page included the caption “Prime Minister John Howard with Mark Taylor during the



Prime Minister John Howard with Mark Taylor during the second Test at Lord's on the 1997 Ashes tour.

Figure 2

²⁴⁷ ACB (1991-92): 7.

²⁴⁸ ACB (1991-92): 24.

²⁴⁹ ACB (1992-93): 30.

²⁵⁰ ACB (1994-95): 6.

²⁵¹ ACB (1995-96): 17.

second Test at Lord's on the 1997 Ashes tour".²⁵² There is no further explanation of the circumstances or reason for the inclusion of the photo. The clear message of this photograph and its placement towards the front of the report (page 4) is that cricket and the Prime Minister had an easy and close relationship and that the relationship had important meaning for the Board.

In later years the Board would assert that cricket was a cultural leader and had a role as a nation builder.²⁵³ Its role as a nation builder, however, was severely tested during these years with the Board finding itself defending its revenue stream against the introduction of government programs which supported community health and welfare. Governments funded sport ostensibly to provide role models or aspirational targets for young people. It was the Board's relationship with the Benson & Hedges Company, in the annual reports between 1983 and 1996, which gave an indication of the Board's two-way relationship with the Hawke/Keating governments. For twenty-three years until the end of the 1995-96 season Benson & Hedges, which marketed tobacco products, was the Board's major sponsor. During the 1980s pressure was building in Australia to ban tobacco advertising and sponsorship of sport. Federal legislation was passed in 1992 (the Tobacco Advertising Prohibition Act 1992), which led to a cessation of such sponsorships in 1996.²⁵⁴ In 1983 it was estimated that Benson & Hedges had had 40 000 exposures of its name on a single television channel on one day of cricket without a specific advertisement being run.²⁵⁵ The sponsor achieved this through naming rights and hoardings around playing arenas. In the last year of Benson & Hedges sponsorship of cricket, the company's name or logo or a photograph of a company executive appeared at least 60 times in the annual report.²⁵⁶ As a sport relying heavily on such sponsorship, the Board outlined its position on the government actions, taking a very bullish approach, saying that:

the Board will continue to accept sponsorship from any legal source. While the sale of tobacco products is legal and while Governments continue to receive very

²⁵² ACB (1997-98): 4.

²⁵³ See for example ACB (1999-2000): 35, and ACB (1998-99): 28.

²⁵⁴ Commonwealth Consolidated Acts, *Tobacco Advertising Prohibition Act 1992*, accessed on 25 May 2014 at http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/tapa1992314/

²⁵⁵ Quit Victoria, '15.5. Sponsorship', *Tobacco in Australia: Facts and Issues*, website accessed 25 May 2014 at <http://www.tobaccoinaustralia.org.au/fandi/fandi/c15s5.htm>

²⁵⁶ ACB (1995-96).

considerable amounts from excise duties on tobacco products, it is unreasonable for sport to be denied a similar freedom of choice.²⁵⁷

In 1994-95 the Board announced that “because of the political pressure applied to tobacco sponsorship arrangements, Benson & Hedges outstanding 23 year relationship with cricket has to end in 1996.”²⁵⁸ A full-page of support and thanks to Benson & Hedges is provided. It seemed that cricket was a national institution which was not prepared to lead when such leadership would impact its revenue streams. More importantly the national leadership status it would claim in 1999 and beyond was only provided so far as government funding was concerned.

The annual report pages are an opportunity for the Board to acknowledge its supporters and while this is quite a reasonable and unsurprising thing for the organisation to do, it was the imagery that was published in the annual report which described an organisation which had friends amongst high levels of Australian business (the Commonwealth Bank, Carlton and United Breweries, The Nine TV Network, PBL Marketing, Nestle, Australian Wool Corporation, Mutual Insurance, Ansett Australia among others).²⁵⁹ While photographs of political figures in the pages of the annual reports always appeared to have an air of formality (apart from that shown in Figure 2) and were somewhat politically staged, the imagery which accompanied sponsors and media partners indicated an element of informality – of relaxed and comfortable relationships. Apart from occasional portrait photographs of sponsors’ executives, there are many photographs with stories which exhibit close relationships in settings of shared dinners and drinks. The images of businessmen (and it is always men) appear regularly in formal wear or lounge suits, often in relaxed pose at dinner functions, wine glass in hand. The text is quite demonstrably appreciative of sponsors and the Board’s relationship with them, a particular example being a special dinner function for the Benson & Hedges Company in 1994-95 (the last year of Benson & Hedges sponsorship) and a full-page montage of photographic coverage of the black-tie event.²⁶⁰ The Board’s reports go well beyond simply showing the sponsorship company’s name and logo, but also provide personal thanks to sponsor’s senior executives by name and include photographs of these businessmen. They are shown not only launching programs and presenting trophies but often

²⁵⁷ ACB (1983-84): 10.

²⁵⁸ ACB (1994-95): 9.

²⁵⁹ See ACB (1992-93): 15, which is indicative of the list of major cricket sponsors.

²⁶⁰ ACB (1994-95): 4 and 6.

simply relaxing at social functions with the Board, its members and cricketers.²⁶¹ These insertions into an annual report served a number of purposes – acknowledgement of sponsors’ contributions, providing a free advertisement to sponsors to ensure continued support, but they also reminded readers of the power and influence of the people with whom the Board and its cricketers mixed. It was a demonstration that this was an organisation which had national importance and the power to command the attention of the nation.

4.4 Cricket and Australian history and culture

For an organisation which later comfortably identified with its Anglo-Australian history there is little evidence of this during the period 1983-84 to 1997-98. The annual report rarely referenced the past. The year 1983 was the fiftieth anniversary of the ‘bodyline’ tour which Sissons and Stoddart had described as a defining moment in Australia’s national history. The Board report that year made no mention of that milestone.²⁶² Sissons and Stoddart in their remembering of the tour even remark on the passing of this date without much comment or ceremony.²⁶³ The deeds of past teams and individuals were not something which the Board saw as important in its reporting.²⁶⁴ Yet in later years every small reminder of cricket’s past would be remembered. The reports of the 1980s and early 1990s were about the present year – the only reference of note to the past was in obituaries where the players and officials who had passed during the year are remembered. Obituaries in 1983-84 produced almost single line reports but by 1995-96, considerably more space was being afforded to the likes of former Test cricketer Ray Lindwall, and Alan McGilvray, a noted ABC commentator.²⁶⁵ In 1996-97 the Board was reporting more extensively on player retirements with a full page remembering of the feats of Craig McDermott, Bruce Reid and Carl Rackemann.²⁶⁶ But

²⁶¹ See for example (ACB) (1995-96): 19, where Benson & Hedges executive Allan Turner is shown presenting “The Benson & Hedges International Cricketer of the Year Trophy” to Steve Waugh. The placement of this image is more about Benson & Hedges than the achievement of Steve Waugh. Also ACB (1987-88): 9 where Bond media chair and the Board chair appear in formal wear and the Benson & Hedges Managing Director is shown presenting trophies. In ACB (1986-87): 7, photographs of media owners Kerry Packer and Alan Bond and two Benson & Hedges executives are shown.

²⁶² Sissons, R. & Stoddart, B. (1984): 2-3

²⁶³ Sissons, R. & Stoddart, B. (1984): 1.

²⁶⁴ Following the ‘rapprochement’ as it was called in 1979, Packer’s company PBL Marketing became the Board’s publicists and many of the features of the Packer years were retained. It might be argued that this was a period of the Board being required to adopt the ‘new’ cricket approach.

²⁶⁵ ACB (1995-96): 17.

²⁶⁶ ACB (1996-97): 17.

reporting was confined largely to the present year in cricket and such reports, if they mentioned the past, did not appear to be a part of an overt strategy to build a strong cricket history which would connect with the Australian national story. While history is not specifically discussed in the text, what is presented each year in this period is a time capsule; a record for posterity. Each report included Test match scores and statistics and interstate competition results as well as many staged team photographs of Test teams, touring parties, State teams and even the Board itself.

Each report became another page in Australian cricket history even though reference to past teams and players was scant. These staged team photographs had the appearance of a school class or club-room-wall photographs which recorded who was there in that year (See Figures



Figure 3

Figure 4

representative and cricket academy teams and others. The team photographs in these reports were producing layer upon layer of cricket history, year by year cementing teams and players' places in Australia's sporting narrative. History did not need to be mentioned – it was there to be seen in

each annual report. Whether the Board was concerned at the changing nature of the Australian population which its teams represented is not evident from the text but the growing appearance was of a sport which was diametrically opposed to that suggested in the government's objective: that diversity be acknowledged and reflected in Australian institutions.

3 and 4 for example).²⁶⁷ The report in 1983-84 had a meagre two such photographs but over the ensuing years this number grew to as many as sixteen in 1988-89: photographs which included posed 'class' photos of the Board itself, the administrative staff, the International Cricket Council (ICC) meeting

in London, Test and State teams, under age



²⁶⁷ Figure 3: ACB (1989-90): 8 showing the Board members, and Figure 4: ACB (1992-93): back cover (the Test team for that year).

4.5 Conclusion

The period of the Hawke/Keating governments showed the Board in its annual reports to be a conservative organisation which was connected with the business and media elite and had a somewhat fractious relationship with the government. Its position in Australian society was assumed and did not need to be highlighted. It did not look back into its history but used the report to simply establish the reporting year in a longer history. It did not look forward, reporting events which impacted the business in the reporting year. And it only looked outside its own area of operation when challenged by external issues which immediately threatened the business. This outward-looking was shown to be conservative, opposing government initiatives and not in any way acknowledging the changing nature of the Australian community. In terms of the government ambition that Australian institutions should reflect and acknowledge the diversity of the Australian population, the Board's annual reports reflected an Anglo Australia.

The national debates which were being waged in the wider community, in which it would later say it was a leading institution, were not mentioned in these pages. Its annual reports reflected an organisation and a sport which was white, male and Anglo and the Board was happy to keep it that way. The Board's only foray into political comment about social issues and particularly cultural diversity showed it to be a conservative organisation which had little sympathy with social reform or diversity in Australian society. The views which it expressed about South Africa seemed to harbour a lack of sympathy towards that country's Indigenous peoples' plight and its silence suggested a desire to not bring attention to its own situation. South African cricket was not a subject which the Board could allow to be turned on its own situation which remained free from any Indigenous cricket representatives, relatively free of any black and Asian cricketers with only a handful of non-Anglo non-white cricketers in this period to show for the growing population diversity of Australia.

The annual report of 1997-98 advised of the development of a five-year strategic plan which would "take the game into the next century" and of the process which was underway.²⁶⁸ The focus of the plan was expected to be to "maximise the commercial potential of the game while balancing this against the need to preserve cricket's position as a major part of

²⁶⁸ ACB (1997-98): 8-9.

Australian life”.²⁶⁹ This statement served to draw a line under the Board’s use of the annual report as simply a reporting of the year in cricket. It began a strategy of looking back to past years, while at the same time looking forward in a planning sense, and outside cricket, to the role cricket played in wider Australian society.

²⁶⁹ ACB (1997-98): 9.

CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS OF ACB ANNUAL REPORTS: 1998-99 TO 2006-07

Reflections

Towards the end of the 1990s I was invited to a cricket function hosted by the Australian Cricket Society.²⁷⁰ The dinner that night included past Australian Test player Doug Walters, and in a somewhat awestruck moment I tried to make intelligent conversation when he joined our table. I recounted my theory at the time that the Test captain was simply a figurehead and that the real decisions which affected the course of a Test match were made by the coach and off-field personnel. I found the conversation quickly fell to awkward silence in his disbelief in my lack of knowledge of the game. Perhaps I may have prolonged the conversation had I fleshed out my view that while the captain's impact on the cricket field was influenced and controlled by many off the field, the captain's figurehead role was one which transcended the game's tactical manoeuvring. But the conversation had moved in other directions.

Two Australian captains during that time led the Test team – Mark Taylor (1994-1999) and Steve Waugh (1999-2004). Both brought to cricket a strong sense of nationalism, particularly Steve Waugh who replaced Taylor. Waugh had had my admiration ever since he 'bounced' West Indian captain Viv Richards in Brisbane in 1988 in a show of defiance at the intimidation that the West Indian bowlers had used to great effect to reach the number one position in World cricket. The West Indies had come a long way since Joe Solomon's day. Waugh was a modest 1.68 cm tall, a medium pace bowler whose speed and ability to have a ball rise to dangerous bouncer level was unlikely to worry the world's best batsman (Richards). Nor could it provide the level of intimidation that West Indians fast bowlers, Courtney Walsh (1.98 cm), or Curtley Ambrose (2.01 cm) usually achieved. On that day in Brisbane, the over Waugh bowled might have been regarded as an ineffectual gesture but for me and many others, he was telling the cricket world that Australian Test cricket stood for something. Waugh later led a national team which proudly displayed its Australian brand of aggression, competitiveness and ruthlessness. Its talisman was the baggy green cap which evoked Australian cricket's history and which Waugh (and before him Taylor) had instituted as a symbol of nation.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ The Australian Cricket Society is an organisation of 'cricket aficionados' which hosts speakers from cricket and on this occasion was raising funds through a Dutch auction. Its activities can be seen at its website: accessed on 15 July 2015 at <http://www.australiancricketsociety.com/index.php?page=history>

²⁷¹ Discussed by Gideon Haigh in Harper, M. and White, R. (2010): 206-213.

While Paul Keating and John Howard battled over whether Australia should be a republic or a constitutional monarchy; whether Australia was part of Asia or an outpost of Europe in Asia; or whether immigration was a threat or an opportunity, the cricket teams led by Waugh and Taylor were almost tangibly ‘Australia’ in their Anglo homogeneity. For John Howard this Australia-on-display had the elements which accorded with his view of the direction which the national identity conversation should take and he adopted cricket as his own talisman. Cricket, the Australian captain, and the history and values of cricket would become entwined in the Board’s promotion of the sport with John Howard as a chief cheer leader.

5.1 The History Wars and the migrant threat: the Howard years

In 1998-99, the Australian Cricket Board adopted a promotional strategy which it called “Go Aussie Go” which it claimed:

aims to focus support for the Australian team by highlighting cricket as an integral part of Australian culture, uniting not only passionate followers of the game but also all Australians.

“Go Aussie Go” is a celebration of the traditional nature of the game as it is played in the modern context. It is an unashamed call to the pride Australians have in their country and the pride they have in the Australian team.²⁷²

The strategy document which underpinned the “Go Aussie” campaign was called *Putting Runs on the Board*, and this and subsequent strategies for the following ten years formed a large part of the Board’s management and promotion of the game. The Board’s annual report provided readers with a commentary on activities during the year which supported the strategy. A significant part of the Board’s planning was meant to address the participation of women, Indigenous people and ethnic communities. The original strategy was replaced in 2002 by a new strategy called *Backyard to Baggy Green* which in turn was updated in 2005.²⁷³ The basis of the Board’s strategies was the ‘spirit of cricket’ which had its basis in the laws of cricket and values that cricket represented for Australia. The Board used the spirit of cricket to connect the past with the present and to emphasise cricket’s role in Australian history, particularly its role in the creation and development of Australian national identity.

²⁷² ACB (1998-99): 28.

²⁷³ ACB (2004-05): 3.

The Board's annual reports over the years of the Howard government provided an understanding of the Board's approach to managing the apparently conflicted task of providing a rich commentary of historical Australian cricket exploits, while at the same time providing relevance for the game among migrants who had no knowledge of, or connection with such Australian cricket history. While the Board's promotion of Australian cricket history became more and more insistent and strident, its activities for the participation of migrant communities were lost in the rhetoric about the Australian game. Cricket became over these years (1998-2007) a willing participant in the national identity discourse, celebrating its Anglo roots, its whiteness and promoting and defending its heritage.

The political period between 1996 and 2007 is a period which was dominated by the successive governments of John Howard. For much of this period, Howard's views on such issues as multiculturalism, immigration, asylum seekers, Australian identity and the place of Britain and Asia in Australian history and culture dominated political and social discourse in Australia. Howard spent considerable effort dismantling elements of the previous government's approaches to these issues. The government held a constitutional convention in February 1998 and prior to the federal election that year the Liberal Party committed to a national referendum in the next term of government on the republican model which was supported by the convention.²⁷⁴ The referendum was held in November 1999 and failed to achieve the necessary majority, effectively silencing calls for a republic for some years to come.

In 1997 Keith Windschuttle, as editor of *Quadrant* magazine, took on many of the Howard battles in the area of national cultural policy. His book, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, questioned academic studies which had determined that white settlers in Tasmania had carried out genocide on the Indigenous population in Tasmania.²⁷⁵ His contribution was to set in train a series of arguments about the use of history and its interpretation as a means to influence the present. Paul Keating had declared in his Redfern speech that white Australians had taken the land, introduced the diseases, committed the murders, taken the children.²⁷⁶ As MacIntyre and Clark declare, under Windschuttle, "*Quadrant* would contest

²⁷⁴ 'Governing for all of us: First Term Achievements', Liberal Party Policy document for the 1998 Federal Election, accessed on 11 July 2015 at http://pandora.nla.gov.au/nph-wb/19981021130000/http://www.liberal.org.au/ARCHIVES/election98/policy/achievements/achievements.html#_Toc430936752: np.

²⁷⁵ Windschuttle, K. (2002).

²⁷⁶ Keating, P. (1992-2).

every one of those claims”.²⁷⁷ It was this perspective of Australia’s past (as expressed by Keating) that Howard had referred to as the black armband view of history. The Windschuttle work was a counterpoint to some of the relationship issues between Indigenous people and the white settler society which was expressed in the 1997 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) *Bringing Them Home* report on the Stolen Generations.²⁷⁸ It was this report and the issues it revealed about Australia’s relationship with Indigenous peoples which drew from Howard a vigorous defence of Australia’s settler history and a refusal to offer an official apology to Indigenous Australia.

Another report in 2007 commissioned by the Northern Territory government into allegations of sexual abuse of children in Aboriginal communities produced a reaction from the Howard government which became known as the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER).²⁷⁹ This response also raised issues about the Australian Government relationship with Indigenous communities and the funding of services to remote communities.²⁸⁰

Throughout the Howard government years, a significant national discourse revolved around the defence of Anglo-Australia. The government eschewed arguments for a republic, it defended and idealised a history of settler heroism in battling against and overcoming hardship, it sought to change the contemporary approach to managing Indigenous disadvantage by bringing remote communities into established townships and it sought to strengthen Australia’s borders against asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East. In terms of migrant settlement, political science academic John Tate suggests that Howard spent considerable political capital in his articulation of a particular notion of nation, a notion which did not include the idea of multiculturalism. “Howard ratcheted up his reaction to this multicultural model to such an extent that by the time of the 2007 federal election, Australia had moved away from a multicultural model of nation and returned to a more ‘constitutive’

²⁷⁷ MacIntyre, S. and Clark, A. (2003): 141.

²⁷⁸ Wilson, R. (1997).

²⁷⁹ Northern Territory Government, Australia, *Inquiry into Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse: Summary*, accessed on 11 October 2015 at http://www.inquirysaac.nt.gov.au/report_summary.html. See also the HREOC Social Justice Report on the issue accessed on 11 October 2015 at <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/social-justice-report-2007-chapter-3-northern-territory-emergency-response-intervention>

²⁸⁰ The NTER was seen by many as a retreat from previous government policies based on Indigenous self-determination in remote communities, to policies which reinstated assimilation as policy direction. See for example: Altman J. C. (2007), ‘The Howard Government’s Northern Territory Intervention: Are Neo-Paternalism and Indigenous Development Compatible?’ *Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Topical Issue*, 16: 1-19; Hunter, Boyd, (2007), ‘Conspicuous Compassion and Wicked Problems: The Howard Government’s National Emergency in Indigenous Affairs, *Agenda: A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform* 14:3: 35-51; and Johns, Gary (2008), ‘The Northern Territory Intervention in Aboriginal Affairs: Wicked Problem or Wicked Policy?’ *A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform* 15:2: 65:84.

model, premised on an ideal of assimilation which was dominant during Australia's pre-multicultural history."²⁸¹

The period of John Howard's government had produced a significant debate about Australian identity, about Australian history, about how to deal with migrants and Indigenous people, and about Australia's relationships with Britain and Asia. It was into this discourse that the Board launched itself as a player in 1998-99 with its *Putting Runs on the Board* strategy document. The Board strategy for bringing the game to "all Australians" in 1999 headed a section "The Australian Cricket Community – growth and diversity". The Board's plan under that heading noted:

While cricket in Australia continues to experience good health, four specific areas require significant and immediate attention – aboriginals [sic], women, ethnic communities and indoor cricket.²⁸²

Over successive years, the Board reported its efforts: programs, strategies, and initiatives, to meet its objective of increasing participation in the sport. The Board showed itself to be adept at instituting public and visible programs for reaching its objectives and a comparison of what the Australian Cricket Board did in each of the three areas of diversity reveals much of the organisation's priorities.²⁸³

5.2 Women's cricket

Until 1997-98, women's cricket at senior level was provided with one or two paragraphs in the annual report, which is unsurprising as Australian women's cricket was a separate organisation.²⁸⁴ In the period between 1998 and 2002 the annual reports however, showed the efforts made to integrate women's cricket into the Board's organisation: the Board advised of plans for that integration; the creation of a special Board Committee with four Board members involved,²⁸⁵ and in 2001-02 the Board announced the integration of women's

²⁸¹ Tate, J. H. (2009): 98.

²⁸² Australian Cricket Board (1999), *Putting Runs on the Board*: 25.

²⁸³ I have chosen to overlook the Board's efforts in relation to indoor cricket as it appeared beyond the scope of my thesis. Indoor cricket was not identified by the Board as an area of cultural diversity but rather the development of a different form of the sport.

²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, women's cricket received assistance and funding from the Board. See ACB (1998-99): 39.

²⁸⁵ ACB (2000-01): 13.

cricket: it had become the custodian of men's and women's cricket in Australia.²⁸⁶ Over the next ten years, the coverage of women and women cricketers grew in terms of photographs, match reports and the individual contribution of players and officials.²⁸⁷ Women were being included in the history of the game with the same type of staged team photos that filled the annual report over many years with male cricket teams.²⁸⁸ In 2004, a series of "recognition functions" were held to honour the 141 living Australian women who had represented Australia in cricket. They were presented with lapel pins and a "specially struck baggy green cap" and the report advised that the "functions recognise the players' unique place in Australia's cricket history".²⁸⁹ Women's cricket reports and photographs were becoming normalised and by 2006-07 women's cricket was included in the Border Medal presentation night alongside male cricketers.²⁹⁰ Women's cricket had its own development pathway which began with primary and secondary school cricket, shared with boys, and progressed to separate women's competitions at State and national representation.²⁹¹ By 2006-07 women cricketers had, through Board programs, committees, dedicated staff and formal recognition functions, been enfolded into the history of Australian cricket.

5.3 Indigenous cricket

In 1868, a group of thirteen Indigenous cricketers from Edenhope in Western Victoria toured England playing nearly fifty games including a game played at Lord's Ground in London. This tour preceded the first 'Test' match by ten years and has since been argued as the first truly 'Australian' cricket team. Yet little prominence had been given to this aspect of Australian cricket other than a 1967 history by cricket historian John Mulvaney.²⁹² Colin Tatz had touched on the tour in his *Obstacle Race* (1996) and Bernard Whimpress in 1999 wrote of the tour in his *Passport to Nowhere*.²⁹³ The treatment of Indigenous cricketers such as Queensland aboriginal cricketer Eddie Gilbert had been written as a commentary of prejudice

²⁸⁶ ACB (2001-02): 12, 2 and 35.

²⁸⁷ ACB (2001-02): 5, 43 and 132-139.

²⁸⁸ ACB (2002-03): 107-08 for example.

²⁸⁹ ACB (2003-04): 12.

²⁹⁰ ACB (2006-07): 46.

²⁹¹ See for example ACB (2006-07): 55-57, which reports on a number of women's representative and domestic competitions.

²⁹² Mulvaney, J. (1967). A second revised edition of the history was published in 1988: see Mulvaney, J. and Harcourt, R. (1988).

²⁹³ Whimpress, B. (1999).

and mistreatment of Indigenous people generally in Australia.²⁹⁴ At the time of writing, only Jason Gillespie whose great grandfather was of Aboriginal heritage is known to have represented Australia in Test matches.²⁹⁵

It was not until 1999 in its *Putting Runs on the Board* that the Board even acknowledged in its annual reports that Indigenous people existed among the Australian population. To illustrate the Board's new interest in, and concern about, Indigenous people the Board inserted a photograph showing a group of Indigenous children enjoying a MILO development program at Uluru in the Northern Territory.²⁹⁶ This was the first image of Indigenous people in the pages of these annual reports. *Putting Runs on the Board* went further than the annual report in 1998-99 in that it gave a brief history of Indigenous involvement in the game:

In 1868 the first Australian cricket team toured England. It was an all-aboriginal squad. Since then, however, aboriginals have rarely featured in the annals of Australian representative cricket. It is also disappointing that aboriginals do not constitute a higher percentage of cricket participants in Australia.²⁹⁷

The Board strategy was quite specific and to a large extent an indication towards positive discrimination of Indigenous cricketers. For example the Board adopted the following approach: "Appoint special development officers to cover aboriginal communities. Fast track the development of promising aboriginal players. Encourage aboriginal cricket role models."²⁹⁸ As with women, the annual report had introduced a specific report section relating to Indigenous cricket. It reported the staging of "the first National Aboriginal Cricket Forum ... to identify ways to encourage more indigenous Australians to play the game."²⁹⁹ The forum was reported to have looked at inhibiting factors and as a result it identified five outcomes which all suggested more discussion and research, and "the formation of a working party consisting of representatives from relevant stakeholders to develop a strategic plan for indigenous cricket development".³⁰⁰ The Board's report discussed the 1868 Indigenous team and a special cricket match was arranged to commemorate "these pioneering cricketers who made the journey across the world a good decade before any other Australian team left our

²⁹⁴ See Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 132. See also Coleman, M. and Edwards, K. (2002), and Tatz, C. (1996): 75-80.

²⁹⁵ Gillespie, J. and Colliver, L. (2007): 4.

²⁹⁶ ACB (1998-99): 21.

²⁹⁷ Australian Cricket Board, *Putting Runs on the Board* (1999): 25.

²⁹⁸ *Putting Runs on the Board* (1999): 25.

²⁹⁹ ACB (2000-01): 31.

³⁰⁰ ACB (2000-01): 31.

shores.”³⁰¹ The report and the match itself seemed an early attempt to bring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders into cricket history – somehow ignoring what happened in Indigenous participation in Australian society after 1868.

The Board’s activity in remembering the Indigenous team was contemporary with a number of books and articles about the tour and about Indigenous experience with sport and cricket more generally. This scholarly and popular attention suggests that either the Board was responding aggressively to criticism of Indigenous experience in Australian cricket history or alternatively, that the Board’s strategy inspired a spate of academic and popular historical analysis of the stories.³⁰²

The involvement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cricket in Board annual reports after 1999 developed an apparently significant status, with even the Chairman giving space to the issue. He announced that:

this report will emphasise the Board’s commitment to developing cricket beyond its traditional base by recognising the importance of clubs and schools and carrying out work to make the game more accessible to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.³⁰³

The Chair’s reference is to a new Board strategy which it called “Two Strong Cultures” which received a full page explanation with a photo of four Aboriginal boys playing with bat and ball superimposed over a report of the Board’s activities in the Northern Territory.³⁰⁴

By 2002-03 the emphasis and activity was growing with a photograph on the front cover showing the 1868 Indigenous tourists as well as a photo of a young Aboriginal boy with bat in hand. The Board provided a full page along with large colour photos devoted to Indigenous cricket.³⁰⁵ These reports and their inclusion were an indication of the way the annual report was used to provide evidence of the Board’s cultural leadership.³⁰⁶ The practical outcomes noted in this report were the Imparja Cup – an Indigenous cricket competition in the Northern Territory and the selection of a sixteen man squad from this competition to participate in the

³⁰¹ ACB (2001-02): 46.

³⁰² See for example Ryan, G. (1997); Whimpress, B. (1999); Booth, D and Tatz, C. (2000); Mallett, A. (2002); and more recently Maynard, J. (2009); Gorman, S. (2011), and Osmond, G. and Phillips, M. (2014) who each examine aspects of Indigenous involvement in sport and cricket, often repeating the story of the 1868 tour and particular aspects of the men and the circumstances of those who participated in cricket in the period to 1939.

³⁰³ ACB (2001-02): 5.

³⁰⁴ ACB (2001-02): 38.

³⁰⁵ ACB (2002-03): 20.

³⁰⁶ ACB (2002-03): Front cover.

ATSIC XI against the Prime Minister's XI in Canberra.³⁰⁷ The Board added a National Indigenous Advisory Committee to its committee structure in 2003-04 which elevated the issue of Indigenous cricketers to the level of Board involvement.³⁰⁸ The report that year advised of providing opportunities and pathways for Indigenous cricketers. The last comment in the report advised that the Australian Sports Commission's (ASC's) Indigenous Sports Program made "a significant contribution to Cricket Australia's indigenous cricket program" suggesting that Cricket Australia had ownership of the program and that the Government, through the ASC, provided funding.³⁰⁹ Yet the obverse seems more likely – the Board would have been unlikely to have taken up this initiative unless urged to do so by the government through the ASC and its funding. This was a government policy initiative where cricket was enlisted to assist and was given the funds to do so.

In 2004-05, the 1868 Indigenous team was finally brought in from the cold. Under the strategy heading: "Reinforce and celebrate cricket's place in the Australian Community" the report advised that "One of the major cricket initiatives undertaken this year was the recognition ceremony for members of Australia's Indigenous cricket team that toured England in 1868".³¹⁰ This event was a ceremony held at the MCG during the Melbourne Test match and included the assignment of official player cap numbers to the fourteen-member touring party (which included English-born cricketer and manager, Charles Lawrence).³¹¹ There were also reports of Indigenous cricket development through the Imparja Cup in Alice Springs, the selection of players to participate in high performance training at the Centre of Excellence and the visit of Jason Gillespie and others to remote communities.³¹² The Board announced the appointment of a Senior Officer for Indigenous Cricket in January 2006.³¹³ In a short ten years, Indigenous cricket had become a regular and almost unexceptional part of the Board's activities. These initiatives indicated a serious and sustained development strategy for Indigenous cricketers using special advisory committees, stakeholder consultation, appointment of senior officers with specific responsibilities and their placement where the issue lay, and used role models within the community. The Board had rewritten its own history to incorporate Indigenous cricketers, praising their skills and courage and giving

³⁰⁷ ATSIC was the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission. See ACB (2002-03): 20.

³⁰⁸ ACB (2003-04): 5 and 14.

³⁰⁹ ACB (2003-04): 14.

³¹⁰ ACB (2004-05): 9.

³¹¹ See '1868 Australian Indigenous team to be honoured', article on *One India* website December 26 2004, accessed on 31 May 2013 at <http://www.thatscricket.com/news/2004/12/26/2612aborigines.html>

³¹² ACB (2004-05): 15.

³¹³ ACB (2005-06): 22

them cap numbers as Australian representatives. And the Board had created a special development pathway to fast-track young Indigenous players. Given the juxtaposition of ethnic communities with women and “aboriginals” in 1999, it might have been expected that a similar level of attention would be given to the third pillar of its strategy.

5.4 Ethnic communities

The Board’s only policy or program relative to other cultures was its racial and religious vilification codes introduced in 1998-99.³¹⁴ The codes were mentioned in the Board’s 1999 strategy as evidence of the “stringent approach to eliminating unfair practices and protecting the cultural diversity of cricketers around the world”.³¹⁵ These codes had application to Australian and state elite cricketers and were meant to overcome such vilification in cricket matches against players of other international teams. In 1999 the Board’s plan included as one of its “values” the suggestion that “Cricket will continue to welcome the participation and interest of both sexes and all races, ages, nationalities and capabilities”.³¹⁶ This was not a statement of active recruitment of people from other cultures but rather it suggested that cricket would allow others to join if they chose but would be granted no particular incentive to do so. The Board had introduced special programs to connect with women and Indigenous cricketers but not for “ethnic communities”. The Board’s language was carefully structured to obfuscate its lack of past performance. It was in this same statement of values that the Board also said that “Members of Australian cricket teams will continue to display the fine standards of sportsmanship and behaviour that Australians expect of their representatives”.³¹⁷ In both sentences, the word “continue” implied that the Board had *already* been welcoming and its players had *always* set high standards. To have used different words may have been seen as an admission that the Board had a problem that would be fixed by this statement of values – but on the contrary, the statements are saying the Board has no problems – these words are simply reporting a status quo.

It seemed somewhat strange therefore that the Board would adopt a government program about harmony as its major strategy for the participation of migrant communities. In the 1999-2000 report, the Chief Executive (Malcolm Speed) advised that:

³¹⁴ ACB (1998-99): 19.

³¹⁵ ACB (1999): 7.

³¹⁶ ACB (1999): 7.

³¹⁷ ACB (1999): 7.

Combining with the VCA and the federal Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, the ACB was hand-picked to be part of the Living in Harmony initiative, a community-based program aimed to make Australia a more harmonious place to live.³¹⁸

This was not about the Board identifying a new area of recruitment and beginning a program of training migrant children for future elite level, or even to increase the viewer audience. It was more about image making; showing the Board to be a ‘good corporate citizen’; or to show once again that it was an important cultural leader – so important that it has been chosen; “handpicked” by the federal government to assist in delivering government social policy initiatives.³¹⁹ Further initiatives suggested in the strategy included promotional campaigns, policy reviews, cross cultural education and to “conduct research with Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) and/or indigenous communities to gain an insight into their attitude to cricket.”³²⁰ At this point the Board’s approach was similar to its approach to women and Indigenous people, yet there was little or no evidence that such initiatives were implemented.

The annual report of 1998-99 noting the introduction of the strategy plan indicated that the Board had already commenced implementation with the “appointment of a Community Cricket working party to further develop cricket with key audiences including aborigines, women and ethnic communities.”³²¹ A study was commissioned with the Victorian Cricket Association (VCA) and Deakin University in 2000 “to identify the cultural barriers that may discourage people of different backgrounds from participating in cricket.”³²² In the following year the Board continued to report its partnership with the Federal Government Harmony program:

The aim of the program is to use sport in multicultural communities to promote greater understanding and harmony between cultures. The program helped the ACB better understand the barriers to participation in cricket by young children from culturally diverse backgrounds by initiating a cricket education program, launched and conducted in classes at both primary and secondary school in Melbourne’s

³¹⁸ ACB (1999-2000): 44.

³¹⁹ ACB (1999-2000): 44.

³²⁰ ACB (1999): 27.

³²¹ ACB (1998-99): 17.

³²² ACB (1999-2000): 44.

western suburbs. The research findings from the program will be used in future Game Development planning.³²³

For some years, the Board made little substantial mention of its activities in respect of diverse communities, simply discussing its partnership with the government Harmony program and providing general statements of commitment and aspiration.³²⁴ If it was taking specific actions at community level, these were never reported. Given the way that even minor initiatives for Indigenous communities and women were reported, any positive report would have been expected to have been brought to readers' attention. In 2003-04 the Board was putting its faith in 'the spirit of cricket' with the Chairman telling readers: "The Spirit of Cricket program remains an important initiative in ensuring our sport's culture remains in line with the expectations of society".³²⁵ The related strategy, again a federal government initiative in 2005-06 was Harmony Day and the Harmony in Cricket program. The Board joined the government as a Harmony Day partner, advising that:

The partnership is a natural fit in line with Australian cricket's plans to take the game to Australians of all backgrounds and abilities, particularly given today's changing population in Australia – a population that speaks over 200 languages and of which 25% were born overseas – many of whom have arrived in Australia with no cricket knowledge or culture.³²⁶

Again the strategy recognised the issue but its response was to join the government program which had as its basis the idea that in cricket there was, by implication, an element of 'disharmony'.

At the time of the 1996 election, the Howard opposition made promises to introduce "an anti-racism education and awareness campaign" and in 1998, the new government introduced its Living in Harmony program with the Minister declaring that "there is no place for racism in

³²³ ACB (2000-01): 32. The findings have not been published as far as I am able to determine. The Deakin University website makes no mention of such research done and my conclusion is that this was a private report commissioned from the university. The Board makes reference to follow-up and additional phases of the study which were broadened to 'Club Cricket' but again no evidence is available of what this research found or what activities the Board put in place as a result (see ACB (2001-02): 39). It is pertinent to note that the Victorian Government (Sport and Recreation Victoria) published a report on ethnic sports development in 1998 to which the VCA contributed and which goes to 37 pages on participation of young people in sport in Melbourne [Wilson, S. (1998)]. The barriers to participation are discussed and recommendations made for dealing with the issues identified. This was not reported in the Board's annual reports.

³²⁴ See for example the 2002 strategy: Australian Cricket Board (2002): 15.

³²⁵ ACB (2003-04): 3

³²⁶ ACB (2005-06): 13.

Australia” and that “Everyone here has a part to play in upholding the best of traditional Australian values – those values of equality, acceptance and living peacefully together whatever our religious, social, cultural and racial differences.”³²⁷ The program was a funding-based program “for projects which promote community harmony and reduce racism and bigotry.”³²⁸ Two and a half million dollars was provided for such projects.³²⁹ The government indicated that it would seek partnerships with various organisations to “develop demonstration projects” such as “a sporting organisation reviewing its codes and activities or implementing an education program to ensure that everyone appreciates the importance of mutual respect on and off the field of competition.”³³⁰ The Board in 1998-99 became one of these organisations. It reported its production of a booklet produced as part of the Harmony program:

Playing in Harmony is a classroom resource which uses classroom activities to cover a range of important student development issues such as the Spirit of Cricket, racism, bullying, respecting others, teamwork, leadership, rights responsibilities and fair play.³³¹

Again advising that:

Cultural diversity is one of global cricket’s strengths and enduring characteristics and Cricket Australia is keen for all people to feel welcome in whatever capacity they are involved in the game – as player, coach, umpire, spectator or volunteer.³³²

This is a sustained area of reporting which can only be predicated on some knowledge that a significant barrier to participation was that such communities do not feel “welcome”; that there is a perception that Australian cricket somehow required such strategies to put its house in order. But nowhere is such an admission made. The Board commitment to the government’s program was seen to be at its strongest in 2007 in an initiative called Australia’s Biggest Cricket Game where over 150 000 children played cricket around Australia on the one day.³³³

³²⁷ Ruddock, P. (1998): 1.

³²⁸ Ruddock, P. (1998): 2.

³²⁹ Ruddock, P. (1998): 3.

³³⁰ Ruddock, P. (1998): 3.

³³¹ ACB (2005-06): 13.

³³² ACB (2005-06): 13.

³³³ ACB (2006-07): 13.

The Board's involvement with Religious and Racial Vilification codes and Harmony activities ran parallel with Government policy and programming in the same areas – to an extent which suggests that the Board was being used (or allowing itself to be used) as an arm of government policy implementation – a form of government agency. The policy does not appear to have been introduced in response to any particular incident or problem within cricket (in fact the Board reports for the first two years of the policy that no complaints had been registered). This use by the government of cricket is no doubt little different from the Labor government under Hawke using the Kanga Cricket initiative as a health policy initiative. But over the years of the Howard Government, the Harmony program is reported as the only substantive initiative to attract cultural diversity in the sport. While the Board's approach to the 1999 plan was specific and detailed for women and Indigenous cricketers, the approach of the Board to 'ethnic' communities was not specific, was not targeted, did not include the formation of special Board committees, did not (as reported) discuss the subject with migrant community groups, and made little or no apparent effort to take any action to include participation of migrants in the game other than their requirement to engage with the sport just as other Australians were expected to do. Whether this was due to the Board's inability to approach the issue; whether the Board chose not to do more than obfuscate the matter; whether it did little because it would contradict its main strategy; or whether the Board did institute actions but chose not to report them, is not clear.

5.5 The Board in defence of Anglo Australia

In 1998-99 the Board declared the centrality of cricket in Australian cultural discourse and for the following ten years the annual report became the vehicle for the Board's promotion and celebration of cricket's place in Australian culture. No longer did the annual report simply discuss the events of the previous year but remembered events of the past, celebrated those events and the men (and women) who participated in them, and projected cricket into the future with the introduction of strategy plans for development and promotion of the sport. In its 1998-99 annual report and the first strategy plan which was produced that year, the Board changed the style and content of its reporting and its hitherto conservative approach to its self-promotion. The following examples are a few of many which outline cricket's claim to having a significant role in the formation and maintenance of Australian culture:

Australian cricket enjoys a privileged place in Australian society. For more than 100 years the game provided sporting heroes, epic battles and deeds of legend which have inspired generations. Such is cricket's impact that the game is now forever woven into the fabric of Australian culture³³⁴.

And in 2000, the Board's Chairman (Denis Rogers) made this claim:

Australian cricket is steeped in over 100 years of tradition, a history with great sporting deeds that have helped shape our country.³³⁵

These statements were representative of the way the Board moved from a reporting style which exuded a quiet and comfortable expression of power and influence, to a passionate, chauvinist promotion of the game. The language used in the Board's documents was replete with allusions to the main features of the immigration and multiculturalism discourse in the late 1990s and early 2000s drawing from the language of those who opposed multiculturalism. The quote from the annual report of 1998-99 which appeared in the introduction of this chapter is revisited here to more closely examine the language and meaning of the Board's strategy:

[The campaign] aims to focus support for the Australian team by highlighting cricket as an integral part of Australian culture, uniting not only the passionate followers of the game but also all Australians.

"Go Aussie Go" is a celebration of the traditional nature of the game as it is played in the modern context. It is an unashamed call to the pride Australians have in their country and the pride they have in the Australian team.³³⁶

The phrase "all Australians" had similarities with the Liberal/National coalition's 1996 campaign slogan "For All of Us", a phrase Elder, Ellis and Pratt said was meant to suggest that the previous government had governed for minority interests and that subsequently the Howard government was "reasserting the centrality of Whiteness in the nation-space and narrowing the space afforded to non-White people by privileging the interests of the 'mainstream.'"³³⁷ The phrase in the context of the "Go Aussie Go" quote divided rather than

³³⁴ ACB (1998-99): 31.

³³⁵ ACB Chairman Denis Rogers opening the inaugural Allan Border Medal. ACB (1999-2000): 35.

³³⁶ ACB (1998-99): 28.

³³⁷ Elder, C., Ellis, C. and Pratt, A. 'Whiteness in Constructions of Australian Nationhood: Indigenes, Immigrants and Governmentality' in: Moreton-Robinson, A. (2004): 212.

brought together. The terms “passionate followers” and “traditional nature of the game” drew a line between Anglo Australians and those who had migrated to the country. The phrase “traditional nature of the game” also identified the history of the game in Australia and/or its British colonial origins. “Pride in the nation and the national team” drew a close connection between Australian cricket and Australian national identity. Australia’s “heritage” and “way of life” again privileged an Anglo-Australian view of Australia and Australians. Richard White has observed that for “most Australians, post-war immigration was the most obvious phenomenon to threaten, and at the same time to give meaning to ‘the Australian way of life,’” a way of life to which migrants were expected to conform.³³⁸ Throughout the period between 1998 and 2007, the language used by the Board indicated a clear agreement with Prime Minister Howard’s views of multiculturalism.³³⁹ The word “multiculturalism” is used only four times in these annual reports – three of which were in reference to the title of the relevant federal government minister. Only one refers to “multicultural communities.”³⁴⁰ In 1998-99³⁴¹ and 2002-03³⁴², the Board preferred to make reference to people from Non English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB) while “cultural diversity” was the term used seven times over this period. In all uses of these terms the Board was defining a migrant ‘other’ clearly making a distinction from Anglo Australians and suggesting that diverse communities were a phenomenon which the Board had yet to embrace and chose to differentiate itself from.

The latter part of 2001 was characterised by a number of key events in Australian political life relating to border protection, immigration, and national identity leading up to the 2001 federal election. In the period between August 2001 and the election in November that year, Australian national identity was under scrutiny through the Tampa crisis, the SIEV X event, the passing of Border Protection legislation and the adoption of the Pacific Solution, and Operation Relex which gave the Defence Force an expanded role in border protection operations. It was also the time of terrorist attacks on New York’s World Trade Center, and the Children Overboard affair.³⁴³ These events and the Government’s handling of them meant a significant spotlight was shone on the concepts of the Australian nation and Australian nationalism and Australia’s relationship with migrants. The Howard government

³³⁸ White, R. (1979): 534.

³³⁹ See reference in Chapter 4.

³⁴⁰ ACB (2000-01): 32.

³⁴¹ ACB (1998-99): 27.

³⁴² ACB (2002-03): 5.

³⁴³ A number of these events are discussed in the Senate Committee Inquiry into the Children Overboard affair and the independent investigator who advised the Inquiry. See Odgers, S. J. (2002).

characterised refugees who would throw their children overboard as not the sort of people who were wanted in Australia.³⁴⁴ Moreover, the Howard statement that “we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come” indicated a strong position being taken by the government on migration and the defence of Australian values and ‘way of life’.³⁴⁵ Asylum seekers became demonised as threats to Australian security and provided a notional divide between ‘us’ who are here and are white Anglo and ‘them’ – migrants who are seeking to come here. The government’s approach was described as the “politics of fear”, which established the asylum seekers as an enemy staging a form of invasion of Australia.³⁴⁶ Richard Devetak suggested that the mass influx of such migrants created an “invasion anxiety”:

The enduring theme here is that a mass invasion threatens to destroy core Australian institutions, values and ways of life. It imagines that ‘our’ national identity is being beset by the threat of ethnic others, both externally and internally as a result of immigration.³⁴⁷

As an Australian cultural institution with clear linkages to British colonial rule, cricket as represented by the Board, also saw itself under threat and needing to defend itself. The Board’s annual report of 1998-99 outlined its first strategic plan; its mission and strategies to achieve stated objectives. The opening phrase in its mission statement reads: “To defend and promote the values of the great game of cricket.”³⁴⁸ The Board saw a threat which had to be defended. The wording was not about a threat to cricket but to cricket values. Ostensibly the threat was coming from events in cricket such as cheating and match fixing, but the language and the adoption of a strategy in defence of cricket’s *values*, suggest a wider interpretation might be formed. The strategy document *Putting Runs on the Board* is prefaced with a statement congratulating the Board on “the approach it is taking” by the Prime Minister, John Howard.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁴ Odgers, S. (2002): xxi.

³⁴⁵ Howard J. (2001): np.

³⁴⁶ Devetak, R. (2007): 101.

³⁴⁷ Devetak, R. (2007): 104.

³⁴⁸ Australian Cricket Board, *Putting Runs on the Board* (1999): 5.

³⁴⁹ *Putting Runs on the Board* (1999): preface, np.

5.6 Australian (cricket) values

Between 1998-99 and 2006-07 the Board based its whole organisational strategy around “the spirit of cricket”, a notion that encompassed “the values which Australian representatives should exhibit.”³⁵⁰ The defence of cricket’s values might be seen in the light of concurrent political debate which saw John Howard firstly as Opposition Leader and later as Prime Minister use the idea of Australian values as the vehicle to push-back against questioning of Australia’s past relationships with Britain.³⁵¹ Anthropologist Ghassan Hage quoted Howard in 1998 discussing the idea of values as being somehow based in time, a continuity, “a golden thread of basic Australian values.”³⁵² Howard was attempting to right what he saw as “a sneering attempt to paint the Coalition and its supporters as more British than the British” and attempts by the Keating government to see “republicanism as a higher form of Australian nationalism.”³⁵³ Hage saw such statements as being a part of what he termed a “white paranoia,” a concern that Australian values had been swamped by the “emphasis on multiculturalism.”³⁵⁴ Carol Johnson observed that “[a]lthough people of different ethnic origins may not ... be expected to pass as being ersatz Anglo-Celts, they are expected to be integrated into values that the Prime Minister has identified as British.”³⁵⁵ The Board set out in 1998-99 in its prime-ministerially endorsed strategy to ensure its history was not forgotten, to maintain and strengthen the values inherent in the game and in doing so privileged an Anglo-Australian culture. Its vehicle was the ‘spirit of cricket’.

The term became popular in cricket circles in Britain and reference to it was included in a preamble in the Marylebone Cricket Club’s (MCC’s) *Laws of Cricket* in the late 1990s.³⁵⁶ The Board’s *Spirit of Cricket* states:

Cricket is a game that owes much of its unique appeal to the fact that it should be played not only within its Laws but also within the Spirit of the Game. Any action

³⁵⁰ ACB (2004-05): 12.

³⁵¹ Howard, J. (1995): np (no page available).

³⁵² Hage, G. (2002): 433.

³⁵³ See Howard, J. (1995): np (no page available).

³⁵⁴ Hage, G. (2002): 434.

³⁵⁵ Johnson, C. (2007): 198.

³⁵⁶ ‘What is MCC Spirit of Cricket’?, accessed 25 June 2013 at <http://www.lords.org/mcc/mcc-spirit-of-cricket/what-is-mcc-spirit-of-cricket/>.

which is seen to abuse this spirit causes injury to the game itself. The major responsibility for ensuring the spirit of fair play rests with the captains.³⁵⁷

The ‘spirit of cricket’ is a cricket term about fair play and about concern for the game’s image and more importantly is meant to apply to players on the cricket field. But for the Board over the next ten years, the phrase became freely mixed with ‘values’. Not only cricket values but Australian values.

The first strategy used in the name of ‘the spirit of cricket’ was the reinvention of an Australian cricket history. The Board spent much of its annual reports over this period producing memories of cricket’s past and the establishment of traditions in the present. The reports began showing images of past Australian captains,³⁵⁸ the celebration of the life and deeds of former champion Sir Don Bradman,³⁵⁹ the announcement of the team of the century,³⁶⁰ celebrations at anniversaries of famous series,³⁶¹ the celebration of past cricket heroes through photographs and reports of admissions to a cricket Hall of Fame,³⁶² presentation of commemorative caps,³⁶³ and the establishment of the Bradman Oration. The Bradman Oration was inaugurated in August 2000 with Prime Minister Howard as the first orator, and was said by the Board to celebrate the spirit of cricket, a choice of speaker which tied the discourse about Australian values closely to cricket’s values. The annual report of 2000-01 tells readers:

The ACB initiated the oration as an opportunity to reflect and celebrate the spirit of Australian cricket and the part it continues to play in the country’s way of life.³⁶⁴

This was a celebration of the values which are inherent in the history of the game and the part they played in Australian cultural identity; not in how the game was played on the cricket field. The marriage of cricket values with Prime Minister Howard’s idea of Australian values at this function, are a significant statement by the Board in terms of its perceptions of itself in the discourse about Australian nationalism. Cricket was being carefully and strongly aligned

³⁵⁷ See the CA Website ‘Spirit of Cricket’ accessed 25 June 2013 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/about-us/spirit-of-cricket>.

³⁵⁸ See ACB (1998-99) where nearly each page has a footer with photos and statistics of the 44 Australian captains.

³⁵⁹ ACB (2000-01): 3.

³⁶⁰ ACB (1999-2000): 20-27.

³⁶¹ ACB (1998-99): 40.

³⁶² ACB (1999-2000): 9.

³⁶³ ACB (1999-2000): 21.

³⁶⁴ ACB (2000-2001): 46.

with an Anglo-Australian cultural history. As Prime Minister Howard promoted the history of the development of Australian values – values which “don’t change, and shouldn’t change, and we should fight hard to stop changing”,³⁶⁵ so too had the Board adopted a strategy of promoting the history of cricket as a means of showing from where cricket and its values had come. As with the Howard notion of a golden thread, the idea of cricket values played strongly on values being anchored in history and that the future of cricket is in the past. This history was an Anglo-Australian history.

The pages of the Board’s annual reports over the eleven-year period contain many photographs and stories directly related to the Prime Minister. In all, John Howard was present in fourteen photographs and in at least eighteen stories in these publications. He was of course mentioned in stories about the Prime Minister’s XI played annually in Canberra, but he was also shown presenting player caps,³⁶⁶ enjoying the cricket with Board Chief Executive Officer Malcolm Speed,³⁶⁷ with business and media personality Kerry Packer in a story about Sir Donald Bradman’s funeral,³⁶⁸ delivering the Bradman Oration,³⁶⁹ and presenting a trophy to captain Steve Waugh.³⁷⁰ While appearing in photographs is common, it is also his role in these pages connecting Australian culture and history to Australian Test cricket history which is revealing. In 2000-01 the Prime Minister was reported to have presented commemorative caps to the Australian team during the Test match in Sydney to mark the Centenary of Federation. The marketing report that year asserted:

Cricket’s position as an integral part of Australian culture made it an ideal choice to be part of the nation’s Centenary of Federation celebrations. As such, ACB marketing worked hard to ensure that the Fifth Ansett Test in Sydney was one of a host of events across the nation to help mark the Centenary.³⁷¹

Prime Minister Howard was also on hand to open the inaugural Allan Border Medal presentation,³⁷² and to launch the Board’s Disability Action Plan.³⁷³ These connections between the Prime Minister go well beyond any idea that John Howard is simply a “cricket

³⁶⁵ Hage, G. (2002): 433.

³⁶⁶ ACB (1999-00): 73.

³⁶⁷ ACB (2000-01): 8.

³⁶⁸ ACB (2005-06): 41.

³⁶⁹ ACB (2000-01): 46.

³⁷⁰ ACB (2000-01): 20.

³⁷¹ ACB (2000-01): 41.

³⁷² ACB (1999-00): 21.

³⁷³ ACB (2006-07): 27.

tragic” as he was labelled by friend and Australian captain, Mark Taylor in 1999.³⁷⁴ The consistent appearance of the Prime Minister in stories, photographs and Board’s cricket events has the distinct appearance of a well-orchestrated strategy linking a man with strong views of Australian national identity with a key Australian cultural institution; an institution which is a natural fit for the Prime Minister who promoted an Anglo view of Australian cultural identity.

The Board not only talked about having a role in developing and maintaining an Australian way of life, but it demonstrated a particular view of that way of life in a very visible way. The Board’s annual reports were not simply words and randomly placed photographs and images but were carefully constructed documents which were intended to convey meaning as was visually demonstrated in the annual reports of 2005-07.

5.7 “Who We Are”

Cricket has been an important part of the Australian way of life for over a century. It is part of our national psyche and firmly entrenched in Australian culture ... However, it is sometimes seen as an exclusive game, one reserved for certain groups in Australian society. Cricket Australia is adamant that this is not the case and wants to change this perception.

[HREOC Report on Racism in sport, *What’s the Score?* (2006).]³⁷⁵

The Board was suggesting to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission that it had an image problem. It said that the image was wrong and that it wanted to change it. Two photographs from the Board’s annual reports in consecutive years just prior to the HREOC report quoted above suggest that far from trying to change its image, it was doing as much as possible to celebrate and reinforce the image of an exclusive white, Anglo cultural institution. These photographs are featured prominently in the 2005-06



Figure 5

³⁷⁴ Taylor, M. (2000): 231-2.

³⁷⁵ Oliver, P. ed., (2006): 69. The quotation is part of the Commission’s introduction to the section titled: “Cricket: Cricket Australia”. The report is based on CA’s submission to HREOC.

and 2006-07 annual reports. In the Board annual report of 2005-06 the section relating to the Chairman's Report and Corporate Governance matters was opened with a full page colour photograph (Figure 5) with a heading which read: "Who we are".³⁷⁶ The heading was ostensibly inviting readers to understand the make-up of the Board and the structure of the organisation. "We" in this context is the Board and its organisation. The photograph appears at the very beginning of the report opposite the Table of Contents and therefore the reader is unlikely to miss this demonstration of the Board's image. The photograph features Australian cricketer Shane Watson appealing for a dismissal. Shane Watson was undoubtedly a talented Australian cricket who would go on to become Australian vice-captain and captain but in this reporting year played only two Test matches and only half the possible One Day International matches (ODIs) played during this time.³⁷⁷ He had not yet established himself as a significant Test cricketer. Watson was shown to be physically well built (he is 1.83 metres in height), blond and in a posture of aggression and triumph. He is pictured in the Australian ODI uniform – even though the Board's brand was being marketed around the Test cricket form of the game, with tradition being the main element. The Board had chosen here to define itself/cricket/Australia with an agreeably proportioned, athletic, blond, white cricketer. The Board had passed over players who would possibly have more accurately defined Australian cricket such as the Test team captain Ricky Ponting who had been voted Australian Cricketer of the Year in 2006 and 2007 and also the International Cricket Council Cricketer of the Year in both those seasons.³⁷⁸ Ponting, along with other Australian players Adam Gilchrist, Justin Langer, Glen McGrath, Mike Hussey, Damien Martyn, and Simon Katich, had been regular and consistent performers for Australian cricket during 2005-06 Test cricket season. These cricketers might have been more closely representative of Australian cricket (and Australia) in appearance at least, in that they were dark haired, and mostly much shorter. These men had contributed far more to Australian cricket during this period and were more redolent of a history of Australian cricketers of the calibre of Donald Bradman, Lindsay Hassett, Ian Johnson, Brian Booth, Barry Jarman, Richie Benaud, Ian and Greg Chappell, Bob Simpson, Allan Border, Mark Taylor, Steve Waugh, Ricky Ponting – all captains of Australia since

³⁷⁶ ACB (2005-06): 2.

³⁷⁷ See Test Captain Ricky Ponting's annual diaries for relevant playing statistics: Ponting, R. and Armstrong, G. (2005) and (2006). Players' heights are available at the CA website <http://www.cricket.com.au/players> accessed 19 February 2014.

³⁷⁸ See Cricket Archive website accessed on 19 February 2014 at http://cricketarchive.com/Archive/Players/Overall/Wisden_Cricketers_of_the_Year.html

1945 and all (but Benaud) who were dark-haired and all but Greg Chappell who were shorter than Watson.³⁷⁹

The use of the Watson image might be seen to have been an inadvertent juxtaposition of text and image but in the following year, a similar image and context is repeated (Figure 6).³⁸⁰ An image of Australian fast bowler Brett Lee is shown alongside the same heading: “Who we are” which again introduced the Board members and Board committee structure. By 2006-07, Brett Lee was a far more established Test player than Watson, having played 54 Test matches to that point. Yet of the four main bowlers used in Tests that year, Lee was fourth in terms of wickets and average. He was not (in playing terms), the most obvious man that the Board might have chosen to represent Australian cricket.³⁸¹ The most successful bowler of the year was dark skinned, dark haired Stuart Clark, whose parents were born in India. Clark’s heritage is never discussed in the annual reports, which was surprising in that he may have been used to demonstrate the Board’s diversity credentials.³⁸² In contrast, the Board had been quite willing to use Jason Gillespie as a role model for its Indigenous initiatives.³⁸³ The Lee



Figure 6

image showed him in the uniform of the ODI team, again a form of the Board brand that was secondary to Test cricket at this time. During the year Australia played in 28 games including the World Cup in the West Indies. Lee missed the World Cup and the games played against New Zealand that year through injury and played only twelve of these matches. In no Test match or ODI in this period did he win a player of the match award. While there is no doubting Lee’s credentials as an Australian player his choice as representing Australian cricket is interesting. Lee is also tall (1.83 cm) and blond, with an athletic physique.

There are no doubt many reasons which might explain the use of such images but for an organisation which

³⁷⁹ Statistics are available through the Cricket Australia website and through the ESPNCricinfo site which contains international cricketer statistics

<http://www.espncricinfo.com/australia/content/player/country.html?country=2;alpha=B>

³⁸⁰ ACB (2006-07): 2.

³⁸¹ See Ponting, R. and Armstrong, G. (2007): 301-364.

³⁸² Ponting, R. and Armstrong, G. (2007) and *University of Sydney Alumni Magazine, Summer 09/10*: 36-37 (an article which outlines his heritage – Clark studied at the university).

³⁸³ See for example ACB (2000-2001): 46.

admits to having an image problem, the choice of these images to define cricket as a game for all Australians seemed either highly insensitive or designed to make a point. Why choose the obviously fair-skinned, fair-haired Shane Watson and Brett Lee, two cricketers whose physical appearance is not typical of Australian cricketers and which would not be confused with Asian or Middle Eastern migrants, to tell the cricket world that they represent “Who we are”? Why the choice of these two cricketers when the Board is saying that it manages the game for all Australians and is well aware that the migrant population is now a significant part of that constituency? The photographs and their placement might in fact be saying that cricket is an exclusively white Anglo game, that it is defending this notion against a threat from migrant others.

Another image in the annual reports at this time (Figure 7) coincided with the assault of two

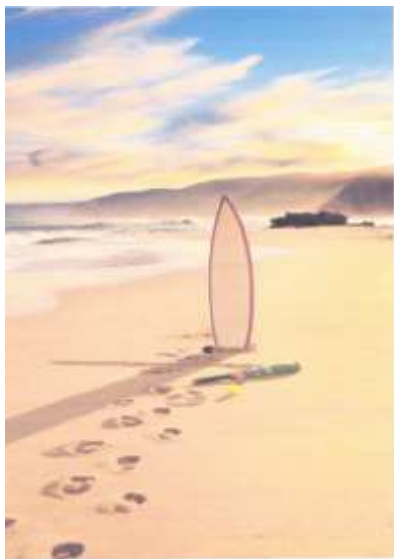


Figure 7

surf lifesavers by a group of men of Middle Eastern background at Cronulla in Sydney’s south. The subsequent ‘Cronulla riots’ occurred “when a mob of 5000 white Australians ... [attacked] anyone of Middle Eastern appearance that they could find near Sydney’s Cronulla Beach” created an ugly view of Australia’s relationship with migrant communities.³⁸⁴ The Board’s promotion of cricket in that same year might be seen as Australian cricket making a claim that the beach belongs to Anglo Australians through the display of an image of

an otherwise deserted beach showing a surf board which has apparently been used as a wicket in a game of beach cricket. The photograph was accompanied by a report of the Board’s new marketing strategy “Brand Cricket”, “which defines what cricket stands for”:

In summer, cricket becomes an essential part of Australian lounge rooms, beaches, barbeques, picnics and sporting grounds everywhere. It’s more than just a game. In many ways cricket reflects our Australian lifestyle, our very essence. Cricket is *The soul of Australian summer life*.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ See Poynting, S. (2006): 85, who described the incident as a “battle to reclaim control of the beach for white Australia”.

³⁸⁵ ACB (2006-07): 4-5.

This image and accompanying strategy was laying the claim of Australian cricket to beaches and a traditional Australian way of life which clearly would not refer to the environments which would be traditional for migrants and migrant cricketers. Taken with the Watson and Lee images around the same period, the annual reports presented cricket as a white Anglo game which can be read as a sport into which migrants need not venture. The Board's Chair, Creagh O'Connor in 2005-06 said:

It is also of paramount importance for Cricket Australia to acknowledge and be mindful of the fact that approximately 25 per cent of Australians were born outside Australia – often in countries or regions with either limited or no cricket traditions.³⁸⁶

These words seem to simply acknowledge a change in Australian society which the Board should note. However, they might also imply a concern that Australian cricket was under threat from a changed population: a threat which needed to be resisted. While the Board's annual reports exhibited language which suggested it was aware of cultural and population change and that it was striving to address the change in a positive way, the language was carefully constructed and the above statement may be read in two ways – that the Board needed to embrace the change and find ways to attract such new sources of players and supporters, or alternatively it might be read as a warning to cricket that there is a threat to its future at hand. Being 'mindful' is not a phrase that suggested action but more that cricket needed to be aware of a threat and take defensive measures. Later in the report, the Board discussed an objective to "introduce cricket to new audiences and make it relevant to the changing Australian population",³⁸⁷ but the imagery and dominant strategy within this report was suggesting something very different. The previous year the Chief Executive Officer (James Sutherland) delivered this warning for cricket:

If we fail to achieve our objectives, Australian Cricket runs the very real risk of losing its special place in the Australian way of life and becoming an obsolete part of the Australian psyche.³⁸⁸

The Board chose to ensure it remained a part of "the Australian psyche" through the celebration of a history which did not include a large and growing part of the population – Asian and Middle Eastern migrants. It made somewhat desultory attempts to show that it was

³⁸⁶ ACB (2005-06): 3.

³⁸⁷ ACB (2005-06): 9.

³⁸⁸ ACB (2004-05): 3.

trying to be inclusive but these never appeared to contain substance. Over the years to 2006-07, the Board advised of its objective of addressing diversity, of instituting studies to find out what was required to attract non-traditional cricket players and supporters.³⁸⁹ The quotation from the HREOC report card statement on diversity in Australian cricket cited earlier, was a concern, not about the inclusion or otherwise of diverse cultures in cricket but the *perception* of cricket's lack of such diversity. The words suggested that the Board needed to spin a tale rather than carry out significant strategies. To this time the only substantive program which was reported was in fact the Board's partnership with the federal government in the Harmony program designed to eliminate racial vilification at school level.³⁹⁰ Rather than providing images and strategies for embracing change and the new diversity, the Board's strategy had been an orchestrated plan to privilege its Anglo constituency and to shore up a defence of its heritage and ongoing relevance in an Anglo-Australian culture.

5.8 Conclusion

The ACB in 1998-99 laid claim to being an important national institution not only in the past but as an ongoing influential Australian sports and entertainment business. The timing of this new approach coincided with a period in Australian cultural life which was concerned with identity in the face of significant population change. The suggestion that Australian institutions might feel under threat from a so-called 'invasion anxiety', or 'white paranoia' was reflected in the language and imagery adopted by the Board in its annual reports. As a significant representative of an Anglo-Australian history the Board's ambivalent approach to engaging with migrant communities suggested a cultural institution under some threat or pressure to survive in its current form. Furthermore, there is little evidence in its reports during this period to show that its stated objective of making cricket relevant to non-traditional groups has been practically enjoined.

This strategy was a concerted effort to produce an Australian identity, a national ethos which was built on the history of cricket's connection with England. The strategy supported by John Howard had the features of what cultural researcher Hurriyet Babacan described as a "new

³⁸⁹ In 1999-00 the Board advised of a Deakin University study to identify cultural barriers to cricket in the Western suburbs of Melbourne. The study was briefly mentioned again in subsequent years but had changed from being a study of barriers for diverse communities to a more general study of cricket participation. No results were revealed in the Board's reports.

³⁹⁰ ACB (2005-06): 22, for example.

racism” or “cultural racism” which she argued is expressed in ways that do not transgress democratic principles, and “is based on constructing others as different in order to exclude or ignore or exploit them.” She continues by saying that “[a]n issue of particular importance in this is that of the contradictory actions of governments in accepting and legislating against racism on the one hand, while strongly denying its existence on the other.”³⁹¹ It was the same contradictory actions of the Board in highlighting its earnest intentions of involving ‘others’ while at the same time promoting such things as Australian values and Australian heroes and legends “which are exclusionary or tokenistic while at the same time treating race as a taboo subject.”³⁹² It is this double standard which became evident in the words and photographs of the annual reports over this period – the Board making statements of intent but prosecuting strategies which contradicted that intent and delivered a contrary outcome. Placing migrant cricketers in any position of prominence would have been to undermine the Board’s/government’s promotion strategy. Thus the words of the Chair (Creagh O’Connor) in 2005-06 that “we need to be mindful of the change in population” might be read very differently than an attempt to mine a new source of playing stock. Migrants who wished to participate in cricket were “welcome”, but only insofar as they were integrated into Australian cricket, embracing Australian cricket history and Australian values and joining the same cricket development pathways that “all Australians” were expected to travel. Perhaps there were other paths that migrants would choose to follow but would the Board be ‘mindful’ of these in any implementation of its own future development strategies?

³⁹¹ Babacan, H. (2008): np.

³⁹² Babacan, H. (2008): np.

CHAPTER 6 ANALYSIS OF ACB ANNUAL REPORTS: 2007-08 TO 2013-14

Reflections

Many things can be said which mean nothing. Many things can be left unsaid which mean everything. During my career as a human resources practitioner specialising in industrial relations, my union counterparts would often accuse the company of using ‘weasel words’ in its communications with employees and about employees in the public domain. As I was often one of the authors of such communiques I had some firsthand knowledge of what they were referring to. It was a time of change and the company was in the public eye and its employee relations were carried out in the public arena. Unions would use their power to inconvenience public utilities, explaining their lack of other choices as due to the recalcitrance of the company and its poor management. The company would for its part publicly rail against union lack of responsibility and totally outlandish claims. In both the respective public utterances the truth would be lost. When I read the Australian Cricket Board’s public reporting of its strategies I wondered what was behind *their* ‘weasel words’?

In the course of this research I found a series of online interviews recorded for a Human Resource Management company by Marianne Roux who became a senior management appointment to Cricket Australia in early 2012. The most significant part of that interview for me was her statement:

We had a vision that we want to be Australia’s favourite sport and so my discussion with the CEO is ‘How can we be the favourite sport if we are not a sport for all Australians?’ And so if you start to think about how do I make my vision a reality; I’m sitting in a multicultural workforce, I’m in a multicultural global sport I need to look like that, I need to think like that so that I can actually be credible ...³⁹³

Roux was speaking about her employer, Cricket Australia, about perceptions and what she referred to during the interview as the gap between “what *is*, and where I want to be”.³⁹⁴ She seemed to be suggesting that the organisation did not “look like that” – that it did not have the credibility of a truly diverse organisation in a multicultural global sport; that for all that it has said it had done, little had changed.

³⁹³ Roux, M. (2013): np. Marianne Roux was Executive General Manager, People & Culture, Cricket Australia, when she provided an interview to a Human Resource Management website *PeoplesHR* on 4 March 2013.

³⁹⁴ Roux (2013): np.

In *On Being Included* Sara Ahmed discussed the role of the diversity officer and “diversity management” in academic organisations. She “investigates what diversity does by focusing on what diversity obscures.”³⁹⁵ She identified what she describes as “performatives” – policies and documents in an organisation which become a substitute for action: “as if they do what they say, as if they bring something into existence.”³⁹⁶ Her discussion introduced the idea of non-performatives: statements of commitment which “do not bring into effect what they name [and] ... might even be named not to bring it into effect.”³⁹⁷ What Ahmed was referring to in far more scholarly fashion were ‘weasel words’.³⁹⁸ On listening to Roux I wondered whether there *was* in fact a gap “between what *is* and where I want to be” – whether the Board was actually where it wanted to be already and was producing policies and other documentation to maintain the status quo while *appearing* to be actively trying to change it. The evidence from the previous chapter seemed to suggest so. I had decided in this thesis to follow Ahmed’s advice and look for the gap between the “saying” and “doing”³⁹⁹ – “to follow the documents that give diversity a physical and institutional form”.⁴⁰⁰ In my own experience, a Health and Safety Manager, or an Employee Relations Manager, or (in Ahmed’s argument) a Diversity Manager, were all nominally roles which said about the organisation: “We have the problem under control – we have someone looking after that.” Yet these ‘managers’ managed nothing – that was the responsibility of the line supervisor, the department head and ultimately the CEO. The presence of such officers allowed the status quo to remain, simply managing the ongoing problems which these positions obscured.

6.1 The Board in the post-Howard years

In November 2007 when John Howard lost government to Kevin Rudd, the Board continued with its strategies of the Howard era for a time and then seemed to abandon Test cricket all together in favour of a new form of the game which was growing in strength in India – Twenty20 or T20. The *Backyard to Baggy Green* strategy which had served the Board since 2002 was finally retired in 2011:

³⁹⁵ Ahmed, S. (2012): 14.

³⁹⁶ Ahmed, S (2012): 11.

³⁹⁷ Ahmed, S. (2012): 119.

³⁹⁸ For more on ‘weasel words’ see Watson, D. (2004) *Watson's Dictionary of Weasel Words: Contemporary Cliches, Cant and Management Jargon*.

³⁹⁹ Ahmed, S. (2012): 55.

⁴⁰⁰ Ahmed, S. (2012): 12.

Australian cricket can no longer rely on the iconography of the baggy green to draw fans and players from an increasingly diverse community, ... Unlike the previous editions of the plan, it will not be titled 'From backyard to baggy green,' a tacit acknowledgement of how cricket must broaden itself to reflect Australian society, culture and financial reality.⁴⁰¹

The 2011 strategy was called *Strategy for Australian Cricket for 2011-2015*, declining to label the plan with a catch phrase as with all past plans.⁴⁰² The Board had been discussing diversity and changes in Australian culture since 1999 and now after twelve years of strategy, programs and initiatives acknowledged that it had achieved little. The contradictions continued with the Board struggling to maintain control over the game internationally and at home, changing its official direction in 2010 with the apparent relegation of Test cricket to the realms of cricket aficionados. The Board officially abandoned its Howard-era 'national' stance and began a promotion of a game with no national affiliation. It softened its claims for 'national' status introducing new words – "cricket community" and "cricket family" – in its stead. Were these more performatives, non-performatives or 'weasel words'? Behind the Board's words remained a strong suggestion that the Test team remained a representative team for Anglo-Australians and for migrants to participate at that level, they needed to have integrated into the Australian way of cricket.

6.2 The Board's diversity strategies

When Marianne Roux was appointed in 2012 she would have found that the Board had announced a myriad of strategies, plans, initiatives, programs, systems and provided resources which addressed a wide range of Board priorities.⁴⁰³ The Board had been extremely diligent since 1998-99 supporting its objectives with apparently detailed specific and targeted plans and strategies. The Board continued to report in its three priority areas and the theme which was followed in earlier chapters is again examined for the period 2007-08 to 2013-14 to understand the Board's approach to these three areas in different political and social environments.

⁴⁰¹ Brettig, D. (2011): np .

⁴⁰² Cricket Australia (2011), 'Our Strategy', CA website, accessed on 3 June 2013 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/about-us/ourstrategy>

⁴⁰³ In the 2007-08 annual report for example, readers were presented with over twenty strategies, plans, programs, and initiatives.

6.2.1 Women and women's cricket

From 2007-08 onwards, women's cricket was shown as having significant exposure in the Board's annual reports with many action and team photographs of women cricketers, match reports, and other team results.⁴⁰⁴ Women cricketers were referred to in the same language as men as playing elite level cricket and sharing elite cricket reports.⁴⁰⁵ Women cricketers continued to share the stage at Border Medal presentation nights and were acknowledged in reports of World Cup performances.⁴⁰⁶ The Board's Women's Cricket Reference group became the Females in Cricket Reference Group in 2007-08,⁴⁰⁷ and women international cricketers were seen as "ambassadors" with the modified cricket programs.⁴⁰⁸ By 2011-12 women cricketers had, through Board programs, committees, dedicated staff and formal recognition functions, become a normal part of the Board's reporting.

Having achieved this assimilation of women's cricket into the sport, the Board set out in 2007 to broaden its strategy to encompass "female involvement at all levels of cricket, with a particular focus on girls and women's attendance at men's games, viewership of men's games on TV and participation in cricket".⁴⁰⁹ The report established four pillars of the strategy and six "initiatives" that took place during the year.⁴¹⁰ An extensive report on the strategy was presented in 2010-11 when a range of initiatives, many involving women cricketers as role models, were outlined.⁴¹¹ The Board committee name again changed to the "Females Engagement Reference Group" in 2011-12.⁴¹² The Board had seen the inclusion of women as sufficiently important for the establishment of Board committees which had oversight of the strategy development and had moved on from player participation to women's participation as audience.

The inclusion of women's cricket into the history and tradition of the men's game was evident when Australian female Test cricketer Ellyse Perry was interviewed on video in a link from the 2011-12 annual report saying:

⁴⁰⁴ See for example photographs of an Australian woman cricketer on the cover of the 2012-13 annual report, an action photograph of an Australian fast bowler at page 18-19 of the 2008-09 annual report and a double page photograph of the Australian women's team in the annual report of 2009-10: 2-3.

⁴⁰⁵ See ACB (2009-10): 18-21.

⁴⁰⁶ See ACB (2008-09): 17 and ACB (2012-13): 4 where the Board acknowledges the women's World Cup wins.

⁴⁰⁷ ACB (2007-08): 6.

⁴⁰⁸ ACB (2008-09): 29 and 32.

⁴⁰⁹ ACB (2006-07): 24.

⁴¹⁰ ACB (2006-07): 24.

⁴¹¹ ACB (2010-11): 19-20.

⁴¹² ACB (2011-12): 14.

I really want I guess to uphold the traditions of cricket in the wider sense. Do proud to people who have played before us. Someone like Don Bradman is such a legend in the sport you sort of feel indebted to him to make sure you do your utmost to continue the culture and tradition that's been so strong around cricket (Transcription from the video).⁴¹³

The link to this video from the annual report summed up the success claimed by the Board in creating an illusion that women cricketers were now part of Australian cricket history, tradition and culture. Perry had not channelled female cricket legends from women's cricket history but a male champion. It was men's cricket of which Perry had become a part. From 1998-99 to 2011-12 the Board had so assimilated women into the game that current players were able to reminisce about a history of which women were not part, as if they had been there all along. This reporting belies the fact that women's cricket remained a poor relation.⁴¹⁴ The Board undertook a similar process of assimilation of Indigenous cricket into its history and cricket culture over this period.

6.2.2 Indigenous Cricket

The Board's efforts over a number of years saw successive federal governments provide funding and support for the Board's participation in initiatives in the Northern Territory which aimed to improve participation of Indigenous people in sport. The Board in the period from 2007 continued to report on the Imparja Cup and in 2010-11 provided a report of its involvement in a "no school – no play" government program which was an aspect of the Rudd Government's Indigenous education strategy.⁴¹⁵ The Board's reports also sought to change the perceptions of cricket as a white settler sport to which Indigenous people had been denied access, by reinventing its history and did so by further remembering the 1868 Indigenous team which toured England. A short report told of "the 140th anniversary of the

⁴¹³ ACB (2011-12): 7-8.

⁴¹⁴ A discussion of the way the Board enfolded women's cricket into the men's game is discussed in Stronach, M. and Adair, D. (2009). They argue for greater representation on the CA Board (since achieved with the 2012 appointment of the first female Board member). See also Cashman, R. and Weaver, A. (1991) for an earlier history of women in Australian cricket.

⁴¹⁵ ACB (2010-11): 52. See also a report on the Gillard government program which included other sporting bodies, Kearney, S., 'Federal Election 2010: No school, no play', 8 August 2010, *The Herald Sun*, accessed on 28 August 2014 at <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/special-features/no-school-no-play/story-fn5ko0pw-1225902524439?nk=44aebbb96d2b44b32bcd6e42051737db> accessed

arrival in England of its first ever touring side, the 1868 Indigenous team.”⁴¹⁶ In February 2008 one of the first actions of the Rudd government was to deliver an apology to the Stolen Generations, a key issue in the debate during the Howard era about history and the role of the government and settlers in the treatment of Indigenous Australians. The Board seemed to embrace the symbolism of the Rudd apology when it reported about an Australian Test tour of the West Indies during the 2007-08 season:

The current Australian team paid tribute to their trailblazing predecessors by displaying the Aboriginal flag with the Australian flag at its arrival media conference in the Caribbean.⁴¹⁷

It was this type of report about a small gesture, many thousands of kilometres away, and its connection with wider Australian cultural developments which made the silence about the myriad of possible examples of migrant involvement in the sport so revealing of the Board’s reporting approach.

The reporting of Indigenous cricket had become quite routine and Imparja Cup reports, Indigenous access to the Centre of Excellence and reports of tours by Indigenous touring parties commonplace.⁴¹⁸ The Chair (Jack Clarke) in 2008-09 related:

One of the year’s personal highlights for me was attending the indigenous Imparja Cup in Alice Springs. It was most gratifying to observe the success of the indigenous players who toured the UK in 2009 and the way in which they prospered in both a personal and cricket capacity.⁴¹⁹

The Chairman’s Message was prefaced by a full page photograph of an Australian cricketer with an Indigenous child in face paint on his shoulders – an illustration that Australian cricket had embraced the peoples that they had earlier described as ‘aboriginals’. Indigenous cricketers and their place in Australian cricket’s past and present continued, and as with women’s cricket, it had become normalised in the Board’s reporting.

⁴¹⁶ ACB (2007-08): 16.

⁴¹⁷ ACB (2007-08): 16.

⁴¹⁸ See ACB (2009-10) for a report about a tour of Papua New Guinea by an Indigenous tour group: 28.

⁴¹⁹ ACB (2008-09): 9.

6.2.3 Ethnic communities

Australia's make up continues to change and our challenge is to ensure that all Australians see themselves reflected in our national sport, whether playing at school or a local club, attending matches, or watching on TV.

[The Board Chief Executive Officer, James Sutherland in his report in the 2012-13 Annual Report.]⁴²⁰

The Chief Executive's statement suggested that diversity was no longer regarded by the Board as a threat to be resisted but a challenge to enjoin. Yet unlike strategies for the participation of women and Indigenous cricketers, where any event or gesture was given coverage in the annual report as evidence of the Board's work and results, migrant participation continued to be reported as aspirational and generalised. In 2012-13 the above statement became somewhat of a mantra for the Board with the Chair (Wally Edwards) in his report twice saying that cricket must ensure that it is "genuinely a sport for all Australians", suggesting that it had not been "genuine" in the past.⁴²¹

During the Rudd and Gillard government years between 2007 and 2013 a significant issue in Australian politics was the size of Australia's population into the future and the contribution that migration to Australia would make to that future. The government Intergenerational Report in 2010 estimated that the population of Australia would grow to 35.9 million by 2050, a level of population growth supported by Rudd.⁴²² Much of the debate around this report involved the possibility that migration would result in a significant decline in the white proportion of the Australian population make-up. "Big Australia" as the issue was referred to, received criticism on many fronts, including the impact on the environment and climate change, the loss of Australian cultural and religious identity, and the economic sustainability of existing levels of immigration.⁴²³ The Abbott Opposition criticised the government on its support for Big Australia arguing that the Government was not able to control immigration, as evidenced by the growth in boat arrivals carrying asylum seekers.⁴²⁴ The debate continued

⁴²⁰ ACB (2012-13): 6.

⁴²¹ ACB (2012-13): 4-5.

⁴²² See the Prime Minister's interview on *ABC 7.30 Report* on 28 January 2010 accessed on 29 August 2014 at <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2010/s2804229.htm>

⁴²³ The Prime Minister was asked by interviewer Kerry O'Brien about the possible fading of the influence of Christianity in Australia. See also Coghlan, J. (2011). The Labor support for a 'Big Australia' was abandoned soon after Julia Gillard took over as Prime Minister in 2010, but the rhetoric about boat arrivals and border protection continued.

⁴²⁴ Parliament of Australia (2010): 5.

through to the election of the Abbott Government in 2013 with increasing stridency about the Coalition's promise of "stopping the boats". The Coalition platform for the 2013 election included a section titled "Immigration" under which the then opposition promised "to deliver stronger borders – where the boats are stopped – with tough, proven measures".⁴²⁵ The plan then listed a range of actions a new government would take which included border protection, supplying stronger defence forces, new visa arrangements, offshore processing and a promise to fight terrorism.⁴²⁶ Immigration policy for the Coalition was focussed on border protection and defence, and coupled immigration with terrorism – a further demonising of asylum-seekers and consequential impacts on existing migrant communities.

The Board became involved in this area of discourse in 2013 when it lobbied the Federal Government to fast track the citizenship of a refugee from Pakistan (Fawad Ahmed) who was an accomplished cricketer in Pakistan but had been forced to flee due to his persecution.⁴²⁷ A newspaper report about Ahmed's background advised that the Board's Chief Executive (James Sutherland) had written to the Immigration Minister (Chris Bowen) supporting Ahmed's claim for refugee protection and that Ahmed was working for Cricket Victoria "as a mentor to new migrants through the Harmony in Cricket program".⁴²⁸ The Australian Citizenship Act was subsequently amended in June 2013 to give the Minister discretionary power to apply alternative residence requirements and Ahmed became an Australian citizen later that year. The Board's role is only mentioned in media commentary. Hansard reporting does not mention either Cricket Australia or Ahmed in the debate surrounding the introduction of the Bill.⁴²⁹ None of these events or background, or Ahmed's role in the Harmony program were mentioned in the Board's annual report. It was surprising that the Board would intervene in light of its history, but having done so, it might have been expected that it would have made some mention of its success in this area of Australian cultural life in the pages of its annual report.

The Board also refrained from mention of its selection of Usman Khawaja, Ashton Agar, Moises Henriques and Ahmed in its international teams, suggesting that the Board sees them as having been in no way different from other Australian cricketers.⁴³⁰ Ahmed's apparent use as a role model was not mentioned in the annual report although in 2013-14 he was shown

⁴²⁵ See the Party policy document accessed on 26 July 2015 at <https://www.liberal.org.au/our-plan/immigration>

⁴²⁶ See the plan at <https://www.liberal.org.au/our-plan/immigration> accessed on 23 August 2014.

⁴²⁷ Report of Chloe Saltau, 'Rejected as a refugee, accepted as a spinner' *The Age*, Friday November 2 2012: 1.

⁴²⁸ Saltau, C. 'Rejected as a refugee': *The Age*, Friday November 2 2012: 1.

⁴²⁹ Hansard (2007): 3551.

⁴³⁰ Ahmed has not yet (October 2015) played a Test match.

(uncaptioned) in an (unrelated) report on the Board's relationship with the Australian Cricketers' Association, overseeing three boys of South Asian appearance playing cricket.⁴³¹ This is very different from the approach with women cricketers and Indigenous strategies where such successes were highlighted as proof of the efficacy of the Board's programs and were provided considerable detail in the annual report.⁴³²

It was in the environment of boat arrivals and border security and terrorism that the Board gave little time for strategies and initiatives in its reporting about cultural diversity. If the Board had been aiming, as suggested by the Chief Executive to the HREOC study in 2006 (quoted in Chapter 5), to change the perception of the public about the appearance of the game, it needed to address the migrant groups about which the criticism lay – the apparent paucity of Asian, Middle Eastern and black migrants in the Board's premier cricket brand – the very people who were the asylum seekers arriving by boat in Australia's north.

The Harmony program, which for some years was the Board's only nominal program for migrant cultures, still featured in the annual report after 2007 but in 2007-08 the program was not mentioned for its focus on migrant participation, but because it was "customised to meet the specific needs of the Indigenous community".⁴³³ The years between the Howard government and the second Labor (Gillard) government in 2010 were almost silent on any substantive or specific programs or strategies which were designed to address the inclusion and participation of migrants. It was not until 2010-11 that the Board introduced new and migrant-specific programs and initiatives. While it had earlier (2008-09) shown an awareness of Australian population census statistics and advised of an intention to establish a "CALD strategic plan framework", nothing was reported about such a framework for two years. The 2008-09 framework was intended to:

- Inspire and educate CALD communities
- Create a sensitive and inclusive culture
- Dedicate resources to CALD cricket, and
- Work efficiently within existing infrastructures.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ ACB (2013-14): 16.

⁴³² See for example the reference to the offer of a cricket contract to Indigenous player Worrin Williams in ACB (2006-07): 25.

⁴³³ ACB (2007-08): 27.

⁴³⁴ ACB (2008-09): 31. CALD is an acronym for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse

This framework remained aspirational, non-specific, indicated no dedicated resources had been provided previously and suggested that, as the Board would work within the “existing infrastructures” no special or targeted approach for migrant cricketers would be adopted. This was a plan “currently in development” and addressed a “market” rather than a source of playing stock.⁴³⁵ In 2009-2010 the Board included eight ‘dot-point’ areas of its participation strategy, one of which was “multicultural”. Over pages 26-31, it reported on each of the other seven dot point priority areas and the initiatives and progress made in each. Significantly, there is no report about “multicultural”.⁴³⁶ Given the national discourse about migrants and boat arrivals, and the connection of such people with the fear of terrorism, the omission seemed once again to show the Board’s unwillingness to officially recognise any public strategy or initiative which aimed to include such migrant groups in the game’s plans.

The first specific and meaningful strategies about cultural diversity in cricket appeared in the 2010-11 annual report with the announced appointment of a “dedicated Diversity Manager”, an initiative which was accompanied by the report of the production of a booklet which aimed to break down the barrier of language.⁴³⁷ The booklet, *A Sport for All: An Introduction to Cricket in 25 languages*, was a 62 page publication featuring a montage of photographs of three cricketers and over fifteen children and young people, whose appearance and dress suggests African, Asian, Middle Eastern and Muslim (a woman in a hijab).⁴³⁸ The criticism of the Test team appearance had been that it had so few black African, Asian and Middle Eastern players and the photographs suggested that the booklet was aimed at just this ‘market’. Among this group of ethnic backgrounds however, were people who had a keen knowledge of and understanding of the game and many came from countries such as India and Sri Lanka who do have English language skills.

The booklet was indicative of the Board’s approach to the task – confused, confusing and superficial. The first two pages were presented in English and provided basic information about the game of cricket. The opening paragraph advised readers that “Cricket is an integral part of the Australian way of life and we welcome people from all cultures and backgrounds”.⁴³⁹ The welcome remained an ‘us versus them’ approach: we welcome others

⁴³⁵ ACB (2008-09): 31.

⁴³⁶ ACB (2009-10): 26-31.

⁴³⁷ ACB (2010-11): 43-44.

⁴³⁸ Cricket Australia (2011).

⁴³⁹ Cricket Australia (2011): 2.

who are different. The booklet then simply repeated the English two-page version in 25 different languages. Each language version finished with an invitation to “visit the Cricket Australia website for more information and to find your nearest club or program”.⁴⁴⁰ Such a visit by a person who did not speak or read English (the apparent target audience) would find a website which had no other language than English. The Board’s website section headed: “Multicultural”, included a video introduction in English which featured Australian male cricket players Brett Lee, Ricky Ponting, Michael and David Hussey. Shane Watson and Michael Clarke appeared in still photos.⁴⁴¹ The whole approach seemed confused as to audience, message and content. These cricketers were not representatives of multicultural Australia. The suggestion of Sarah Ahmed that bureaucracies use such strategies as “non-performatives” is evidenced in this attempt by the Board to show that something is being done when what is being done is superficial and even counter-productive. Ahmed would see this kind of document as a form of concealment: a way of presenting Australian cricket, “as being ‘good at this’ despite not being ‘good at this’ in ways that are apparent if you look around”.⁴⁴² Babacan might even see it as a new racism where the linkages and ethnic signifiers⁴⁴³ suggest once again that Australian cricket is as white and Anglo as the cricketers who appear in this video.

In addition to the booklet, the Board also established a Multicultural Cricket Reference Group to advise on strategy. A multicultural leadership group was announced and there was some use being made of role models in other areas of its program.⁴⁴⁴ The Multicultural Cricket Reference Group was not shown amongst the Board’s official committees even though the Females in Cricket and National Indigenous Advisory Committee were listed, and none of the fourteen Board members were shown as being involved in the Reference Group (not even the Indian-born member of the Board for many years, Harry Harinath).⁴⁴⁵ The following year the Board mentioned a “Diversity Council” in the responsibilities of two Board members. No other mention of it or its role is given in the annual report but the Cricket Australia website advised that it is chaired by the CEO with Board representation (Tony Harrison and Jacquie

⁴⁴⁰ Cricket Australia (2011): 3.

⁴⁴¹ See website accessed on 26 August 2014 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/get-involved/diversity/multicultural>. The website has since been updated and the video clip is now available at <http://www.playcricket.com.au/a-sport-for-all/multicultural> (accessed 19 May 2015) with the same personnel delivering the message.

⁴⁴² Ahmed, S. (2012): 102.

⁴⁴³ Babacan, H. (2008): np.

⁴⁴⁴ ACB (2010-11): 52.

⁴⁴⁵ ACB (2010-11): 81-82. Harinath retired in 2012-13: ACB (2012-13): 5.

Hey) and was formed in March (2014).⁴⁴⁶ Once again the Board had introduced a committee with aspirational objectives which emphasised communication of the Board's wish that all Australians can see themselves reflected in the sport.⁴⁴⁷ The Board's marketing focus that had been announced in 2010-11 became even more pronounced the following year when a large part of the Chief Executive's report was based around the subject of cultural diversity:

Cricket must be a diverse and inclusive sport if we are to deliver on our vision to be Australia's favourite sport. The success of Australian cricket's strategy will be assessed in a number of ways but the single most important measure will be whether Australians of all backgrounds see themselves reflected in the game played on local grounds, in the men's and women's teams that represent them nationally, and at the venues they attend.⁴⁴⁸

The CEO's report was accompanied by photo galleries and a video. The galleries showed a range of cricket players (elite and young, dark skinned, Asian, and white). The video was a *FoxSport* report of the Sunshine Heights Cricket Club which boasted as many as eight different cultural backgrounds.⁴⁴⁹ Another video produced by the Australian Sports Commission also featured the club, which was being highlighted in many media outlets, as an example of diversity in cricket.⁴⁵⁰ Both videos featured a school teacher from a local primary school who was also involved with the cricket club and he appears from the videos to have been the instigator of student involvement in the club for some years prior to Cricket Victoria's involvement. The videos also feature officers from Cricket Australia – Juhi McInerney who was the Diversity Manager (*Foxtel* video), and from Cricket Victoria (CV) – Annie Hateley (ASC video), who provided evidence of CV and CA diversity programs. What emerged from these reports and videos was evidence of recent concerted activity in the area of cultural diversity in cricket.

⁴⁴⁶ Cricket Australia, 'Australian Cricket Diversity Council: Purpose statement', accessed on 3 March 2015 at <http://www.cricketaustralia.com.au/about/diversity-and-inclusion/diversity-council>

⁴⁴⁷ Cricket Australia 'Australian Cricket Diversity Council': np.

⁴⁴⁸ ACB (2011-12): 10. The CEO outlines the Board's new strategy on the CA website, accessed on 26 August 2014 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/about-us/our-strategy>. The website includes a link to the CEO interview on ESPN Cricinfo (see Brettig (2011).

⁴⁴⁹ ACB (2011-12): link from the e-brochure.

⁴⁵⁰ Australian Sports Commission website http://www.ausport.gov.au/participating/all_cultures/resources/videos/sunshine_heights_cricket_club

By 2013 the Board was involved in a range of school-based initiatives which aligned cricket with Australian history and culture. A significant teaching resource which used cricket as the theme during 2006-07 and was funded by the federal government was reported by the Board alongside a report about a similar resource about Harmony in Cricket.⁴⁵¹ The Board continued to engage in strategies which were designed to encourage young cricket followers to learn and understand the Anglo-Australian history of the game. The Board along with the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) established another cricket quiz for the 2013 Ashes contest between Australia and England which was a school teaching resource based on a quiz challenge between schools which were paired as ‘sister schools’ in England and Australia.⁴⁵²

Perhaps the Board’s (and government) strategy is a ‘horses for courses’ approach which used the cricket activities of the day to press home particular messages to students as evidenced by the Board’s participation in a similar event – “cricket smart” – themed around the World Cup in Australia and New Zealand. This resource was another school-based event which had as its website example a lesson plan for teachers which was based on the migration story of Fawad Ahmed. The resource is headed “Year 6 History: Australia as a nation” and included a video about Ahmed and his journey, related earlier, from Pakistan to Australia as a refugee and eventual Australian citizenship and representation of Australia as a cricketer.⁴⁵³ Neither program is discussed in the reports of 2012-13 or 2013-14 although by this time the reports had become far more business focused and less detailed in their reporting than in previous years. These are teaching resources which aimed to teach lessons other than cricket. The Ashes quiz is aimed at values and fair play while the history of Australia in the present is taught through the story of Ahmed. The Board’s involvement in the course design and the part played by governments in these resources is unclear but the basis and content suggest that the designers are aiming to teach lessons to different groups and that the Board is involved to capture future fans using the different approaches of highlighting the Ashes while at the same time appealing to migrant children through a role model.

⁴⁵¹ ACB (2006-07): 25.

⁴⁵² See Ashes School Challenge accessed on 19 May 2015 at <http://www.asheschallenge.com.au/> and ECB Website, ‘Ashes Challenge’ accessed on 19 May 2015 at <http://www.ecb.co.uk/development/education/ashes-schools-challenge,2891,BP.html>

⁴⁵³ See website and links for ‘ICC Cricket World Cup 2015’, accessed 4 March 2015 at <http://www.cricketsmart.cricket.com.au/about>. The resource material contains twenty pages about Ahmed, cricket, Australian history, migrant experience and is jointly sponsored by the ICC and Cricket Australia. The video prominently displays the CA logo.

6.3 Role in Australian way of life

General Cosgrove reflected on cricket's place in the Australian community. "Cricket permeates Australian society. It certainly is, in a sporting sense, the true national glue in the way we regard each other," he said. "It's a paradigm for the way Australians regard life – an exuberant, demanding sport which allows champions and plodders to be on the same field doing the one thing in common."

[ACB 2007-08: 16.]⁴⁵⁴

Even in 2007-08 the Board was promoting one game for all Australians which continued to give primacy to Test cricket and its Anglo history. In this quote, the Board had chosen words from the Bradman Oration made by the General which once again reinforced the point it was trying to make about cricket and Australian culture. The choice of an army leader as the orator for a cricket event such as this, again tied cricket to a wider role in Australian life. The Board continued to see itself as a community and national cultural leader and it was unrelenting in its promotion of cricket and its English-Australian connection. The Board in this report under the heading, "01 Strategy: Reinforce and celebrate cricket's place in the Australian community", advised of the popularity of various forms of the game, of research giving TV viewing statistics and player popularity figures, of increases in participation as well as fund raising for the Royal Flying Doctor Service.⁴⁵⁵ There followed reports of Bradman's centenary celebration, the Sheffield Shield reinstatement,⁴⁵⁶ the 140th anniversary of the 1868 Indigenous tour, a "Desert Ashes" game between Australian and British troops in southern Iraq (connecting cricket with ANZAC), the Bradman oration, Hall of Fame inductees, the Benaud Spirit of Cricket awards and a report about the publication of a book about the Board's history.⁴⁵⁷ Most of these stories and articles were related to Australian cricket history and an image of an Anglo-Australian culture. The only article which was not so connected was a report about the establishment of the Warne-Muralitharan Trophy celebrating twenty-five years of Test history between Australia and Sri Lanka.⁴⁵⁸ These pages were accompanied by uncaptioned photographs of children playing cricket (many of Asian or

⁴⁵⁴ ACB (2007-08): 16. Report on the General's speech for the Board's Sir Donald Bradman Oration in Perth.

⁴⁵⁵ ACB (2007-08): 14-15.

⁴⁵⁶ ACB (2007-08): 15. The Sheffield Shield was renamed in 1999-2000 under a sponsorship arrangement with Pura Milk but reverted to the previous name in 2007-08 resuming a long history of association with Lord Sheffield, an English peer who provided the trophy in 1892-93.

⁴⁵⁷ ACB (2007-08): 15-17. The Benaud Spirit of Cricket Awards were introduced to acknowledge the interstate teams which exhibited the greatest respect for the spirit of the game. The book was written by Gideon Haigh and David Frith: *Inside story: Unlocking Australian Cricket's Archives* and is referenced elsewhere in this thesis.

⁴⁵⁸ ACB (2007-08): 17.



Figure 8

Indigenous appearance).⁴⁵⁹ While photographic images tried to suggest otherwise, the carefully chosen themes and texts continued to celebrate and privilege an Anglo-Australian culture. The uncaptioned image shown in Figure 8 from the Board's 2007-08 annual report is quite problematic. It appears to be a young girl of Asian appearance but may also be a girl with a disability.⁴⁶⁰ It provides the appearance of the Board using a single image to suggest diversity on a number of fronts.

While the Board reported that Twenty20 cricket was fast growing both overseas and in Australia, the CEO (James Sutherland) in 2008-09 reiterated the Board's view that the focus was on the sport being for all Australians and that "at the end of the day, elite success is our game's best advertisement, and it is the rule of thumb by which most outside cricket judge our success."⁴⁶¹ The Board continued to insist in 2009 that it was a leader in Australian cultural life and that its performance in this role remained tied to the prominence of its Test and international ODI teams. But in 2011-12 a very different approach was announced with the new *Strategy for Australian Cricket*. The CEO acknowledged that research conducted by the Board indicated that there is:

an element of truth that ... there are a whole lot of people in Australia who don't necessarily relate to the Australian cricket team in the way that many other cricket fans do. That's largely because of their background, culturally in terms of coming from a different country or alternatively just that they didn't grow up with and relate to cricket.⁴⁶²

It had taken many years of reported Board strategies, which in this thesis were designed to promote an Anglo version of Australian culture, for the Board to see that its strategy was now in need of reconsideration because of changes in population and in commercial reality.

⁴⁵⁹ ACB (2007-08): 15-17.

⁴⁶⁰ ACB (2007-08): 17.

⁴⁶¹ ACB (2008-09): 10.

⁴⁶² Brettig, D. (2011): np.

The imagery in the annual report in 2011-12 was a diverse cultural mixture of fans and players. There were no more staged team photos and the images of Test cricket were presented in the more serious elements of the report – Governance (a stern Test cricketer, Michael Hussey, in baggy green cap pointing at the camera), and Finance (showing a section of the Australian Test team in baggy green caps holding a trophy).⁴⁶³ Having promoted the nature of the game’s ties to an Australian national identity, character, history and heritage for the previous thirty years the Board needed to somehow address the reality of the composition of Australia’s population. It did so by breaking up its brand into different types of cricket – Test cricket as the traditional game played and watched by Anglo Australians supporting a team which represented them: a game that the CEO advised was for the “purist”.⁴⁶⁴ It is tempting to note that the notion of Test cricket as a game for purists can suggest more than simply the fan “who watches every ball of Test cricket”, but has a deeper, more sinister meaning: that Australian Test cricket had a particular appeal to a pure Anglo-Australian White audience.⁴⁶⁵ Test cricket was to be the game for serious cricket followers whom the Board had previously identified as representing “all Australians”. The ODIs and particularly Twenty20 brands were aimed at younger “time-poor” fans who wanted “bite-size” entertainment.⁴⁶⁶ The strategy for migrant and diverse cultures was to make the sport multicultural – to break the different forms of cricket into brands which reflected different cultural backgrounds (or at least to allow the Anglo-Australian brand to continue in a pure form while addressing a need to incorporate other cultures). In one year CA had moved from a plan which promoted the game through its premium brand, Test cricket, which privileged a male, Anglo culture and history, to promotion of a form of the game which was expected to appeal to families, women and diverse cultures. The Board had adopted T20 cricket – its brand version called the Big Bash League (BBL), which was a form of cricket which had no national or even State allegiance or history.

An indication of the change is reflected in the language used in the Chairman’s Report which had traditionally discussed the national Test team fortunes over the previous twelve months. The term ‘Test’ is used only twice in the 2011-12 Chairman’s Message – referring to the number of games played by recently deceased cricketers and a single reference to the coming

⁴⁶³ ACB (2011-12): 13-15.

⁴⁶⁴ ACB (2011-12): 10.

⁴⁶⁵ ACB (2011-12): 10.

⁴⁶⁶ ACB (2011-12): 10.

Test series of matches.⁴⁶⁷ The marked control of reference to Test matches is demonstrated in the alternative references to “elite team performance”, “Australian team”, “high performance area”, “Australian men’s team”, “elite team” and “international arena”.⁴⁶⁸



Figure 9

Nowhere was the term ‘ODI’ or ‘One Day International’ (the 50 over version of the game) mentioned specifically. The focus of this report was very clearly ‘KFC Big Bash’ and ‘Domestic Twenty20’. Neither the Chair (Wally Edwards) nor the CEO (James Sutherland) in their reports made any mention of the baggy green cap. It is easy to conclude that the juxtaposition of a colourful photograph (Figure 9) of two smiling young girls, dressed in bright blue curly wigs, with blue and white face

paint adjacent to the Chair’s report was meant to dramatically illustrate the change in promotion of the game and the

organisation.⁴⁶⁹ This report was illustrative of how the Board’s reports had been carefully constructed in language and imagery over many years to provide messages about its strategy objectives and directions.

The Board in its 2013-14 annual report continued to claim a place in Australian history but the rhetoric which for many years related to a nation-defining role was subtly changing: cricket was now “the game that has helped define Australia as a nation and as a community”.⁴⁷⁰ The wording seemed to have softened and its focus was far more intimate and embracing. The tragic events of December 2014 when former Test batsman Phillip Hughes was killed in a State cricket match brought out much of the new rhetoric which moved from nation to community then to family. A report by CA on its website announcing the death of Hughes said: “The cricket community worldwide is in mourning today following the death of Phillip Joel Hughes, aged 25.”⁴⁷¹ The terminology was used often in the reports relating to the tragedy. The CEO, James Sutherland, was quoted on the CA website in relation to arrangements for the first Test after Hughes’ death: “it is appropriate to pause once

⁴⁶⁷ ACB (2011-12): 8.

⁴⁶⁸ ACB (2011-12): 8.

⁴⁶⁹ ACB (2011-12): 7-8.

⁴⁷⁰ ACB (2013-14): 14.

⁴⁷¹ Middleton, D. ‘Cricket World Mourns loss of Phillip Hughes’, Cricket Australia Website, 27 November 2014, accessed 15 December 2014 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/news/australian-cricketer-phillip-hughes-passes-away-aged-25/2014-11-27>.

more and honour a modest hero who thrilled the nation and in so doing won an enduring place in our hearts. We hope that the whole cricket community can come together to join the Australian and Indian teams in the pre-match tribute.”⁴⁷² This might have been seen as a major ‘national’ tragedy which, as it did, touched the Australian public and brought comment from leading political figures, but it was not national but almost transnational. And it was also local – cricket officials frequently used the terms ‘cricket community’ and ‘cricket family’ in their offers of condolence.⁴⁷³ Cricket Australia in 2013 formed a fan website called The Australian Cricket Family which offered cricket fans cricket news by email and social media, priority ticketing and other promotional benefits.⁴⁷⁴ The device suggested that the Board had moved away from the chauvinist, nationalist promotion of the game and embraced what at times it referred to as a cricket family as a globalised entity and at others as an Australian cricket community – a subtle but an apparently softer, more embracing approach for families, women and migrants who had become the Board’s priority.

6.4 Relationship with government

The change in government in 2007 brought about change in the reporting of cricket’s relationship with government. While the relationship with the Howard government appeared close, friendly and with coinciding/interlocking values and ambitions, the Board’s portrayal of its relationship with the new government was quite different. There were no pictures of the Prime Minister “enjoying the game” or of being close to cricket. The report of the launch of a new junior cricket development program (*In2Cricket*) was prefaced with a story about Cricket Australia “taking cricket to the Hill”, with Cricket Australia “challenging” the Prime Minister (Kevin Rudd) to a game of courtyard cricket.⁴⁷⁵ The report referred to the event as including “a high powered delegation representing Australia [sic] cricket” and that CA hosted a cocktail party after the event.⁴⁷⁶ The report with its choice of wording indicated a more combative and adversarial relationship; that CA had come to Canberra as a supplicant seeking to establish a relationship with a government which the wording suggested was

⁴⁷² CA website, cricket.com.au, ‘First Test to Honour Phil Hughes, accessed on 15 December 2014 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/news/first-test-to-honour-philip-hughes/2014-12-07>

⁴⁷³ See for example the NSW Cricket Chairman’s reported comment in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 28, 2014 ‘Phillip Hughes dead: Australian cricketer dies after bouncer at the SCG’, accessed on 15 December 2014 at <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/cricket/phillip-hughes-dead-australian-cricketer-dies-after-bouncer-at-scg-20141127-11vcpt.html>

⁴⁷⁴ See the *Australian Cricket Family* website accessed on 26 July 2015 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/acf/>

⁴⁷⁵ ACB 2008-09: 15. “The Hill” is a reference to Capital Hill in Canberra where Parliament House is sited.

⁴⁷⁶ ACB 2008-09: 15.

somewhat hostile to cricket's administration. Where the Board presented itself as an insider in its relationship with the Howard government, it was shown as an outsider with the Rudd and Gillard governments.

The Board's strategy of promoting history and Australian identity continued for the early years of the Rudd government. The main theme of the 2007-08 report was a celebration of the birthday of Sir Donald Bradman in 2008. The report provided a front page image of Bradman in baggy green cap and Australian blazer juxtaposed with the then Test captain Ricky Ponting in similar uniform, suggesting a link between the past and the present.⁴⁷⁷ This might not have been particularly remarkable except that Bradman had died in 2001 – the celebration was of the 100th anniversary of his birth. This choice of theme might be read as the Board being anxious that its heritage not be forgotten, but it also might be read as a continuing promotion for a game which had its origin in an Anglo-Australian era and was seeking to reinforce that position. The report included many references to Bradman and an article inside the front cover remarked that:

Sir Donald Bradman carried the hopes of a generation and helped a young nation define itself. A boy from the bush who conquered the world. Sir Donald Bradman was hero to all.⁴⁷⁸

The statement resonated with Howard's Bradman oration in 2000 when he advised the audience that:

He [Bradman] reminded Australians that they were capable of great things in their own right, they were competitive, resourceful and talented people. They were well and truly separate from England, comprising a sovereign nation, and displayed an egalitarian, individualism that was uniquely Australian.⁴⁷⁹

Bradman continued to be promoted as an embodiment of Australian values and character and he personified the connection of cricket to England and an English heritage. This annual report (2007-08) was published nearly a year after the demise of the Howard government but Howard's connection to Australian cricket lived on in the Board's strategy and allusion to Australian history and culture and cricket's place in it. The strong references to Bradman and his place in Australian life came a year after the Howard government had introduced a

⁴⁷⁷ ACB 2007-08: Front cover.

⁴⁷⁸ See references to Bradman in ACB (2007-08): Front cover, inside front cover, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32, 38, and 15

⁴⁷⁹ Howard, J. (2000): np.

citizenship test just prior to the 2007 election. The Citizenship Test Bill was introduced into Parliament on 30 May 2007 and the Minister (Kevin Andrews) advised that applicants for citizenship would be required to answer questions from “information contained in a citizenship test resource book. It will cover the sorts of things that people learn in their primary and secondary years at school.”⁴⁸⁰ The resources booklet was produced in October 2007 and contained a section on sport and Bradman featured: “Among all Australian sporting heroes, Bradman is the best known.”⁴⁸¹ The Bradman question was removed as a compulsory question in the Citizenship Test by the Rudd government in 2009 (although Bradman remained in the booklet in the “non-testable section”).⁴⁸² The Board’s highlighting of Bradman at this time can be regarded as simply a marketing tactic or something more culturally and politically driven. Even after Howard had left office, the Board was continuing to promote a view of Australian history and Australian identity which connected with English colonial rule and an Anglo-Australian heritage. The choice of this theme was indicative of an organisation which continued to show loyalty to a particular political and cultural view which privileged Anglo Australians.

The connection with John Howard did not end when the government he led fell in 2007. The Board nominated the former Prime Minister in 2009 for the role of vice-Chairman of the International Cricket Council (ICC) as its Australasian representative, a position which would have elevated him to the ICC chairmanship two years later.⁴⁸³ His nomination was not accepted by the ICC and while no official reason was given for this rejection there was much speculation that it related to Howard’s years as Prime Minister and his relationship with a number of the former Commonwealth nations which formed a growing power bloc in the ICC.

Former ICC Chair and former Board CEO Malcolm Speed suggested that Howard was not appointed due to his opposition to the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe where he was in favour of economic sanctions against that nation. The West Indies “found reasons to conclude that he was racist. India ...did not want a President who would seek to assert the ICC’s power and diminish India’s new-found clout”. And Sri Lanka was against Howard’s appointment because of his public comments about the bowling action of Sri Lankan Test bowler, Muttiah

⁴⁸⁰ Andrews, K. MP (2007): 5.

⁴⁸¹ Australian Government, (2007): 26.

⁴⁸² Australian Government, (2009): 44.

⁴⁸³ Speed, M. (2011): 307.

Muralitharan.⁴⁸⁴ Popular opinion in India reasoned that it was due to Howard's support of apartheid South Africa and his refusal to support sanctions against that regime; his "stand on minority issues in Australia"; and "the shifting power pattern from the 'white bloc' to the rising superpower of Asia."⁴⁸⁵ He was not a cricket administrator but a politician who carried with him a reputation which was not acceptable to South Asian, African and West Indian cricket authorities. His nomination by the Board (Speed makes the point that it was the Board who approached Howard and not the other way around),⁴⁸⁶ as a representative of Australasian cricket seemed to provide a message to such nations that cricket remained a game in Australia grounded in white colonial rule and that Australian cricket was seeking to maintain international cricket power in such hands.

This was a major issue for the Board in cricket administration and future management of the international game and yet the Board gave little room in its annual report to this major rebuff – the Chair simply saying how "bitterly disappointed" the Board was with the non-acceptability of Mr Howard for the position.⁴⁸⁷ Among the Asian nations, nations from which significant numbers of migrants come to Australia, the reputation of Howard and the Board's decision to put him forward in international cricket administration as Australasia's representative seemed not to be a politically wise decision for an organisation which said it was trying to attract such people to the Australian game.

In the next year (2010-11) during the Gillard Labor Government, the Board was still engaging with the Commonwealth Government. The Board stated that: "Continuing financial support of Indigenous cricket programs, and illicit substances and alcohol education of players remains part of Cricket Australia's strategy to strengthen its relationships with governments."⁴⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the annual reports suggested that the Board had less of a relationship with the Labor government than it did with the Howard coalition. The

⁴⁸⁴ Speed, M. (2011): 308-9. Howard is reported to have confirmed his view that Muttiah Muralitharan, a record breaking Sri Lankan bowler, was a "chucker": that he bowled in an illegal way. See report in *The Age*, May 15, 2004, accessed 19 June 2014 at

<http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/05/14/1084289883247.html?from=storylhs>

⁴⁸⁵ These points are included in a report on the Indian press reaction to the Howard nomination accessed July 7, 2014 <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/indians-blast-john-howard-icc-bid/story-e6frg6nf-1225887316829>. The shift in cricket power from the White nations – England, Australia, New Zealand to the sub-continent and other non-White nations had been evident with the rise of the Indian Premier League T20 competition. Howard's attitudes to Australian diversity and internal Australian treatment of minority groups seemed to be at the core of the criticism. Much of the unfolding events are outlined on the *CricInfo* website which is available at <http://www.espnricinfo.com/australia/content/story/465655.html>, accessed on 17 June 2014.

⁴⁸⁶ Speed, M. (2011), 307.

⁴⁸⁷ ACB (2009-10): 4.

⁴⁸⁸ ACB (2010-11): 'Government': 8.

comfortable image of a relaxed John Howard “watching the cricket” is not in evidence among photographs of Rudd and Gillard. In the photos and captions, the Board was lobbying for support, seeking funding in the public eye. For example in the 2010-11 annual report the entry under “ Government” showing Test captain Michael Clarke meeting Prime Minister Gillard, is accompanied by a report discussing the government funding of Board programs and the need for continuing support.⁴⁸⁹

The Board’s continuing relationship and support for Howard’s national ideology may have been the reason for the differing relationship with the Labor government, a relationship which was exemplified by a comment from the CEO (James Sutherland):

CA continues to be concerned about the challenges that all sport, not just cricket, faces at a community level. The issue has national implications, not just for sport, but for community health and our identity as a nation.⁴⁹⁰

The “issue” to which the CEO refers is not specifically evident from this statement but it was significant enough for the Board to “push for the formal creation of a Coalition of Major Professional Sports (COMPS) ... so that sport can act collectively on issues such as community sports infrastructure.”⁴⁹¹ How such an issue can impact “our identity as a nation” is not made clear except that the CEO points to the part played by the game “in Australians’ health and enjoyment of life”.⁴⁹² The following year the Board advised that the group had been established and was called the Coalition of Major Professional and Participation Sports (COMPPS) which would provide such sports a united voice “and allows us to work collectively on matters of mutual importance”.⁴⁹³ The new organisation consisted of seven national sports bodies and had former Cricket Australia Chief Executive (and former ICC Chair) Malcolm Speed as its Executive Director.⁴⁹⁴ From August 2010 COMPPS made twenty submissions to state and federal governments and a range of enquiries and committees.⁴⁹⁵ Eight of these related to gambling and the advertising of gambling in sport, five related to drugs in sport, and the main tenor of these submissions was the protection of the commercial interests of the sporting bodies involved. The original intent of the Board’s

⁴⁸⁹ ACB (2010-2011): 8

⁴⁹⁰ ACB (2008-09): 11.

⁴⁹¹ ACB (2008-09): 11.

⁴⁹² ACB (2008-09): 11.

⁴⁹³ ACB (2009-10): 7.

⁴⁹⁴ See COMPPS website at <http://www.compps.com.au/> accessed 8 August 2014.

⁴⁹⁵ COMPPS ‘Submissions’, accessed on 8 August 2014 at <http://www.compps.com.au/submissions.html>

stated involvement relating to sports infrastructure had given way to ensuring that governments did not encroach on advertising revenue (alcohol and gambling), that regulation of ticket scalping did not intrude into sport's control of revenue and that sport did not have to fund government programs and services (police presence at venues, after-school children's involvement in sport activities).⁴⁹⁶ The people who represented each sporting body were mainly from the organisations' legal, business or government relations departments.⁴⁹⁷ While the Board over many years made a feature of its role in Australian cultural life, it seemed only happy to do so when such programs were funded by governments and the government of the day was not threatening to introduce legislation and regulation which would impact the business interests of the sport. This attitude to matters of public health had similarities with the Hawke/Keating government years and tobacco advertising and similarly was less about public health than about revenue stream protection. COMPPS had a clear role of protection *against* government rather than providing assistance and positive cultural and community health leadership *to* government and it was a body which was formed on the initiative of the Board. Conflict of this kind was not evident during the Howard years.

The 2010-11 annual report introduced a major section headed "Government" which showed a photograph of Test Captain Michael Clarke shaking hands with Prime Minister Gillard.⁴⁹⁸ The accompanying article again advised that:

There is ever increasing pressure on national sporting organisations to meet community and political expectations in areas of social and health promotion.⁴⁹⁹

The statement suggested that the Board was reluctant in this role, even though it had for many years claimed to be a leader and under no particular pressure from government to have that role. It had been "proud" to be chosen to help government in its social policy delivery in the Howard years. The Board which had made such a grand statement to be representing all Australians was showing itself to be political; to be associated with a conservative side of politics, a side which had promoted a way of Australian life which privileged Anglo Australians.

⁴⁹⁶ COMPPS Submissions.

⁴⁹⁷ See the COMPPS Steering Committee membership accessed on 8 August 2014 at <http://www.compps.com.au/steering-committee.html>

⁴⁹⁸ ACB 2010-11: 8.

⁴⁹⁹ ACB 2010-11: 8.

6.5 Conclusion

For a time after the fall of the Howard government, the Board continued with its allusion to Australian history and values, finally abandoning the approach in 2011. The events in world cricket which saw the rise of India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan along with the West Indies as a non-white power bloc saw a muting of the alliance of Australian cricket promotion with its Anglo history. That coupled with the continuing increase in migrants as a percentage of the Australian population clearly led to the Board's re-thinking of its strategy to rely on the nationalist features of Test cricket as its chief promotional vehicle. Yet Test cricket was not fully discarded, the Board maintaining the brand as a game for purists; as a celebration of Anglo-Australian cricket and establishing other brands to cater for the needs of other sections of the Australian community.

Yet the new strategy was not about participation of players in the sport, but participation of diverse communities as audience. For all the Board's words about needs to engage and be mindful of the migrant population, the strategies, programs and initiatives continued to apply an integration approach to player involvement – requiring migrants to have come through the Board's development system. Migrants who sought to play Australian cricket were given no special development support – no special coaching arrangements supplied by the Board, no fast tracking of young potential migrant cricketers to be sent to the cricket Centre of Excellence, no reported discussions with local migrant community leaders to develop ways to encourage participation. The organisation saw its sport as an Anglo-Australian sport anchored in its Anglo history. There was no room in that history for difference; no room for people who had not come through accepted Australian teams and clubs – the Australian cricket pathway.

It was a sport which had connections with conservative politics and conservative cultural and social policies. It was insular in its approach to its cultural activities, partnering with sponsors who Labor governments decried as harming the health and welfare of the community and fighting fiercely to maintain its revenue stream. It used its annual reports to try and suggest a story of its activities which was not backed by detail or positive results, using words and imagery which masked inactivity. And it partnered with conservative politics and a conservative view of Australian culture, based in a particular view of the past.

The Board in a formal sense remained in denial at the prospect of a sport which meant so much to Anglo-Australia losing a key aspect of its historical identity. The Board's adoption

of a multicultural approach as its promotional base for the national team seemed a bridge too far. It would have required the loss of 130 years of Anglo-Australian cricket history and alternative celebration of the migrants from Europe and Asia who had managed to succeed at elite level. It would have required discussion with local migrant communities about how they might wish to participate in the game with a possible consequence of a complete change of cultural direction, a loss of Australian cricket identity and a possible loss of control of the sport. Migrant cricketers would likely have told the Board what the CEO seemed to recognise in 2014: that Australian cricket history meant nothing to them and that they felt alienated from the Australian game; that their identity is anchored elsewhere.

For all the Board's reported activity to encourage and facilitate diverse cultural participation in the sport, participation in the development pathway to elite levels still required that such cricketers integrate into Australian cricket – migrant cricketers had to know about and accept the history and traditions of the Australian game – and to play the Australian way of cricket. The next chapter considers the Australian way of cricket – how the Board presents a conflicted and conflicting image of the Australian game and how the sport is experienced by migrants who are involved in cricket in suburban Australia. It will provide an image of the sport which migrant cricketers must negotiate if they wish to participate and will lead to further chapters which demonstrate how migrants have managed to find a place in this Australian sport, playing the game under their own terms within and outside the Board's regulatory framework.

CHAPTER 7 MIGRANTS AND THE AUSTRALIAN WAY OF CRICKET

Reflections

I began my first job in 1968 and was trying to impress a work colleague with my sporting achievements. I mentioned my current cricket team – an A Grade turf team in Melbourne's south. I was the wicketkeeper and thought I was pretty good. He mentioned that he had a role in one of the Melbourne Cricket Club's (MCC) cricket teams. He invited me to training at the Albert Ground. I brought along my wicket keeper's gloves (borrowed from the club) and my box, the only article of cricket equipment I ever owned. I needed both articles for the experience at the net in the top level of Victorian cricket.

As a wicketkeeper there was not a lot I could show when the practice was in nets. I had to stand between the stumps and the back of the net, only a metre apart. The bowler was a quick. I thought I did quite well, missing only a few and was very thankful for the presence of the box. After 20 minutes or so I retired to a safer position *behind* the net. By the time that it came to bat my confidence was shaken. An instinctive batsman I batted well when I didn't need to think about it. But I was facing a spinner – the fast bowler having softened me up. This guy delivered straight lolly-pops at snail's pace and I had no idea. The slower and straighter he bowled the more of a mess I made. What really rattled me was the banter between him and a few mates who gathered to watch my humiliation. Cricket is a game played in the head. I had been found totally wanting. I was never invited back, and remain convinced to this day that this was part of the conditioning for higher cricket promotion.

In the 1990s I drove my 15 year old son to cricket on Saturday mornings. He was quite a good spin bowler of the odd unplayable ball. He would have left my MCC nemesis for dead. Yet he rarely had a chance to bowl, as the captain and the captain's mates always did the bulk of the bowling. My son was lucky to have one or two overs at the end of the innings when they had tired. School sport was sometimes a soul destroying experience which depended on who you related to and who liked you.

7.1 Cricket the Australian way

Over almost two centuries the game that was imported from England has developed a distinctive Australian character because of the differing climate and society.

[Richard Cashman's entry about Australian cricket in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Cricket* (1996).]⁵⁰⁰

In scholarly work and in popular culture, there has been an attempt to make the case that Australian cricket is somehow unique from cricket played by other nations, asserting an Australian style of cricket or an Australian way of cricket.⁵⁰¹ Richard Cashman suggested above that Australian cricket was different because of the physical playing environment encountered in Australia, but his reference to society takes the distinction to other areas of discourse. Later in his entry in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Cricket*, Cashman referred to Australia's cricket difference in terms of it being "more egalitarian than English cricket" appealing to both working class and middle class audiences as well as both Labor and conservative political leaders.⁵⁰² This was a comment about audience rather than the game and its players, and broadened the notion of an Australian way of cricket beyond the sport itself.

In popular cricket writing, the 1960s and 1970s produced publications describing an Australian cricket style or 'way' of playing, perhaps supporting Meaney's argument, discussed earlier, about many attempts at the time to differentiate Australians from other nations – to create an Australian identity through cricket.⁵⁰³ Former Australian cricket captain Brian Booth wrote in 1968 that:

Cricket is a game which has become synonymous with sportsmanship and chivalrous behaviour. By following the high principles it lays down, a youngster secures a code of good conduct for his recreation and for life itself. Great cricketers are respected all over the world not only for their resources of technique and pluck, but because they are gentlemen.⁵⁰⁴

Booth was indicating no particular differential between nations but described a cricket ideal and again linked cricket with life in general. This ideal of cricket had its basis in the British notion of amateurism, fair play and sport for sport's sake – a gentleman's game. But Booth

⁵⁰⁰ Cashman, R.W. et al. (1996): 42.

⁵⁰¹ Often this was done in cricket instruction manuals and books aimed at young cricketers such as Pollard, J., (1968), and Main, J., ed. (1978). But what comes through is the assertion of difference in Australian cricket.

⁵⁰² Cashman et al. (1996): 42-43. The notion of Australian "difference" is also asserted about Australian sport generally. See for example Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 209ff.

⁵⁰³ See discussion in Chapter 2 above (page 21)

⁵⁰⁴ Booth, B., former vice captain of the Australian Test team in his first chapter of Pollard J. (1968): 1.

later qualified his description, giving it an Australian flavour: Australians played cricket “hard but fair”.⁵⁰⁵ Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz also suggested that “[p]laying hard is a conspicuous Australian sporting trait”, but qualified what this term meant:

It is far more than good-natured pluck and determination, or selfless pride in, or honest commitment to, a representative team. It has become a euphemism for a win-at-all-costs mania that despises defeat and lacks any, often all, sense of perspective.⁵⁰⁶

Former English cricketer and commentator Peter Roebuck observed:

Australian cricket operates as a united and mighty force. The Australians often play with a single mind and a single voice, and to outsiders that voice can sound abrasive. Aggression has always been the Australian way, in cricket and much else.

... [it is] frustratingly Anglo-Saxon in some ways, but it does not exclude anyone and its heroes are down to earth characters. Beer is drunk at matches, and working men’s clothes are worn.⁵⁰⁷

Roebuck was also referring to a particular cricket Australianness. Roebuck’s Australians were not chivalrous gentlemen. Roebuck said of Australian captain Ricky Ponting that he “enjoys beer, golf, gambling and camaraderie”, while former captain Ian Chappell:

reflects the character of the game and its players in Australia. Unapologetic, opinionated, relentless and stubborn. He drinks, swears, tells jokes and runs with the bulls, and has never pretended otherwise.⁵⁰⁸

Australian sport and cricket were also described as different in the particular use of language in competition. Adair and Vamplew suggested:

what has distinguished Australian sportspeople ... is the extent to which they have used verbal intimidation to win an advantage over opponents. Such behaviour has not been unknown among other sporting nations, of course, but the fact that Australians have developed their own term for the practice – sledging – suggests that it has been

⁵⁰⁵ Booth B. in Pollard, J. (1968): 1.

⁵⁰⁶ Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 213-14.

⁵⁰⁷ Roebuck, P. (2004): 271.

⁵⁰⁸ Roebuck, P. (2004): 272.

routine; something of an on-field version of barracking, although without the humour.⁵⁰⁹

Brian Booth's chivalrous game and code of good conduct gave way in the 1970s to a different Australian way.⁵¹⁰ The descriptions given here of the Australian way of cricket are less about the skills and techniques of Australian players rather than their character and how they deport themselves on the field. Australia's cricket representatives had become representatives of a particular Australian character.

Richard White had seen the notion of "an Australian way of life" as serving to differentiate migrants from the host national culture. The Australian way of life, he said, developed from the notion of an Australian type and was an attempt to provide definition to Australia and Australians in opposition to three 'threats': "migration, the threat of communism and the cultural influence of America".⁵¹¹ White described the immigration policy of the day:

Once the migrant had been enticed to Australia, he was expected to conform. The whole policy of assimilation was founded on a concept of 'the Australian way of life', and it is no coincidence that assimilation was the government policy for both migrants and Aborigines in the 1950s.⁵¹²

The homogeneity assumed in the expression "Australian way of life", he said, was "an important factor in discrimination between the migrant and Australian society".⁵¹³ Catriona Elder described assimilation as being underpinned by a notion of sameness: "Migrants had to assimilate to – be the same – and the type they had to assimilate to, or become the same as, was Anglo-Australian."⁵¹⁴

During September 2013, Australian One-Day International (ODI) representative Fawad Ahmed⁵¹⁵ was reported to have declined to play in the official Australian team uniform. The uniform displayed the logo of an Australian beer sponsor and Ahmed, a Muslim, chose not to wear the logo because of his religious beliefs.⁵¹⁶ The Board had offered to allow him to wear

⁵⁰⁹ Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. (1997): xii.

⁵¹⁰ See also Booth, D. and Tatz, C. (2000): 214-215.

⁵¹¹ White, R. (1979): 534.

⁵¹² White, R. (1979): 535.

⁵¹³ White, R. (1979): 536.

⁵¹⁴ Elder, C. (2007): 130.

⁵¹⁵ Fawad's case was discussed in Chapter 6.

⁵¹⁶ Saltu, C. (2012), 'CA slams 'bigotry' against Ahmed', *Sydney Morning Herald* September 7, 2012, accessed on 16 July 2014 at <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/cricket/ca-slams-bigotry-against-ahmed-20130906-2t9yz.html>: np.

a uniform without the logo and he chose this option. Former Australian Test cricketer Doug Walters and former Australian Rugby Test captain David Campese were quoted in relation to these reports in a Twitter exchange:

I think if he doesn't want to wear the team gear he should not be part of the team [Walters].

... if you don't like the VB uniform, don't play for Australia. Well said doug [sic]. Tell him to go home ... well why did he come here in the first place. A better life? Now he is telling people what he wants! ... They (sic) is a lot more kids who would love to play for Australia. And they wouldn't complain ... So Doug is right go back to where you came from [Campese].⁵¹⁷

The comments of Walters and Campese as senior Australian representative sportsmen indicated that there is a level of antipathy towards migrants who chose not to adopt the Australian way in Australian senior sport. Campese's position as the son of an Italian migrant⁵¹⁸ makes this statement interesting on many levels. Firstly that as the son of a migrant, he has represented Australia in another national sport, but more importantly he so stridently expected others from a migrant background to adopt the requirements of Australian sport. His outburst seemed to indicate that while his background may have been Italian he was in no doubt where his national loyalties lay and expected others who had migrated to similarly adopt the Australian way.

Walters and Campese reflected an attitude to difference which was discernible in the mid-2000s in Australian political life. The then Federal Education minister Dr. Brendan Nelson in 2005 suggested that:

If you want to be an Australian, if you want to raise your children in Australia, we fully expect those children to be taught and to accept Australian values and beliefs ... We want them to understand our history and our culture, the extent to which we believe in mateship and giving another person a fair go, and basically if people don't

⁵¹⁷ Saltau, C. (2012), 'CA slams 'bigotry' against Ahmed', *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 7, 2012 np.

⁵¹⁸ Dunn, E., 'What I drink when: David Campese', article in *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 13, 2011, accessed on 12 July 2015 at <http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/restaurants-and-bars/what-i-drink-when-david-campese-20110910-1k2n3.html>

want to support and accept and adopt and teach Australian values then, they should clear off.⁵¹⁹

And Prime Minister Howard was reported in 2006 to have said that “when you come to this country, you become an Australian.”⁵²⁰ Howard was supporting Treasurer Peter Costello’s statement: “Before becoming an Australian, you will be asked to subscribe to certain values. If you have strong objections to those values, don’t come to Australia.”⁵²¹ While the Board quickly distanced itself from Walters’ and Campese’s exchange, the underlying message of the former sportsmen was that Ahmed was not yet Australian, that he had not adopted the Australian way and his citizenship papers alone did not qualify him to be part of the team. He was not the same as ‘us’.⁵²²

Somewhere between Booth’s characterisations in the 1960s and Roebuck’s descriptions in the 2000s the identity of Australian cricket changed. Brian Booth’s cricket stood for British values, amateurism, whiteness, class and privilege. It was a game for gentlemen who would display “pluck”. Roebuck’s game was played by Australians who represented working men, hard drinking and rough – who would more likely display “guts” than “pluck”. This chapter explores how the Board’s sponsors and their own promotion courted the audience of the latter while espousing some of the values of the former. It trod this line of contradiction through its characterisations – the promotion of the drinking man, the rough talker, the funny character while speaking in lofty idealisations of the spirit of cricket. The chapter also examines the experience of migrants with the Australian way of cricket and how they had come to terms with it, often using the Australian way as their own point of difference.

⁵¹⁹ ABC News report, ‘Minister tells Muslims: accept Aussie values or “Clear off”’, Wednesday 24 August 2005, accessed on 22 October 2013 at <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2005-08-24/minister-tells-muslims-accept-aussie-values-or/2088062>: np.

⁵²⁰ Humphries, D. ‘Live here and be Australian, Howard declares’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 February 2006, accessed 2 June 2015 at <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/live-here-be-australian/2006/02/24/1140670269194.html>

⁵²¹ Gordon, J. and Topfield, J. ‘Our values or go home: Costello’, *The Age*, February 24, 2006, accessed on 22 October 2013 at <http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/our-values-or-go-home-costello/2006/02/23/1140670207642.html?page=2#>.

⁵²² In 2015, former Australian swimmer Dawn Fraser used similar terminology to suggest that Australian tennis player Nick Krygios should “go back to where his parents came” from in respect of Krygios’ behaviour at Wimbledon in July.

7.2 The Australian way – Ockerdom

Ocker: A stereotyped uncultured Aussie male who exhibits excessive drinking of alcohol, womanising, and chauvinism.

[*Australian Dictionary* entry for the definition of ‘Ocker’].⁵²³

Sport Historian Brian Stoddart suggested that the Australian way of sport reflected an Australian way of life, a way he referred to as “ockerdom”, and further that the integration of migrants into such a way is often very foreign to the cultural upbringing of migrant men and their families. Sport for migrants according to Stoddart involved at least two major social considerations: it enshrined many prevailing social orthodoxies and it often bolstered the exclusion and divisiveness found elsewhere in the Australian culture: “It is as if sport is the last bulwark maintained by ockerdom against massive social change in other areas.”⁵²⁴

Ockerdom seemed a far cry from the ideal cricket code of conduct referred to by Brian Booth earlier but is an Australian cricket ‘type’ which is popular, revered and promoted in sport and certainly in cricket.

As the organisation which manages cricket the Board, through its reports, provided some evidence of attempts to control the behaviour of cricketers or at least to be seen to be ensuring its cricketers exhibited the right behaviours. In 1984 the problem of player behaviour had been an issue for the Board, with players having been involved over the years previously in allegations of betting on games, ill-discipline on the field and allegations of physical threats to opposition players. The Board took greater control of such behaviour by establishing a three man commission run by a Code Co-ordinator.⁵²⁵ The Executive Director’s (David Richards’) report advised of the results of a review of team operation which included a new selection policy which required selectors “not to choose any player who doesn’t make a total commitment to personal and team success, including ... a commitment to acceptable standards of dress and general behaviour on and off the field.”⁵²⁶ Until 1990 the Board annually mentioned breaches of the code and the punishments meted out to players. In 1993-94 the Chairman (Alan Crompton) had cause to spend a third of his

⁵²³ Definition of ‘Ocker’, *Australian Dictionary* website, accessed 13 July 2014 at <http://australiandictionary.net/ocker>.

⁵²⁴ Stoddart, B. (1986): 182.

⁵²⁵ The background to the 1980s behaviour problems is discussed in Haigh, G. and Frith, D. (2007): 208-215.

⁵²⁶ ACB (1983-84): 5.

report on Australian player behaviour during a tour to South Africa.⁵²⁷ Australian players became involved in verbal attacks on opposition South African players during the first Test tour to that country since its readmission to world sport.⁵²⁸ The Chairman did not mention the men by name and did not detail what had happened. What he did remark about in strong terms however was that:

it is important that our cricket is played in the appropriate spirit and for this reason the ACB has taken a strong stance on player behaviour, being particularly mindful of the role model function of leading players.

He went on to discuss fines on the players and to advise that:

We cannot condone highly visible bad behaviour being beamed into [young people's] households on television – it is bad for cricket's image and bad for the player's own image, particularly with impressionable children.⁵²⁹

It seemed that it was the high visibility that was the problem. Had the actions been missed by the cameras or otherwise gone unreported then there would apparently not have been a problem. As the Chairman observed:

in cricket today it is not a case of 'what happens on the field stays on the field' ... Television is a medium that has popularised the game, and for this we are very grateful, but it is also very intrusive and players have to learn to live with the highly visible and public position they occupy.⁵³⁰

The Board took steps in 1994-95 to ensure that players would at least be able to handle the repercussions of bad behaviour on and off the field. The Board reported that contracted Australian cricketers were put through a course of media training "to equip the players to handle constant exposure".⁵³¹ This seemed to suggest an after-the-event strategy.

The representation of the game which the Board officially supported in its annual reports was closer to the ideal suggested by Brian Booth, but the relationship with its sponsors and the characterisations which were less formally included in the annual report suggested that the Board and its sponsors encouraged rather than suppressed, the ocker cricketer image which

⁵²⁷ ACB (1993-94): 1.

⁵²⁸ See Coward, M. (1994): 130-131.

⁵²⁹ ACB (1993-94): 1.

⁵³⁰ ACB (1993-94): 1.

⁵³¹ ACB (1994-95): 23.

was used as an advertising and cricket promotional tool. The major sponsors of Australian cricket since the demise of tobacco sponsorship of sport have been alcohol marketing companies and brewers. Beer brand (Victoria Bitter) is the Board's major sponsor. Castlemaine XXXX sponsored overseas Australian tours for a number of years.⁵³² The Board also had Tyrrell's Wine as a sponsor and State associations, Queensland (XXXX)⁵³³, South Australia (West End)⁵³⁴ and Tasmania (Cascade)⁵³⁵ all had beer sponsors often with team naming rights.

The Board's website in 2014 contained a TV recording of part of the televised broadcast of a Test match in January 2014. The commentator was former Australian cricketer Shane Warne and the images were of former Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, coming from inside the grandstand to meet a number of fans all dressed in Richie Benaud costumes. The article is headed "Former Australian Prime Minister refreshes himself":

We've seen some iconic people in the ground; we've seen Richie Benaud, the great man. There they are – look at Richie and look at this man coming down. In my eyes, probably the greatest Prime Minister of Australia. He relates to the people. The public love him. And all of the Richies together gave him a beer and said 'Have a skull'. And what does one of our greatest Prime Ministers do? He skulled it. Look at him go. Skull! Skull! Skull! And the great man Bobby Hawke nailed it! Said thank you very much boys ... We love ya Bob. Everyone loves ya. He was one of our greatest Prime Ministers Bob Hawke. Well done.⁵³⁶

The motivation of the Board to include such a clip on its website might have been to give the sponsor a product endorsement; to once again connect cricket with a leading Australian political figure; or to underline the characterisation of cricket as a game for the people, but if it is the latter, which people? This video would seem to have little meaning for a migrant new

⁵³² ACB (1989-90): 12.

⁵³³ See Dorries, B. 'Gabba Ban on XXXX beer during cricket test against India', Courier Mail, October 12, 2014, accessed on 12 July 2015 at <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/gabba-ban-on-xxxx-beer-during-cricket-test-against-india/story-fnihsrf2-1227087532125> which discusses a clash between the CA sponsor Vic Bitter and Castlemaine XXXX. Castlemaine XXXX was the major sponsor for 20 years.

⁵³⁴ See the West End Redbacks website accessed on 12 July 2015 at <http://www.redbacks.com.au/>

⁵³⁵ See Cricket Tasmania website, accessed on 21 July 2014 at <http://www.crickettas.com.au/>

⁵³⁶ Transcript of video commentary of Shane Warne. Richie Benaud was a former Australian captain and a long time TV cricket commentator and journalist. At this game, a large number of cricket fans had dressed in Richie Benaud suits and wigs and were drinking plastic cups of beer in the grandstand. See CA website, 'Former PM refreshes himself', which links to the video and was posted on 4 January 2014, and accessed on 17 July 2014 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/video/Former-PM-refreshes-himself>. This post still remained on the Board's website on 12 July 2015.

to Australia from a culture which had no interest in, or had a religious objection to alcohol. The video narrated by a former cricketer in a form of Australian vernacular and indicating adoration for a man who had presented as a Prime Minister for the people, in itself may be amusing and entertaining for an Anglo-Australian audience but the choice of the Board to include it on its website showed the Board to be promoting a particular Australian characterisation. It is this image of an ocker Australianness which is regularly promoted by the Board in the use of its senior players for commercial purposes.

David Boon was a long serving Australian Test cricketer whose image was used between 2005 and 2007 in the form of a figurine for the marketing of Victoria Bitter (VB) beer: the so-called 'Boony Doll'.⁵³⁷ At the time Boon was an Australian Test selector and VB was the Board's major sponsor. Boon had a reputation in the cricket world as a drinking man, reportedly having consumed a 'record' 52 cans of beer on a flight between Australia and London.⁵³⁸ The record is said to have been previously held by Test cricketers Doug Walters, and Rodney Marsh.⁵³⁹ The brewing company Fosters, which marketed VB, regarded Boon as a "perfect fit with VB. He was a good Aussie bloke, with good Aussie values." The report suggested that the campaign was meant by the company as a celebration of Boon "the cricketer and the character" and that the connection with the drinking legend was unfortunate.⁵⁴⁰ The campaign had been criticised by public health groups for its apparent connection with binge drinking. As a player, the Board's 1995-96 annual report showed Boon leading the Australian victory chant with players holding a stubby in hand.⁵⁴¹ The chant which the Board referred to in the report is simply named *Under the Southern Cross I Stand* but the complete lyrics read:

Under the Southern Cross I stand



Figure 10

⁵³⁷ See '2005: Talking Boony: Victoria Bitter: GPY&R Melbourne', YouTube video posted on October 8 2013 and accessed on 2 June 2015 at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRFeTeAPSBc>

⁵³⁸ The *Fanatics* website, 'Fan blogs: Drinking for Australia – David Boon 52 not out!', Reprinted from *The Weekend Australian Magazine* December 20-21, 2003 written by Peter Lalor, accessed on 14 July 2014 at http://www.thefanatics.com/web_blog.view.php?web_blog_ID=169

⁵³⁹ The *Fanatics* website.

⁵⁴⁰ Saltau, C. (2009), 'Foster's regrets binge-drinking Boonie figurine', *The Age* October 30, 2009 accessed on 14 July 2014 at <http://www.theage.com.au/national/fosters-regrets-bingedrinking-boonie-figurine-20091029-hnpd.html>: np.

⁵⁴¹ ACB (1995-96): 13.

A sprig of wattle in my hand
A native in my native land
Australia, you fucking beauty!⁵⁴²

The provenance of the chant and its lyrics seem obscure but the team had adopted it as its own with a more colourful ending than the originator no doubt intended (Figure 10).⁵⁴³ A similar photo of Test cricketer Ian Healy taking over the responsibility to lead the chant is also shown, providing evidence of the Board's acceptance and promotion of this means of victory celebration and this kind of Australian cricket identity.⁵⁴⁴ The words "native in my native land" might be read as a further indication that those born elsewhere cannot be deemed 'native' and it also suggests a denial of Indigenous possession (although the cricketers who participated in the chant are probably unlikely to have been analysing these possible meanings).

Cricket Australia had been happy to promote the 'ocker' type in cricket and to allow the characterisation to be used by sponsors. It also strongly protected this position. In 2013, Healthway, which was a major sponsor of the Western Warriors in Western Australian State cricket, was told its advertisement which used the slogan "alcohol and sport don't mix" could not be used at Board events as the advertisement could impact "other partners".⁵⁴⁵ A Cricket Australia spokesman was quoted as refusing the advertisement "because it conflicted with our continuing position on the relationship between alcohol and sport, which is one of consumption in moderation."⁵⁴⁶ The Board's action had resonance with its banning of the anti-tobacco *Quit* commercials at cricket venues in 1988-89 because the signs were "in conflict with our sponsor signage."⁵⁴⁷ The Board is fiercely protective of its sponsorship partners even when the Australian way that their product represents leads to anti-social behaviours and public health concerns.

Merv Hughes is another Australian cricket 'character' who had a reputation for aggression and use of intimidatory language and actions on the cricket field. He is also described as "an

⁵⁴² Website of the *Institute of Australian Culture*, accessed on 23 July 2014 at <http://www.instituteofaustralianculture.com/under-the-southern-cross-i-stand/>

⁵⁴³ A video rendition by the Australian team can be seen and heard at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2014/jan/06/australia-you-beauty-cricket-video>

⁵⁴⁴ ACB (1995-96):8.

⁵⁴⁵ Corderoy, A. 'Health groups hit out as cricket chiefs bat for alcohol ads', *The Age*, 15 October 2013: 3.

⁵⁴⁶ Corderoy, A. *The Age*, 15 October 2013: 3.

⁵⁴⁷ See ACB (1988-89): 9.

Ocker bloke from the days when, if the country were in need of a fast bowler, it would whistle in the entrance of the nearest pub.”⁵⁴⁸ Hughes is cited in the annual reports on a number of occasions for transgressions of the code of player behaviour.⁵⁴⁹ He was later used by the Board in 2007 in advertisements to curb unruly crowd behaviour at cricket matches, based on his apparent fond connection with the people who came to the cricket and sat in the outer grandstand areas, which by the end of a hot day in the sun with much alcohol consumed, became the starting point for considerable rowdy behaviour.⁵⁵⁰ While the campaign might suggest the Board was taking action to curb such behaviour, it once again put itself in a contradictory position. The Hughes report about crowd management appeared on page 39 of the annual report of 2007-08 but on the very next page is an uncaptioned photograph of cricket players apparently in celebration of a victory with a stubby of beer being poured over one of the players.⁵⁵¹ Cricket Australia seemed to have a continuing editing problem where its stated message is counteracted by the imagery in its pages. Many of the ‘characters’ described above, whose exploits have gained notoriety due to their on-field image and off-field transgressions have later been rewarded with important formal positions in Australian cricket. Rod Marsh, who once held the drinking record for the England flight, was for some years the head coach at the Australian Cricket Academy in Adelaide. The Board welcomed his appointment in 1990-91, saying that “he is certainly a man the younger players can respect.”⁵⁵² David Boon and Merv Hughes were each appointed as Australian Test selectors. The impression given by cricket and its promotion is that the ‘Australian way’ is characterised by hard drinking, uncouth language and boorish behaviour and that such behaviour, while officially outlawed is unofficially celebrated. The Australian way which the Board promoted suggested if you don’t drink and run with the bulls as Roebuck observed of Ian Chappell and Ricky Ponting, then you are excluded; a message which was delivered by Walters and Campese.

Wray Vamplew discusses the anomalous relationship between alcohol and sport, citing a number of contradictions: team managers requiring players to rehydrate after a game but the need of sponsors to have their product associated with after-the-game celebrations; poor

⁵⁴⁸ See White, J. ‘Merv the Magnificent puts the record straight’ in *The Guardian*, 21 October 2002 accessed on 14 July 2014 at <http://www.theguardian.com/sport/2002/oct/cricket.ashes3>

⁵⁴⁹ See ACB (1988-89): 12; ACB (1992-93): 17, and ACB (1993-94): 7 for example.

⁵⁵⁰ See ACB (2007-08): 39, and Sharp, A. ‘The banned wagon calls on Hughes to try spin’, *The Age* December 9 2007 accessed on 12 July 2015 at <http://www.theage.com.au/news/cricket/the-banned-wagon-calls-on-hughes-to-try-spin/2007/12/08/1196813084635.html>

⁵⁵¹ ACB (2007-08): 40.

⁵⁵² ACB (1990-91): 15.

player behaviour condoned in the interests of retaining a talented member of the team; and alcohol as a team bonding pursuit which comes to be viewed as binge drinking.⁵⁵³ Vamplew concluded that “Players ... find that their employers are tolerant of a drinking culture, a continuation into professional ranks of a long-established amateur tradition”.⁵⁵⁴ It was this tradition which became evident through the interviews of migrant cricketers.

Fijian migrant Seci Sekinini described his experience in country Queensland. Seci was captain of the Fijian national cricket team and has lived in Australia for eight years:

People turn up on Wednesday night. They train for, well, they hang around for an hour and then that was training and then they pull out an Esky. In Gympie they pull out an Esky full of beers and then they drink for two hours.⁵⁵⁵

It became a feature of many of the interviews of migrant cricket participants conducted for this research that traditional Australian clubs at all levels had a culture which involved alcohol. The clubrooms visited as part of the interview process had licences and much of the social activity at the clubs involved drinking. Seci also played cricket in New South Wales where he and another former Fijian national cricketer, Taione Batina, decided to try and engage with the local cricket community:

I remember in Goulburn and Doyalson we decided OK we will go and drink and you know mingle with them but when that did happen ... you could always feel this wall; that you were never really in there. It was literally just another conversation that was limited to just cricket and, well, apart from women and wealth and mending the evils it was pretty limited to that really.⁵⁵⁶

For Seci, gaining entry to Australian cultural life through cricket was not something that was readily available, even though he was a proficient cricketer. He said that he felt that he was regarded as somewhat of a curiosity, being a Fijian playing good standard cricket in Australia. He never felt part of the Australian cricket social activities and found such activities limited to drinking and discussion of the players' previous week's sexual conquests:

⁵⁵³ Vamplew, W. (2005): 406. See also Vamplew, W. and Collins, T. (2000), and Collins, T. and Vamplew, W. (2002).

⁵⁵⁴ Vamplew W. (2005): 406.

⁵⁵⁵ Interview with Seci Sekinini, 27 August 2013.

⁵⁵⁶ Interview with Seci Sekinini, 27 August 2013.

there was always this idea with [Australian] cricketers that when we ... talk about other things apart from cricket we have to have a back-up plan of drinking too much so we can always deny that we spoke emotionally or ... allowed ourselves to know each other more. Whereas in our culture we don't have to do it over alcohol because that's a very cowardly thing to do. For us a man is someone who can talk about things. So for us [in Australian cricket clubs] to talk meant we had to go out and drink. It was sort of new to us but we did.⁵⁵⁷

Seci used the pronouns “we” and “us” to both connect himself with Australian cricketers while at the same time distancing himself from Australian culture. Tui Tulili was born in New Zealand but is of Solomon Island background. He came to Australia as a rugby player. Tui was asked about the family involvement in cricket and noted:

That's what it's all about at the end of the day because it's family. They have to give the time to wash your clothes, clean your whites, bleach your whites, get the dirty mud out of your shorts, all that and the best thing you can do is invite them up to the clubrooms put on a spread for them and say 'Cheers. Thank you'. They do have ladies day and I think some people abuse that kind of day. Just a reason to get on the piss. Don't get me wrong I like a good beer but I like to enjoy a beer for the right reasons good friends and family – it's just culture.⁵⁵⁸

For these men, it is not so much the presence of alcohol at the clubs they were involved with but more the nature of the social engagement which accompanies the Australian drinking culture. Tui and Seci used the narratives around cricket and alcohol as an opportunity to put themselves outside and above Australian culture. They were promoting the values of their own culture which they identified in terms of respect for women and orientation towards family, cultural traits which they found missing in Australian sports culture. Seci was establishing a higher moral ground by describing the Australian drinking culture as “cowardly”. Tui's interview particularly was characterised as an Islander who was fiercely protective of his culture, using the Australian cricket culture as the point of difference.

Kurt Periera was born in India and now plays cricket in Victoria's Premier cricket competition. He was asked about the club's cricket social activities and his response was matter-of-fact in terms of the centrality of alcohol:

⁵⁵⁷ Interview with Seci Sekinini, 27 August 2013.

⁵⁵⁸ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

A couple of weeks ago – exams so I didn't go but they had local pub crawl – started about ten in morning and went to late at night. Everyone went pub crawling. Ever since on a Saturday after game we go back to the room ... met up in rooms and chat – talk about the game – chat – have a beer – lot of things like the pub crawl – meeting up. Play a game in Geelong so far away – everyone down there head off to a pub after the game – lot of socialising.⁵⁵⁹

Kurt's narrative suggested he would have participated if he had been able. His club had a high level of migrant players and yet drinking and pub crawling by male members was a major club event. But for Kevin Tissera, was born in Iran and came to Australia as a baby. His parents are of Sri Lankan background. For him alcohol is a problem with the adaptation to an Australian way:

A few events – one international beer night – bring your family or your missus. Buy a pack of beer from a different country – all profits go to the club – families and girlfriends and wives – Australia Day game last year – club was involved in that – a few others – because I don't drink so it's sort of hard.⁵⁶⁰

Callum Hope was born in Australia with a Sri Lankan father and Australian mother. He observed that for young players from the sub-continent the Australian drinking culture is difficult. He discussed the culture of cricket clubs with which he had been involved:

the culture of not just our club but clubs in general. It's different. More so for people my age who have migrated themselves. The culture is a bit different – like around the cricket club it is very [like] being part of the footy club> Bit more like that. Drinking after the game. Go back with mates. [Migrants] may not find it as comfortable in that kind of environment. The sub continental players we do have there. You never see them back at the club – or at club functions – maybe they don't feel welcome ... people always include them at training; encourage [them] but it is just that sort of social life.⁵⁶¹

Perhaps it is a fact of life that clubs require funding and combining alcohol sales with social activity helps to meet the two objectives, but in the experience of migrants as shown above, the socialising is more between players than it is mixed company and families. Michael Jeh is

⁵⁵⁹ Interview with Kurt Pereira, 9 December 2013.

⁵⁶⁰ Interview with Kevin Tissera, 22 January 2013.

⁵⁶¹ Interview with Callum Hope, 15 January 2013.

another Sri Lankan cricketer who played first class cricket in England and District cricket in Brisbane. He made a similar point:

Another reason why they have traditionally low south Asian migrant involvement in cricket. If you did not fit in socially to the cricket culture that existed then you were immediately ostracised. If you were a Sachin Tendulkar [it] wouldn't have mattered. If you didn't embrace the alcohol culture, night club culture, chasing girls, and doing all that other stuff – the sledging. If you didn't embrace that then [you were] basically deemed soft and not capable of competing in first grade cricket or in grade cricket. Turned away many men. People who were talented cricketers who were not up for the rest of the baggage that went with it. Couldn't take one without the other. Impossible to say I want to play cricket but I want to live my life differently. You have to sum up the whole packages.⁵⁶²

Michael suggested here that the requirement for migrants who participate in Australian cricket had to submit to “the Australian way”. Yet this was also the culture which all Australian young men had to negotiate and Michael and other migrant cricketers interviewed for this research had done so. Michael's tone was critical of this “Australian way” (his reference to Australian cricket culture as “baggage”) and suggested again that he was differentiating between a culture which might have turned away an Indian champion like Tendulkar – casting a moral stance on differences between Australian and sub-continental cultures. Yet Michael had not been turned away, having managed to play elite level cricket in Australia and England. In his words he had been “anglicised”.⁵⁶³

Javed Khan is a young cricketer in Melbourne who was born in Afghanistan and whose father was an asylum seeker. Javed seems to have been able to enjoy the social activities at his club, even though he does not drink. Javed, who is a Muslim, was asked about the difficulty of someone from his cultural background playing in Australia and socialising with the Australian cricket fraternity:

Yes. We still go out with the boys. Only thing I don't do is drink. Still socialise. Main thing is to have fun and enjoy each other's company. We do that – whether you drink or smoke doesn't affect the fun you have with the boys. [What about wives and

⁵⁶² Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014. Also ‘Up close with Michael Jeh’, Interview with Steve Austin, *ABC* accessed on 12 July 2015 at <http://blogs.abc.net.au/files/up-close-with-michael-jeh.mp3>

⁵⁶³ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

girlfriends?] A lot of our club is very very young club. Age of sixteen to twenty-three, twenty-four. That's the main age group. So a lot of the guys don't have missus or girlfriends – mainly boys getting together.⁵⁶⁴

What is evident from these interviews apart from the attitudes to alcohol and social engagement is the language used. Both Kevin Tissera and Javed Khan use the term “missus” to describe wife or girlfriend – a colloquial Anglo term as well as “mates” and “pub crawl”, expressions which indicate that the younger interviewees who used them had at least embraced the language of the Australian ocker culture, if not deeper aspects of it.

The Australian alcohol culture which is highlighted at elite level through alcohol sponsorship and the promotion of role models who are associated with such a culture, is also quite evident at suburban level where migrants must determine how they will deal with this Australian cultural activity. Racial and religious abuse is another part of the Australian cricket culture which migrants must deal with along the cricket pathway.

7.3 The Australian Way – sledging

[Australian Cricket is] a bit more hard edged and a bit tougher, a bit more the Aussie way. A little bit of mongrel in it. That's the way we play our best cricket. You've got to be feared by the opposition.

[Former Australian Test captain Steve Waugh commenting on a forthcoming cricket Test, *The Age*, February 2014.]⁵⁶⁵

Get ready for a fucking broken arm!

[Reported comment of Captain Michael Clarke during a Test match in 2013.]⁵⁶⁶

Former Australian captain Steve Waugh's description (above) was evident in the above exchange between Australian captain Michael Clarke and English player James Anderson

⁵⁶⁴ Interview with Javed Khan, 8 December 2013.

⁵⁶⁵ Clench, S. 'Steve Waugh tells news.com.au how Australia can dominate in the third Test against South Africa', Website of *News.com.au*, 28 February 2014 accessed 22 June 2014 at : <http://www.news.com.au/sport/cricket/steve-waugh-tells-newscomau-how-australia-can-dominate-in-the-third-test-against-south-africa/story-fndpt0dy-1226839609083>

⁵⁶⁶ Michael Clarke, Australian Test captain, heard on stump microphone threatening an English batsman in a Test match against England 24 November 2013, see Wilson, A. 'Ashes: Alistair Cook ready for 'war' after Clarke's "broken arm" sledge', *The Guardian*, 24 November 2013 accessed 18 June 2014 at <http://www.theguardian.com/sport/2013/nov/24/ashes-alastair-cook-war-clarke-broken-arm-sledge>

during a Test match in 2013. Yet a great deal of the media comment about Clarke's outburst was complimentary of Clarke who was seen to be taking a more positive and uncompromising leadership role.⁵⁶⁷ What Clarke was doing in this exchange is referred to as 'sledging', a tactic which Brian Booth defined as "the practice among bowlers and fielders of heaping abuse and ridicule on the batsman".⁵⁶⁸ It is this Australia practice, which Adair and Vamplew list among the "norms of sporting behaviour which ... have been described as characteristic or typical of the Australian 'way' of sport", and define the practice in terms of "verbal intimidation" and as indicative of Australians aggressiveness in sporting competition.⁵⁶⁹ Clarke's threat prompted an on-line publisher of a sport opinion site to head his comment 'Graceless and Boorish: Cricket the Australian Way'.⁵⁷⁰ It is informing that Michael Clarke, following the public discussion about the inadvertent broadcast of his outburst, was apologetic that the statement had been audible to viewers and that he had used coarse language – not apologetic that the incident had occurred. The Clarke incident was intimidation but it is a different form of sledging – racial sledging – which was behind the Board's action to combat the abuse of players who were from a different cultural background.

The Board in 1999 introduced a Racial and Religious Vilification Code with no apparent explanation for its need. Prior to the 1999 introduction of the code, the only reported instance in Australian cricket of racial vilification in senior cricket was an anecdote recounted in a cricketer's autobiography about the racial taunting of the son of Macedonian parents, cricketer Len Pascoe (Durtanovitch) in the 1970s.⁵⁷¹ The Australian Test cricket team of the 1970s had been labelled the 'ugly Australians' and had developed the tactic of 'sledging'. The substance of sledging included friendly and funny banter at one level to outright personal and racial abuse another.⁵⁷²

The racial and religious vilification code introduced in 1999 was claimed by the Board to "exhibit the ACB's stringent approach to eliminating unfair practices and protecting the

⁵⁶⁷ See for example 'Rebecca Wilson: Michael Clarke finally grows into leadership of Australia Test team', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 December 2013, accessed on 12 July 2015 at <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/sport/cricket/rebecca-wilson-michael-clarke-finally-grows-into-leadership-of-australia-test-team/story-fni2fnmo-1226787781586?nk=e06c65d5f4ee66da4e489ceb4a8ce5ce>

⁵⁶⁸ Booth, B. 'The Curse of Sledging', in Franks, W., Ed. (2003): 17. Booth quotes from the Macquarie dictionary definition of 'sledging'. See also the unattributed epigraph in Harold, J. (2008).

⁵⁶⁹ Adair, D. and Vamplew, W. (1997): xi-xii.

⁵⁷⁰ Happell, C. 'Graceless & boorish: Cricket the Australian Way', *Backpagelead* website, 9 December 2013, accessed on 18 June 2014 at <http://www.backpagelead.com.au/index.php/cricket/11771-graceless-a-boorish-cricket-the-australian-way->

⁵⁷¹ Lawson, G. (1993): 45.

⁵⁷² Cashman et al. (1996): 480. See also Coward, M. (2002), who discussed the origins and nature of 'sledging' at 106-115.

cultural diversity of cricketers around the world”.⁵⁷³ The current iteration of the code runs to nineteen pages and is a document set out in formal legal language.⁵⁷⁴ Its thrust is a process for raising and hearing complaints from cricketers who believe they have been vilified.⁵⁷⁵ This was not the code which was applied to Darren Lehmann in 2003 but an ICC process for the handling of such complaints.

Lehmann, who is currently the Australian team coach, was playing in a One Day International match for Australia in Brisbane against Sri Lanka and was reported to have exclaimed: “cunts, cunts, fucking black cunts” in the direction of the Sri Lankan cricketers’ dressing room as he left the field.⁵⁷⁶ He was found guilty of violating the ICC code of conduct in relation to racial vilification and received a ban of five ODI matches.⁵⁷⁷ A parallel issue a month later brought Pakistani player Rashid Latif a three match ban for a similar racially abusive comment directed to Australian cricketer Adam Gilchrist. Media reporting of these events was analysed by Australian sociologists Karin Farquharson and Tim Marjoribanks who concluded that “media representations reflect a white versus black divide in world cricket” and that “a Lehmann as victim/reverse racism theme emerged”.⁵⁷⁸ The media, they argued, tended to regard the Lehmann case as racism while the Latif case was simply abuse. Farquharson and Marjoribanks observed that the newspaper coverage concentrated on “the implications of being called a racist for the individual players concerned”.⁵⁷⁹ What appeared to occur was a form of exoneration of Lehmann’s behaviour on the basis that it is common to all cultures. A similar reverse situation involving Australian migrant cricketer Andrew Symonds and Indian cricketer Harbhajan Singh, who reportedly referred to Symonds as a ‘monkey’, opened up further racial tensions, with debate about what a black cricketer (Symonds) being called a ‘monkey’ meant. The head of the United Indian Association in Sydney saw little wrong with this incident claiming that it is surprising that the word ‘monkey’ is considered a racist term given the Indian Monkey God is held in high

⁵⁷³ *Putting Runs on the Board* (1999): 7.

⁵⁷⁴ Cricket Australia (2014).

⁵⁷⁵ Cricket Australia (2014): 359.

⁵⁷⁶ Hopps, D. ‘Australia’s Lehmann on racism charge’, *The Guardian*, Friday 17 January 2003, accessed on 14 July 2014 at <http://www.theguardian.com/sport/2003/jan/17/cricket.davidhopps>

⁵⁷⁷ See Knox, M. ‘Wake up Australia, racism is a problem’, in *The Guardian*, 20 January 2003 accessed on 14 July 2014 at <http://www.theguardian.com/sport/2003/jan/20/cricket/print>. Also see Fuller, M. ‘AFL racial vilification experts to counsel Lehmann’, *The Age* January 20 2003 accessed on 18 October 2013 at <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/01/19/1042911274291.html>, and Fuller, M. ‘Speed says he considered life-ban charge for Lehmann’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 2003, accessed on 18 October 2013 at <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/01/17/1042520784292.html>

⁵⁷⁸ Farquharson, K. and Marjoribanks, T. (2006): 25.

⁵⁷⁹ Farquharson, K. and Marjoribanks, T. (2006): 36.

esteem in India.⁵⁸⁰ The Lehmann incident received only oblique reference in the annual report of 2002-03 where the Chairman (Bob Merriman) observed:

despite a 12-month period of unprecedented team success, the area of player behaviour at all levels of the game – from the elite level to local park cricket – has raised concerns about players awareness and commitment to the spirit of cricket.⁵⁸¹

Later in the report was a summary of Board codes and policies which reported the anti-doping policy and the banning of Shane Warne for drug taking. But the Lehmann and other incidents were not mentioned.⁵⁸² In earlier annual reports, the Board was keen to advise when no reports under the policy were recorded but there was a silence when incidents such as those discussed here occurred.

There have been two occasions reported in the media where the Board's policy has been invoked and racial vilification processes put in train in a grass roots environment. In November 2011, the captain of the Leopold Cricket Club in the Geelong Cricket Association in Victoria claimed to have been subjected to racial slurs while playing against another local cricket team. The cricketer was described as being of Vietnamese descent and as having been 'sledged' on the field in relation to his skin colour on three or four occasions. The incident was reported in the local newspaper and the Geelong Cricket Association conducted a mediation session chaired by a former Board Chair, Bob Merriman.⁵⁸³ This failed to resolve the issue and the matter was referred to the Association's investigation committee where the accused player was cleared of the charge of racial vilification.⁵⁸⁴

An incident in March 2010, during a game of cricket between Thompson Cricket Club and Waurin Ponds Cricket Club in the fourth grade competition of the Geelong Cricket Association in Victoria, was also the subject of application of the code. The Waurin Ponds team was represented by six players of Indian descent who wrote to the Geelong Cricket Association through their club, claiming that they were racially taunted by 10 of the players

⁵⁸⁰ See comment in *Sydney Morning Herald* January 7, 2008 "'Monkey' not racist: Indian Aussies", accessed 19 May 2012 at <http://www.smh.com.au/news/cricket/monkey-not-racist-indian-aussies/2008/01/07/1199554557741.html>.

⁵⁸¹ ACB (2003-04): 4.

⁵⁸² See ACB (2003-04): 29.

⁵⁸³ See Auciello, M. 'Leopold cricket captain takes a stand against racial slurs', *Geelong Advertiser*, 7 November 2011, accessed on 21 November 2011 at http://www.geelongadvertiser.com.au/article/2011/11/07/289435_local_sports.html.

⁵⁸⁴ See Harris, W. 'Cricketer cleared of abuse', *Geelong Advertiser* 21 November 2011, accessed on 21 November 2011 at http://www.geelongadvertiser.com.au/article/2011/11/21/292491_news.html.

on the Thompson team during the match. The incident and formal complaint were the subject of considerable local media publicity and the then Premier of Victoria, John Brumby became involved. The Victorian Cricket Association Chief Executive was reported as defending the Association's stance against racial vilification and a former Chairman of Cricket Australia was enlisted to assist in mediating the case (again Bob Merriman).⁵⁸⁵ The Association's hearings found that complaints of racial vilification were unsubstantiated but that three players (one from the complainant team and two from the defendant team) were guilty of playing outside the spirit of the game and breaching the player's code of conduct and suspended fines and match bans resulted.⁵⁸⁶ Neither incident received comment in the Board's annual reports for the corresponding years.

What is evident in this discourse in which cricket has become embroiled is what Babacan refers to as racism denial, where she suggests that racism is covered up or downplayed; where soft language is used.⁵⁸⁷ Cashman's use of "unwelcoming" or "unfriendly" in relation to relationships in Australian cricket clubs is likely a euphemism for racist behaviour, exclusion and vilification. Psychologist Derald Wing Sue took up this theme in his discussion of a conspiracy of silence about racism, where "academicians and community leaders shy away from such a topic [racism] because they believe it to be divisive or they fear that it will open up a can of worms".⁵⁸⁸

The apparent small incidence of reporting of the use of the Cricket Australia Racial and Religious Vilification policy does not, given the Babacan thesis, necessarily imply that racism is not present in Australian cricket. The process itself is a legalistic one, and the examples which have been publicised involve a Cricket Australia official as mediator. Where the mediation has failed, the process is progressed to adjudication which again involves officials of cricket administration. The outcomes of both events were deemed not to have been racist (how this was arrived at cannot be known due to the process itself forbidding participants to divulge detail). The observation which may be made is that on both occasions

⁵⁸⁵ Merriman was later removed from the case due to a conflict of interest (he had been involved with one of the clubs in a previous capacity).

⁵⁸⁶ These details were reported in local Geelong paper and an Indian online newspaper. See Wade, N. 'Top cricket man cut from racial-vilification hearing', *Geelong Advertiser*, March 18, 2010, accessed on 1 June 2013 at http://www.geelongadvertiser.com.au/article/2010/03/18/155991_news_pf.html, and 'Oz players cleared of racism charges against Indians', *The Indian Express*, Friday March 19 2010, accessed on 24 August 2012 at <http://www.indianexpress.com/story-print/592976/>

⁵⁸⁷ Babacan, H. (2008): np.

⁵⁸⁸ Sue, D. W. (2005): 102.

the victims were found not to have been victims at all – a state of affairs which must have been somewhat disappointing and even humiliating for them.

Tui Tulili had an encounter with a form of racial abuse in a game in which he was involved in Brisbane. Tui explained that he was playing in a game against a team of mainly Australian cricketers and his captain called out Tui's name to the scorer (a member of the opposition team) when it was decided that Tui would bowl. Tui's captain called to the scorer:

“next bowler's Tui Tulili.” [The scorer replied] “Who?” [The captain repeated] “Tui Tulili”. We came off the field shaking hands blah blah blah, packing our gears. We look at the score sheet and ... Oh my god they had graffitied it! Like it was worse than [inaudible] station. They'd written ... I don't want to swear but they've written ... there is a guy named Clark and they'd written Rubber Clark. I thought go eff yourself. Then they write my name. They write “Coconut”. Now there's two things wrong with that – One. If they are going to sledge they might as well say it. At least it's – “He said/She Said”. But these idiots wrote it down.⁵⁸⁹

Tui explained his reaction:

They can call me every name in the world but to call me by my skin colour and be racist, this is pathetic. This is low grade. I thought they'd got rid of this.⁵⁹⁰

Tui took the matter up through his club and received an apology of sorts, but the event left a lasting memory. Tui appeared in the way he recounted this anecdote to have told the story many times. He played the role of three people – himself, his captain and the opposing scorer. It is an anecdote which both explains his disgust at what happened but in not taking it further (as he intimated he might have done) he was showing that he was better than those who had done it – the “idiots”.⁵⁹¹

Seci Sekinini had also been on the receiving end of racial sledging. He reported that sledging is now common to cricket across the world but there is a difference in Australia:

Now I talked about some remarks but it's funny because most of those negative remarks a majority of them happened here in Australia playing at country club cricket in Goulburn, in Doyalson even at the Gold [Gympie]. I have been called so many

⁵⁸⁹ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

⁵⁹⁰ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

⁵⁹¹ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

things which probably I won't say here. It's not nice. But I've been called "Black Bastard", "Big Fly" [Big Fly?]. Yes like swat the fly because flies are black and they are a nuisance. Because I was batting the whole day. "We swat this fly – this low life". It's only later on in the game that I realised when they were joking about it and I pulled them up on it and because one of the players who heard it on their team actually told me what they meant by it and it was only after that that I pulled them up on it.⁵⁹²

Seci also uses the story to take a position of moral authority by the use of the term "pull them up". He advised that he also talked on the cricket field but that this form of 'banter' was unacceptable. He chose to take the matter up personally rather than rely on any formal process. Taione Batina is of Fijian origin and played international cricket for Fiji. He related a similar experience but his reaction was quite different:

When I'm batting if I say a word the umpire will be come in and do this fellow. But I never say a word. I close my eyes and say "Don't say a word. Go back – see you next ball". What's happening here. I never answer back. He can call me black bastard that's the thing, I heard that a lot but I keep smiling. At the end of the day after the game have ... a few beers. That's the only thing. I respect the Aussie – after the game we are all mates together. Doesn't matter. Play against each other. We sit down have a few beers, laughing together. That's why I respect.⁵⁹³

Many of the younger current cricketers interviewed explained that the Australian practice of sledging is a tactic promoted rather than admonished among higher level teams in Australian cricket. The tactic was explained by Kurt Pereira:

Basically it's – they say cricket is a mind game – when you're fielding you want to get into [the] batsman's head. You want him to make a mistake. What we do is if there is a guy on the crease in his batting and he has a flaw, we pick on that so he keeps thinking about it. Or we talk about the most random of things: what he had for meal. Distract the batsman on the pitch. We do it pretty clean. Couple of sides which

⁵⁹² Interview with Seci Sekinini, 27 August 2013.

⁵⁹³ Interview with Taione Batina, 9 November 2013.

can get pretty intense ... there is nothing too serious that happens. What happens on the field stays on the field. At the end of the game shake hands.⁵⁹⁴

Javed Khan also had a more positive view about the tactic:

Personally when you are young you don't realise when people say stuff offensive. Sledging for me is part of cricket. If you remove it then cricket wouldn't be the same. One of the most important parts of cricket in my experience. It can stay as long as people don't go over the top – break the boundaries in terms of racial discrimination or religious views and stuff like that. But sledging is mainly getting into someone's head when playing for their team. Get into their head to take wickets. If they don't perform they don't win – some go over the top, some don't.⁵⁹⁵

Another aspect of an Australian way was demonstrated to Manoj Kongalage. Manoj is in his mid-forties and came from Sri Lanka. His connection with cricket is through his son. On this occasion, the experience had nothing to do with a cricket tactic. Manoj encountered the Australian way because of his English pronunciation:

I went as an umpire for a day cricket match. I got that bit of experience even from students. After that I couldn't even umpire. Sledging things like that – the umpire – I didn't want to make a scene. I pretend I did not hear it. It was directed at me because of my colour. My pronunciation might be sometimes ... when I called "owah" [over – the end of a bowler's six deliveries] they laugh behind my back but they didn't care. I pretend that I didn't care too – I didn't want to make a scene or to make trouble. I stepped down and gave it to another person. After that I didn't go to umpiring again.⁵⁹⁶

Manoj's experience clearly upset him and his immediate response was that the incident was related to his skin colour rather than his language. Manoj's discomfort at this show of disrespect for him indicated how such mocking behaviour can be experienced as racism.

Sledging is seen in these examples to be prone to going too far into personal abuse about any point of observable difference. Michael Jeh related a story about language and its use by Anglo Australians in a cricket environment in a way which had a profound impact on him:

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Kurt Pereira, 9 December 2013.

⁵⁹⁵ Interview with Javed Khan, 8 December 2013.

⁵⁹⁶ Interview with Manoj Kongalage, 11 May 2014.

My former surname before I changed it was Michael Jeharatnam, a very Sri Lankan name complete with the rest of the alphabet. Strangely it was a cricket related story which was behind the change in my name ... when I was seventeen or eighteen I missed out on making a school boys' cricket team [in Brisbane] and fortunately the selector who was a very honest fellow said: 'I got to your name and it was just so hard to say that I passed you for the next guy'. Obviously I was kind of the last selected anyway. Had I been a lay down misere that wouldn't have happened but given that I must have been last man standing it was an easy decision to make. But because of his refreshing honesty I resolved that I was never going to miss out again in the Australian system for having a difficult surname so I had it changed by deed poll. But had it not happened in that way I may never have done it and had been considerably disadvantaged for a long time hence. But it speaks of the notion of the whole migrant thing – even a trivial thing like that – significant disadvantage to have a surname that can't be pronounced.⁵⁹⁷

Michael continued on this theme by recounting another incident which had remarkable similarities to his own experience. He had remarked on the large number of South Asian names appearing in the weekend cricket results for local suburban cricket teams in Brisbane:

[What] really made me very angry – my son went to a cricket trial – Brisbane north cricket trial. When the team was announced, the teacher (this is the second year this has happened, the second consecutive year). He announces the team. He goes 'John Smith, Jack Smith, Bob Smith ah Rohib um – I can't be bothered saying your name but you know who you are. Come forward.' This happened last year as well. ... He didn't mean it with any great insult, I know, but sometimes it doesn't have to be with intent. Sometimes that hidden laziness hints at the fact that 'I can't even be bothered trying – cause you're not important enough to be bothered trying' and that to me is an insult. I felt for that kid. Because everyone giggled and tittered as he went forward and I thought wow mate your little moment – you have just been selected to make a team – your little moment has been soured a little bit.⁵⁹⁸

The use of names in such a way – a very personal part of individual identity – is a means of asserting a level of power over an individual. Michael Jeh is also a radio commentator on

⁵⁹⁷ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

⁵⁹⁸ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

ABC radio in Brisbane and these stories also appear to have been well honed over time. Yet the positioning of his personal experience with Sri Lankan names and observations about Rohib seem almost a further rendering of his own story.

Darren Lehmann's outburst in 2003 which was discussed earlier was remembered by Michael Jeh who noted:

[The] current Australian coach said something overtly – it was so foul – on a field of cricket and yet everyone just said he was just frustrated – is a good bloke – likes a beer. Is that what it takes as long as you are a good bloke and like a beer?⁵⁹⁹

It was also referred to by Mario Perera who was asked about his knowledge of CA's Racial Vilification code, Mario is 50 years old, was born in Sri Lanka and is involved with cricket club Plenty Valley in Melbourne's north⁶⁰⁰:

No not in detail but if you abuse someone you get severe consequences. Not tolerated. Remember some time ago Darren Lehmann got into trouble. He was disgusted with himself. Made a comment that didn't go down too well – suspended.⁶⁰¹

The mention of the Lehmann incident by two of the migrants interviewed as an example of racial vilification over ten years after the event is an indication of the impact it must have on migrants who are interested in cricket yet each man provided a different response – Michael: disgust and lasting revulsion and Mario: forgiving and excusing. Perhaps Mario did not wish to openly criticise Lehmann to an Anglo-Australian interviewer and Michael was taking a role of critical radio commentator. However the unprompted use of this sledging example indicated that it had made a lasting impression on both of these Sri Lankan migrants.

Many of the migrants interviewed had little or no knowledge of the Board's racial and religious vilification codes and procedures. Those that had received racial sledging had different approaches to coping with the practice. Tui took the matter up through the formal club channels only to find the whole experience frustrating and he said he ripped up the apology, and withdrew from the process. Seci's approach was to take the matter up personally with the person who sledged him, expecting to be able to sort the problem out over a drink at the end of the day:

⁵⁹⁹ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

⁶⁰⁰ Interview with Mario Perera, 10 January 2014.

⁶⁰¹ Interview with Mario Perera, 10 January 2014.

So at the end of the game I bought him a Coke. I had found out that he didn't drink. Now I thought I had made the effort to find what he drinks and I bought a Coke. Maybe he was driving but surely one beer wouldn't hurt. So I took a Coke. Surely he would have known I had asked around. And he noticed [and] he threw it back at me and didn't shake my hand.⁶⁰²

Michael Jeh chose self-deprecation:

Saw a lot of other kids coming from various minority group. Ethnic or other sense. If you didn't cop it and laugh at yourself and didn't take the mickey out of yourself first then you were pretty well exorcised from the system so I learnt defensively almost making jokes against myself before others did – defence mechanism – you guys can lay off – takes the steam out of it. Became a standard joke but underneath it's all a defence to deviate the direct comments.⁶⁰³

For Callum Hope it was a difficult situation playing against older cricketers and he chose to ignore the sledging and not to participate himself:

You always get sledged. Particularly a young guy. 'All up top this young kid.' Don't do it much myself. They are all experienced. Try and pick a fight you lose.⁶⁰⁴

Kurt Pereira has his own 'way' of addressing sledging:

for me, my dad's always told me, when people sledge I take it as a boost. I know I can prove ... I don't really listen ... they'll say what they want. I'm not very good at sledging to be honest. I couldn't sledge to save my life. Keeping quiet makes them mad. Against Melbourne – made 45. Batting quite a long time. About 2-3 hours. One guy in my face. [I] just didn't say anything. Could see him getting frustrated. Waste of energy. Just think keeping quiet is best. [Do the umpires become involved?] Yes if the batsman says anything to them. No unless it is Premier cricket. Part of the expectation.⁶⁰⁵

If a player is racially abused on the field and complains to the umpire, the suggestion is that the sledger has prevailed. He has achieved his aim to distract the batsman. It becomes a

⁶⁰² Interview with Seci Sekinini, 27 August 2013.

⁶⁰³ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

⁶⁰⁴ Interview with Callum Hope, 15 January 2014.

⁶⁰⁵ Interview with Kurt Pereira, 9 December 2013.

matter of pride for the migrant cricketer to show no reaction to the comments. The young cricketers who were interviewed seemed to accept that these are the rules of this particular game. Their reactions suggest that if they could sledge they would. The adage ‘what happens on the field stays on the field’ seemed to be an effective way of having this aspect of the Australian way of cricket underreported and the Australian process of ‘mending fences’ over a beer after the game was common. For Manoj Kongalage and those migrants referred to by Michael Jeh and Callum Hope though, the choice was often made to withdraw from the Australian game and not engage in the Australian way of cricket.

7.4 Conclusion

Over many years, the Board had attempted to build a distinctly Australian form of cricket which was based on its history and connections with Britain. Its attempts to go further and build a characterisation of an Australian identity in its cricket representatives began with the British spirit of cricket which was adopted for an Australian environment. What this brought with it was the British class system; the divide between amateurs and professionals in cricket; the notion of privilege and private school background; and the British sporting history.⁶⁰⁶ In order to create a distinctive Australian character in cricket which would distance Australian cricketers from the British ideal the Board relied on role models.

The Board (whether deliberately or because of its relationship with alcohol distributors) also built an alternative Australian ocker character – around the Australian working man.⁶⁰⁷ It had chosen its role models as white and Anglo (as noted in Chapter 6) but also as ‘characters’ who enjoyed a beer, who were prone to bad language and who played the game with aggression and intimidation. While it decried the overuse of such characteristics, transgressions were not significantly disciplined, but in the longer run were rewarded through the appointment of these men to key roles in the Board’s organisation. It is in this environment that lines were crossed – excessive drinking leading to poor behaviour; aggression leading to physical and verbal intimidation; sledging leading to racial abuse.

⁶⁰⁶ See Stoddart, B. (1988): 35, for a discussion of the meanings of British class and school system and sport.

⁶⁰⁷ The Victoria Bitter commercials which were played during cricket TV cover of the game were based for a time around – “a hard earned thirst needs a good cold beer and the best cold beer is Vic, Victoria Bitter” with images of working men. See the *Victoria Bitter* website accessed on 25 May 2015 at <https://www.victoriabitter.com.au/>. While these were also played during other sporting events promoted by the company, they have featured for many years in cricket sponsorship.

The Board understood the role model function played by its Test team and its player characterisations and while it sought to encourage an inclusive approach to the game at grass roots level, what many of the migrant cricketers experienced in their suburban cricket was the alcohol culture and racial sledging. These characteristics were not only an issue for migrant cricketers but also for other young men who wished to participate. And it is clear that many cricketers who play in suburban cricket do not cross the line. Skin colour and otherness, however, can become a point of difference which can be exploited in gaining an advantage in a game which is played the Australian way. While the Board had its racial vilification processes in place, individual cricketers who believed they had been the focus of racial attacks had to be particularly strong-willed to take the matter up with the authorities.

Yet for some migrant cricketers, the Australian way of cricket became a point of their own differentiation from Australian cricket. Some of the interviewees used the racial sledging and the drinking environment to indicate their own higher moral positioning in relation to Australian cricket. As cricketers it was the Australian way which gave them their own cricket identity. It was somewhat of an irony that the migrant interviews showed the adoption by some migrants of the Brian Booth characterisation of the game, a position closer to the ideal of the 'spirit of cricket' which was promoted by the Board rather than what was exhibited by Australian cricketers.

Migrant cricketers faced with the Australian way of cricket had a choice – to either play within the Australian way of cricket or walk away from the game. What was also found in this research however was that a third option presented – that migrants could establish their own game within the Board's cricket structures.

CHAPTER 8 A MIGRANT WAY OF CRICKET

CULTURALLY SPECIFIC TEAMS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Reflections

In my late teens and early twenties I played cricket in suburban Melbourne. My captain was a federal politician. Don Chipp would later leave the Liberal Party and form the Australian Democrats Party. In the 1960s Don arranged a social cricket game between our club and a team of Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) cricketers. At the time I had understood the team to be visiting from Ceylon and the game arose from his political or diplomatic connections. My recollection is that the game was contested well and our opposition was quite skilled. The Ceylonese team played the game very correctly in all senses of the word. I recall nothing further about the match – it was just a cricket match against men who were a little different in appearance but they could certainly play.

In my attempts to establish interview subjects for my research, I contacted Adelaide academic Professor Michael Roberts whose writing on cricket, his academic specialty in ethnography and Sri Lankan background seemed to offer considerable opportunity for my research. I had often wondered who the team was and what had become of them and put the question to him. While not directly answering my question, Professor Roberts did send information about the University of Ceylon Cricket Team of 1962/63. I cannot be at all sure whether it was this group which played in our cricket match but the information he sent about that team and a similar 1969 cricket group⁶⁰⁸ provided considerable food for thought about the importance of Sri Lankan school cricket, the passion of Sri Lankans for their own cricket history, the fact that a number of these players are now living in Australia, the reference to the standards of personal achievement and the way the players played the game.

My team, Black Rock, played in Melbourne's southern suburbs and I was brought up on a housing estate built by War Service couples after World War II. The local community, schools and the cricket and football clubs were dominated by people from an Anglo-Australian background. I can recall only one exception – Peter Panopoulous of Greek background who joined the primary school in the mid-fifties and introduced the Aussie boys

⁶⁰⁸ Anonymous Author, 'Talent Abundant. The All-conquering University of Ceylon Cricket Team of 1962/63', *Critiquing Cricket*, Michael Roberts' blog, accessed on 19 March 2013 at <https://cricketique.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/talent-abundant-the-all-conquering-university-of-ceylon-cricket-team-of-196263/>

to a new form of marbles, taking all before him. Mass Asian immigration was still a long way off. Perhaps it ought not to be surprising that where migrants accumulate in large numbers in urban environments, the community schools and sporting clubs would also reflect the nature of the population. My return to Dandenong North and Doveton for this project after more than forty years brought home to me the changes in population that had occurred. Rather than pass through Dandenong along the highway as I had done countless times, my interviews took me into the community shopping centres, streets and club rooms in this migrant territory. I felt that it was me who was different here. My research came from no knowledge of migrant involvement in sport, no insights into migrant sporting clubs, and no special connections with people in these communities. Nevertheless I was welcomed with friendliness and openness and by people who were willing to answer my questions. I wondered whether officers of Cricket Australia or their state counterparts had made this small journey, whether they had found what I had, and wondered too, what they might have done with their knowledge. I wondered about the clubs the migrant cricketers played with and whether they had received any assistance or resistance from the cricket authorities. I wondered how migrants had taken up the sport of cricket and whether they played the game any differently. This chapter explores much of what I found in many Australian suburban centres and what migrants told me.

8.1 Cricket integration versus cricket multiculturalism

The concern in the debate about immigration to Australia since WWII has been about how migrants were to be absorbed into Australian society. In government policy terms the changes since 1945 have involved notions of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism.

Assimilation, suggests Castles, is a “one-sided process of adaptation: immigrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population.”⁶⁰⁹ Integration was a variant of this process – with “adaptation being a more gradual process. Nonetheless, the final goal remains absorption into the dominant culture.”⁶¹⁰ The reality of migrant settlement in Australia however, was that migrants concentrated in communities which retained their language “and established social, cultural and political associations.”⁶¹¹ The resultant policy approach to this

⁶⁰⁹ Castles, S. (2000): 137.

⁶¹⁰ Castles, S. (2000): 137.

⁶¹¹ Castles, S. (2000): 137.

reality was the adoption of multicultural policies which Castles explained “imply the willingness of the majority group to accept cultural difference, and to adapt national identity and institutional structures.”⁶¹² The Australian Cricket Board, as demonstrated in earlier chapters, while suggesting that it recognised cultural change in Australia did little to adapt its own identity and structures to cultural difference, implying that inclusion was to be achieved through integration – that migrant cricketers would become indistinguishable from the majority.

The Board’s model for a diversified cricket organisation has been the Sunshine Heights Cricket Club, a club in Melbourne’s western suburbs which consists of players from a range of different cultural backgrounds. Cricket Victoria advised on its website in 2012:

Both Cricket Victoria and Cricket Australia hail Sunshine Heights Cricket Club as a model of how to provide sporting opportunities to young people from multicultural communities.⁶¹³

The Sunshine Heights model is highlighted in a case study in the “cricket” section of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission racism in sport inquiry⁶¹⁴ and on the Board’s own website:

Sunshine Heights Cricket Club has long understood the importance of creating a diverse and inclusive club environment, welcoming people from a range of countries including Sudan, Uganda, Nepal and more, into its club.⁶¹⁵

The Sunshine Heights Cricket Club was formed in 1954 and is located in an area of considerable migrant settlement in Melbourne’s west.⁶¹⁶ Diversity for the Board meant individual migrant cricketers playing the game in teams which look like the Sunshine Heights Cricket Club. This is a model of cricket organisation where individual national cultures are subsumed in a team of many cultures. What became evident through this research was that some migrant groups preferred to establish and maintain their own cultural identities in cricket, forming teams, clubs and associations within and outside the Board’s regulation of

⁶¹² Castles, S. (2000): 139.

⁶¹³ ‘Sunshine Heights wins inclusive club of the year’, *Cricket Victoria* website, Accessed on 18 November 2014 at <http://www.cricketvictoria.com.au/news/article/sunshine-heights-wins-inclusive-club-of-the-year>

⁶¹⁴ Oliver, P. (2006): 76-77.

⁶¹⁵ ‘Diversity and Inclusion: Multicultural’, *Cricket Australia* website, accessed on 18 November 2014 at <http://clubassist.cricket.com.au/community-engagment/diversity-and-inclusion>

⁶¹⁶ See VicHealth (2010) np. The story of the Sunshine Heights diversity is used in a number of places as an example of diversity in sporting clubs.

the sport. The desire of such groups is to play the sport in a friendly and familiar environment where language and cultural expression are shared. What is evolving in suburban Australia are cricket teams which represent single cultures – teams of specifically Indian, Sri Lankan, Islander, Nepalese or Pakistani players and even teams which are sub-sets of these national cultures – Muslim, Sikh, Tamil, Malayalee and Sinhalese teams.

The development of culturally specific teams and associations and their ancillary supporting structures in Australia is growing and challenges the Board's preferred model of integration. What is more, migrant cricketers are supported in their communities by former international cricketers establishing coaching academies and even overseas touring groups which meet a need for migrant parents and young cricketers to retain their cultural identity, to grow their particular community and to ensure a transmission of traditional values, values which are seen as a counterpoint to the Australian way of cricket.

This chapter considers the development of such cricketing organisations and what meaning might be attributed to their existence within Australian cricket. It also considers the Board's position in relation to these developments. The analysis is informed by interviews with a number of migrants involved in community cricket in Melbourne and Brisbane as well as the Board's *MyCricket* website which invites member clubs to post information about themselves: their history, their aims and objectives and their social and cultural activities around cricket.⁶¹⁷ It examines how such organisations have been maintained, and considers some of the reasons they have developed in contradiction and almost opposition to the Board's preferred model. It also notes the involvement of the Board in this process and suggests that the Board may be losing its struggle to retain a culturally integrated Australian cricket organisation.

8.2 A multicultural cricket model

You only have to drive around on Sundays to see subcontinental tournaments being held ... It's a whole population of people who love the game but are not supported by Cricket Australia or CNSW. It's about trying to connect the two and get them feeling they're part of Australian cricket.

⁶¹⁷ Weetbix MyCricket Home Page, *MyCricket* website accessed on 2 June 2015 at <http://mycricket.cricket.com.au/>

[Nick Cummins, commenting on a new cricket tournament quoted in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November, 2013.]⁶¹⁸

Nick Cummins, the general manager of the Sydney-based T20 Big Bash team the Sydney Thunder, was quoted about the staging of the Thunder Nation Cup – an eight-a-side T20 competition which was contested by community teams representing specific national backgrounds. In 2014-15 nine teams representing south Asian and South African migrant communities and the Indigenous community took part in the second year of competition. These teams were drawn from specific community days where teams from each national background competed amongst themselves to represent their respective ‘nation’ in a final competition against other national communities. For example the Nepalese community day was held on 12 October 2014⁶¹⁹ and the competition took place between eleven clubs from the Nepalese community.⁶²⁰ The victorious Nepalese club (Laligurans) went on to win the Cup from the Sri Lankan community representative team (Lankan Islanders).

The Sydney Thunder did not establish these teams – they had been there for some time, playing cricket as teams, clubs, and associations established by the communities of which they were part. If Nick Cummins was speaking about Sydney’s Western suburbs he would no doubt have chanced upon teams playing in the Canterbury and Western Suburbs Cricket Association. Teams such as Galwadi Lankans, Ceylon Warriors, Lankan Islanders, Manihiki, Pakistan Tigers, Muslim Cricket Club among many other teams with names associated with cultures in South Asia and the Pacific Islands.⁶²¹ Had his counterpart with the Brisbane Heat T20 organisation driven into the suburbs of Brisbane he would have encountered the Brisbane Warehouse cricket competition which similarly has teams with many Asian connections such as Brisbane Sikh United, Punjab Royals, Singh Warriors, Jaihind Royals.⁶²² In both Brisbane and Sydney, the clubs which have associations with cultural backgrounds outside Australia play in competition against integrated suburban teams but in Victoria, a

⁶¹⁸ Sygal, D. (2013), *SMH*, November 17 2013, ‘Cricket: Sydney Thunder stages multicultural cup’, accessed on 27 March 2015 at <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/cricket/cricket-sydney-thunder-stages-multicultural-cup-20131116-2xng5.html>

⁶¹⁹ ‘MoneyGram Thunder Nation Cup’, accessed 27 March 2015 at <http://www.sydneythunder.com.au/thunder-nation-cup>: np.

⁶²⁰ See Chudal, R. ‘Nepal is the champion of Thunder nation Cup 2015’, 23 February, 2015, *Nepali Vision Australia*, accessed on 27 March 2015 at <http://www.nepalivision.com.au/newsDetails.php?nid+315>

⁶²¹ See the *MyCricket* website under Canterbury and Western Suburbs Cricket Association accessed on 18 October 2013 at <http://cwsca.nsw.cricket.com.au/common/pages/public/iv/clubs.aspx>: np.

⁶²² See *Warehouse Cricket* website, ‘Teams by Grade: Summer Draw 2014-15, Sunday Competition’, linked to <http://www.warehousecricket.org/common/pages/public/rv/ladder.aspx?mode=0>, accessed 27 March 2015.

whole cricket association conducts cricket competition between clubs whose names suggest south Asian associations.

The Victorian Sunday Cricket Association (VSCA) is based in Melbourne's South Eastern suburbs where there is a large population of Sri Lankan migrants who comprise between six and seven per cent of the total population of the area.⁶²³ In March 2013 the *MyCricket* website listed eighteen clubs playing in a number of different grades of the VSCA. The clubs listed included Ceylonese Sports Club, Colombo, Melbourne Sinhalese, Old Cambrians, Serendib and the United Sinhalese Sports Club.⁶²⁴ Gale de Kauwe⁶²⁵ is Secretary of the VSCA which until 2008-09 was known as the YCW (Young Christian Workers) competition. Gale, who was born in Sri Lanka and is part of the Sri Lankan community in Melbourne, explained that the VSCA is a one-day cricket competition played on Sundays and this fits with the schedules and commitments of players who are overwhelmingly of south Asian background. Many of the players are visiting professional cricketers from Sri Lanka who have already played for their contracted club on Saturday and in order to enjoy the company of people in the local Sri Lankan community, they also play for the local side on Sunday. As Gale explained, good cricketers from Sri Lanka:

move out to play county cricket in England. [They are] paid for it. Summer in England [and] come to Australia to play. Two seasons are different. Can play in both. [There are] one hundred and sixty cricketers from Sri Lanka who play in different competitions for different clubs in Victoria.⁶²⁶

Gale explained that the games between VSCA teams in Melbourne attract crowds of three to four hundred: "easily a thousand for finals or a good game."⁶²⁷ The size of the crowd which Gale reported to attend these games far exceeds the crowds reported by cricketers who play in the Victorian Premier Cricket.⁶²⁸ The games are well attended and contain high quality professional Sri Lankan cricketers who are visiting Australia. The lower grades of this competition provide an avenue for newly arrived migrant cricketers as well as other less

⁶²³ Australian Government (2014). See also the *Immigration Museum* website, 'History of immigration from Sri Lanka', accessed on 17 November 2014 at <http://museumvictoria.com.au/origins/history.aspx?pid=58>

⁶²⁴ *MyCricket* website accessed 20 March 2013 at <http://vsca.vic.cricket.com.au/common/pages/public/iv/clubs.aspx?>

⁶²⁵ Gale de Kauwe is a migrant from Sri Lanka who has lived in Australia for nineteen years having migrated via the Sultanate of Oman.

⁶²⁶ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁶²⁷ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁶²⁸ Kevin Tissera mentioned a usual group of 20-30 people watching a second XI Premier Cricket match. Callum Hope suggests 50 at most for his games.

prominent local players to play in a manner which suits their living and cultural arrangements. Gale mentioned that second and third generation migrants are part of this community cricket competition which he reported has twenty-two clubs and forty-eight teams.⁶²⁹ The nature of this competition and its players suggest that cricket heroes from the homeland are an important element in the social life of migrants in Melbourne, connecting with homeland cricket identities and maintaining connections not only with the homeland but with others in the community.

Raj Kurup is President of Soorya Cricket club in the same urban area in which the VSCA operates but is unrelated to VSCA. Raj was born in India and is around 40 years old. He explained how such clubs might be formed and grow in the migrant communities. Soorya is a club connected with the Indian Kerala community in Melbourne and is shown on the *MyCricket* website as a team in the South East Cricket Association (SECA). Soorya began as an informal team of Indian migrants who came together through meeting other families at their children's playgroup:

Started playing cricket just with tennis balls. Early part of 2009. Then the community started getting bigger and bigger ... so that period a few of us got together and started playing cricket. Progressed from 2009 to 2011 getting a little more organised – friendly matches. That's how it went.⁶³⁰

These clubs arose from migrant communities whose members chose to establish clubs among those with a passion for the game. Seci Sekinini was a Fijian national cricketer (former captain) and explained some of the motivation for forming a team called Pasifika:

So we had a few [Islander] players who played for different clubs and ... as we played against each other we began to meet. The team arrived or was created because when we sat down in our different teams we were isolated. There was [sic] differences in our interests.⁶³¹

Seci Sekinini explained some of the reasons for the feeling of isolation related to differences in culture between Australian and Islander players which related to social drinking and attitudes to women among other expressions of Islander culture compared with Australian

⁶²⁹ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁶³⁰ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

⁶³¹ Second interview with Seci Sekinini 30 August 2013.

culture.⁶³² Michael Jeh gave some insight into how such a feeling might be experienced in Australian clubs from his experience in Australian and English senior cricket:

Even as insidious that clubs putting on teas then the traditional ham sandwiches. If you don't think about who is on the field then you wonder why the sandwiches do not get eaten. The English had to cope with this with the large Pakistani population with the traditional pork pies at lunch and tea. That only scratches the surface – everyone sits in the rooms after the game and talks rubbish. Australian culture gets that but concern that South Asian culture especially do not feel comfortable in that environment, unless anglicised. I was. If not, all of a sudden you don't fit in – socially – you are ostracised.⁶³³

The Australian way of cricket discussed in Chapter 7 suggested an unfriendly and somewhat hostile environment for new migrants and their families to participate in cricket in suburban centres in Australia. It is this combination of individuals wanting to play in a familiar cultural environment and seeking to avoid the perceived aggression and hostility of the Australian way that leads to the existence of such teams. The Nepalese Cricket Association Australia (NCAA) for example consists of eleven clubs in the New South Wales cricket system and was created in 2006.⁶³⁴ The Association claims that it has created an “enjoyable entry point to cricket for juniors and as well as seniors” and that it is a “well organised, safe and secure sporting environment”.⁶³⁵ It might be inferred from this that standard Australian cricket organisations are regarded as being an ‘unsafe’ cricket environment; that Australian cricket for migrant entrants is somehow dangerous.

The formation of teams, clubs and associations are what Fletcher and Walle describe in an English and Norwegian context as “ethnic specific” or “Asian specific” after Burdsley identified such teams and leagues in English suburban soccer clubs.⁶³⁶ In relation to the English experience, Fletcher and Walle suggested that ethnic specific organisations “represent an important political statement in that they offer ways of resisting racism,

⁶³² See discussion in Chapter 7.

⁶³³ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

⁶³⁴ Website of the NCAA, ‘About Us’, accessed on 17 March 2015 at http://www.ncaaaustralia.org.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=15&Itemid=26

⁶³⁵ NCAA Website: np.

⁶³⁶ Fletcher, T and Walle, T. (2014):1-2. See also Burdsley, D. (2006). ‘Culturally specific’ is preferred in this thesis as ‘ethnic’ is a word which seems to conjure notions of negativity and as a ‘white’ construction. White Anglo-Australians seem never to be regarded as ‘ethnic’ where ‘culturally specific’ might be applied equally to the Australian Test team as it is to the Singh Warriors.

exclusion and normalisation of ‘whiteness’ in mainstream amateur cricket structures”,⁶³⁷ while sport historian, Roy Hay observed about the role of sporting clubs in the integration of new migrants in an Australian soccer environment:

For those who arrived from non-English speaking backgrounds, soccer clubs provided a haven in which people could use their own languages, where they could converse and socialise without being pilloried by Australians. They could meet kindred spirits who had arrived a little earlier and obtained some useful knowledge of Australian society.⁶³⁸

Francesco Ricatti and Matthew Klugman in their study of the role of ethnically based soccer clubs in Australia in the building of Italian migrant communities, and the actions of the soccer authorities to change the ethnic nature of the competition in the late 1990s, indicated the importance of sport (in this case soccer) as “a key site of negotiation, agency and at times resistance for first and second generation migrants.”⁶³⁹

Similarly, many migrants find greater comfort and enjoyment playing in cricket teams which are made up of players from a common cultural background and as migrant communities developed their numbers became significant. In each of the cases described above, the teams and associations are registered as part of the Cricket Australia system and operate within its rules and regulations. It is an important element of playing organised cricket in Australia that clubs have access to ground facilities which in turn depends on the club’s ability to demonstrate to local councils that it has substance (organising ability, longevity and perhaps most importantly insurance). These requirements are available to clubs who submit to registration on the *MyCricket* website. Cheap insurance and an ability to negotiate with local councils flow from that association.

Raj Kurup related the story of Soorya’s registration which came from a request to Cricket Victoria (CV) whose official suggested discussing registration with an established association. That discussion was with the South East Cricket Association (SECA) and according to Raj, SECA “was pushing us to join the association as an independent club.”⁶⁴⁰ The problem for Soorya was similar to Gale’s narrative which was the need to only play on Sundays. As a result of that discussion (and before committing to join the Association),

⁶³⁷ Fletcher, T and Walle, T. (2014): 11.

⁶³⁸ Hay, R. (2002): 48.

⁶³⁹ Ricatti, F. and Klugman, M. (2013): 469.

⁶⁴⁰ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

SECA assisted Soorya to register for *MyCricket*. “We got insurance through JLK sport⁶⁴¹ which was very very affordable and because of that we could approach council for the ground.”⁶⁴² In the event, Soorya decided not to join the SECA competition yet is still shown on the *MyCricket* website as a club in that competition. The experience of Raj and Soorya was of the cricket establishment pushing clubs and players towards established competitions, rather than setting up separate organisations.

Raj gave an insight into the Board’s approach and the tensions evident between the power of the authority and the agency of migrants:

My generation ... are not going to join the league [mainstream cricket association]. We just want to stick together. When you join a club, you [are told] to join their fourth team which is typically what happens. When you start playing well you go to the third grade or the second grade and whatever community you had is stopped becoming that community – that community element is missing. Some people get disillusioned and leave. That’s something we want to avoid.⁶⁴³

Raj was describing the process which is evident in suburban cricket where community teams are negotiating with the managers of Australian cricket to retain their own independence and identity while the cricket authorities are trying to dissipate such teams, subsuming them within the Australian competitions. Raj was referring to a discussion held in early 2015 between Cricket Victoria (CV) and migrant community clubs and associations about cricket participation models.⁶⁴⁴ The meeting was convened by CV, in Raj’s words: “CV is trying to get those competitions structured and organised and to bring them under their arms.”⁶⁴⁵ What he was referring to was an option which CV had suggested for migrant clubs that they could join an existing club as a fourth grade team (i.e. retaining their cultural identity within such a club). The inevitability discussed by Raj was that as individual cricket team members were promoted to higher grades, the community identity inherent in the team would be lost.

This discussion involving the cricket authorities and migrant representatives highlights the tensions evident in the way that migrant cricketers are expected to participate and the way

⁶⁴¹ Raj was referring to JLT Sport Insurance company which provides a National Club Risk Protection Program insurance to CA. See *JLT Sport Insurance* website accessed on 22 April 2015 at <http://www.jltsport.com.au/>

⁶⁴² Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

⁶⁴³ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

⁶⁴⁴ This was the first evidence which I had found that CA and its State associations had been in contact with migrant communities.

⁶⁴⁵ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

that they do participate. The Board seeks to integrate migrant cricketers into broad-based cultural teams like Sunshine Heights Cricket Club, while many migrant cricketers are trying to establish their own approach. Notwithstanding the Board's power to manage the game through its rules, regulations and registration procedures, migrants have found ways to establish and maintain their teams and associations within their local communities.

8.3 Migrant strategies

A significant means of attracting players from the same cultural background and of declaring the cultural background of the club are the clubs' names. Gale advised that his Association had been in discussion with Cricket Victoria in connection with the ethnic names of VSCA clubs and that the clubs had been approached to change their names:

This year we changed it all because we had Cricket Victoria in – Adrian Jones and Ross Hepburn came in and I had a chat with the clubs at one of our meetings because we are trying to take that ethnic background away from the clubs ... the association decided on its own like the AFL clubs changed their names [Gale was asked if he meant soccer] Yes. Because of all these ethnic clashes and things that started coming [in soccer]. Two years ago we notified the clubs and next season no one plays under any ethnic background names. So they will all need to go through consumer affairs and change everything.⁶⁴⁶

Gale suggested that it was the clubs' decision to make these changes but the impetus for the change came from the State cricket authority. Gale's narrative seemed somewhat diplomatically oriented and his comment about "consumer affairs" suggested that the intrusion was not particularly welcome. He continued:

What we have done is taken out any referral to Tamils, or Singhalese, or Burghers, or Muslim and we even gone to the limit of taking out any town names referring to any other community. Colombo, Kandy wherever – so that it becomes a totally Australian name so that even any Australian who wants to join that club can go in and walk in.

⁶⁴⁶ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

Hearing the name he does not think straight away that this club is all full of Sri Lankans.⁶⁴⁷

The Board's *MyCricket* website invites prospective cricketers to seek a club within their community. A search of a suburban postcode on the site will show the cricket clubs in that area which the enquirer might seek to join.⁶⁴⁸ Intuitively, the enquirer might feel disinclined to enquire further about a club called Brisbane Sikh United or Muslim Cricket Club if he were a cricketer of a different faith. While Gale had suggested that the cricket authorities had been concerned about ethnic violence, in fact his latter explanation is more related to the exclusion of other cultures than it is to conflict between teams from different cultural backgrounds. Gale's interview indicated acquiescence with the approach rather than full acceptance, finding for the benefit of the interviewer some positive outcomes with clubs reporting that they had now attracted sponsorships from Australian companies.⁶⁴⁹

Notwithstanding the CV intervention and Gale's mention of decisions taken to change the culturally specific names of clubs, the fact remains that clubs such as that formerly known as the Ceylonese Sports Club (and now called the Southern Warriors), and the Melbourne Eagles (formerly the Pakistan Australia Association (Eagles) Cricket Club) retain their Asian connections.⁶⁵⁰ On Gale's narrative, the cricket authorities feared that the ethnic and religious differences evident in Sri Lanka may be brought to Australia through cricket competition.⁶⁵¹ At another level, this intervention by CA/CV might be regarded as an attempt to control the development of teams which do not fit with the Board's integration model.

Clubs are encouraged to post details about their office bearers, website connections and club events and histories on the *MyCricket* website and while not all clubs complete all sections many do so, providing guidance for prospective recruits.⁶⁵² The Lankan Islanders Cricket Club for example fields teams in the Canterbury and Western Suburbs District Cricket Association in Sydney. The part of the Association in which this club competes has a number of Sri Lankan teams and says in its website linked to *MyCricket*:

⁶⁴⁷ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁶⁴⁸ See *MyCricket* website accessed 29 March 2015 at <http://mycricket.cricket.com.au/>

⁶⁴⁹ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁶⁵⁰ See the VSCA website, 'Victorian Sunday Cricket Association – Clubs', accessed on 24 October 2014 at <http://vsca.vic.cricket.com.au/common/pages/public/iv/clubs.aspx?>

⁶⁵¹ In 2012 when the Sri Lankan team played in Melbourne, a small demonstration of Sri Lankans took place outside the MCG seeking the game to be boycotted due to events occurring in Sri Lanka. Whether this was a catalyst for the CV action is not known.

⁶⁵² See *MyCricket* website accessed 29 March 2015 at <http://mycricket.cricket.com.au/>

Who We Are

The Lankan Islanders Cricket Club consists of Sri Lankan youth who call Australia home and share a passion for cricket. ... our aim is being the number 1 Sri Lankan cricket club in Australia.⁶⁵³

This simple statement suggests that this is not a club which seeks to recruit anyone other than Sri Lankan players. The heading is significant in that it suggests a statement of difference from the Board's 2005 and 2006 annual reports' "Who We Are" sections (discussed in Chapter 5). While the use of the words is unlikely to have been a deliberate reference to the Board's statement of identity, it is nevertheless an indication that these Sri Lankan cricketers mark themselves out as different from other clubs of different cultural background. In similar vein, the *Facebook* page of the Nepalese Cricket Club, which competes in the Brisbane Warehouse competition, seeks out new members rather than serving a need for members who are already there, and preface the call by limiting who they are seeking:

Our Cricket Club is looking for new members of the Nepalese Community in Brisbane who are willing to participate in cricket within the Brisbane area. If you know anyone who has just arrived in Brisbane and is willing to participate in weekly/fortnightly cricket game, please request them to contact us.⁶⁵⁴

In a more strongly delivered message about who is welcome and who may not be, the Melbourne Eagles, which competes in the VSCA, advises on its website:

We joined the YCW [now VSCA] again in 02/03 with a different perspective, Islam was now a bigger focus in our participation. Even before then we were always known as the boys who would fast in 35+ degree heat days and pray as a congregation during the innings breaks ... By Allah's will, we can all continue to participate and contribute to this club and benefit from the sporting competition.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵³ Website of the Lankan Islanders Cricket Club, 'Who We Are', accessed 15 October 2014 at <http://www.lankanislanders.com/whoweare/> accessed from the MyCricket website <http://mycricket.cricket.com.au/pages/clubfinderdetails.aspx?mode=4&clubentityid=15697>

⁶⁵⁴ 'Namaste Nepalese Community', Facebook page of the Nepalese Cricket Club Brisbane, posted 31 July 2013. Accessed 12 March 2014 at <http://www.facebook.com/nccbrisbane> : np.

⁶⁵⁵ Melbourne Eagles Cricket Club website 'ABOUT THE CLUB: Club History', accessed on 17 October 2014 at <http://melbourneeagles.com/about-the-club>. The website opened with a Muslim greeting in Arabic: Salam

This is a different statement of identity which the team promotes for prospective cricketers and appears to suggest that a non-Muslim cricketer would feel somewhat uncomfortable or alienated from teammates through its religious practices. Tui Tulili created a *Facebook* page which explains the construction of the Pasifika team:

Our team is made of people of many different ethnic backgrounds – Samoan, Fijian, Cook Islanders, Maori, Tongans Vanuatu and Papua New Guinean.

However this team doesn't restrict anyone outside this ethnic background to play, we invite anyone who wants to play as long as they appreciate our culture and Pacific Island ethics.

We stand for respect, family and honour.⁶⁵⁶

Tui uses a strategy here which was at the heart of the Board's own approach to inclusion: what Ahmed referred to as a non-performative. The statement is written in such a way that it suggests other cultures are welcome but the terms of that welcome are likely to exclude at least some people. On another level this is a statement which is a strong expression of Pacific Island cultural difference. It might also be aimed not only as a means of exclusion of other cultures but as also an expression of pride and inclusion for other Pacific Island migrants in Brisbane.

The links to many of these clubs highlight the cultures represented by the clubs and how such cultures are celebrated. The Soorya club in Melbourne presents a *YouTube* video featuring the club's celebration of a particular Indian (Kerala) festival called Onam.⁶⁵⁷ The clubs become not only a haven for new migrants and those who prefer to avoid the Australian clubs, but a positive expression of the culture of the specific migrant community. By highlighting cultural activities and religious observances and quite openly seeking cricketers from a particular cultural background, clubs are able to seek and maintain a cultural exclusivity. But there are also other strategies which achieve this objective.

alaikum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. The greeting has since been removed from the website – see <http://melbourneeagles.com/about-the-club>, accessed on 13 July 2015.

⁶⁵⁶ Facebook entry 'About Pasifika/Pacific Island Cricket – Est 2010', accessed on 26 March 2015 at https://www.facebook.com/pages/Pasifika-Pacific-Island-Cricket-Est-2010/234349753254383?sk=info&tab=page_info

⁶⁵⁷ *Youtube*, 'Soorya Cricket Club Inc. Onam 2012', accessed 2 June 2015 at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=db61LtRwCzY>

The Brisbane Warehouse Cricket Association conducts a Sunday competition and among the clubs shown on the fixture are teams with clear Indian connections: Punjab Lions, Brisbane Sikh and Deccan Lions for example which play cricket on Kianawah cricket field in Tingalpa in Brisbane.⁶⁵⁸ Nalin Perera is in his early 40s and was born in Sri Lanka. He is involved with cricket through his son. In his narrative about his experience in Australian cricket commented:

there is a park close to my home, Kianawah Park. Twelve grounds. Cricket pitches in that ground. All they have some teams all Indian – not a single Aussie. I have a few Indian friends. They are not adapting to the Australian very quickly. They love to have their own identity they don't want to mix with the others. When I was in Gladstone we started eating steaks. Even now my favourite food is steak but for Indian they have to eat Indian food every day. They are not mixing up and adapting to the culture very quickly. Even in their teams one time, one of the team members said: 'We had two to three Aussies in our team and after two or three matches they left because we were talking in our language all the time.' They were dominating – the Indian were dominating that team.⁶⁵⁹

Nalin's anecdote is from a second-hand source and yet he volunteered the information which he clearly believed to be factual. While it may also have been a chance for him to indicate to the interviewer his own integration into Australian culture in counterpoint to the failure of other migrants to do so, the anecdote suggested a means by which an individual player may be made to feel unwelcome. It might also explain Gale's insistence on the role of language in the VSCA competition:

Some of them who have come over are a bit less fortunate I would say because the language of English. Conversing with the person might be a bit difficult – like all communities they try to come and flock together rather than spread their wings try and work with other communities as well. But what we try to do is we try to break it. We talk to them in English predominantly. We don't talk to them in Singhalese or in

⁶⁵⁸ The Singh Warriors Cricket Club in the Warehouse competition consists of seven players whose name ends in Singh. See the composition of the teams Singh Warriors versus Brisbane Sikh United on 18 May 2014, accessed on 17 October 2010 at

<http://mycricket.cricket.com.au/common/pages/public/rv/match.aspx?matchID=1770133&entityID=27063>

⁶⁵⁹ Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

the native language, because we are trying to get them to work with us so that they can also improve in their language as well.⁶⁶⁰

Gale was strongly suggesting that, rather than language being an exclusionary factor for the VSCA clubs, newcomers and visitors were exposed to English as a means of assisting with integration into Australian society. Gale seemed keen to avoid any suggestion that the tactic used in Nalin's narrative could be attributed to VSCA teams and made a positive of the language difficulties of newcomers. Raj Kurup though confirmed the practice earlier suggested by Nalin:

We do not tell people that we only take people to play from the state of Kerala – it's open. We have some people from the state of Punjab who come. So there are a few people from the state of Uttah Pradesh and from Hyderabad. They all play in the second team. We have no problems with that but on the ground we only use that language [Malayalee] they may feel a little bit distanced from the club. That's when they will stop coming. That's something that will change with the next generation.⁶⁶¹

Raj's narrative was suggesting that the exclusionary strategy of language was not only about keeping white Anglo cricketers from participating but also other Indian cricketers from different Indian states from participating. As Castles observed, integration required the adoption of English and the dropping of the homeland language.⁶⁶² However, integration in cricket was not an objective of migrant cricketers from south Asia or the Pacific Islands who were interviewed. These communities have gone further in their efforts to maintain their homeland cultures through the development of supporting structures for the development of their cricketing children.

8.4 Coaching academies and overseas tours

The development of culturally specific cricket teams reflected the concentration of migrant groups in suburban centres and allowed for further development of other cricket-related activities which served to strengthen migrant participation in cricket. Michael Clyne and James Jupp explained that:

⁶⁶⁰ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁶⁶¹ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

⁶⁶² Castles, S. (2000): 137.

Location ... can influence [recently arrived migrants'] access to work opportunities and the ability to interact with people who speak the same language and have similar cultural and religious backgrounds. It will influence the extent that they are able to draw on the social capital embodied in networks with fellow settlers from the same background, including those who have been in Australia longer who are able to cushion their adjustment to life in a new land.⁶⁶³

The regular appearance of Sri Lankan professional cricketers in Sri Lankan teams in the VSCA allows the local community to connect with recent arrivals from Sri Lanka, to see cricket heroes from the home country and provides visitors with a familiar and welcoming environment in a foreign land. The cricket club becomes an arm of the community and the homeland culture among migrants from countries where cricket is a significant part of the national culture. The community also becomes inextricably bound with the cricket club. The club is sustained by the community and the community is strengthened by the activities of the club. This relationship is reflected in the rise of ancillary cricket organisations such as cricket coaching academies and overseas cricket tours.

While Gale de Kauwe had mentioned that 160 professional Sri Lankan cricketers played in Australia during the southern summer season, there are also a number of full time Sri Lankan/Australian former elite cricketers who provide coaching at various levels of cricket in Australia's urban centres. Former Sri Lankan national players Ravi Ratnayake and Manjula Munasinghe live within the area of the Sri Lankan community in Melbourne's south east. Ravi was a former vice captain of the Sri Lankan Test team and Manjula represented Sri Lanka in ODI competition. Both are now Australian citizens. Manjula and Ravi established what they called the Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy, based in Clayton, in 2005. The name of the Academy suggests that it was established for the purposes of encouraging Sri Lankan migrants in the area to play cricket. The Academy now has nearly one hundred children and young men who attend cricket coaching classes during the cricket winter season.⁶⁶⁴ Manjula⁶⁶⁵ provides media promotion of his academy and its activities in local Sri Lankan media outlets and newspapers as well as English language, Sri Lankan websites.⁶⁶⁶ The

⁶⁶³ Clyne, M. and Jupp, J. eds. (2011): 5.

⁶⁶⁴ Interview with Manjula Munasinghe, 8 January 2014.

⁶⁶⁵ Ravi has since left the Academy.

⁶⁶⁶ See for example the *Lanka Business News*, 1 October 2013, 'The Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy (ALCA)' <http://www.lankabusinessnews.com/13.10.October/003.Aus-Lanka.html>. *Lanka Business News* is an English language online news outlet based in Sri Lanka but Manjula's article seemed to be aimed to an Australian

coaching takes place indoors and uses ex-Test international cricketers as coaches. Manjula explained that when he first came to Australia he was working as a cricket coach through the Victorian Cricket Association and was taking coaching clinics at Melbourne clubs.⁶⁶⁷

Manjula and his coaching academy are working within a migrant community in Melbourne to change migrant family's perceptions of social success in Australia. Ravi Ratnayeke explained how he came to be involved with Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy and the misgivings he had about it:

Manjula was keen to establish the academy. I kept telling him 'Look there is nothing in cricket. You will never make money', [but] I helped to establish it so we got it going. We did something which is a bit different. But I wanted to make it an Australian cricket academy. [It] should be an Australian cricket academy which attracted all, everyone, irrespective of what culture you came from. What I found was that we tended to attract a lot of people who were predominantly of Sri Lankan background or Indian background.⁶⁶⁸

The business he established took advantage of his position as a Sri Lankan international cricketer living and working amongst the Sri Lankan migrant community which valued Sri Lankan cricket role models. And parents from the Sri Lankan and south Asian community responded by sending their sons to the academy. Baba Sourjah conducts Sunday training and coaching sessions at the South Brisbane Cricket Club for young boys from clubs in and around Brisbane.⁶⁶⁹ One of the parents of a child coached by Baba Sourjah is Emario Welgampola who was born in Sri Lanka. Emario gave an indication of what coaches from the same cultural background offer and why cricket role models are perceived as important:

while playing for Nudgee juniors his [Marindra – Emario's son's] best mate who is an Australian – close friends with this boy's parents – told us that there is a Sri Lankan coach operating on the south side. 'Would you like to send your son there because we are sending our boy there?' And they also made the remark that 'apart from the cricketing skills there are also life skills which are imparted by this coach that we find

audience, providing details of Melbourne locations of his coaching academy which would likely be meaningless to Sri Lankan readers. His article finishes with his mobile telephone number.

⁶⁶⁷ Manjula did not elaborate on this role and Cricket Australia makes no mention of the use of role models as coaches in its State Associations at this time (2006).

⁶⁶⁸ Interview with Ravi Ratnayeke, 23 September 2013.

⁶⁶⁹ Baba Sourjah's story is discussed in an article posted by the Asian Cricket Council, 'Baba Sourjah returns to guide Bhutan', posted 1 May 2010, accessed on 15 July 2015 at <http://www.asiancricket.org/index.php/news/may-2010/1719>

are very important'. I understood what was meant about being a member of the old school. Apart from the cricket skills those skills of discipline and respect were very important. And that's when I started sending him.⁶⁷⁰

The idea of "life skills" and being connected with Sri Lankan cricket coaches further suggests that Sri Lankan coaches provide role models for parents of young migrant children; role models who reflect traditional Sri Lankan cultural values. It might be inferred from this that "discipline and respect" are not values seen by some migrants to be available in Australian cricket and cricket coaching. An Australian friend suggested Mr. Baba as a coach (a friend who also valued 'a traditional' approach which was different to that received in the Australian club coaching environment).

The Board had adopted the notion of role models for its strategies for Indigenous cricket and women's cricket development but until recently had used white, blond Anglo-Australian Shane Watson as a role model in its multicultural book.⁶⁷¹ What is evident is that migrants themselves have seen advantages in this strategy which has arisen as a commercial opportunity from the migrant community itself. While coaches undertake coaching training conducted by the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) and the Board, the Board had not mentioned in its reporting any strategy to appoint migrant role models in the community. Since being interviewed for this project, Manjula Munasinghe has been appointed as junior development advisor at a cricket club near Dandenong (Buckley Ridges – a new suburb in the outer east of Melbourne). Manjula, in the announcement of his new role, was reported as intending "to present a coaching manifesto to the club that will go beyond lessons in cricket to also encompass life lessons for the juniors".⁶⁷² Migrant cricketers have seen an opportunity which has been eschewed by the Board, providing tuition in a migrant way rather than the Australian way. This is about values and life skills, about discipline and respect rather than the perceived aggressive and disrespectful Australian form of the game.

The interviews also drew attention to an area of connection between homeland and migrant communities through what is a form of heritage tourism featuring cricket.⁶⁷³ At least six

⁶⁷⁰ Interview with Emario Welgampola, 9 May 2014.

⁶⁷¹ See Watson's image in central position in 'A Sport for All', *Multicultural Book* accessed on 22 July 2015 at http://www.e-brochures.com.au/cricket_australia/multicultural_book/

⁶⁷² See Townsend, M. 'Former Sri Lankan International Manjula Munasinghe to inspire Buckley Ridges juniors', 9 October 2014, accessed 26 October 2014 at <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/leader/south-east/former-sri-lankan-international-manjula-munasinghe-to-inspire-buckley-ridges-juniors/story-fngnvoeu-1227083906236?nk=6c0a59d092b9633754bfe4f8b4e125db>

⁶⁷³ See King, B. E. M. and Gamage, M. A. (1994): 46-50.

cricket organisations from Australian cricket communities in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, some of which have been operating for over fourteen years, are involved with such tours: the Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy, The Young Cricketers Development and International Experience Program (TYCDIEP), tours organised by Plenty Valley Cricket Club in Melbourne's north, the Moreton Cricket tour from South Brisbane and tours arranged by Ferntree Gully Cricket Association in Melbourne and the Lankan Islanders Cricket Club in Sydney.⁶⁷⁴ These tours were organised by Sri Lankan migrants and former Sri Lankan cricketers now living in Australia and were available for both Sri Lankan migrant children and cricketers from the wider Australian community. The boys who were chosen for these tours ranged in age from ten through to late teens, and on many of these tours were accompanied by their parents. The tours were not widely advertised but were available through word-of-mouth and through involvement in the particular coaching organisations.

Athula Unantenne, a Sri Lankan born migrant who has been taking young cricketers to Sri Lanka with his partner Baba Sourjah since 2001 with the "Moreton Cricket team".⁶⁷⁵ The fourteenth tour in 2014 would consist of 105 people in three teams of young cricketers and a team of seniors (over 50) along with parents of the younger cricketers. Athula provided an itinerary of the tour which indicated that over fourteen days of travel there were eight days of cricket matches or coaching clinics played at various venues across Sri Lanka. In all, twenty games of cricket were played by four grades of cricketers.⁶⁷⁶ Vernon Tissera's Young Cricketer Development Program developed from an initial focus on assisting young migrants through coaching, and added "International Experience" (IP) to its title in 2009 when it began taking boys and their parents on cricket tours of Sri Lanka and other Asian destinations. Vernon was born in Sri Lanka and is the father of Kevin. The team in 2009 was an under-seventeen team of sixteen cricketers and eight coaches and parents who visited Sri Lanka over a period of one week.⁶⁷⁷ The ostensible purpose is to provide young cricketers of migrant (and other) backgrounds overseas cricket development experience.

⁶⁷⁴ See 'Lankan Islanders: Who We Are', accessed on 9 November 2014 at, <http://www.lankanislanders.com/whoweare/>

⁶⁷⁵ The name was adopted by the tour organisers as a means of identifying the region. There is no club called Moreton. Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

⁶⁷⁶ 'Itinerary for Moreton Cricket Tour of Sri Lanka: 6th to 20th April 2014'. Copy provided to me by email on 17 March 2014 prior to the interview.

⁶⁷⁷ TYCDIEP, *Under 17 Cricket (Australian) Tour of Sri Lanka: Kandy, Galle, and Colombo Sep. 17 to 23 2009*. Tour booklet provided to me by Vernon Tissera on 22 January 2014.

Manjula's Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy also expanded to tour Asian destinations. Manjula explained his tours were less about the cricket development of the children who accompanied the tour and more about their personal development. This was also a factor emphasised by co-founder, Ravi Ratnayeke: "He'd be coaching kids. Make it that they are not just coaching cricket but you gave them life skills and all that sort of stuff."⁶⁷⁸ In their discussion of heritage tourism, Newland and Taylor suggest that peak experience and exposure programs (birthright programs) are:

designed to bring diasporas into closer contact with their heritage. They tend to operate in countries with a strong sense of national identity, transcending territoriality, and that have a commitment to perpetuating this identity, especially among second and subsequent generations.⁶⁷⁹

While heritage tours are also based on other aspects of homeland culture, it is the prime position of cricket in south Asian culture which provides a level of importance to these cricket touring parties and their migrant participants. Much of the role of heritage tourism mentioned above was found in the narratives of the migrants who participated in the tours. While the tours were stressed as open to all-comers, they were of particular significance to migrants returning to their homeland with their children to play cricket against Sri Lankan teams. Mario Perera has taken ten cricket tours to Sri Lanka since 2001 on behalf of a number of senior Melbourne cricket clubs. He had a connection with Manjula Munasinghe's Aus-Lanka Academy through his son Nishal who was coached at the Academy, and accompanied one of Manjula's tours to Sri Lanka, but he was quick to point out that his tours are different, including mainly Australian and other national cultures amongst the tour groups.⁶⁸⁰ As with other aspects of these interviews, Mario was concerned to show that migrant cricket and its organisation was not transgressing any notion of cultural bias. His tours are not simply heritage tours but seemed more of a personal arrangement – providing a means for his own connections back to Sri Lanka. The Plenty Valley cricket tours returned many times and the experience enabled his own continuing connection with his family there. Mario says the tours are a private arrangement and "there is no official stamp on it. I'm just doing it as a hobby".⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁸ Interview with Ravi Ratnayeke, 23 September 2013.

⁶⁷⁹ Newland, K. and Taylor, C. (2010): 9.

⁶⁸⁰ Interview with Mario Perera, 10 January 2014.

⁶⁸¹ Interview with Mario Perera, 10 January 2014.

For Vernon Tissera, cricket has been a mechanism for his engagement with the passion he has for the game, a way of involving himself in the support of his sons and a way of repaying a debt he says he owes to Australia.⁶⁸² Nevertheless, Vernon's focus is within the Sri Lankan community of which he is a part. His overseas tours are to Asia and particularly to his homeland. Cricket tours had yet other functions for Athula:

There is a very close link between going back home to the parents' roots and see the boys play cricket there. In fact I took both my children on the tour and that was a big highlight for me. All my relations came to see the children who are not born in Sri Lanka are coming back and playing.⁶⁸³

The tours were an opportunity for families to present their children to Sri Lankan relatives in a setting which is an important part of Sri Lankan history and culture – cricket. What became evident during the interviews was that the focus of international experience for these men was the Sri Lankan homeland. International cricket experience is no doubt available to many cricket-playing countries but the added advantage of these tours was the opportunity to introduce children to their parents' homeland, to reconnect with memories and family and friends and to experience the pride in the achievement of children as Australian children. Many of those interviewed also used the term “life experience” which related to values, poverty and power, prestige and difference. Emario related a story which explained this idea of “life experience” for the participant parents – to show their sons the positive and negative aspects of the home culture; to provide life training:

Those experiences, the difficult times were invaluable as life experience. We encountered difficulties. We travelled in public transport. We saw a lot of poverty, we encountered hardship, we saw people struggle to make a living and all of that had a very sobering effect on us. That is where I regard the upbringing that my son has – so much so that I took him around to show him some of the poverty outside Colombo so that he learns to appreciate what he has.⁶⁸⁴

The Board was aware of many of the touring activities and yet had taken no direct control or ownership of them and certainly made no mention of them as part of their strategies to

⁶⁸² Vernon wrote a personal letter to Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating from the refugee camp in Teheran and as a result was given refugee status in Australia.

⁶⁸³ Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

⁶⁸⁴ Interview with Emario Welgampola, 9 May 2014.

involve migrant participation in Australian cricket. Vernon Tissera was asked whether Cricket Australia or Cricket Victoria knew about his organisation. His response was:

[we had a] visit [from the] Cricket Victoria regional manager. He realised we are doing something – and he went and talked about us with Cricket Australia. We got invitation to tell Cricket Australia what we are doing. [We] explained. They said ‘go ahead, we are happy’. Couple of meetings time to time. We didn’t ask anything from them. No money. Once we asked ‘When we go to Sri Lanka can we have something we can donate – extra bats balls?’ One gentlemen said ‘Yes. I’ll give you’. One trip we took five hundred balls, seventy-five bats, pads.⁶⁸⁵

The position taken by Vernon and TYCDIEP is of deferring to the power of the Board and working diplomatically with that organisation but continuing with TYCDIEP’s own player development and game promotion processes. There is some material support from the Board and the tour booklets have connections with the organisation. The 2009 booklet includes a welcome letter from Cricket Victoria Regional Cricket Manager as do the 2010 and 2011 booklets, which also have a letter from Cricket Australia’s junior development officer. The second 2011 tour booklet includes a welcoming letter with the Cricket Australia logo from Juhi McInerney, Cricket Australia’s Diversity Manager.⁶⁸⁶ Vernon’s narrative and the use of CA logos suggest that CA lends TYCDIEP its name and logo but has little other role. Cricket Australia is not embracing but watching; providing acceptance and approval without ownership. Cricket’s managing authorities also have knowledge of Mario Perera’s Plenty Valley tours but this role is peripheral and once again, Mario is deferring to the power of CA/CV to veto the arrangements:

Cricket Victoria have all given their blessings and the regional manager supports me in the initiatives. The CEO Tony Dodemaide has attended our tour functions. He has given his blessings. [Cricket Australia] provided stuff for fund raising things like that as well. The latest achievement is that School Sport Australia have asked me to organise the Australian under sixteen’s tour to Sri Lanka in May so I’m working on it at the moment. Involving Cricket Australia, the Bradman Foundation, and the Ponting Foundation as well. Huge honour for me to be given this opportunity to organise this tour. So that’s a result of all these other tours I have done and

⁶⁸⁵ Interview with Vernon Tissera, 22 January 2014.

⁶⁸⁶ TYCDIEP, The Tour of Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia 22nd September to 1st October 2011: np.

recommendations on word of mouth. I'm just doing it as my passion and my hobby in my time.⁶⁸⁷

The School Sport Australia tour Mario referred to is discussed on Cricket Australia's website where CA says:

The U16 Australia Team is a program run by School Sport Australia [SSA] and supported by CA. The team is comprised of players from the recent ... SSA National Championships, [who] spent two days at Cricket Australia's National Cricket Centre (NCC) in Brisbane honing their skills at the state-of-the-art facility.⁶⁸⁸

The website shows a gallery of photos from the tour. This tour was not aimed specifically at migrant cricketer development as such, although a number of young men with a diverse array of names is included.⁶⁸⁹ Given CA's stated intent to encourage and address diversity in Australian cricket, it is interesting that attention is drawn not to tours arranged for and by migrants such as those discussed here but to a tour (which they support), which makes no claim to diversity. The tour is an Australian tour rather than a tour of migrants or cricketers from diverse backgrounds to a foreign country.

The Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy and its tours to Sri Lanka and elsewhere seemed to be a cricket development that would appeal to the diversity objectives of Cricket Australia. Both Manjula and Ravi were asked about the involvement of Cricket Australia or Cricket Victoria in the activities of the Academy. Manjula's response was:

Not officially. I'm not sure whether they know it. But I have met a few times the Victorian Cricket Australia people. When we meet each other we just talk about it. Don't bother – not directly involved. Probably it's my fault. I should write and inform them. I have a lack of that part of writing and informing people. I think I need to take it up with my administration people.⁶⁹⁰

Manjula's response was somewhat lukewarm over wanting CA involvement. Perhaps he was unwilling to relinquish control to CA/CV. Ravi was also asked about CA knowledge of Aus-Lanka which elicited his vehement response about the lack of knowledge of even a coaching

⁶⁸⁷ Interview with Mario Perera, 10 January 2014.

⁶⁸⁸ See Ferris, S. 'U16 Squad heads to Sri Lanka', *CA website* accessed at <http://www.cricket.com.au/news-list/2014/5/9/u16-squad-heads-to-sri-lanka> on 10 June 2014.

⁶⁸⁹ Ferris, S.: np

⁶⁹⁰ Interview with Manjula Munasinghe, 8 January 2014.

organisation run by a former Australian Test captain (Graeme Yallop).⁶⁹¹ While Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy was operating with some unofficial knowledge from Cricket Australia and Cricket Victoria, it suited Aus-Lanka to proceed as an independent body. This was a community organisation which had no desire to be subsumed by the power of the cricketing authority.

For the Moreton tours which are significant in their size and longevity, Athula advised that there is a connection with Queensland Cricket:

the way we have worked we have got a really good connection with Queensland Cricket. Queensland Cricket in fact they send two players with us, just to get that experience. From a playing experience there are two boys always. And then we have access to some Queensland coaches – top coaches – this year we have Terry Oliver – high performance coach and new development coach with him They are all coming as coaches. Just for them to know the sub-continent and how to play cricket on the sub-continent.⁶⁹²

Athula's response was almost one of superiority – Moreton has something that Cricket Queensland does not have and they come to us, and defer to *our* knowledge and power in this enterprise. This connection is not a financial one:

They are coming as individuals and we sponsor them. It would be too much to ask Queensland to sponsor them.⁶⁹³

There is no financial investment evident here by CA or Queensland Cricket. The tour is in such high demand that Queensland Cricket sends their own cricketers and coaches away with the Moreton team and their presence is sponsored by the tour. Athula was asked about Cricket Australia's involvement:

Really Cricket Australia. We have very little contact. I'm sure they must be aware of the tour – but it is more Queensland Cricket who are very close to us in the sense of providing us two players ... huge learning experience because you get very good cricketers in Sri Lanka in that age group.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹¹ Interview with Ravi Ratnayake, 23 September 2013.

⁶⁹² Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

⁶⁹³ Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

⁶⁹⁴ Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

The tour provides young State players with the experience which Athula was promoting. It was not a low level tour for cricket enjoyment but a bone fide cricket experience for serious cricket development. This connection with Queensland Cricket is certainly not part of a CA investment in its diversity strategy, rather the state authority using the tour for experience for its own coaches and players and the touring players, gaining from the input of the coaches.

Athula was asked about CA's assistance and its insistence that it was trying to encourage migrants into cricket in Australia and like Manjula his response was somewhat arch:

Maybe we haven't asked or, best, one of the ways they can help themselves. Send some very good cricketers with us to get good experience. We haven't gone that step. Certainly Queensland Cricket has been very forthcoming. At this stage we are happy with that arrangement with Queensland Cricket. We haven't signed up any paper. Just call Terry Oliver. Will you send two cricketers?⁶⁹⁵

The cricket authorities are regarded as an outsider in these tours, almost as supplicant. These are private arrangements and the organisations seem to be intent on maintaining a level of independence from CA. The language in all of these situations is that the interviewees are anxious that their initiatives are not impacted by the intervention of the cricket authority. In much the same way that CA deferred to the power of the government to intervene in its business arrangements (but resisted any such negative attempt) the tour operators used language which suggested they accepted CA power but were trying to ensure that their acquiescence to that power would obviate further intrusion into their affairs.

8.5 Conclusion

The Board's model for integration is the absorption of individual cricketers from diverse or migrant backgrounds into teams and competitions which are broadly-based reflections of the community; generally meaning an Anglo-Australian community or in suburbs with a high levels of migrant residents, an amalgam of such migrant diversity. Individual migrant cricketers are expected to join clubs which welcome them but allow no particular expression of their difference within the club. This is not a model which appeals to some of the migrant cricketers interviewed, who prefer to join teams which maintain and celebrate their homeland cultures.

⁶⁹⁵ Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

The Board's Sunshine Heights Cricket Club model as opposed to culturally specific clubs is indicative of the tensions between integration and multiculturalism as defined and described by Castles and others. The evidence from many of these interviews and other primary sources is that the Board has been using its regulatory powers to try and impose the standard pathway of Australian cricket, a pathway which allows no separate or exclusive cultural expression. Diversity for the Board means individual migrant integration within a team of other individuals from different cultures. Earlier chapters concluded that the Board was a conservative organisation, resistant to social change and that view is also reflected in the Board's approach to migrant involvement in the sport. The clear evidence is that many migrant cricketers want to retain their own cultural identity; to use cricket as a means of their own settlement patterns and cultural celebration in the suburbs; of avoiding the perceived aggression and unfriendliness of the Australian way of cricket.

The presence in Australia of sporting clubs which have what might be referred to as an ethnic character is well documented in studies about soccer in Australia. Soccer has been cited as the migrant game, the violence among crowds of different ethnic background have been discussed as a reason for the de-ethnicisation of such clubs, while scholars have noted the role of the soccer authorities in wanting to bring the game into the mainstream sport by assuaging fears of such soccer violence.⁶⁹⁶ The process of de-ethnicisation seemed to cut across the notion of soccer as the beacon of a multicultural sport, yet the action was taken by the sport itself to assuage what it saw as an Australian mainstream concern. It might be argued that Australian cricket was trying to avoid the situation which soccer found itself in in the 1990s (a situation apparently explained to Gale de Kauwe) whereby the divisions and violence from other countries became expressed in sporting contests. Soccer was a 'migrant' sport which was attempting to rid itself of its ethnically specific team connotations in order to appeal more to wider Australia – to in fact become a mainstream sport. Cricket is already a mainstream sport which is attempting to remain so by avoiding any suggestion that it is divided into culturally specific teams. Their starting positions are different. Soccer was attacking the sporting market while cricket is defending its position in that market. Soccer was showing an inclination and willingness to change while cricket was not. The appearance is of a cricket administration which seeks to avoid any form of national or cultural competition within Australia.

⁶⁹⁶ See Taylor, T., Lock, D. and Darcy, S. (2009): 865-866; Hallinan, C. J. and Krotee, M. L. (1993):125, and Danforth, L. (2001).

Cricket is a national summer sport which has been shown in earlier chapters to promote its national importance. That importance is couched in terms of Anglo history and culture. The existence of teams and clubs which carry exclusively south Asian names challenges the Anglo base of this sport. Australian cricket seemed to be keen to ensure that the only national competitions would occur between countries rather than between different national cultures within Australia. The Board's involvement as reported by the interviewees was seeking to guide and maintain control over cricket development, funnelling new teams into existing competitions where there was an expectation that the individuals in those teams would be dispersed through different grades thus losing their cultural identity with the team. Migrant development of ancillary structures was a function of the strength and size of the migrant communities and the Board showed itself to be at considerable arm's length from these organisations.

Migrant cricketers have found ways to establish and maintain their group identity in teams through names, cultural expression, religious observance and language, all within the Board's rules and structures. They had been able to provide coaching support from within the community which gave the community more recognisable role models for the transmission of homeland values. Coaching in particular suggested that migrant parents had a concern with the values which were being displayed in Australian cricket, and coaching organisations allowed for their children to participate with a level of training in the traditional values and life experiences of the lands and cultures of the migrant parents.

The development of overseas tours suggested that migrants were using their community and connections with the homeland to return to the homeland with their children. The tour activity indicated a level of agency in the development of young migrant cricketers which was not as readily available to the Board and its associations. Interviewees were guarded in their response to questions about the Board's knowledge of, or interest in the tours and appeared to be anxious that the tours remained in the control of local migrant groups. The evidence in this chapter belies the Board's regular non-reporting of developments in diversity in cricket in Australia. What may be behind this relative silence is that the development of migrant involvement and participation in the sport is moving quickly into areas which the Board is unable to control. For their part, migrants have a degree of control which they are exercising in the way they participate in the game, using the Board's structures and their own strategies for maintaining their own identities in a multicultural (cricket) society.

CHAPTER 9 A MIGRANT WAY OF CRICKET

SPECIAL CRICKET EVENTS

Reflections

In 1973 I travelled to Europe with my wife in a rite of passage for young Australians at the time, a visit to the ‘Old Country’, the homeland of our ancestors. Australians in the 1960s and 1970s (no doubt before and since) often headed for England to visit and work, my friends among them. Many settled in the London suburb of Earl’s Court known as Kangaroo Valley, preferring to maintain a connection with Australia even though England was well known to us through school history and literature lessons.

We visited Canterbury Cathedral where Thomas Becket had been murdered (I recall in Year Seven a particularly gruesome account of his demise being read by our teacher), and the Tower of London. As Peter Rabbit featured in bedtime stories, a visit to Far Sawrey to Beatrix Potter’s farm in the Lake District was essential. We were ‘returning’ to a familiar place. We did not stay in Earl’s Court but at the home of my wife’s relatives; Scots forced by lack of employment opportunity in Scotland to live and work in London. They could not advise us on tourist sites in London – they had never been to any. They hated the English with a passion. My own family connections were with England and Northern Ireland, my mother a proud member of the 1850s Group of Victorian Colonists whose forebears arrived from England as free settlers during the gold rush in Victoria. Steeped as I have been in Australian-English history and culture, I sometimes wonder whether I would have barracked for England against Australia had I lived and worked in England. I somehow think not.

9.1 Introduction

We have Desi! Desi! Desi! Oi! Oi! Oi! All the three games that week I lost my voice. I couldn’t work.

[Interview with Indian migrant Raj Kurup on 10 April 2015.]⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁷ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015.

Eighty-six thousand people. When was the last time a cricket game had that number at the G [Melbourne Cricket Ground]. So we brought cricket back to Australia.

[Interview with Raj Kurup.]⁶⁹⁸

Raj Kurup is an Australian citizen whose cricket team is India (Desi) and he indicated that while he had picked up some of the Australian cricket idiom, the focus of his chant was the team which Australia was opposing during the Indian cricket tour to Australia in 2014-15 and the Cricket World Cup which followed. The spectacle of the India versus Australia semi-final of the Cricket World Cup in Sydney, where an estimated seventy per cent of the crowd were reported to be supporting India, was an indication of the strength of interest in the game in Australia, the loyalties of such migrants to their homeland team and the growing size and influence of migrants in the sport in Australia.⁶⁹⁹ The development of support for opposition teams amongst home crowds might be seen as an indication of Australia's multicultural population or it might be regarded as a failure of migrants to integrate, depending on the ideological positioning of the argument.

Lopez identified two different definitions of multiculturalism – one which is simply a description of the numbers of cultures present in Australia: “an empirical demographic and sociological fact”, and second the ideological notion of multiculturalism as “the way Australian society is or should be organised.”⁷⁰⁰ Jupp refers to multiculturalism as having grown as an aspect of migrant settlement policy, “rather than with cultural maintenance, which has largely been left to the ethnic communities.”⁷⁰¹ Castles et al. saw the meaning of multiculturalism in terms of Australian nationalism and noted that multiculturalism was “the dominant discourse in the attempt to define the nation.”⁷⁰² What became a term which related to the provision of government services was steeped in notions of assimilation, integration and national identity and transnationalism.

⁶⁹⁸ Interview with Raj Kurup, 10 April 2015. He was referring to a crowd of 86,876 at a Cricket World Cup ODI match at the MCG between India and South Africa on 22 February 2015. See <http://www.google.com.au/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&sqi=2&ved=0CB0QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.mcg.org.au%2F~%2Fmedia%2FFiles%2FCricket%2520Attendances.pdf&ei=X5UsVaydH5fq8AWywYCYAw&usq=AFQjCNHybRBTBRhyl421b-3lo5qIJXg7mg&bvm=bv.90790515,d.dGc>

⁶⁹⁹ ‘Cricket World Cup: India fans likely to dominate crowd at SCG semi-final’ *Sydney Morning Herald* March 23 2015, accessed on 2 August 2015 at <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/cricket/cricket-world-cup-india-fans-likely-to-dominate-crowd-at-scg-semifinal-20150323-1m5zhd.html>

⁷⁰⁰ Lopez, M. (2000): 3.

⁷⁰¹ Jupp, J. (2007): 90.

⁷⁰² Castles, S. et al. (1995): 13.

Much of the debate about multiculturalism and integration centres on the macro and ideological views of migrant cultures as migrants develop their own communities. Discussion of the meanings of the term ‘multicultural’ translate into questions of how migrants in fact settle, if they integrate or not, how they maintain their cultural histories and heritage in Australia, and whether the settlement and cultures of migrants impact the host nation’s own culture and identity. The evidence from the previous chapter suggested that migrant communities have developed in Australian cities through numbers, gravitating (“flocking together” as Gale suggested), to particular urban locations where they are able to live and work amongst people who speak the same language and celebrate the same homeland culture. These accumulations have been described in terms of communities – Sri Lankan, Indian and Pacific Island communities – as if the “flocks” can be described as a homogenous whole.

Erez Cohen suggests that ‘multicultural’ “becomes another ‘official category’ that often fails to capture the complexities and dynamics of multiple migratory movements.”⁷⁰³ He challenges “the view of the ‘migrant community’ as [a] homogenised enclave of otherness”⁷⁰⁴ and through a case study of a Chilean refugee in Adelaide explores “the complexity of the ways in which subjective experiences may challenge but also contribute to our understanding of the notion of ‘migrant community’.”⁷⁰⁵ Cricket and migrant participation in the sport became a lens through which to consider migrant settlement in Australia and issues of identity and to question the homogeneity of individual migrant groups.

The interviews which sought particular knowledge of migrant experience with cricket in Australia brought out notions of cultural transmission to second and subsequent generations of migrant families; of loyalties to homeland versus loyalties to Australia; of tensions between individuals who seek the comfort and social capital of like cultures and those who seek to break from the past and establish a new life; and of the mechanisms which are used to connect to the homeland and to provide a sense of separate identity from the host nation. While communities of migrants from the same cultural background were found to be strong in Melbourne and Brisbane their general description as ‘Sri Lankan’, ‘Indian’ and ‘Pacific Island’ communities tended to mask the tensions between personal histories and experiences in these communities, their own relationship to homeland memories, and the influences of family. Cricket in this chapter becomes a prism for observing the individual nature of migrant

⁷⁰³ Cohen, E. (2004): 124.

⁷⁰⁴ Cohen, E. (2004): 125.

⁷⁰⁵ Cohen, E. (2004): 123.

experience in Australia and subsequent ramifications for the meanings of multicultural Australia.

9.2 Migrant community cricket

Home to the largest Sri Lankan community in Australia, Melbourne is host to a culture where the bonds between school alumni are maintained as strong as the day they graduate. FOCA is a celebration of Sri Lankan culture – the cricket, food and music – bringing the Melbourne community together to support Sri Lanka.

[Sri Lankan community cricket competition, Festival of Cricket Australia, website.]⁷⁰⁶

Festival of Cricket Australia (FOCA) is an Australian Sri Lankan community event held in Melbourne and is structured around what in Sri Lanka are called ‘big matches’: cricket games between the large Sri Lankan college teams. Each of the older Sri Lankan migrants in the opening minutes of their interviews for this project discussed Sri Lankan school cricket: details of the school they had attended and the importance of the school in terms of the famous Sri Lankan Test cricketers who had come from the school. At first these responses seemed to simply be an attempt by the interviewee to explain the standard they had reached in cricket by reference to famous cricketers who attended their schools. But it became evident that Sri Lankan colleges and the cricket played between them was a significant part of Sri Lankan culture and continued to be so among many in the Sri Lankan community in Australia.

Michael Roberts explained the importance and role of school college cricket in Sri Lanka: “until the 1960s/1970s cricket at the highest level was not only elitist, but also dominated by (a) specific elite schools with cultural capital and a powerful cricket heritage and (b) by the metropolis of Colombo.”⁷⁰⁷ Roberts’ description suggests that in terms of the Sri Lankan community in Australia, such connections would denote a particular social, economic and political positioning. Gale de Kauwe touched on his school in Sri Lanka:

⁷⁰⁶ *Festival of Cricket website*, ‘About FOC’, accessed on 6 October 2014 at <http://www.festivalofcricket.com.au/index.php/about-festival-of-cricket>

⁷⁰⁷ Roberts, M. (2007): 120.

I went to St. Joseph's college in Colombo. Current Sri Lankan captain came from that school. Now we have at this stage three old boys from the school playing for Sri Lanka. That's Angelo Mathews, Dissera Perera and Dimuth Karunaratne.⁷⁰⁸

Mario Perera described his school team (St. Peters) and its history of Test representatives.⁷⁰⁹

Manoj Kongalage was an alumnus of Nalanda College and he advised that school colleges are "famous for cricket in Sri Lanka. Cricket is like a subject in school – very important".⁷¹⁰

Emario Welgampola also attended St. Joseph's Colombo⁷¹¹ and Athula Unantenne was captain of his school, Trinity College, a school which, he pointed out, boasted current Test player and former Sri Lankan captain, Kumar Sangakkara. For these men who migrated to Australia in their adulthood, their school and the cricket they participated in still had meaning and were intricately interwoven with their life experience and were shown to continue to be so.

Gale's use of the possessive 'we' (above) suggests that the connection is still very much alive in his world. In fact Gale was a committee member of the Old Josephian's club of Australia, an organisation which maintains ties between the alumni of St. Joseph's college in Sri Lanka (who now live in Australia) and contests annual cricket matches between Sri Lankan migrants in Australia. The newsletter of the club gives a match report of the "Annual Joe-Pete Cricket match in Melbourne".⁷¹² This is a reference to a game between St. Joseph's and St. Peter's College Old Boys teams – Sri Lankan school connections being played out in Australia. In April 2013, the Old Josephian's Club of Queensland hosted the '2nd Annual Quadrangular Cricket Tournament 2013' between Josephian, Peterite, Royal and Thomian teams.⁷¹³ Those teams are St. Josephs, St. Peters, Royal College and St. Thomas, all Sri Lankan schools. The regular 'big matches' played between some of the major colleges in Sri Lanka – St. Peters and St. Josephs, St. Thomas and Royal College and Nalanda and Ananda Colleges – are recreated in Australia, and are a key element in the process of maintaining an

⁷⁰⁸ Interview with Gale de Kauwe, 20 January 2014.

⁷⁰⁹ Interview with Mario Perera, 10 January 2014.

⁷¹⁰ Interview with Manoj Kongalage, 11 May 2014.

⁷¹¹ Interview with Emario Welgampola, 9 May 2014.

⁷¹² Gale is listed in a newsletter of the Old Josephians' Club of Australia Inc. 'Blue and White', May 2012 as a member of the General Committee.

⁷¹³ See the Old Josephians Club of Queensland *Facebook* page accessed on 14 October 2014 at <https://www.facebook.com/238284856218778/photos/a.250618754985388.63378.238284856218778/514949818552279/?type=3&theater>

important part of the culture from which the community has come.⁷¹⁴ As Athula Unantenne explained:

There is a cricket match St. Thomas's College and Royal College. Big Match. Going for years and years now and you get 50 000 people watching that game [in Sri Lanka].⁷¹⁵

These old school rivalries continue to take place in Australia between the schools' Old Boys associations. In 2014 the 'big matches' were replicated in Melbourne in the Festival of Cricket Australia (FOCA). The event was described as:

a community-based event based around the concept of the Sri Lankan Schools 'BIG MATCH' experience. Home to the biggest Sri Lankan community, FOCA was inaugurated in Melbourne, March this year. It will continue every year from now on even better and stronger.⁷¹⁶

The Festival of Cricket website provides a dropdown reference to sixteen Sri Lankan school old boy organisations in Australia and the teams which participated. The website explains that the FOCA vision is to "unite every Sri Lankan in Australia and build a harmonious community through the game of cricket and give back to the society". The FOCA mission is said to be "to reach to every Sri Lankan business, professional, individual and identify values, exchange and enable dialogue to inspire and empower our community".⁷¹⁷ The focus is clearly the Sri Lankan community and its continuing promotion and celebration of a culture which is based in the homeland. And it reinforces the ties to the homeland through the search for funds to send to Sri Lanka for charities there. FOCA was part of a fund raising activity for homeland-based Sri Lankan charities, the Murali Harmony Cup and the Festival of Goodness.⁷¹⁸ The event and ancillary activities raised \$177 700 for these appeals.⁷¹⁹ Cricket for the Sri Lankan community in Australia is a mechanism for remembering and maintaining connections within Australia and in turn back to Sri Lanka. But not all Sri Lankans are

⁷¹⁴ See Roberts, M. and James, A. (1998): 25.

⁷¹⁵ Interview with Athula Unantenne, 30 March 2014.

⁷¹⁶ Festival of Cricket website accessed on 6 October 2014 at <http://www.festivalofcricket.com.au/index.php/about-festival-of-cricket> : np

⁷¹⁷ Festival of Cricket website: np.

⁷¹⁸ Festival of Cricket website: np. See also <http://www.themuralicup.com/> which is the *Murali Cup website* and explains that "the Murali Cup unites both local and international cricketing counterparts to galvanise outstation schools' cricket development in Sri Lanka".

⁷¹⁹ Festival of Cricket website, accessed 6 October 2014 at <http://www.festivalofcricket.com.au/index.php/kingswood-college-oba-team/280-the-grand-launch-at-the-big-g>

welded to the idea of a close knit Sri Lankan community, some seeking to distance themselves from Sri Lanka and its local incarnations.

Nalin Perera's relationship with the Sri Lankan community was greatly influenced by cricket and the economic and social position of his family in Sri Lanka. His memory of school cricket is not a happy one and his view of the Sri Lankan community appeared deeply affected by his experience in the school cricket system in Sri Lanka. He explained:

One of my good friends now is Sri Lankan coach – Chaminda Vaas. We used to play backyard cricket together and we went to same school and then he was invited to go to St. Josephs.⁷²⁰

Nalin was relating his background which saw his good friend (a famous Sri Lankan Test player) being able to attend a better college than he was able to attend due to the financial situation of his family:

I'm the second son of a poor family ... my father was ... doing the ordinary job in the garden and he couldn't afford – I had only a ball-guard [protector] all the other gear I was borrowing through the school ... everyone bringing their own gear – even though I am playing good I came across situations like that – one of the boys he came for practice in a car – all my school career I went in public buses. I went to bowl. I am a fast bowler at that time. He got out twice in that bowling session to my bowling. His coach came to me and said 'Don't bowl too fast'. He is asking me to – my coach what is going on? So I mean – that was the thing.⁷²¹

Nalin's experience was about wealth and privilege (or perhaps about poverty and lack of power) and this was illustrated to him in the disappointment that his cricket was not able to fulfil the potential which seemed to be similar to his friend. Nalin was asked whether there is a Sri Lankan community in Brisbane in which he is involved. He explained that there was not a community in Brisbane which compared with the size of the Melbourne Sri Lankan community where he had lived previously, but in any event he was reluctant to become involved in such a community. He talked about Sri Lankans being "fairly jealous" of success and in a business sense members of the community sought to use friendship and Sri Lankan

⁷²⁰ Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

⁷²¹ Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

connections to negotiate cheap or free services. Nalin now owns two medical centres and employs fifteen people:

I have recruited all my staff. Recruited for Australians. No Sri Lankans. You don't know the boundaries. When you become close friends ... you are close – you know the ins and outs of his family. Can't have a work relationship.

The experience he was describing was of Sri Lankan friends expecting special favours in a business relationship, and that engaging Sri Lankan friends in business is a fraught enterprise. No doubt this situation is not one confined just to Sri Lankans and their friends and relations in business, but in Nalin's experience the community seemed to have greater expectations of supporting the members of the community in this way. He said that he has two or three good Sri Lankan friends in Brisbane but if he lived in Melbourne⁷²² and was part of the community there it can be stifling:

I can comfortably invite them to my place [three friends]. Not put 100 people in my house. If you miss someone they will tell stories about you. Hard to have a circle in Melbourne – here you can have control.⁷²³

Nalin gave up school cricket because of the perceived special treatment of the rich at his school and his family's inability to provide the equipment he needed to compete for higher cricket honours. He has two sons – one eleven months old when he came to Australia and the other, whose name is Ashal, is now 12 years old. Nalin said that now that he is in Australia he has money which he has used to provide cricket equipment for Ashal.

The stories of these men suggest that through cricket experience, positions of status and privilege are being re-enacted in an Australian context. The respective positions of individuals in the homeland culture are being re-established in the Australian Sri Lankan community. Ravi Ratnayake also seemed ambivalent towards the Sri Lankan community, and when asked about the connection which young cricketers from a migrant background have to their heritage and where their cricket development might take them, he gave a quite vehement response:

Those kids are born here, they grow up here. There is no connection. My kids got absolutely none whatsoever. My uncle, he just hates Sri Lanka. He lives here, my

⁷²² Nalin spent some time living in Melbourne before moving to Gladstone in Queensland and then to Brisbane.

⁷²³ Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

little one was born in Sri Lanka but he's grown up here. Doesn't want to be going back. None of these kids have any notion whatsoever of playing for the country they were born. They grow up in this country. The parents might be but the kids never think like that. They will always want to, their approach would be Australian. They want to play for Australia, they want to be part of the Australian system and culture.⁷²⁴

Ravi's response about the focus of the Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy discussed in the previous chapter suggested that he was less involved with the local Sri Lankan community than others such as Gale and Manjula Munasinghe. Ravi seemed in the above observation to want little to do with his former homeland and its reincarnation in Melbourne's south east. Nevertheless, the interviews of the Sri Lankan migrants indicated that Sri Lankan history and culture as well as some institutions (school Old Boy associations and networks) in Australia are often being maintained, and that the focus of much of the activity of these cricket events is the homeland. This is also true of Islander migrants interviewed.

In Brisbane, the Pacific Islander community used an Australian cricket charity event to highlight the Islander culture. William Safran suggested in respect of migrant communities that migrants may "believe they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it."⁷²⁵ It was an element of this belief that prompted Tui Tulili to create the Pasifika team among the Pacific Islander community in Brisbane.⁷²⁶ The Pasifika team was detailed in Chapter 8 but had other functions than providing a means of respite and socialisation for Islander cricketers playing in Australian teams. It was also seen by its founder as a means of bringing the community together to demonstrate its cohesion to an Australian audience and to break down adverse stereotypes of Islanders. The event which started as a fund raising event developed into an annual (the last four years) event which Tui called the Cricket-Music Big Bash, combining cricket and Islander culture. Throughout his description of the team and its foundation, Tui emphasised the promotional role of the team in seeking to convince Australians to take notice of a different aspect of Islander culture. Speaking about the connection the team had with the Glen McGrath Foundation (a charity which raises funds for breast cancer research. Glen

⁷²⁴ Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

⁷²⁵ Safran, W. (1991): 83.

⁷²⁶ Nearly 75 000 people from Pacific Island and Maori background are identified on the Queensland Health website 'Pacific Islander and Maori population size and distribution', accessed on 12 October 2014 at http://www.health.qld.gov.au/multicultural/health_workers/pac-island-pop.asp

McGrath was a former Test cricketer whose wife died of the disease). Tui said: “Doing the McGrath thing was I think more like the exposure. OK, Islanders are interested in our Foundation and they play cricket too”.⁷²⁷ What he was promoting was an alternative view of Pacific Islanders which would contradict the stereotype held by the Australians about Islanders:

A Pacific Island team that plays cricket; and I think a lot of people look at us and think, ‘Oh Rugby player, Rugby League player’. The stereotype that we are trying to break, to really break. So in terms of Australian cricket – maybe one day.⁷²⁸

The stereotype to which he appeared to be referring went beyond sporting codes and referred more to the cultural stereotypes which lay behind them – cricket was a white man’s game of ‘high-culture’, and rugby league was understood to mean that Islanders were negatively perceived by Australians as big and strong but unable to play the refined ‘gentleman’s’ game of cricket. Michael Rynkiewicz observed that for some Pacific Islander communities, “the problem is finding a niche for a cultural and ethnic identity in a new sea of diversity”, while the problem for others “is to minimise identification with other people’s stigmatising identities”.⁷²⁹ For the Pacific Islander community in Brisbane, the Music-Bash was a means of achieving possible solutions to both problem areas: a means by which the community was able to show the broader society the culture of the Islanders and to bring the community together for that purpose. It became a promotional tool for demonstrating a different side of Islander communities than the stereotypical views of the culture. It was a means of connecting Australians with the Islanders through cultural activities provided on the cricket match day, illustrating that Islanders are more than just “rugby league players”.

The notion of migrant communities maintaining their homeland cultures over time has resulted in studies about differences in homeland identification with second and later generations. The events described above might not be unremarkable amongst people who have had first-hand experience with the Sri Lankan school system or who had lived in Sri Lanka and experienced the culture and the cricket there. What is interesting in the notion of migrant communities is the transfer of identification with such homelands to generations who have little or no direct knowledge of their homeland heritage. Anthony Heath, discussing second generation migrant adaptation in a North American context, suggested that the second

⁷²⁷ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

⁷²⁸ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

⁷²⁹ Rynkiewicz, M. A. (2012): 287.

generation “will have been brought up within the educational system of the country of destination; will probably be fluent in the new language; and will have acquired citizenship and made other extensive investments in the life of the new country”.⁷³⁰ I sought through the migrant interviews to understand their connection with the community, with the homeland and their ambitions in the game of cricket.

Callum Hope was asked about his involvement in the community:

I suppose because Mum was born in Australia so we don't really, us kids, see ourselves as Sri Lankan now. We are sort of in-between I guess. We've never been brought up with that – the music, the culture, the dancing. We've been brought up in more the Western style upbringing. Dad sometimes plays Indian or Sri Lankan movies. He cooks curries but that's about as far as it goes compared to other people we know like Dad's cousins. They are more like Sri Lankan [who live a] more Sri Lankan general way of life.⁷³¹

Callum's proximity to the culture of his father is further distanced by the fact that his father came to Australia as a twelve year old and later married an Australian girl.⁷³² Callum became involved in cricket through his father who encouraged him and arranged for his membership of a cricket club at ten years of age as well as being coached professionally at Manjula's Aus-Lanka Academy. Callum advised that he was raised to speak English at home and clearly sees himself as part of an Australian culture.

Skanda Kumble, who was born in New Zealand to Indian parents and plays Premier cricket in Melbourne, was asked about his connections with an Indian community in Melbourne:

obviously my family and I are of Indian ethnicity so we have that culture and we do things as part of that culture as a family; speak the language. But I don't go beyond that and engage in activities as the broader Indian community does in Melbourne because I am not part of that social circle. Living in Hobart [was] not as multicultural as Melbourne. My friends were mainly Anglo Saxon.⁷³³

Kurt Periera is also a younger migrant who left India as a two year old and has little interest in an Indian community:

⁷³⁰ Heath, A. (2013): 1-2

⁷³¹ Interview with Callum Hope, 15 January 2014.

⁷³² Interview with Callum Hope, 15 January 2014.

⁷³³ Interview with Skanda Kumble, 8 December 2013.

The one thing that I thought of when I'm coming over here is to make sure I'm not part of any Indian group or anything. I do have my friends who are Indian. I've got a couple of family members; family friends. But one of the main reasons of coming here was to diversify. Because when I was back home in Dubai I went to an Indian school. There was a lot of Indian expats over there – I was basically around Indians all the time. I was pretty keen on getting to know other cultures – to see how it is. I don't really know any – I'm not part of any Indian society. There is an Indian society in uni – I'm not part of it. I haven't joined up, but if there are any parties I go to those. That's about it. ⁷³⁴

Callum, Skanda and Kurt all suggested that they were distant from any notion of migrant community in Australia and appeared to have little wish to become part of any such community. Yet the interviews also brought out some elements of parental influence in such decision making. Ravi Ratnayeke suggested that:

The problem is a lot of the sub-continental parents who came to immigrate to Australia, or come here, even like ourselves – we came here predominantly for children. There was nothing else. Really for them and every other parents are saying – university education. That's it. Nothing short of it. The parents will not accept anything short of university basic education for the kids because they say 'We gave up everything in Sri Lanka to come here so that's what we expect from you. Expect nothing less from you'. ⁷³⁵

Manjula also had this perception:

[In] our culture the parents' influence is so high. They are trying to keep – most of the time it is not Australian culture, I would say. Australian culture is different ... migrant needs to understand. You are living in Australia. Whatever they do – like to do – you accept. You don't need to be a doctor or engineer in Australia. So over there – back home it is different. You have to be an engineer. You have to be a doctor to live a good life. Here everyone has a good life. In Australia everyone is happy. Very

⁷³⁴ Interview with Kurt Pereira, 9 December 2013.

⁷³⁵ Interview with Ravi Ratnayeke, 23 September 2013.

different. Don't worry about it ... slowly we will understand. Slowly our parents will understand.⁷³⁶

Manjula uses the term “back home” and the possessive and differentiating “our culture”, suggesting that he too remains connected with another home. Interestingly, Manjula has been shown in these interviews to have a great reliance on the Sri Lankan community connections for the success of his coaching academy and yet he suggests here that Sri Lankan migrants should be prepared to change – that Australia's culture offers something different.

Michael Jeh also recounted similar pressures on him in Queensland when he reached higher school levels. He simply wanted to become a professional cricketer:

[If you were from a good Sri Lankan family you] went to tertiary study from school – fait accompli. Migrant Sri Lankan families. Crazy if you didn't. Not given much of a choice. Went straight to university. Cricket being pretty marginal pleasure activity – for fun. Good Sri Lankan boy. Get job in the bank get married. Only towards the end of my undergraduate degree that I canvassed being a pro cricketer.

His father advised in relation to that ambition:

So if you are going to be out of the workforce for 10-15 years the only thing that will count is the quality of your degree. They'll know that you are a high achiever. Stand you in good stead to get a good degree. Respect for [my] father [I] got a good degree.⁷³⁷

It is hard to make a case though that these pressures are necessarily just applicable to migrant families. In most of the interviews of fathers of young cricketers, the fathers were supportive of the ambitions of their children and many advised that it was the choice of the son whether to break for study and qualification or to continue. Whether these pressures are any more prevalent among migrant families is problematic. For many young cricketers, whether of any cultural background, reaching the final year of secondary schooling, a decision needs to be made about career and further education. For some of the migrant children, the decision is a difficult family decision. But for Nishal Perera, (Mario's son who was born in Sri Lanka) this was not at all difficult. He is passionate about cricket and despite awaiting entry to university wants to devote as much time as possible to the game:

⁷³⁶ Interview with Manjula Munasinghe, 8 January 2014.

⁷³⁷ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

[I'm] hoping to do a double degree with Commerce and Law at Deakin University ... Cricket always wins first. Doing year 12 I didn't stop playing so I can study. I think I missed one training to cater for study – I still played.

A few of my friends, they have stopped playing cricket so they can focus on their studies and when they finish year 12 they will get back in. For me [with] lots of support from my dad [who] takes me to training and all the games – others' families have told their kids to concentrate on their studies.

I hope to play as high as possible. My next goal is to play for Victoria if that's possible. If things go well maybe Australia. I want to make it my career.

So far at eighteen years old, Nishal is succeeding, playing for Essendon in Victoria's Premier Grade cricket in their First XI as a regular player.

Kevin Tissera has been playing cricket for most of his life and is currently playing for Dandenong in Victorian Premier Cricket at fourth grade level as a 20 year old. Kevin has been working with Cricket Victoria. For Kevin cricket is central to his life:

[It's] really important. It's given me work. It's given me a lot of fun. I've made so many friends out of it. I don't know where I would be without cricket, honestly. Especially down the track I'd love to work in it, I love to play cricket – I'd love to play for Australia. Love working in cricket. Doing placements for this year for uni. When we had to decide uni courses and all that, I went straight to sport – only thing I was really interested in. Not only cricket but footy, soccer. But to work in cricket would be tops.⁷³⁸

In Australia Kevin is able to combine a sporting love with a future career. But he still lives with his father within the Sri Lankan community and assists his father with Sri Lankan tours, and seems to have retained his father's cultural connections. He said that after he had completed his Year 12 he took a gap year, much of which was spent playing cricket in Sri Lanka, a choice which suggests the building of a younger migrant's ties to homeland.

Javed Khan remembers the financial hardship of life in Peshawar and Afghanistan and learning to play cricket with a tennis ball in the streets with his relatives and friends. The family settled in North Dandenong in Melbourne's east. Javed was asked about his cricket

⁷³⁸ Interview with Kevin Tissera, 22 January 2014.

ambitions and he responded by saying that as an Australian citizen he could play for Australia, but did not see himself as good enough:

[I'm] thankful for what Australia has given me But I would be happy to play. It's in my blood to play for Afghanistan but at the same time I would be happy to be playing at that level [Test cricket for Australia].⁷³⁹

Javed says he is realistic about his talent in terms of Australian cricket, but he wants to play at a high level in the sport. He has cultural and traditional ties with Afghanistan and sees that if there is to be a national representation in cricket, his will be with the country of his birth, Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a member of the International Cricket Council and contests World Cup games in that competition.

Manoj Kongalage provided an insight into the decisions which would have to be made when his son Desh reached senior school age. Desh is now twelve years old and his father is influential in his cricket:

Not only me but my wife too. We did actually everything. Our target was to put him in the way of Australian society. He started playing when he was very little and after that we went to the club [Noosa-Tewantin on the Sunshine Coast] specially because of Desh, always to help him. Once my wife was the manager of the team once or twice. We had a barbeque to help the club.

Desh actually began playing in the Noosa-Tewantin Under-10 team as a seven year old and showed such promise as a junior cricketer that he was selected in the Sunshine Coast Schoolboys team and then for the Queensland Primary Schoolboys State team in 2012. Manoj and his wife's support for Desh includes the purchase of a bowling machine and significant travel time:

After he [was selected] for the Queensland cricket team he got a scholarship to Brisbane Grammar School because of cricket. Cricket scholarship. [He] has taken that up.⁷⁴⁰

Manoj who is not part of a Sri Lankan community, has tried to connect his family and his son with Australians on the Sunshine Coast, and has his son enrolled in a prestigious school in

⁷³⁹ Interview with Javed Khan, 8 December 2013.

⁷⁴⁰ Interview with Manoj Kongalage, 11 May 2014.

Brisbane through cricket. Twelve year old Desh was present as an observer during the interview and interjected when his father was asked about his team affiliation vis-à-vis Australia: “I barrack for Sri Lanka”.⁷⁴¹ Nalin Perera was sanguine about his son’s (Ashal’s) future in cricket, confirming the advice received by Michael Jeh from his father:

If this is going to be his career – one out of fifty-five thousand [make it]. He has to be good. [I advise Ashal] you have to select your career. When you become someone you can play cricket again.⁷⁴²

As observed earlier, Nalin seemed to live his thwarted cricket life through his son and yet he was realistic about cricket as a career and even at this early point was seeing cricket as a less likely option as a career for his son. This position is not one which applies to Sri Lankan culture alone, but is a decision faced by many families in advising their children about career choices. The interviews suggest that while the younger generations of migrant cricketers from south Asia are more focussed on the host nation, the parental influence (which is imbued with memories from the homeland and homeland family values) is an important element in the maintenance of homeland culture among the second generation. Callum Hope described his status as “in-between”: the force of the culture of his father pulling in one direction while that of the host nation pulling in another.

Fiji and Australia do not contest cricket but Seci Sekinini made the following comment which is revealing of the confusion of identity which many migrants face:

Like rugby union games if Fiji is playing Australia I cheer for Fiji. Although this is another thing. Although in Fiji it all comes Fijian because I am not staying there – no longer Fijian. Not because I am no longer Fijian. I’m still Fijian but I don’t have any right to cheer for Fiji because I don’t stay there and I’m told it’s the same for Samoa, Tonga, PNG, Sri Lanka. [In] terms of Fiji playing Australia we cheer for Fiji. But ... when New Zealand play Australia I barrack for Australia just because I am accepted as an Australian citizen.⁷⁴³

Nalin was also not an Australian supporter and described a sense of some loss of belonging:

⁷⁴¹ During the interview with Manoj Kongalage, 11 May 2014.

⁷⁴² Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

⁷⁴³ Interview with Seci Sekinini, 30 August 2013.

Unfortunately I barrack for Sri Lanka. For me – I know my family still – my son loves the Sri Lankan team winning and there are families even to see the match they are going with the Australian t-shirt. Until I die I will support the Sri Lanka team even though I am not a Sri Lankan any more. Lost citizenship when became Australian citizen. Now I have lost it the Sri Lankan government won't give any more citizenships. So I had to apply for a visa to go to my country. Had to apply on line. Could stay only one month. Being a tourist. In my heart I am a Sri Lankan even though in the document I'm carrying an Australian passport.⁷⁴⁴

Emario reached a compromise which involved his old school:

I used to be an English supporter for many years until he [son Marindra] started playing cricket and he developed an interest in the game and when he was 5-6 years old. He said one day 'Dad you have to support the country in which you live' – his words. He is a very staunch Australian supporter and he has converted me to an extent. When Sri Lanka plays Australia I will support to an extent. I will support the Josephians in the Sri Lankan side. Loyalty to the alma mater has not waned. He knows that and he has similar sentiments. He closely follows the fortunes of the Josephians in the Sri Lankan side – the Joes.⁷⁴⁵

9.3 Conclusion

The interviews of migrants from south Asia and the Pacific Island nations showed complex influences on individual identity, on individual migrants' relationships with the host nation, with the homeland and with the local community. The identity of these migrants is shaped by their economic and social positioning in the homeland, by the parents' economic and social positioning in the host nation and amongst the local migrant community, and by the proximity of the migration event. Their identities are also shaped by the influence of parents and by their interactions with friends and colleagues. The notion of a 'migrant community', while commonly discussed even amongst the migrant interviewees, is shown to be an entity which is not embraced by all migrants and therefore is not a term which can be generically applied to all migrant experience. As Cohen concluded: "[t]he ethnic/migrant community is

⁷⁴⁴ Interview with Nalin Perera, 17 May 2014.

⁷⁴⁵ Interview with Emario Welgampola, 9 May 2014. Emario lived and studied for some years in England.

never, as official multiculturalism wants us to believe, a simple cultural enclave of homogenised others.”⁷⁴⁶

There were clear suggestions that while the Sri Lankan and Pacific Islander communities are each presented as one homogenised whole, there are many tensions which appear within these communities which belie such a oneness. The description of a single Sri Lankan community in Melbourne ignores the wide range of sub-cultures of migrants from Sri Lanka as well as the social and economic positioning of individual migrants in that culture – those who did not go to one of the big schools, who are either not accepted into that part of the community or who choose to eschew the strictures that such a community represents to them. Similarly the Islander community embraces many Pacific Island nations, cultures and experiences. Yet in a cricket sense these nations are presented together as a Pacific Island singularity. Tui Tulili is attempting to add to this notion with the development of a Pacific Island United team along similar lines to the West Indian cricket team – a ‘national’ cricket team which is an amalgam of nations from a particular geographical location.⁷⁴⁷

Cricket can become for some migrant communities a gathering point; a means of reinforcing the connections within the host nation back to histories and social institutions in the homeland. Yet these social connections are not what all migrants seek or want, with their own homeland experiences steeped in a culture which they sought or were forced to leave. Others seek to revitalise aspects of the homeland which lived in their memories as positive experiences. To younger migrants these are less their own memories than those of their parents, and their identities, like those of any children, are shaped to an extent by their parents. The individual interviews of migrants participating in Australian cricket produced a rich source of information about the complex influences on migrant identity in Australian cricket communities and of notions of multiculturalism in a contemporary Australian context.

⁷⁴⁶ Cohen, E. (2004): 139.

⁷⁴⁷ Interview with Tui Tulili, 9 November 2013.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSION

10.1 Findings

In 1999 the Australian Test cricket team was a visible representation of the white Anglo-Australian culture which had characterised Australia's identity until the immediate post World War II period. Australian cricket retained this image even in the face of significant change in Australia's population through European immigration after the War and Asian immigration from the 1970s. National political and cultural discourse had tried to interpret what those changes meant for Australia's cultural expression – its character and national identity. Test cricket provided a representation for those who wished to retain the past representation of Australian culture – it was an institution steeped in history, Anglo-Australian heroes and strong and continuing connections with England, along with that nation's underpinning values and history.

The Labor governments led by Bob Hawke and later Paul Keating (1983-1996) oversaw a shift in the focus of Australia's identity away from England and towards Asia. This period focussed on a different view of settler relationships with Indigenous peoples and recognised the impact of non-British European settlement in Australia through immigration with greater recognition of multicultural policies. Keating's formal move to seek a referendum for the creation of an Australian republic highlighted changing perceptions of the cultural landscape in Australia. At the same time part of the Australian population felt in danger of being 'swamped' by Asian immigration.⁷⁴⁸ John Howard was a proponent of an Australian constitutional monarchy, a critic of the so-called black armband view of Australian history and after coming to power in 1996 was increasingly connected with Australian Test cricket.

Notwithstanding the significant changes in Australia's population, by 1999 only two men from an Asian background had represented Australia (for a total of eight matches) and only two black men had done so – one from a West Indian background and one who had Indigenous forebears.⁷⁴⁹ Overwhelmingly, the Australian Test team was male, white and Anglo-Australian. Cricket represented a history and culture which was inexorably tied to colonial England and was a highly visible representation in the media and at sporting venues around Australia. It is therefore little surprise that John Howard chose Australian cricket as a

⁷⁴⁸ Hanson, P. (1996).

⁷⁴⁹ Sellers (India), Whatmore (Ceylon), and Morris (1885) and Gillespie (1996) respectively.

platform for his association with an Australian culture which was white, conservative and linked with England and English history.

The marriage between Howard and Australian cricket was entered with a great degree of alacrity by the Australian Cricket Board. Test cricket became a conduit in 1999 for the promotion of the Howard government approach to Australian history and identity, and Australian character and values. Howard was aligned with cricket, not only in a physical sense with his presence at cricket matches and in photographs and stories about him in the Board's annual reports, but also with the Board's choice of themes and strategies for Australian cricket. Cricket was an embodiment of his idea of Australia – a game which exhibited sufficiently different characteristics to distinguish it from England, but maintained its English historical ties.

Just as the Howard government asserted that it represented “all Australians”, the Board's adoption of a strategy which highlighted Australia's connections to an English history meant it faced a complex problem. As a commercially-based organisation it needed a broader audience in order to grow in the sporting business. It needed to be seen to represent women, the Indigenous community and migrants. The problem was how to do this while at the same time drawing on its history of a sport played by white Anglo-Celt males. Its response was to adopt what Sarah Ahmed referred to as a “non-performative” strategy: to be seen in its statements to be pursuing diversity and migrant inclusion while at the same time continuing to privilege white Anglo participants and audience.⁷⁵⁰ The strategy said one thing but followed another path. The Board's strategy had little relevance to people with no affinity to Australian cricket history or its underlying ocker culture. The Board's spoken and written words served to obfuscate what it was doing. It claimed to seek diverse participation but introduced strategies and programs which mitigated against such participation.

The Board lionised white, Anglo heroes rather than the few migrants who had managed to attain representational status. It adopted a racial vilification code which had little ability to manage the problem of racial sledging at grass roots level. It became involved in a Harmony campaign sponsored by the government which in the Board's own reporting was aimed to assist the government rather than help with its broadening recruitment pool. It did not recognise any problem in its own sport. The Board's strategies for migrant inclusion appeared meaningless in comparison to the strategies for the other two diversity pillars – women and

⁷⁵⁰ Ahmed, S. (2012).

Indigenous cricketers. While the programs and strategies in these areas were also of problematic quality, they were prosecuted with some vigour and with detailed reporting. But those for migrant inclusion were general, aspirational and never detailed nor supported by any significant results. The Board's statements of intent to involve migrants seemed designed to mask its non-action, its dominant strategies though, serving to do the opposite – to ensure that Australian cricket continued as a sport with a deep Anglo history and British connection. Cricket was represented by men who had come through the Australian development pathway and had adopted the Australian way of cricket – they were Australians, not Sri Lankan-Australians or Indian-Australians, or even English- or Scottish-Australians.

To play for Australia one needed to become Australian in the sense of accepting and adopting the history and values of Australian cricket. Such representation also required migrant cricketers to submit to Australian cricket culture at suburban level which never seemed to meet the stringent ideals set out in the Board's own spirit of cricket documents. The Board's fundamental approach to migrant participation in cricket remained the same with the single pathway to elite level reaching across the incumbency of federal governments of different political persuasions. Unlike women and Indigenous cricketers, migrants were given no special advantages by the Board. The change that the Board did introduce in more recent years for increasing diversity was to target participants as *audience* rather than participants as *players* which seemed to release the pressure on the Board to become more diverse. Its introduction of a Twenty20 competition was aimed at this audience and took the attention away from the nationalist-based representative game – Test cricket – the game which had been criticised for its lack of cultural representation.

Australian cricket, as shown through the analysis of the Board's own reports, was in many ways more English than England. It seemed to continue the notion of the 1950s and 1960s of assimilation and integration of migrants into Australian culture. Cricket did not propose to change its approach to participation in the sport to accommodate cultural difference. It was migrants who needed to adapt to the Australian way, to become Australians. Participation for the Board was a term which by implication was meant to apply to individual cricketers – not groups of cricketers who wished to retain their own cultural identity. As Michael Jeh suggested, to play cricket in Australia at senior levels of the sport, one needed to become “anglicised”.⁷⁵¹ This required participants to adopt or come to terms with the Australian

⁷⁵¹ Interview with Michael Jeh, 25 February 2014.

language of cricket, forms of Australian social engagement, and the aggressive and at times intimidating behaviour on the field. The Australian cricket culture was often portrayed as ‘ocker’: aggressive, rude and boorish, hard drinking, disrespectful of women and at times racist and abusive. Even if migrants did conform to some or all of the above traits, their differences in appearance, language and culture designated them as alien and the target for racial sledging. The Board made some efforts to deal with any incidents on the Test cricket field and in the grandstands, as well as set down rules for suburban teams, but the depth of these efforts always suggested shallowness. More revealing was the rejoicing in and promotion of players who fitted the Australian ocker or ‘blokey’ stereotype. Much of this celebration was commercially driven because of the Board’s sponsorship arrangements with alcohol retailers and media partners, yet the Board chose to allow its stereotypical cricketers to represent the game in a way which suggested an unwelcoming image for many migrant cultures.

The migrant interviews and data from related sources indicated that notwithstanding the Board’s portrayal of cricket as a white, Anglo sport with a double-standard approach to diversity, the sport was thriving amongst migrant cricketers in suburban centres, and many migrant cricketers had managed to participate in the game despite the hurdles that Australian cricket erected as a requirement for participation. Rather than cricket being an exclusionary white-Anglo game in suburban Australia, migrants from black and south Asian backgrounds have circumvented regulatory barriers and used the game to express their own cultures and heritage. Migrants have been able to develop a form of ‘multicultural cricket’ within the Board’s integration model. Cricket teams and associations have been formed in migrant communities allowing migrants to participate away from the way the game is usually played. To avoid the Australian way of cricket. These organisations allow an expression of difference from Anglo and other culturally specific teams, and they provide a means by which migrant cultures can be created and maintained within local communities.

Migrants participating in suburban cricket continue to acknowledge the Board’s power in cricket while quietly establishing their own approach. They defer to the Board because of the Board’s buying power when it comes to insurance; a proof of club substance which enables the negotiation for grounds from local councils. They accept the Board’s rules and instructions but as with the Board strategies from 1999, they tend to say one thing and do another. They purport to be open and welcoming of cultures other than their own, yet they remain culturally specific through mechanisms which ensure that result. They have steadily

built their own organisations for their own needs and desires and have done so within the clear view of the cricket authority.

What was found in the analysis of the Board's annual reports and the interviews of migrant cricketers was that both the Australian Cricket Board and migrant parents seem to share a sense that cricket can be a site for the transmission of traditional values and cultural sensibilities. The Board enlisted the spirit of cricket to transmit an Anglo-Australian notion of traditional values, while migrant parents enlisted role model coaching staff to impart traditional homeland values to their children. The Board used re-enactments and historical connections with Britain to promote an Anglo-Australian view of cricket while Sri Lankan cricketers used similar devices to promote continuing connections with a Sri Lankan homeland. Cricket here was a common denominator being enlisted to serve different cultural objectives.

10.2 Relevance and significance of the research

Much of my approach in this research has been influenced by the debate which occurred in academic circles (spilling into political discourse) in the 1990s and 2000s about the efficacy of sources in interpreting history. This discourse was the so-called history wars. To an extent, the debate was concerned with the interpretation of official written documents as opposed to oral and other source material. I was attracted to methods of enquiry which would draw on material from each type of source and to see to what extent the sources might complement or contradict each other.

The Board's annual reports revealed much more than was overtly articulated, providing a rich source of evidence of how the Board presented written text and imagery to its constituents and member organisations regarding its activities. While the Board used words and images to present a particular view of itself and cricket, the close critical analysis of these reports showed the Board to be conflicted in its strategic approach. It may have undertaken many other activities in relation to diversity which it did not report to its members and stakeholders, but it was significant to note what it chose to report, how this was reported and what it chose not to report.

The migrant interviews provided a limited representation of migrant participation as they examined only a small number of participants and only a small number of cultures. But what

emerged with the support of other primary source material was clear evidence that south Asian and Pacific Islander migrants were participating in Australian cricket and doing so in growing numbers. The nature of some of the ways they participated was revealed through the interview process. What was shown through a cross referencing of the interview data with the annual report data was the strange silence of the Board in its reporting on migrant cricket participation.

This research met some of the objectives highlighted by Richard Cashman, Adair and Vamplew, Stoddart and others noted in the literature review, that work needed to be done to investigate the barriers to migrant involvement in the sport and to understand how migrants participate. It opens new areas of research in Australia which follow those undertaken in other countries where cricket has been used as a lens for discussion of a range of social and cultural issues. And it is the first critical examination of the diversity strategies of Cricket Australia, a sporting institution which has claimed a significant role in Australian national culture. Finally it provides a critique of the claims of the sport by presenting direct evidence from some of those people whom the Board claimed to be targeting in its strategies.

10.3 Areas for further research

The Board's efforts since 1999 consistently ignored the development of the non-European-based clubs and associations which were appearing in significant numbers in Australian suburban cricket from this time. This research has tried to highlight this area of blindness but has left open considerable area for further research. These are discussed below:

1. The Board's own model – the Sunshine Heights Cricket Club – seems to suggest a need for a more detailed critical study than the descriptive reporting offered by various agencies. This might be attempted as an ethnographic or oral history study of members of the team (or of a similar team in a similar suburban environment), or with founders and office holders.
2. Similarly a far more detailed study of a single 'culturally specific' club and its participants in Melbourne, Sydney or Brisbane might be undertaken to understand the migrant model in more depth and specificity. This study was centered largely on urban areas of Melbourne and South East Queensland and therefore is limited in the conclusions which might be reached about migrant participation more generally.

Further similar research might be undertaken in other major cities (Western Sydney for example, Adelaide and Perth) and in regional areas to complement this study.

3. An oral history or ethnographic approach might be undertaken to understand the importance of cricket to migrants in cricket communities in Australian suburbs, considering the individuality of some migrants as opposed to the tensions of belonging to a community.
4. An in-depth comparative study of two particular clubs and their participants (as representative of the two models), in the context of Australia's immigration debates would also be a valuable addition to knowledge about the tensions between integration and multiculturalism.
5. In keeping with Sarah Ahmed's study of diversity workers in educational institutions, an investigation into the experience of the Board's Diversity Officers and their efforts to bring diversity to cricket would cast considerable light on such a role in a significant Australian institution, as well as provide more evidence in respect of the tensions between apparently competing objectives. Such a study might provide more detailed evidence of the actual work done by the Board and its officers rather than the relative silence its annual reports suggest of this work.
6. The interviews uncovered an area of research which I was unable for reasons of space and time to explore further. As discussed in Chapter 9, the Sri Lankan school system became a significant area of discussion during the interviews. These schools have a major cricket presence in Sri Lanka but also had other political and social relevance in that country. This might be the subject of more detailed research into the transnational nature of the game and how it is used to (re)unite migrant communities in Australia as well as to transfer homeland memories, cultures and political and social privilege and tensions to communities in the host nation.
7. Perhaps allied to (6) is the phenomenon represented by the attendance at the India versus Australia semi-final of the World Cricket Cup in Sydney. A study of migrant communities and the influence of homeland loyalties on attendance at Australian team games might be a counterpoint study to many of the studies of migrants and their national (sporting) loyalties in soccer contests.⁷⁵²
8. In an earlier study for my Masters degree I examined the role of the Australian Test captain and the importance of this position as a cultural leader in Australia (Howard's

⁷⁵² See Ricatti, F. and Klugman, M. (2013).

second most important Australian position). This work might be extended to discuss the role into the future – will there be a captain whose name is Krejza or Perera in the same way that England has had as many as six captains who were not born in England?

This particular study of Australian cricket provided an understanding of how a sporting institution may be used as a conduit for political and social purposes; how organisational messages may be manipulated in the pursuit of a cultural or political ideal; and how those who wish to participate in a social institution in a different way are able to use their power of numbers to, in turn, manipulate the organisation which seeks to control their access. In 1990 Tony Abbott, just prior to being appointed as director of Australians for a Constitutional Monarchy, asked whether Australia would become a cohesive nation, or a nation with a pastiche of cultures?⁷⁵³ He couched this question in terms of cricket. A quarter of a century later, the same question might in part be answered through developments in the very cultural institution which Abbott used to denote Australianness. Test cricket, the former high platform for representation of the Australian national identity, has become isolated – quarantined as a white Anglo expression of the sport. Board CEO James Sutherland in 2011 suggested that the Board's success would be assessed as to whether Australians of all backgrounds see themselves reflected in the game played on local grounds, and in the men's and women's national teams.⁷⁵⁴ In terms of the cultural representation in the national men's team, for Asian and black cricketers it is "like looking into a mirror and seeing nothing."⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵³ Tony Abbott, *Australian*, 31 May 1990, 8 (quoted in Marr, D. (2012): 40).

⁷⁵⁴ ACB (2011-12): 10. The CEO outlines the Board's new strategy on the CA website, accessed on 26 August 2014 at <http://www.cricket.com.au/about-us/our-strategy>. The website includes a link to the CEO interview on ESPN Cricinfo (see Brettig, D. (2011)).

⁷⁵⁵ See Ugra, S. (2015): 5. Ugra was paraphrasing an anecdote of Waleed Aly who she reported had addressed the Board in 2010, describing the motivation for *Sesame Street* producers to include a range of different images of ethnic and religious characters in the US children's TV show in order for the show to have wide relevance to children.

APPENDIX 1 MIGRANT PLAYERS WHO HAVE REPRESENTED AUSTRALIA SINCE 1945

Name	Country of birth	Games played	Year of first Test
Born overseas			
Rex Sellers	India	1	1964
Tony Dell	New Zealand	2	1970
Dav Whatmore	Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	7	1979
Kepler Wessels	South Africa	24	1982
Brendon Julian	New Zealand	7	1993
Andrew Symonds	England	26	2004
Usman Khawaja	Pakistan	9	2011
Moises Henriques	Portugal	3	2013
Stephen O'Keefe	Malaysia	3	2014

Notes: Wessels later captained South Africa in Test cricket. Symonds is thought to have a Jamaican mother and Scandinavian father (he was adopted). O'Keefe's parents are Australian. His father was working for the RAAF in Malaysia when he was born.⁷⁵⁶

Second generation born in Australia with at least one overseas born parent

Bob Simpson	Scottish mother	62	1957
Kerry O'Keefe	New Zealand mother	24	1971
Len Pascoe	Macedonian	14	1979
Shane Warne	German mother	145	1992
Phil Jaques	English	11	2005
Stuart Clark	Indian	24	2006
Jason Krejza	Polish/Czech	2	2008
Phil Hughes	Italian mother	17	2009
James Pattinson	English	5	2011
Ashton Agar	Sri Lankan mother	2	2013

⁷⁵⁶ Decent, T. *SMH* article accessed on 26 July 2015 at <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/cricket/mum-thrilled-from-afar-to-see-steve-okeefe-make-his-test-debut-20141025-11bahm.html>

APPENDIX 2 MIGRANT INTERVIEWEES

The following details the interviews which were conducted. The details were current as of the date of interview and are arranged in alphabetical order of second name:

Taione Battina

Aged 48, born in Fiji and began visiting Australia in 1989 as a cricketer. Played for the Fijian national team and in Australia played with Parramatta, Manly and Goulburn. Now an Australian citizen. Plays with Islander team, Pasifika. Interviewed on 9 November 2013 in Brisbane.

Gale de Kauwe

Aged 57, born in Sri Lanka and migrated first to Oman and then to Australia where he arrived in 1995. Played school cricket in Sri Lanka. Currently Secretary of the Victorian Sunday Cricket Association. Interviewed on 20 January 2014 in Melbourne.

Callum Hope

Nineteen years old and born in Australia. His father was born in Sri Lanka and mother is Australian. Plays cricket with Mulgrave in the Eastern Cricket Association. Interviewed on 15 January 2014 in Melbourne.

Michael Jeh

Born in Sri Lanka and is around 45 years old. He came to Australia when he was 15 years old and played cricket for Valley District Cricket Club (Valleys) in Brisbane, and for Oxford University in English County Cricket. He was a professional cricketer. Interviewed in Brisbane on 25 February 2014.

Javed Khan

Born in Afghanistan in 1994 and came to Australia as an eight year old in 2005. He played cricket for Dandenong North and is currently with Hawthorn-Monash University in Melbourne Premier cricket. Interviewed on 8 December 2013 in Melbourne.

Manoj Kongalage

Born in Sri Lanka, is in his mid-forties and arrived in Australia in 2008. He played school cricket in Sri Lanka. In Australia his involvement in cricket has been through supporting his son Desh in his progression through the school and cricket pathway. He umpired junior cricket on the Sunshine Coast in Queensland. Interviewed on 11 May 2014 on the Sunshine Coast.

Skanda Kumble

Aged 23 and born in New Zealand to Indian parents. He came to Australia when he was 15 years old (Hobart). Plays cricket with Hawthorn-Monash University in Melbourne Premier cricket. Interviewed on 8 December 2013 in Melbourne.

Raj Kurup

Born in India (40 years old). Came to Australia in 2008. Established the Soorya team and is President of the club. He played college cricket in India. He also umpires and coaches. Interviewed on 10 April 2015 in Melbourne.

Manjula Munasinghe

Born in Sri Lanka and is 42 years old and migrated to Australia in 1999. He played cricket with Sri Lanka's national ODI team. He played sub-district cricket with Monash University and established the Aus-Lanka Cricket Academy with Ravi Ratnayake. Interviewed on 8 January 2014 in Melbourne.

Nalin Perera

Arrived in Australia in 2006, is 42 years old and born in Sri Lanka. Played school cricket in Sri Lanka and now supports his son in cricket competition and coaching in Brisbane. Interviewed on 17 May 2014 in Brisbane.

Mario Perera

Born in Sri Lanka (50 years old) and came to Australia in 2008 via the Middle East (five years) and New Zealand (six years). He remains a New Zealand citizen. Played and coaches with Plenty Valley in Melbourne Premier Cricket. Takes cricket tours to Sri Lanka. Interviewed on 10 January 2014 in Melbourne.

Nishal Perera

Son of Mario, born in Sri Lanka (18 years old) and came to Australia with his family when he was thirteen via Saudi Arabia and New Zealand. Played cricket with Plenty Valley and progressed to Carlton and then Essendon in Melbourne Premier cricket. Interviewed on 10 January 2014 in Melbourne.

Kurt Periera

Born in India and at two years of age left for Dubai, UAE. He is 18 years old. He arrived in Australia in 2013 but had been coming for some years on a visitor's visa. Plays cricket with Hawthorn-Monash University in Premier cricket. Interviewed on 9 December 2013.

Ravi Ratnayeke

Born in Sri Lanka in 1960 (53 years old) and migrated to Australia in 1989. Ravi was vice captain of the Sri Lankan national Test team. He played 22 Test matches for Sri Lanka. He played for a number of clubs in Western Australia and Melbourne. With Manjula Munasinghe he established the Aus-Lanka coaching academy. Interviewed on 23 September 2013.

Seci Sekinini

Born in Fiji in February 1975 (38 years old) and migrated to Australia in 2008. He captained the Fijian national cricket team in international competition. Interviewed on the Sunshine Coast on 27 August and 30 August 2013.

Kevin Tissera

Born in Tehran (20 years old) to a Sri Lankan father and Indian mother. He came to Australia with his family soon after he was born. Played cricket with Endeavour Hills Cricket Club and now plays with Narre Warren South Cricket Club in Melbourne. Interviewed in Melbourne on 22 January 2014.

Vernon Tissera

Father of Kevin and was born in Sri Lanka (approximately 50 years of age). He migrated to Australia in 1993 via Kuwait and a Tehran refugee camp. He played

school cricket in Sri Lanka and later in Kuwait. He established The Young Cricketers Development and International Experience Program (TYCDIEP) which provides coaching and international cricket tours for young cricketers to Asia. Interviewed on 22 January 2014.

Tui Tulili

Born in New Zealand to Samoan parents. Thirty years of age and played cricket for Mater Hill in Brisbane. He established the Pasifika cricket team. Interviewed in Brisbane on 9 November 2013.

Athula Unantenne

Born in Sri Lanka and is in his late fifties. He came to Australia in 1996 after 20 years living and working in England. Played school cricket in Sri Lanka (captain of Trinity College first XI) and also club cricket in Brisbane. He is a qualified coach and coached South Brisbane Under 19 team. He arranges overseas experience cricket tours to Sri Lanka for the Moreton Cricket team. Interviewed on 30 March 2014 in Brisbane.

Emario Welgampola

Born in Sri Lanka (48 years old) and came to Australia in 2000. Played cricket for St Joseph's college in Sri Lanka. He supports his son Marindra who is receiving coaching at South Brisbane and had accompanied the Moreton Cricket tour. Interviewed on 9 May 2014 in Brisbane.

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