Professional cricket migrants ‘going Down Under’: temporary, skilled, international migration?

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Professional cricket migrants ‘going Down Under’: Temporary, skilled, international migration?

by

Catherine Waite

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy
Loughborough University

February 2015

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Abstract

The significance of flows of temporary, skilled labour migrants under conditions of globalization is widely acknowledged. Using a case study of elite cricket professionals moving from the UK to Australia for a maximum duration of 6 months, out and return migration flows and processes are examined. In doing so, this thesis exposes migration motives, notably in relation to career progression and personal development, and the processes and regulations that control temporary sojourns. Furthermore, the discussion reveals important social, cultural, economic and familial impacts of undertaking temporary, skilled, international migration.

Using this case study of a sport-led migration, a largely under-researched occupational sector in migration studies, a number of theoretical, conceptual and empirical contributions are provided, which advance knowledge of skilled, international migration. First, utilising Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of capital as an analytical framework, the comparative importance of migration motives are emphasised. Second, it is shown that migration can be viewed as a normalised aspect of a skilled worker’s career trajectory, and that desired outcomes can be achieved during increasingly temporary stays overseas. Third, a three phase model of the migration flow is adopted to enable the development of professionalization and migration within cricket to be examined. It is asserted that cricket, as a professional sport, has changed under conditions of globalization, alongside smaller scale developments initiated by both employers and intermediaries, and the migrant cricketers. It is concluded that these connections will have salience for the other skilled occupations identified in Salt’s (1997) typology of highly-skilled migrants.
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<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACB</td>
<td>Australian Cricket Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGDIBP</td>
<td>Australian Government Department of Immigration and Border Protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCCI</td>
<td>Board of Cricket Control in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAQDAS</td>
<td>Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td><em>Curriculum Vitae</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>DLCA</td>
<td>Darren Lehmann Cricket Academy</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>England and Wales Cricket Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPP</td>
<td>England Performance Programme</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Cricket Council</td>
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<td>ICTs</td>
<td>Inter-company Transfers</td>
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<td>IPL</td>
<td>Indian Premier League</td>
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<td>MCC</td>
<td>Marylebone Cricket Club</td>
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<td>NBA</td>
<td>National Basketball Association</td>
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<td>NICL</td>
<td>New International Division of Cultural Labour</td>
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<td>TCCB</td>
<td>Test and County Cricket Board</td>
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<td>TNCs</td>
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<td>WSC</td>
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1. Summary of Research Participants
2. Migrant Interview Schedule
Acknowledgements

Producing this thesis has been an incredibly challenging yet rewarding experience. The journey that has brought me to this point has had many twists and turns and ups and downs. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who have helped me and supported me on this journey.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Changing political, economic, social and cultural conditions at all spatial scales have led Castles et al. (2014:5) to declare the prevalence of: “The Age of Migration”. Without doubt, migration is a significant process of social and cultural change in the globalized world (Smith and King 2012), with increased spatial mobility evident for diverse social groups (Massey 2003, Hugo 2004). Within this context, highly-skilled, mobile workers are increasingly prominent in recent studies of international migration (Findlay and Cranston 2015). Studies reveal that aspirations of career progression are a key motive for both the migrant and companies who send individuals overseas on international secondments (Mahroum 2000; Beaverstock 2005; Faulconbridge et al. 2009). This poses questions of the wider salience of inter-connections between temporary, international migration and career progression in skilled occupations.

This introductory chapter is divided into five sections. Section 1.2 provides an overview of the current state of migration research, and identifies some gaps in knowledge to provide a rationale for a study of the temporary, seasonal migration of elite cricket professionals and its influence on career trajectories. Section 1.3 discusses the main rationale for a case study of elite cricket professionals to inform an understanding of such a relationship. Section 1.4 introduces the aims and objectives of this research. Section 1.5 outlines the main structure of the thesis.

1.2 Normative Behaviour and Career Trajectories of Skilled Individuals

It can be argued that, until recently, normative behaviour for career progression was centred upon internal company promotions, as an individual developed industry-specific skills, knowledge and experience (Cohen and Prusak 2001). In a landmark study, which forged a new agenda for skilled migration scholarship, Findlay and Gould (1989:4) recognise the importance of international staff transfers within transnational corporations (TNCs), and impacts on the career advancement of employees. In the twenty-five years since the publication of this research agenda, it appears that the influence of globalizing processes across society have increasingly transformed the
mechanisms and drivers of career progression (Beaverstock 2005). The internationalization of business practices and the growth of TNCs, that operate across numerous countries means, that within many sectors of business, employees are required to have knowledge and experience of a company’s international operations (Findlay 2002; Salt and Wood 2012). In order to provide employees with opportunities to acquire and develop this knowledge and experience, many international businesses include overseas secondments in their employee training programmes (Faulconbridge and Hall 2012).

1.2.1 Temporary, Skilled, International Migration

International secondments of skilled individuals are typified by their temporary nature. The time spent overseas is typically one-to-three years, and it has been recognised that such temporary migration flows are indicative of a new (Williams and Baláž 2005), and rapidly increasing form of international migration (Khoo et al. 2007). Consequently, further research into temporary migration flows is warranted. Until recently, studies of population movement have been centred on permanent migration, when migrants settle in the destination country, and this reflected the dominant form of population movement of the time (Hugo 2004a). As a result, many current international migration theories are developed from understandings of permanent, commonly low-skilled migrants, from developing to developed countries (Khoo et al. 2007). With the increasing prevalence of forms of temporary, international migrations, frequently involving migrant circulation between developed countries (Khoo et al. 2003), there is a need to develop theories that reflect the changing characteristics of this emerging form of population movement (White and Ryan 2008; Dustmann and Mestres 2010; Budnik 2011).

The research that has been undertaken has revealed many aspects of temporary migration that require further investigation. In particular, knowledge and skill acquisition, development and transfer (Hugo 2004a; Khoo et al. 2003; Castles et al. 2014). The relationship between migration and skills has often been discussed in the context of the brain drain (Straubhaar 2000; Chand 2008; Dustmann et al. 2011). Yet, the developing literature of temporary, skilled migration has indicated that the short-term nature of stays overseas instead represents a “win-win-win” (Castles and Ozkul
situation that is beneficial for the host and origin countries, as well as the
individual migrants. Thus, rather than disadvantaging local workers, importing skilled
workers from overseas enables skills transfer (Khoo et al. 2003), and training of local
workers (Khoo et al. 2007). It is for this reason that Hugo (2004b) notes the economic
potential of implementing policies that facilitate temporary and return migration to
encourage circulatory migration. In a research note written for the Australian
parliament, Hugo (2004a:2) states:

“We must realize that there is much to gain from young Australians
leaving Australia and acquiring experience, knowledge and connections
in foreign nations. However, if a substantial proportion can return, the
country can gain a double dividend – not just retaining those talents but
having those talents enhanced by a period away”.

This demonstrates the wider significance of international, skilled migration; indicating
that it is not only the career trajectory of the individual migrant that may benefit from
a temporary stay overseas, but also the local and national economies within which
they are employed. It is important to include this return phase of migration in research,
in order to gain an insight into the impact that migration has on the home country
(Findlay and Gould 1989).

The importance of Hugo’s (2004a) acknowledgement of youthful, temporary migration
influencing career trajectories is supported by the view that the acquisition of skills
and knowledge are no longer spatially bounded (Williams and Baláž 2008). Instead, it
is evident that the process includes a migration dimension, whereby it is necessary for
an individual to spend a period of time in a different socio-spatial context, to facilitate
the acquisition of specific skillsets and experiences. Existing research suggests that to
participate in such a flow, the potential migrant must be deemed to already be a
skilled individual (Ho 2011; Harvey 2012). This is to be expected, since those
individuals who are likely to be either sent overseas by their company, or be recruited
by a foreign firm, are already likely to be in possession of specific skills that are of
value to company operations, and can be developed through migration. This is
reflected in existing scholarship on temporary migration, which has been focused on
the highly-skilled, who are usually defined as those in possession of a tertiary

education qualification and at least three years work experience (Harvey 2011c). However, the results of a survey of skilled migrant employers in Australia indicated that companies were seeking employees with specialised skills, but extensive work experience was not a necessary attribute (Khoo et al. 2003). This demonstrates the importance of the prior possession of skills that have the potential to be developed overseas. Yet, it raises questions regarding existing definitions of the highly-skilled, and how they have been applied in temporary migration research. Given the contested nature of conceptualisations of the highly-skilled a more detailed discussion will be provided in Chapter 2.

Despite this, a significant volume of temporary migration research has been focused on the geographies of the highly-skilled, including the research on overseas secondments, a consequence of the internationalisation of business (Beaverstock 2012; Castles and Miller 2009). In particular, this research has examined how highly-skilled individuals are able to express and apply their skills during migration. This includes scholarship on inter-company transfers (ICTs), and how the migration of skilled personnel allows knowledge and expertise to be transferred between globally-distributed offices (Beaverstock and Boardwell 2000; Millar and Salt 2008). The sectors involved in this TNC research, include accounting, finance and legal firms (Beaverstock 2004) as well as science, engineering and technology firms (Harvey 2008, 2011a; OECD 2008). Benefits to these companies employing globally-distributed personnel have been shown to include; assisting in the training and development of local staff; contributing to local projects whilst overseas; and upon return, there is evidence of development, with migrants having gained knowledge of overseas business practices (Beaverstock 2007). The need to understand these processes of skill transfers have long been recognised (Findlay and Gould 1989). However, the precise mechanisms of skill transfer have not been subject to detailed consideration, as Raghuram (2008:9) notes: “there is [also] little recognition of how the skills of skilled migrants are actually produced and circulated through migratory flows”.

Thus, whilst temporary migration research has demonstrated that skills, knowledge and expertise are acquired, refined and developed in the course of migration, there is scope for further research addressing the underlying processes. This is particularly
pertinent when considering the role international, temporary migration has on an individual’s career trajectory. Consequently, in investigating the influence on upward career trajectories, it is necessary to understand the processes of personal and professional development that are occurring during migration.

Academic research into careers has largely been undertaken from a business perspective; however, there have recently been moves towards more interdisciplinary research into careers and career trajectories. Following the recognition that globalization has had wide-reaching geographical and cultural implications for individuals’ careers (Baruch et al. 2007), a series of seminars were convened to consider the relationships between labour migration and careers (Cohen et al. 2011). Previously, few studies combined these two bodies of research, despite the fact that opportunities now exist for global careers, and the recognition that career migration is a global phenomenon (Pieperl and Jonsen 2007). Subsequently, a number of key issues were identified that required further investigation, notably: the organizational and wider political influences on labour migration; the potential for the devaluation of career capital as a consequence of migration, and; the existing evidence of under-utilisation of migrants’ skills in the destinations countries (Cohen et al. 2011; Bauder 2012). These are all issues which could be usefully addressed by drawing on careers and business literature, as well as migration studies; highlighting the need for further interdisciplinary studies, such as this, on international labour migration.

Studies within the careers literature have demonstrated the demise of traditional career paths, indicating the need for more long-term studies to enable the experiences and actions of migrating individuals (Findlay and Gould 1989), and the impacts upon their career trajectory to be better understood (Duberley et al. 2006).

Methodologically, career stories and life histories have been used as a tool through which to elicit data that will inform on this topic (Cohen 2006), and a number of useful insights into career migration have been achieved in these types of qualitative studies. First, the need to further consider the role of the family and processes of social inclusion and exclusion have been demonstrated (Cohen et al. 2011). Second, a number of important motives for career migration have been highlighted using a case study of Indian Scientists (Cohen et al. 2012). Despite focusing on the relationship
between career migration and the influence of national identity, the data revealed that key motives included: improved access to prestigious facilities whilst overseas; exposure to wider networks and communities, and; the wish to conform to social norms.

Consequently, it appears that globalization has afforded individuals with the opportunity to become global citizens, and follow an internationally dispersed career path (Ielliatchitch et al. 2003). This being so, it is now necessary to carry out further research to establish how individuals are exploiting these opportunities, in order to pursue and advance their career. This study will first contribute to this by examining how individuals utilise international migration and whether it impacts upon their career trajectory. Second, it will consider whether the results of studies, such as that of Cohen et al. (2012) are applicable to other occupational sectors.

1.2.2 Understanding the Processes of Temporary, Skilled, International Migration

Since skilled migration research has been focused on international business, studies have tended to be focused at the company scale, with much existing research having been on the employers’ perspective. For example, Beaverstock and Smith’s (1996) work on London-based financial firms has detailed the corporations’ motives for sending employees overseas. Whilst it has been noted that generally “little is known about the drivers and determinants of skilled migration” (Khoo et al. 2011), it is evident that there is less empirical work considering the motives of individual employees who are participating in this form of migration.

The understanding, from neo-classical economic theory, that economic gain is the primary motive for international migration persists in the literature (e.g. Conradson and Latham 2005; Dustmann and Weiss 2007; Batnitzky et al. 2009). Whilst economic motives can be seen to reflect the corporate view of skilled migration (Guellec and Cervantes 2002, Agadjanian et al. 2008, Humphreys and Munich 2008), there is increasing appreciation, and emerging empirical evidence, that for skilled migrants, a more complex range of motives drive international migration (Khoo et al. 2007).

Asides from economic motives, lifestyle factors (Suutari and Taka 2004, Ley and
Kobayashi 2005, Harvey 2012), and the acquisition of human capital (Tremblay 2001, Kennedy 2010, Lan 2011) may be important determinants of migration.

It is contended that these alternative motives are significant in temporary migration, since the wage-related benefits may be negated by the fact that migrants will be returning home. This has been recognised by Harvey (2011c) who demonstrated that, for young migrants, development and human capital accumulation are central to their time overseas, as they are then able to gain financial rewards upon return to the home country. This appreciation, that international migration may be driven by factors other than immediate economic gain, demonstrates the importance of further investigating the motives of both individual migrants and their employers across a range of occupations. This is one of the primary reasons why this thesis will use a case study of elite cricket professionals. This thesis will provide information on the migration of individuals employed within a different occupational sector to those that have been studied previously (e.g. Mahroum 2000, Beaverstock 2005, Harvey 2008).

The pre-existing focus of temporary, skilled migration research at the company scale means that it has been difficult to assess the wider impacts of migratory flows. As with the motives for migration, there is information on how individual participation impacts upon offices and companies during, or immediately following, migration (Findlay 2002; Vertovec 2002; Hawthorne 2005). Whilst this research is focused upon the impacts temporary migration has on career trajectories of skilled individuals, there are numerous other impacts that require investigation. These impacts occur at multiple spatial and temporal scales in both the home and destination country. For example, at the household scale, the decision to migrate may be accompanied by decisions regarding which family members migrate (Rahman 2009); a choice that has subsequent impacts including family reunification, employment opportunities for the partner and the position of dependent children (Boyle et al. 2009). More generally, migration flows can have social, cultural and economic implications, which can be confined to the sector of employment, or can impact on society more generally. Studying this form of migration will allow an insight into whether international experiences in the form of sojourns to different socio-spatial contexts can have longer term influences, for example, in terms of their lifestyle upon returning home and
whether the likelihood of future mobility is increased, a phenomenon that has already been observed amongst student migrants (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Findlay et al. 2006).

Underlying all temporary, international migrations are processes of selection, recruitment and regulation. Migrants involved in ICTs may be selected for posting overseas (Beaverstock 2005), or migrants may be recruited by companies based abroad (Khoo et al. 2007). These are corporate processes, involving the employer and the migrant employee, yet they are subject to regulations in place at broader spatial scales. In both the home and destination countries, government policy will influence migration flows, alongside policies implemented at larger spatial scales such as European Union labour migration policy. Visa regulations have a significant role in controlling migration, as individual and business motives for migration cannot be met if potential migrants are unable to obtain visas. In recent years, temporary, skilled migration has been viewed positively, with policies in place in some countries to encourage global flows of talent (Khoo et al. 2011). Yet, given the influence that visa regulations and other policies can have on migratory activity, it is important to not only acknowledge this during research, but to actively investigate them. In the course of this research, the impact of these policies on the migration of skilled individuals will be explored, considering how they may enable or constrain migratory activity.

1.3 Investigating Temporary, Skilled, International Migration

In order to address the question of the significance of international migration on the career trajectories of skilled occupations, an in-depth, empirical study is required, using a case study approach. Investigating a temporary flow allows key aspects of skilled migration to be incorporated, including complementary studies of the processes, policies and impacts of both emigration and return; as called for by Findlay and Gould (1989) in their agenda for skilled migration research, but has not received widespread consideration.

It has been shown that, to date, research into highly-skilled labour migration has focused upon international mobility within business and finance (Beaverstock 1994, 1996, 2005; Millar and Salt 2008) and increasingly academic and science and
technology firms (Mahroum 2000, Harvey 2008, 2011a, OECD 2008). As opposed to continuing research within these industries, it was decided that the contribution to empirical and theoretical knowledge could be enhanced by using a different occupational sector. Following consideration of empirical research undertaken from a wide range of geographical standpoints, it became clear that one increasingly prevalent sector of the global economy has been under-researched in geography; this is the sports industry (Gaffney 2014). However, sport as a whole is too diverse to allow rigorous empirical study. Having explored existing research from a range of disciplines, it was decided that focusing on elite cricket professionals would allow a valuable insight into temporary, skilled, international migration, as well as contributing to theoretical and conceptual understandings of temporary migration.

Cricket is a specialised physical activity, meaning that players have a comparatively short career where they are employed as professionals (Aiyar and Ramcharan 2010). Professional cricketers are defined here as those players in possession of a contract from a ‘domestic cricket’ team, and such teams exist with the countries that comprise the International Cricket Council’s (ICC) full member states, and they represent a sub-national region, for example, English County Cricket teams or Australian state teams (ICC 2010). In order to achieve the status of elite cricket professional, it is necessary for an individual to demonstrate a high level of skill, knowledge and playing ability for the sport. Whilst the pathways to achieve this are not reflective of the educational trajectories of other skilled occupations, upon gaining professional status it appears that the role temporary migration has on career trajectories is similar to other skilled occupations. However, there are a number of characteristics of temporary, international migration of elite cricket professionals that enable this case study to address the gaps that have been previously identified in current temporary migration research.

Temporary sojourns account for a large proportion of the migration flows undertaken by professional cricketers (Stead and Maguire 1998; Maguire and Stead 2005). This is primarily determined by seasonal nature of cricket that means the game can only be played during the summer months. Contrasting seasons of play are provided in the northern and southern hemispheres (Maguire 2011b), thus, to allow players to
continue to play and develop their skills all year round, migration is necessary. This style of migration is the focus for this research; not only a temporary sojourn, reminiscent of the flows identified in other skilled occupations, it is also seasonal in nature.

Seasonal migration has been shown to be a rare form of temporary migration, with Bell and Ward (2000) estimating that it accounts for less than 3% of all temporary moves. Furthermore, seasonal migration research has tended to be confined to low-skilled occupations such as agriculture and mining (Li and Tonts 2014), where seasonality is a more significant factor than in other, more highly-skilled occupations (Basok 2003; Deshingkar and Start 2003; Hampshire 2006; Castles and Miller 2009). Seasonal migrations are commonly defined as being a few months in length (Görlich and Trebesch 2008), and this adds a new dimension to studies of temporary, skilled migration, since research has tended to either focus on business travel, where stays are days or weeks in length (Salt 2008), or international secondments which are usually one-to-three years in duration (Beaverstock and Boardwell 2000).

This case study of elite cricket professionals allows an insight into temporary, international migration flows, and represents an occupational migration that could be deemed necessary in order to allow the migrants to continue to practice their trade. Whilst international secondments have been suggested to be beneficial for personal and corporate development, international migration is not necessary to allow individuals to continue to work all year round. It is important to note that in investigating seasonal migration, it is beneficial to problematize the concept of seasonality. It has been defined here as a migration of a few months (Görlich and Trebesch 2008), but this does not reflect climatic conceptualisations of seasons, winter and summer, for example. Furthermore, season is a term used in sport to refer to the period during which a sport is played; the ‘cricket season’. It is clear the concept of seasons and seasonality has become blurred, and a more detailed discussion of this issue can be found in Chapter 2.

Existing understandings of the relationship between upward career trajectories and temporary, international migration in skilled occupations has been shown to be confined to sectors where employees commonly conform to academic
conceptualisations of the highly-skilled, having obtained tertiary education qualifications and a period of work experience (Batalova and Lowell 2006; Harvey 2011c). This is reflected in a typology of the highly-skilled compiled by Salt (1997:6). This typology is comprised of twelve sub-categories that are intended to represent the diversity of highly-skilled migrants and their patterns of migration. Since its publication, highly-skilled migration research has expanded geographic understanding of the majority of the typology’s sub-categories; with the exception of Category H, which is entitled “Entertainers, sportspeople and artists” (p7). It is likely that there are many reasons for the concentration of research on the other sub-categories, but it is possible that the most significant factor is a wish to understand the processes occurring in the early 21st Century (Castles and Miller 2009), resulting from global economic and technological change (Castells 2010). Consequently, when considering the highly-skilled, research has been concentrated within the TNCs that have emerged from this industrial transformation (Beaverstock 2012).

This highly-focused research means it is difficult to assess the importance of temporary, international migration across a range of skilled occupations. By using this case of elite cricket professionals, it will provide an insight into the role of temporary migration for those included in Category H of Salt’s (1997) typology, who represent a group who could be alternatively classified as ‘Cultural Workers’ (Miller et al. 2011; Wright 2005). This term, emerged from work on the New International Division of Cultural Labour (NICL), a concept that was developed by Miller (2001). The aim of the NICL is to encompass a wide variety of workers within cultural industries, regardless of their location in the commodity chain (Miller et al. 2003). The concept is applicable to sport, as an example of a cultural industry, as there is evidence that traditional, Fordist, production lines and subsequently patterns of consumption are increasingly globally distributed (Castells 2010). As a consequence of globalizing processes, there are now global flows of sports labourers and consumers meaning that sporting production is increasingly decoupled from consumption in both space and time (Miller et al. 2003). These changes have implications not only for regional and national identity (Miller 1997), but also processes of knowledge transfer via global labour flows and international media (Rowe and Gilmour 2009). However, this research will allow an
insight into how processes of knowledge transfer may differ for this group, and how this could subsequently inform understandings of skill and knowledge acquisition and transfer during temporary migration.

In order to investigate the importance of this form of migration on career trajectories, it will be necessary to consider a number of influential aspects on the migration process. This includes the motives, processes and impacts of temporary, skilled migration. Through the case study, it will be possible to engage with both employers and employees in order to understand the motives for migration. In doing so, it will be possible to discover if the motives of elite cricket professionals, reflect those identified in other skilled occupations, in terms of both personal and corporate motives. This will enhance understandings of the motives for migration of skilled migrants, and whether previously stated motives and the findings from this research can be more generally applied to skilled migrants.

As noted, further research is required considering the role of selection, recruitment and regulatory processes on temporary, skilled, international migrations. Elite cricket professionals are subject to similar processes of selection and recruitment, as would be found in other skilled occupations. It will be possible to investigate whether these processes have the same impact on enabling or constraining the migration of certain individuals. Beyond being subject to regulation at the company scale, migration in cricket is subject to regulations put in place by the sport’s national and international governing bodies, for instance, the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) and the ICC. This adds a further dimension when considering the extent of the influence that regulations have on controlling migratory flows. Alongside these sport-specific regulations, migration is subject to national and international regulation in terms of national government policy and visa regulations. Studying these multi-scale influences will provide an insight into how this form of migration is shaped and controlled by processes of selection, recruitment and regulation.

Elite cricket professionals are a group of migrants through whom it is possible to study the impacts of temporary migration. In line with other studies it will be possible to investigate the immediate impacts upon the individual and their employers. The migration of elite cricket professionals provides the opportunity to study wider social,
cultural, economic and familial changes. Of particular significance for this case study, is the opportunity to study the impact of migration on the family. Until recently, professional opportunities in cricket were only available for men, and, consequently, all the participating migrants in this study will be male. Whilst this means that the views of individual migrants will be from a male perspective, it will be possible to investigate the impact that migration has on family members, for example, on partners and dependent children (Boyle et al. 2009).

This case study enables the relationship between temporary, skilled migration and upward career trajectories to be investigated. But there are further characteristics of this case study that are of benefit to an empirical study of migration. Recently, Castles (2007, 2010) and Collinson (2009) outlined the factors that are deemed vital to carrying out rigorous empirical migration research. These can be summarised as: interdisciplinary; historically grounded; multi-scalar; and concerned with both structure and agency. First, the use of sports labour migration as a case study allows an interdisciplinary approach, as much of the existing scholarship in this area has been undertaken by sociologists. This research includes studies of athletics (Bale and Sang 1996, Njororai 2010), association football (Darby 2007, Poli and Besson 2011), rugby union (Tuck 2011, Obel and Austin 2011), cricket (Maguire and Stead 1996, 2005, Stead and Maguire 1998), baseball (Takahashi and Horne 2006, Carter 2011), ice hockey (Elliott and Maguire 2008a, 2011), and basketball (Falcous and Maguire 2005, 2011). Therefore, this study will utilise geographical scholarship alongside migration studies undertaken in other disciplines.

The interdisciplinary nature of this migration is of further significance, given whilst, sport has previously been the focus of some geographical work (Rooney 1974, Bale 2003, Gaffney 2010), it has not been studied to the same degree as in other traditional academic disciplines including economics, history, sociology, and anthropology (e.g. Gratton et al. 2011, Coleman 2011, Maguire 2011a, Appadurai 1996). Scholars undertaking research in these disciplines have recognised this, and have noted that geographers have the potential to make a positive contribution to studies of sport (Bale 2000, Elliott and Maguire 2008a). Furthermore, the possibilities offered by studying sport have also been recognised by geographers; reference to the study of
sport and sporting migrants exist in the work of Castells (2010), Mahroum (2000), King (2002), and Todisco et al. (2003). This indicates that there is a need for geographers to explore this sector of the global economy in more depth.

To meet the second methodological principle, it is possible to provide a detailed historical context for the contemporary migration of elite cricket professionals. Both professional and recreational cricket have a long, documented history that includes both quantitative and qualitative data which has been published in academic and popular literature. As well as providing information on the migratory flows themselves, it is possible to relate them to broader societal changes at the local and global scale including colonialism, post-colonialism, globalization and arguably post-westernisation (Rumford 2007). To allow contemporary migration flows to be contextualised, historical migrant cohorts will be included in the participant sample and secondary data sources, notably the media and the biographies of elite cricket professionals, will be used to contextualise the temporary, international migration of this occupational group. For instance, this research aims to demonstrate whether temporary, international migration influences the upward career trajectories of skilled occupations and this assertion is supported by the former England Cricket Captain, Alec Stewart (2012a), who recently commented:

“Some players, myself included, would go abroad and play club cricket. I had eight consecutive winters playing in Perth for a side called Midland Guildford and that was the best thing I could do because it fast-tracked my career”.

The style of migration described here by Stewart is representative of the most widespread style of international migration undertaken by professional cricketers, when players spend the winter months playing overseas to allow them to continue to play outside of their usual summer cricket season. Stewart’s repeated, seasonal migration to Perth, Australia is typical of the migration flows undertaken by many English, male cricketers. Therefore, since Stewart’s migration is reflective of other elite cricket professionals, it would perhaps be expected that his views regarding the impact of migration on his career trajectory would be shared. This study will establish whether this expectation is valid, as well as exploring the processes involved in
migration that enable career progression. Furthermore, Stewart’s observation, demonstrates the potential for establishing the context within which this form of elite cricket migration is occurring, and shows how knowledge of this historical context can assist in understanding contemporary flows.

The methodological principles of Castles (2007, 2010) and Collinson (2009) include multi-scalar analysis and consideration of structure and agency, as required characteristics of rigorous migration research. It has already been demonstrated that this case study requires multi-scalar analysis to allow the controlling processes to be correctly understood and interpreted; fulfilling this methodological principle.

Undertaking this style of analysis, where the decisions and actions of the individual migrants are studied in conjunction with the influences from company, national and international scales, ensures that the role of both structure and agency are considered.

This introduction has discussed processes of contemporary, skilled migration. In doing so, it has highlighted why it is now necessary to consider the significance of temporary, skilled, international migration and how its impacts upon upward career trajectories. It has been shown how this study intends to ascertain this through the use of a case study of elite cricket professionals, and how researching this occupational group will allow this and related phenomena to be investigated. In order to do this, the aim and objectives below will be adopted.

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

Aim:

To investigate the importance of temporary, seasonal, international migration for the upward career trajectory of skilled individuals, using a case study of elite professional cricketers moving from the UK to Australia.

Objectives:

1. To examine the motives for migration of the skilled workers, their employers and intermediaries.
2. To explore the processes of identification, selection, recruitment and regulation of the temporary, seasonal, international migration of elite cricketers from the UK.
3. To analyse how temporary, seasonal, international migration impacts on the career trajectories of elite cricketers, from the perspective of social, cultural, economic and familial changes.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. This introductory chapter has presented the background context and the rationale for this study. This background context will be developed and expanded in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 situates the study within the wider academic literature, by discussing and evaluating existing theories of temporary, skilled, international migration. Chapter 3 introduces the case study of UK-Based cricket professionals migrating to Australia, that is at the centre of this research. The chapter provides a background to professional cricket as a global sports industry, and, specifically, historical and contemporary labour migration.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach that was applied in this research, and the findings are outlined in the subsequent five chapters. Chapter 5 examines the motives for migration of current and former elite cricket migrants. Chapter 6 considers the motives of the employers alongside other intermediaries involved in the migration process. Chapter 7 addresses the second research objective, and explores the processes of identification, selection, recruitment and regulation that underlie the process of temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. Chapter 8 examines ‘the realities’ and impacts of being a migrant. Chapter 9 provides a conclusion to the thesis with a summary and discussion of findings, before outlining the original contributions that this thesis has made to existing knowledge.
2. Theoretical Perspectives: Temporary, Skilled, International Migration?

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed review and critique of existing scholarship on temporary, skilled, international migration. Existing research on temporary migration will be considered first, with a focus on problematizing the concept of seasonal migration. Second, the focus will shift to debates surrounding the highly-skilled; how they are conceptualised and defined in the literature; and how their migration is viewed and regulated by government policy. The third area of scholarship relates to processes of globalization, how it has impacted upon labour flows and the global distribution of skilled personnel. Finally, existing understandings of the relationship between migration processes, skill development and career progression will be presented. This section will include a discussion of the potential benefits of an adoption of Bourdieu’s notions of capital, in order to understand, in a structured way, how skill development and career progression may motivate skilled, international migration.

2.2 Temporary, Seasonal Migration

The significance of the temporary duration of this migration was highlighted in Chapter 1. Within the temporary migration literature it is clear that temporary skilled labour flows are increasingly significant, yet studies of seasonal migrations remain confined to low and un-skilled migrations. As such, it is necessary to consider how seasons have been conceptualised in the migration literature to fully realise their potential for future studies. Temporary migration research encompasses a wide range of temporal scales from short-term business trips overseas, lasting days or weeks (Salt 2008), to stays that may be a number of years in duration, but are not intended to result in a permanent change of residence (Bell and Ward 2000). With regard to skilled workers, research into temporary migration has tended to have been concentrated at the upper end of this spectrum, with studies on international secondments of one-to-three years in duration (Beaverstock and Boardwell 2000). In the case of elite cricket
professionals, temporary migration is frequently only a few months in length, dictated
by the opposing playing seasons provided in the northern and southern hemispheres
(Maguire 2011b). It is apparent that not only is further research required considering
sojourns (Ley and Kobayashi 2005) of this duration, but also to explore how the
concept of seasons has been applied in the migration literature.

2.2.1 Seasonality and Migration
Seasonal migration has been investigated in a number of contexts, but it is evident
that the concepts of seasons and seasonality remain unclear. For example, in Stark and
Fan’s (2007) work on the analytics of seasonal migration, they define the duration as
being less than a year. Whereas, in the work of Görlich and Trebesch (2008) on
Moldovan seasonal migration, the temporary stay is defined as being a few months in
length. Whilst these works both include a temporal definition, much of the research
refers only to seasonal migration, without providing clarification of the duration
(Gustafson 2002; Lundmark 2006; Hanson and Bell 2007). This temporal diversity in
the duration of seasonal migrations is likely to affect the characteristics and processes
identified during research into these migrations. Therefore, it is necessary, when
undertaking seasonal migration research, to clearly outline the temporal dimension of
the migration being studied.

Frequently, seasonal migration research has made reference to the distinction
between productive and consumptive motives for migration (Bell and Ward 2000,
Lundmark 2006). Seasonal migration for consumptive purposes has been discussed
with reference to tourism migration (Gustafson 2002) and international retirement
migration (Williams et al. 1997). This form of migration has been focused on those
individuals who spend several months of the year in countries with warmer winter
climates than offered in their home country; for example, Spain and Portugal are
common destinations for migrants from northern Europe (Gustafson 2008; Zasada et
al. 2010). In this case, the seasonal aspect of the migration is climatically determined
with the migrants having been termed “snowbirds” (Myklebost 1989) due to their wish
to avoid cold, northern winters.

Whilst seasonal retirement migration has been described by some as tourist migration,
given its consumptive nature, seasonal tourist migration is also driven by productive
processes. In regions where tourism is a primary industry, the seasonal influx of tourists requires the in-migration of a seasonal workforce to provide services to the region’s visitors (Williams and Hall 2002; Lundmark 2005). Case studies, such as Lundmark’s (2006) work on tourism in Swedish mountain municipalities, demonstrate that seasonal migration by employees within the tourist sector share many characteristics with the seasonal movement of retirement migrants. Most notably, the seasonal element of migration is climatically controlled which determines the destination and the temporal extent of migration.

It is clear that seasonal migration may be climatically controlled, but alternative ways of defining what comprises a season are evident in the migration literature. There is scholarship that discusses the relationship between agricultural production and migration, as a result of the shifting locations of processes of cultivation and harvesting, on a seasonal basis (De Brauw 2010). The seasons which determine this type of migration can be seen to be ecologically controlled, and the temporal extent of migrant sojourns vary from a few weeks through to a few months in length (Hanson and Bell 2007). Thus, demonstrating further variety in the duration of migratory activity that is defined as being seasonal.

Seasonal migration in agriculture is often considered to be a low-skilled occupation, with, for example, Görlich and Trebesch (2008:13-14) indicating that such migration in Moldova is considered to be a “coping strategy for those households who do not have enough revenue for the bare necessities”. However, there is evidence that seasonal work in agriculture is a temporary occupation for a more diverse range of social groups. This is demonstrated in Hanson and Bell’s (2007:107) work on harvest trails in Australia, where seasonal migrants were found to be a heterogeneous population comprised of locals and international workers including: permanent itinerants; students on vacation; and individuals who had retired but were looking to supplement their income. This diverse demographic suggests that seasonal migrants cannot be conceptualised to only be low-skilled, but also skilled migrants. Such diversity is likely to impact upon the characteristics associated with seasonal migration, suggesting further research on seasonally controlled migration is required, in order to gain a fuller understanding of the processes involved.
Alongside climatically and ecologically controlled seasons, the Oxford English Dictionary (2014) define a season as a “period of the year”, that is dependent on, for example, a festivity or event. Seasons of this type include practices such as the ‘sports season’ (Higham and Hinch 2002). The concept of a sporting season is significant in this research; however, sports seasons can be seen to be an increasingly contested term, with societal changes, such as technological advances and media control, altering existing conceptualisations (Higham 2005). Sport development and professionalization has resulted in a shift away from the historical understandings of seasonally constrained sports, including association football, that are now played almost all year round (Higham and Hinch 2002). Similar impacts have been observed in other sports, for example, in northern European Rugby League, where in an effort to introduce a global competition, the sport was switched from a winter to a summer sport (Higham 2005). Whilst this could be considered an extreme example of the manipulation of sporting seasonality, sports such as cricket, which is still considered to be a summer sport, have also seen changes to their seasons in recent years.

2.2.2 Seasons in Cricket

In the English context, County Cricket has traditionally been a summer sport, played between April and September (Morley and Thomas 2005). However, archival data in Wisden Cricketers Almanack from the last sixty years demonstrates that whilst the majority of matches are still being played within this time-frame there is a notable increase in the overall length of the playing season. In 1975, the playing season began in late April and finished in mid-September meaning the season was 152 days in length (Preston 1975). Whereas, during the 2014 season, matches began in late-March and continued until late-September; a season of 188 days (Booth 2014). This increased length of 36 days means that the season is now over a calendar month longer than in the past, meaning that the season can no longer be classified as only occurring during the summer.

There are a number of changes that have taken place to enable this extension of the cricket season. Most significantly, the first game of the season between the previous year’s County Championship winning side and an invitational side from the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), has, for the past five seasons, taken place in the
United Arab Emirates (MCC 2014). Playing this game overseas has helped ensure that the game can take place rather than potentially being affected by the weather in England. This demonstrates that even within this sporting context, where the conceptualisation of a season appears to be well defined, changes, such as professionalization and technological and media advances (Maguire et al. 2002), are forcing existing understandings of what comprises a season to be re-constrained.

2.2.3 Problematizing Seasonality

In attempting to problematize the concept of a season it is clear that, to date, scholarship has used a range of temporal dimensions to define seasons. In order to further research into seasonal migration, as a form of temporary migration, it is necessary to provide a more accurate conceptualisation of a season. This is particularly important when investigating the processes driving seasonal migration. It is likely that the characteristics, motives, processes and impacts of a migration only a few weeks in length will differ significantly when compared to a migration many months in duration and, at present, these can all be defined as seasonal migrations. Therefore, it may be pertinent to accurately define migratory activity by duration (in weeks, months or years), rather than using arbitrary terms such as a season.

This may be beneficial in research considering the highly-skilled where it has already been indicated that there is an increasing prevalence of shorter term migratory activity (Khoo et al. 2007). These migrations may not be subject to the same natural and institutional (Higham and Hinch 2002) controls that have been discussed here, but if they are of similar durations then many of the migration characteristics may be similar. It is intended that the case study of elite cricket professionals being explored in this research will provide an insight into this, given the contention that the migrants involved can be considered to be skilled individuals participating in a seasonal, international migration.

2.3 The ‘Highly-Skilled’ in Migration Research

It is evident that defining the highly-skilled has long presented difficulties to migration scholars, and there have been numerous attempts to provide a definition for what comprises a highly-skilled migrant. Despite Salt’s (1997:3) acknowledgement, over
fifteen years ago that “there is no agreed concept or definition of the highly-skilled”, this remains the case today. For this reason, it is necessary to critically consider how the highly-skilled have been conceptualised in the literature. This not only requires reviewing the terminology that has been applied to refer to this group of migrants, but also what levels of knowledge, skills and experience are deemed to be required in order to classify an individual as highly-skilled.

2.3.1 Conceptualising the Highly-Skilled
The term highly-skilled has most frequently been used to describe those migrants who are in possession of a tertiary education qualification, and/or those individuals who have acquired equivalent skills through work experience (Iredale 2001, Iredale and Appleyard 2001, Lowell and Findlay 2001). Completion of tertiary education is frequently used as an indicator as, internationally, it is the most widely available statistic regarding skill attainment (Dumont and Lemaître 2005). However, this has been criticised because of the lack of international comparability of achievable educational qualifications (Salt 1997). Alongside defining by background and qualifications, others have used occupation to classify individuals as highly-skilled migrants (Auriol and Sexton 2002, Vertovec 2002, Ewers 2007). This method reflects the typology presented by Salt (1997), which includes twelve categories defined by occupation or business role. The inclusion of twelve categories in this typology demonstrates the diversity of what comprises a highly-skilled migrant, and highlights why a single definition continues to elude researchers. It is perhaps for this reason that it is now argued that a universal definition is not required, given the heterogeneity of migrants (Williams 2006, Harvey 2008), and that attempts to combine migrant groups would represent an oversimplification of reality.

As a consequence of the lack of specificity as to what comprises a highly-skilled individual in the migration literature, authors such as Harvey (2008, 2011a,c) and Batalova and Lowell (2006) have included discussions regarding how best to define the highly-skilled in their studies, prior to defining what comprises a highly-skilled migrant in their research. Batalova and Lowell (2006) conclude their discussion by stating that any definition of the highly-skilled should include an education component, as well as “a threshold defining the minimum competence in a knowledge-based field or society”.


The use of knowledge as a defining characteristic of the highly-skilled has been extensively discussed by Williams (2006, 2007b) and Williams and Baláž (2008), supporting its inclusion in this definition. Yet, following this presentation of the ideal defining characteristics of a highly-skilled individual, Batalova and Lowell (2006) use professional occupations as the key characteristic in their research, which is justified given that their data set is obtained from the 2000 US census, from where more detailed data sets are not available. Their list of professional occupations does however include “sports and entertainment occupations”. These are occupations which could be understood not to satisfy the conditions included in their ideal definition, given that whilst sports personnel are in possession of knowledge (Batalova and Lowell 2006); this knowledge alone is insufficient as it is necessary to transform it into physical actions in order to participate in sport. Furthermore, it is possible to conclude that professional athletes must not only be able to transform knowledge of playing a sport into action, but do it with the level of skill required to compete professionally. It is this required level of sports skills, which demonstrates that professional sports personnel can be considered highly-skilled. This example, therefore, provides an indication of why defining the highly-skilled based upon educational competencies or knowledge alone is insufficient. This is highlighted by Batalova and Lowell (2006), whereby they provide an ideal definition that subsequently fails to encompass occupations that are deemed necessary to be included in the research.

The classification of highly-skilled migrants based upon professional qualifications and occupations has led to a number of authors referring to this group of migrants simply as “professionals” (Bagchi 2001, Scott 2006). Occasionally, this term has been extended to “corporate professional” in order to clarify the area in which these migrants are employed. However, when “professionals” is used as a stand-alone term it can encompass a much wider range of migrants who can be considered highly-skilled. Beyond the global business sector of the economy there are numerous occupations which provide the opportunity for migration and some of the individuals involved may be considered to be highly-skilled. For example, using the occupations put forward in Salt’s (1997) typology, highly-skilled professionals may be employed as: clergy or missionaries; entertainers, sportspeople and artists; or within the health or education
sectors; or the military. With the exception of health and education employees the other occupations listed here have been largely neglected in studies of highly-skilled migration. But, by definition, these groups could all be considered highly-skilled.

Entertainers, sportspeople and artists in Category H of this typology (Salt 1997) could perhaps be considered the most contentious, given that many of the individuals employed as professional entertainers, sportspeople and artists do not possess either academic or professional qualifications. This has been acknowledged by Todisco et al. (2003), who recognise that existing classifications of the highly-skilled are focused upon a migrant’s intellectual ability. In their critique, Todisco et al. provide the example of sports personnel as migrants who have significant professionally-based skills that are not derived from their intellectual ability. However, these individuals are often among the best in their field, albeit in an occupation not dependent upon academic ability, and are among a minority who are able to apply their skills to allow them to make a living from them, and therefore, can be considered professionals.

One further flow of skilled labour that is significant in the literature is the international movement of academics. It is evident that academics are generally accepted to be participating in skilled migration, but it is not ordinarily termed as such (Mavroudi and Warren 2013). Related to this, it is important to note that in the typology of highly-skilled migrants presented by Salt (1997), academics and researchers are included as a standalone category, thereby justifying the understanding of academics as skilled migrants. There is evidence that academics are pursuing careers that transcend national boundaries and that international moves are an increasingly important component of academic careers (Morano-Foadi 2005). This is reflective of skilled migration in other occupations; however, existing scholarship would suggest that academics demonstrate a more independent form of migration when compared to corporate executives moving internally within TNCs (Richardson 2009).

In a similar vein to other skilled occupations, it is evident that academia has evolved under the influence of economic globalization, and this has impacted upon global flows of academic labour, and the career trajectories of individual academics (Kim 2009; Froese 2012). Furthermore, it is widely recognised that migration in academia occurs in order to gain international skills, knowledge and experience (Ackers 2005;
Attempts have been made to analyse and understand these gains using Bourdieu’s notions of capital, for instance conceptualisations of mobility capital (Leung 2013; Findlay et al. 2006); the work of Waters et al. (2011) on cultural capital accumulation through overseas education, and; Bauder’s (2012) acknowledgement of the potential for cultural, social and symbolic capital acquisition in the course of migration.

Despite these similarities, that would suggest international academic labour flows can be understood alongside other occupationally specific forms of skilled migration, studies of labour movement within academic migration have tended to be termed as ‘transnational academic mobility’, as opposed to migration (Jöns 2007, 2009; Kim 2010). Consequently, contributing to the terminological debate regarding understandings of what constitutes migration and mobility (Findlay et al. 2006). It is clear that there are similarities between academic mobility and other forms of skilled migration, and that it can justifiably be understood as such. Both flows are influenced by the same global processes and existing research indicates that motives, processes and outcomes of migration are similar. However, clear distinctions remain with academic labour flows, conceptualised as mobility unlike skilled labour in other occupations that has been termed as (temporary) migration.

2.3.2 The Global Elite and Talented Migrants

‘Elite’ (Favell et al. 2006, Beaverstock 2011) is a further term that has been applied in the literature with reference to the highly-skilled, and has been used extensively to refer to professional athletes in the academic literature on sport (Maguire and Pearton 2000, Darby 2007, Agergaard 2008, Campbell 2011). The use of the term elite seems to allow a wider range of migrants to be included in conceptualisations of the highly-skilled, than can be provided when using more traditional definitions. However, Favell et al. (2006) use the term “global elites” to refer to the same group of migrants termed the “transnational capitalist class” (Skair 2001). Those included in this group are “top ranked employees of multinational corporations, international finance, IT companies [and] scientific research agencies” (Favell et al. 2006). This group reflects the more traditional image of the highly-skilled that is presented in the literature,
indicating that there continues to be a lack of definitional clarity and an inconsistent use of alternative terms that refer to different skilled migrant groups.

In recent years, the term ‘talent’ has been increasingly used in geographical migration scholarship (Papdemetriou et al. 2008; Yeoh and Huang 2011). In much the same way as ‘elite’, it has been used to refer to the highly-skilled, and has generally been used as an alternative term to describe “persons who are ‘knowledgeable’ and therefore of ‘significant’ economic value” (Yeoh and Lai 2008:235). Yet, it remains unclear as to precisely who ‘talent’ encompasses, and which group or groups of migrants it can be best used to describe. Consequently, this raises questions as to how useful such terms are, and whether they are of benefit to migration research.

It is apparent that there is a divide in the manner in which the term talent has been applied in the geographical literature. First, there is scholarship that uses talent as an alternative to terms such as elite or highly-skilled (Beaverstock 2011), and is understood to encompass the “professional, managerial and entrepreneurial elite” (Yeoh and Huang 2011:682). Yet, whilst this would suggest that there is no specific advantage to using talent in place of other terms, it is necessary to note that Yeoh and Huang (2011:683) differentiate between “the talented” and “the skilled”. From this, it could be contended that a migrant requires different attributes, in order to be classified as talented, as opposed to skilled, and vice versa. If this is the case, then it has implications for how these terms are applied elsewhere in the migration literature.

The second body of literature that has applied the term talent, in relation to migration studies is the work which makes reference to “The War for Talent” (Michaels et al. 2001). This research focuses on the ability of firms and regions to attract, recruit and retain talented workers (Faulconbridge et al. 2009). Here it is evident that talent is used specifically to refer to “very highly-skilled professional and managerial labour” (Beaverstock and Hall 2012:2). This suggests that talent and elite, which also appear in these works, should only be used in reference to those migrants who can be considered to be very highly-skilled, and have far higher levels of knowledge, skills and experience than would be required to classify them as highly-skilled. This disparity in the level of skill required to be deemed a talented migrant is likely to impact upon the processes involved in migration. For example, the work of Faulconbridge et al. (2009)
on the role of executive search firms in international labour migration is only applicable to this minority of very highly-skilled migrants. This gives rise to the question as to whether ‘talented migrants’ is the most appropriate term to describe such individuals, given that it has been applied elsewhere to describe highly-skilled migrants more generally.

In wider academic scholarship, the term talent has been used to refer to sports personnel undertaking international labour migration (Arbena 1994; Bale and Sang 1994; Takahashi and Horne 2006; Carter 2007). This research has primarily been undertaken from a sociological perspective, and references to sporting and athletic talent can be traced back over twenty years (Moorhouse 1987; Bale 1991). This terminology appears to have been applied in order to distinguish athletic migrants in possession of a significant level of skill, or the potential to be skilled, in a particular sport (Bale and Maguire 1994). However, this application of the term poses similar questions to those resulting from geographical literature. First, what level of athletic ability is required in order for an individual to be classified as talented? Second, given the debate as to whether sports labour migrants should be able to be classified as highly-skilled, is using talent in this context misleading?

Given these questions, it is beneficial to note that, whilst the previously discussed work of Faulconbridge et al. (2009) uses talent to refer to the very highly-skilled, their initial discussion draws upon “The War for Talent” by Michaels et al. (2001). In this work, Michaels et al. (2001:xii) define talent as: “the sum of a person’s abilities – his or her intrinsic gifts, skills, knowledge, experiences, intelligence, judgement, character and drive. It also includes his or her ability to learn and grow”. From this definition, it would be appropriate to include sports labour migrants within the category of talent migrants, given that, in order to succeed in a sport it is likely that an individual will require many of the above characteristics. This definition supports the use of talent as an alternative term to refer to highly-skilled migrants in their most general sense, as opposed to the suitability of talent to describe only those very highly-skilled migrants (Faulconbridge et al. 2009; Beaverstock and Hall 2012).

This review of the application of the term talent in migration scholarship has demonstrated that, whilst it is increasingly prevalent, there is no agreed definition of
talent or context in which it is best used. Consequently, this gives rise to questions about how the term should be defined, and what the implications are of using a contested term such as this. Some of the key debates that have been discussed here relate to the distinction between elite, talent and skills. It is clear that, at present, conceptualisations of the highly-skilled are dependent upon education, qualifications and knowledge gained from work experience (Harvey 2008). Is it, therefore, possible to define talent in the same way? Michaels et al. (2001) define talent in relation to intrinsic ability as opposed to skills that can be taught or learnt, suggesting that it may not be appropriate to use the term talent as an alternative to highly-skilled when describing migrants. Consequently, it can be concluded that, in future research it is necessary to give consideration to the terminology used in relation to the skills of migrants, so that findings can be attributed to the correct group of migrants.

2.3.3 Highly-Skilled Migration: Regulation and Policy Context

As noted in Chapter 1, multi-scalar research is necessary for this case study as regulations are implemented at the company scale in the home and destination locations, as well as at the scale of national government policy. At an intermediary level, migration in cricket is subject to regulations from the sport’s governing bodies in the UK and Australia. These added regulations are comparatively unusual and appear to have only been previously discussed with regard to migration within professional service occupations, including healthcare, when migration is controlled by professional bodies (Raghuram and Kofman 2002; Bach 2007; Iredale 2009). Drawing on this existing scholarship, the empirical aspect of this research will seek to examine these multi-scale regulations, in order to gain a rounded understanding of the structural context in which this migration is occurring.

When considering policy and documentation on visas and immigration law it becomes evident that alternative migrant classifications and terminology exists, beyond what appears in academic scholarship. Since policy is a key area where research into international migration can be applied, it is important to consider the definitions that are used in relation to skilled migrants in this context.

The emergence of the term ‘talent’ to refer to highly-skilled has already been discussed. However, the application of this term in UK visa regulations refers to a
specialised group of highly-skilled migrants, who demonstrate a considerable level of skill and are recognised as high value migrants. Entitled ‘Exceptional Talent Migrants’, they are defined by the UK Home Office (2014a) as:

“those who are already internationally recognized at the highest level as world leaders in their particular field, or who have already demonstrated exceptional promise and are likely to become world leaders in their particular area”.

Similarly, ‘talent’ appears in the Australian Government’s Department of Immigration and Border Protection regulations (AGDIBP) (2014a), with a visa category entitled ‘Distinguished Talent’, which is described as:

“A small category for distinguished individuals with special or unique talents of benefit to Australia. The profiles of people who have been successful under this category generally include sports people, musicians, artists and designers, all of whom were internationally recognised as outstanding in their field” (emphasis added).

The concept of international recognition appears in both these definitions, indicating that in visa and immigration legislation ‘talent’ is not applicable to all highly-skilled migrants, as in some migration research, but instead to a small group of migrants with a considerable level of skill. However, the group of individuals who are eligible to apply for a visa under the Australian ‘Distinguished Talent’ category is significant, reflecting the occupations included in Category H of Salt’s (1997) typology and those individuals considered to be cultural workers in the work of Miller et al. (2011).

As well as these differing applications of arbitrary terms, such as ‘talent’, it is necessary to consider how the sports labour migrants at the centre of this research are treated in visa regulations and legislation. In the UK, there are two categories through which it would be expected that elite cricket professionals will obtain visas (Home Office 2014b). First, they may be eligible for a Tier 2 (Sportsperson) visa, defined as being for “elite sportspeople who are internationally established at the highest level”, which falls within the Skilled Workers visa route. Second, within the Tier 5 Temporary worker route, it may be possible to apply for a Tier 5 (Temporary Worker – creative and
sporting) visa (Home Office 2014c). To obtain this visa, migrants must be “internationally established at the highest level in [their] sport, and/or [their] employment must make a significant contribution to the development and running of a sport at the highest level in the UK”. The terms of eligibility for this category are similar to the Australian ‘Distinguished Talent’ category. However, the timescale that is attached to both of these visas is significant, since whilst the Australian visa allows permanent residency (AGDIBP 2014b), the UK visa is a temporary permit valid for twelve months with a maximum extension of a further twelve months (Home Office 2014c) Therefore, these visa regulations control the extent of a temporary stay overseas which has implications for how temporary migration can be defined and understood within the migration literature.

Consequently, it can be seen that there is a two-way relationship between migration research, and Government policy and legislation. For this reason it is important to recognise that the use of terminology, and how terms are defined varies between academic literature and how it is applied into Government policy. Furthermore, whilst UK immigration is beyond the scope of this research, the fixed time periods attached to visas are significant in relation to the Tier 5 visa immigrants. The maximum 24 month validity of visas in this tier means that workers, such as elite cricket professionals have the duration of their stay in the UK controlled by the visa regulations. This contrasts to skilled workers such as inter-company transferees who are able to apply for Tier 2 skilled worker visas that have a maximum five year validity. This has implications for how the duration of temporary migration may be defined, and whether having a single definition for the highly-skilled is suitable, given the differentiation in government policy and legislation. Such visa regulations demonstrate that further research is required on temporary, international migration for those migrants that fall within Salt’s (1997) Category H, given their specific and separate visa categories, and this research will begin to address this issue.

It is clear from this review that there remains no universally agreed definition of the skilled and highly-skilled. Salt (1997) provides a typology that starts to overcome these issues, by acknowledging the heterogeneous nature of skilled migrants, rather than seeking an all-encompassing definition. Such heterogeneity justifies the case study
that is being adopted in this thesis, as it examines a previously under-studied occupational sector. Throughout this thesis, professional cricketers will be classified as skilled migrants. It is evident that migrants possess a significant level of skill, which allows them to make cricket their professional occupation. Further, it overcomes difficulties associated with qualifications, and encompasses all the migrants who will be included in this study regardless of their career stage.

One underlying issue that contributes to the struggle to define the highly-skilled relates to conceptualisations of skills, which have not been adequately constrained in existing scholarship. The difficulties with this have been recognised, and Williams (2006) attempts to overcome this by shifting the focus to knowledge transfer via migration instead, as it can be sub-divided into embrained, embodied, encultured, embedded and encoded knowledge. However, to contribute to Raghuram’s (2008) recognition that we are yet to understand how skills are produced and circulated in the course of migration, the focus on skills remains in this study. This will help unpack the notion of skills, in order to enable a deeper understanding of skills, skill development and their transferability in the course of migration (Bauder 2012). A fuller focus on skills and skill acquisition processes during migration will subsequently contribute to more nuanced understandings of what constitutes a highly-skilled migrant.

It is evident from this discussion of national scale policy, in relation to highly-skilled migrants and the availability of visas, that not only is there variation in the policy context in which migration occurs, but there are differences between academic and policy terminology. As a result of the state and employers seeking increasing control of individuals (Castles et al. 2014:215), national scale regulations are only one of the instances where regulations impact upon migration. Regulations and controls exist at all stages of the migration process, and they exist at a range of temporal (Bauder 2012; Yeoh and Lai 2008) and spatial scales (Lazaridis and Williams 2002). Consequently, there is a need for further empirical research in relation to both emigration and immigration contexts (Gabriel 2013; Mavroudi and Warren 2013), and this will be addressed in this holistic study of the temporary, skilled, international migration process.
2.4 Globalization and Skilled Migration

Scholarship on globalization and global processes has demonstrated that there is growing complexity in manufacturing and production, with operations now frequently transcending national state borders (Dicken 2011). Whilst these changes were clearly evident in the production of goods, comparative processes are increasingly evident in the production of skilled workers. It is these processes that underlie the apparent shift in normative behaviour of skilled workers with international sojourns an increasingly common component of a career trajectory.

Globalization is characterised by the “widening, deepening and speeding up of global inter-connectedness” (Held et al. 1999:14), which is accompanied by an expansion of human activity, to the extent that Faulconbridge and Beaverstock (2009:334) have declared that “flows of people characterise this new space economy”. The resulting divisions in labour have both social and spatial consequences; socially, labour flows allow knowledge, skills and expertise to be co-produced, and spatially, it shifts the focus of production processes to centre on consumer benefit (Bryson 2008). These changes were enabled by technological developments (Dicken 2011), which, subsequently, facilitated industrial professionalization, including professional practices related to global labour flows (Herod 2002). Dicken (2011) acknowledges that male, skilled workers are the most spatially mobile sector of the workforce, suggesting that they comprise a significant proportion of the ever-increasing global flows of highly-skilled personnel (Castles et al. 2014). Further, Castles et al. recognise that despite the global labour flows continuing to evolve, migration to countries classically associated with immigration, including Australia, remain important. Given this background context, it is clear that the flow of male cricket professionals to Australia is an important case study that typifies one of the most significant styles of labour migration.

Despite this, the traditional definitions of the highly-skilled, that focus upon corporate professionals, appears to have led to occupationally and spatially concentrated studies of skilled migration. When reviewing the geographical scholarship on these migrants, it is evident that the majority of research has been undertaken in Asia and North America (e.g. Yeoh and Willis 2005; Jasso et al. 2010; Lan 2011). It is in these regions
where many global cities are located (Knight Frank Index 2014), and the banking and finance sectors of industry, in particular, concentrate their activity (Beaverstock and Boardwell 2000). Consequently, the major city regions of Asia and North America receive disproportionally large flows of capital, corporate power and people (Beaverstock and Smith 1996), in the form of highly-skilled migrants.

Contrary to expectation, there is a far smaller body of literature that has considered skilled immigrant activity in Europe. In recent years, research has been published which has investigated the experience of professionals in a range of highly-skilled occupations in London (Conradson and Latham 2005), and further afield in Europe (Mahroum 1998, 2002, Zimmerman 2004, Scott 2006). There has been research that has focused upon specific occupations, for example, Robinson and Carey’s (2000) work on the experiences of Indian doctors in the UK, and the consideration of scientific researchers in Italy (Todisco et al. 2003). Reflecting the occupations understood to be more traditionally reflective of highly-skilled migrants, Beaverstock (1996) has embraced London’s position as an international financial centre and has considered the role of skilled international labour migrants employed in London in the banking sector. One explanation, for this comparatively small body of literature on highly-skilled migrants in Europe, may be the fact that much of the research that has been undertaken has focused on expatriates (Cranston 2014) from Europe and, more specifically, the UK.

The research that has been carried out on highly-skilled migrants in North America has focused on those who have emigrated from the UK. For example, Harvey (2011c, 2012) has undertaken research on highly-skilled British expatriates in Vancouver, and has published a series of papers considering the position of British and Indian scientists in Boston (2008, 2009, 2011). Whilst the presence of Indian highly-skilled migrants introduced a new source country of immigrants, their inclusion in the study was to allow comparisons to be made between the experiences of migrants from a similar linguistic and cultural background to the destination country, and those who required a greater level of adjustment to embed themselves in their new society. To continue with research into global cities, Beaverstock (1996) studied the position of UK-based professional and managerial expatriate workers in New York City. This research is
complemented by a more recent study by the same author which examined highly-skilled migrants from Britain who were transferred into offices of multi-national firms in New York’s financial district (Beaverstock 2005). It could perhaps be suggested that the large volume of migration, and subsequently, research considering moves between the UK and North America are due to the cultural and linguistic similarities between the two locations. However, if this is one of the key reasons, then it gives rise to the question as to why other research, into highly-skilled migrations to and from other developed nations that are culturally and linguistically similar to the UK and North America, are neglected in academic scholarship.

There has been a vast amount of research considering migration of the highly-skilled into, out-of and within Asia. The research undertaken has incorporated a number of occupations and categories of migrants who are considered to be skilled. For instance, Lan’s (2011) study of the privileged status of white migrants in Taiwan and the potential to transfer this status back to their home country. Like the studies undertaken in Europe and North America there is a body of literature that has explored highly-skilled migrants living in the global cities of Asia. For example, Beaverstock (2002, 2011) investigated experiences of British expatriate professionals in the financial district of Singapore. Hong Kong has also been the focus for research on highly-skilled migrants, including Findlay and Li’s (1998) work on the experiences of migrant professionals. Also, Ley and Kobayashi (2005) have studied migration between Hong Kong and the Canadian west coast which incorporated a number of migration mechanisms, notably the migration of whole families and the occasional need for the main income provider, usually the oldest male in the family, to undertake shuttle migrations over the Pacific, which has led to these migrants being termed “astronauts” (Ong 1999). The recent, rapid economic development of some of the Asian nations and the colonial history of cities such as Singapore and Hong Kong can be identified as some of the key reasons for the presence of TNCs in Asia and therefore, their requirement for highly-skilled migrants. But, following this, and the research focused upon North America, there is now a need to expand the spatial distribution of research into highly-skilled migrants in other regions of the world.
Given that much research has been focused upon British Expatriates, it would perhaps be expected that Australia would feature as a key location for research into migrants who have left Britain. Australian statistics show that in 2010, 5.3% of the total population (approximately 1.2 million people) were born in the UK, Channel Islands or the Isle of Man, thus comprising by far the largest group of migrants, with those born in New Zealand forming the second largest group of migrants, accounting for 2.4% of the total Australian population (ABS 2011). Given this significant volume of UK expatriates in Australia it would be expected that more research would have been undertaken in this country. However, the literature on skilled migration in Australia has been carried out by a small number of researchers, namely Khoo, McDonald, Voigt-Graf and Hugo who, in various combinations, have published work including “A global labor market: factors motivating the sponsorship and temporary migration of skilled workers to Australia” (Khoo et al. 2007). It should be noted that these researchers are all based in universities in either Australia or Oceania, more broadly, and there is little evidence of migration research involving Australia being carried out by academics from further afield, as has been the case with migration research in both North America and Asia.

It is clear that within geography much of the research has been concentrated into a small number of regions, and considers a comparatively narrow range of styles of highly-skilled migration. Favell et al. (2006) put forward an agenda for future migration research which focused upon providing a “human face” for skilled migration. However, in the course of the agenda no reference is made, or any consideration given to migration involving Australia. This research seeks to address this absence in the geographical literature by studying the migration of professional cricketers from the UK to Australia and their subsequent return. Therefore, it provides an insight into a different occupational category of skilled migrants alongside information on migrant experiences, in a previously under-researched region of the world.

2.5 The Skilled Migration Process

Throughout the migration process there are numerous decisions to be made: from the initial decision to migrate internationally, through to deciding whether to return home, undertake a further migration or to settle permanently in the destination country.
Existing studies have investigated all the different stages of migration and the factors and experiences that underlie them. The approach to researching migration has typically been to focus on a single stage of the process, for example, the initial causes of migration (Agadjanian et al. 2008, Carter 2007) or the overseas experiences of migrants (Voigt-Graf 2004, Ley and Kobayashsi 2005, Ho 2011). As a consequence, there have been calls to consider the whole migration process (Raghuram 2008) in order to gain a fuller understanding of migration. In adopting such an approach to researching temporary migration it will be possible to investigate pre-migration decision-making, the implementation of migration, lived experiences whilst overseas and the consequences of undertaking a migration.

When considering the decision to undertake a migration, there are two bodies of research in existing scholarship: those that focus upon migrants who participate in international secondments organised by their employers, and those individuals who choose to initiate their own overseas experience. For skilled migrants international secondments appear to be a key cause of migration. With an increasing number of firms operating internationally, particularly those companies involved in the knowledge economy, there is an increasing need for personnel to travel between company offices to allow for the effective transfer of this knowledge (Williams and Baláž 2008). It is for this reason that authors such as Beaverstock (2002) and Millar and Salt (2008), have used secondments within TNCs as the focus of their research. Less attention has been given to those who initiate their own overseas migration (Tseng 2011; Ryan and Mulholland 2014b), despite a call by Inkson et al. (1997) and, a reiteration by, Suutari and Brewster (2000), that there is a real need to give detailed attention to migrations undertaken by self-initiated expatriates. It is possible that this issue has not been fully addressed since these calls for more detailed research appeared in articles published in the “Journal of World Business” and the citations for both articles continue to be confined to academic publications in the business and management disciplines. Consequently, this area remains under-researched by geographers and other migration scholars outside of these disciplines.

However, the results of Inkson et al.’s (1997) and Suutari and Brewster’s (2000) studies would suggest that there are significant differences in the characteristics and
experiences of a migration undertaken by a self-initiated expatriate, compared to those migrants on employer-initiated secondments (Tharenou and Caulfield 2010). Recent work has quantified the proportion of skilled migrants making self-initiated trips compared to company expatriates and found that self-initiated migrants account for 65% of professional migrations away from western countries (Doherty et al. 2011). Statistics of this nature demonstrate that, approximately, only a third of Western migrants undertake overseas travel due to company secondments, yet, this style of migration continues to be the focus for many studies of skilled migration. By using a case study, such the one at the focus of this study, which involves a significant number of self-initiated migrants, as well as a number of individuals undertaking employer-organised migrations, it will be possible to provide empirical evidence to support or refute the findings of Inkson et al. (1997) and Suutari and Brewster (2000) as to whether the characteristics and migration experiences do vary with the style of migration being undertaken.

Regardless of the method used for planning and organising a migration, there are numerous background decisions to be made prior to moving. The most widely discussed migration decisions in the literature, that influence the early stages of the migration process relate to the underlying motives. The understanding from neoclassical economic theory that economic gain is the primary motive for migration persists in the literature (e.g. Conradson and Latham 2005; Dustmann and Weiss 2007; Batnitzky et al. 2009). It is based upon the principle of push and pull factors, whereby higher wage rates abroad act as a destination pull factor, which has a more significant influence on migration decisions than push factors from home (Green et al. 2008). Economic motives for migration can be seen to reflect the corporate view of skilled migrants (Guellec and Cervantes 2002, Humphreys and Munich 2008). However, there is an increasing appreciation that, for highly-skilled migrants in particular, a more complex combination of personal motives may influence migration decisions.

Aside from economic motives, lifestyle factors (Suutari and Taka 2004) and the acquisition of human capital (Tremblay 2001; Kennedy 2010) may be significant determinants of migration. For instance, Baláž and Williams (2004) state that “students are the only group who migrate in order to enhance human capital” (p.218).
Whilst it is clear that international students are seeking to acquire human capital, evidence has subsequently been presented that they are not the only group with this migration motive (Lan 2011; Williams and Baláž 2012). The variety of motives for the migration of skilled migrants that have been presented indicate that there is now a need for further empirical studies of a broader range of migrants. Further research will mean that it should be possible to establish whether neo-classical economics explanations for migration are still valid, or whether as some researchers have suggested (Scott 2006, Castles 2007), trying to identify a single causal factor represents an oversimplification that will produce misleading findings for the causes of skilled migration.

Within these alternative motives for migration there is increasing evidence of a focus upon skill development and subsequent career progression. These motives include opportunities for professional development and training (Beaverstock 2004), as well as a wish to acquire and develop a skills portfolio (Yang et al. 2011; Erel 2010). Longer-term motives are evident with a wish for accelerated development (Biemann and Andresen 2010), enhanced employment prospects (Richardson and Mallon 2005) and career progression (Waters 2012). Such motives are summarised by Williams (2007b:374): “[migration] can be a source of exceptional learning as individuals take responsibility for acquiring knowledge and enhancing employability”. Further, the significance of migration in this process is evident with the potential for knowledge and skills transfer between locals and the migrant (Khoo et al. 2007), with the intention that both parties will benefit and develop as a result. Finally, skill development and career progression motives for temporary migration frequently include motives related to the opportunity to experience foreign business conditions (Salt and Wood 2012), and the chance to work in prestigious locations overseas (Ryan and Mulholland 2014b) in order to enhance an individual’s curriculum vitae (CV).

However, Morano-Foadi (2005:145) has raised a significant question in relation to these motives: “is mobility a criteria that in itself enables progression, ie; evidence of mobility on the CV or is it impacts of mobility? e.g. skills and experiences”. By explicitly exploring motives for migration, both from the point of view of the migrants,
alongside their employers, it will be possible to address this question with regards to the impacts of migration.

Baláž and Williams (2004) make a further statement, which is of particular significance for this thesis, that whilst sports personnel hope to gain or improve existing skills when overseas, the primary driver for their migration is financial gain. However, this statement is not supported by evidence presented in the migration studies published by sociologists of sport. An example of such research which contradicts this suggestion is Maguire and Stead (1996), who found income acquisition was rarely the main motive for professional cricket migrants, with personal and professional development instead taking precedence. Similarly, in Magee and Sugden’s (2002) study of international football migrants, coming to play professionally in England, examples were found of players whose motives were dominated by the opportunity to play in a core European league that offered a high standard of play, enabling professional development and career fulfilment. These two case studies present evidence that contradicts the statement of Baláž and Williams (2004). As this evidence is drawn from research carried out in a discipline other than geography, it demonstrates the importance of multi-disciplinary studies of migration. Furthermore, it provides an indication of the extent to which it may be possible to enrich contemporary understandings of migration. This could be done by either carrying out new studies, which draw upon themes present in both geography and sociology of sport literature, or seeking to develop a synthesis (Elliott and Maguire 2008b) of the bodies of literature which at present remain exclusive to a single discipline. This study will apply the former approach by utilising the case study of cricket which has only previously been used in the sociology of sport, but will look to draw upon and contribute to geographical and sociological understandings of skilled migration.

It is evident that further research is required into the processes and experiences of being a migrant (Conradson and Latham 2005). Such empirical research would address Raghuram’s (2008) call for a deeper understanding into how skills are produced and circulated in the course of migration. Furthermore, as Ley (2004) notes, the focus on migration to and from global cities, and the focus upon the economic impacts of globalization has meant that cultural and social impacts of migration have been
comparatively neglected. By considering middling themes including family, friendship and community (Rogers 2005:407), it is possible to explore the previously overlooked realities of being a migrant (Clarke 2005). Understanding the reality of moving and working in new and unfamiliar spaces (Ho and Hatfield 2011) will impact on the overseas experience and the overall success of the migration; something that will likely influence the professional aspects of the sojourn, an issue that is central to this study. As Rogers (2005:406) acknowledges, there is a need to understand “the personal trials, costs and sacrifices made, as well as the joys and rewards”. If these trials and sacrifices exceed the joys and rewards, it may be that the desired professional impacts and subsequent career progression cannot be achieved.

Towards the end of a stay overseas there are further decisions to be made. Assuming that the initial migration was undertaken on a temporary basis, for a fixed period of time, the migrant is required to make decisions about their future (Harvey 2009a). It may be possible for the migrant to continue their stay abroad, either in the same location or to undertake a further internal or international migration (Cassarino 2004). It may instead be necessary for the migrant to return to their home country, for example, because of contractual employment obligations (Dustmann and Weiss 2007). As with the early stages of migration, there is vast scholarship about the decisions and processes involved in return migration. However, there is a paucity of empirical studies of return migration, and pre-existing studies are dominated by quantitative research (Constant and Massey 2002, Barrett and Goggin 2010), and the development and extension of models of return migration (Dustmann 2003, Dustmann et al. 2011, Huber and Nowotny 2009). It is clear that further research is required to address the absence of qualitative research into return migration (Bailey and Law 2013). This thesis seeks to contribute to this field of scholarship by providing qualitative evidence for the causes and motives for emigration and return by elite cricket migrants.

To date, research regarding the processes and decisions involved in skilled migration has predominantly focused upon a single stage of migration. As outlined above there is limited evidence of previous studies of the complete migration process. In the course of Harvey’s work on British and Indian Scientists in Boston, Massachusetts, he has addressed the background to the migrants’ move (2011a), their experiences of
integration whilst in Boston (2008) and the decisions faced by migrants when deciding whether to remain in the USA or return to their home country (2009a). Consequently, this work has addressed the three key stages of the migration process, but the focus of the research was to explore the role that social networks play in the course of migration and demonstrate the influence that such networks have throughout the migration process. However, an absence of studies that adopt a holistic approach to migration research remains in the literature. This study will address this by gaining an insight into the decisions and processes that are implemented by the individuals throughout migration.

Previous research has indicated that the decisions and experiences involved in migration vary depending on the life-stage of the migrant involved. For example, for younger migrants, career development and the opportunity to see the world may be the dominant motives for migration. Yet, for more mature migrants, perhaps with a young family, the opportunity for increased earnings or a better living environment may be the primary determinants of migration (Zimmerman 2004, van Dalen and Henkens 2007). Furthermore, it may be that immobility becomes preferential later in the life-course. Khoo et al. (2011) demonstrate that family reasons are the most frequently stated reasons for return migration to the home country and, likewise, the propensity of an individual to migrate internationally is reduced as commitments to home, notably a partner and children, increase (Castles 2004; Coulter and Scott 2014). Reference has been made to changing motives for migration across the life-course, but it does not appear to have been subjected to a detailed and focused analysis. This study will seek to address this by considering how migration motives evolve through the life-course amongst individuals in a single occupation.

2.5.1 Bourdieu and Migration Research

From this discussion it is evident that there has been much consideration of capital in relation to skilled migration. Instances of this include: Mahroum (2000) and Williams and Baláž (2012) on human capital and skilled migration; de Haas (2010) on the role of social capital and networks in migration; mobility capital and academic migration (Leung 2013; Findlay et al. 2012); and Erel (2010) and Waters (2006) have written on migration and cultural capital. The inclusion of capital in these studies, alongside the
acknowledgment in Section 2.2.3 that it is necessary to unpack the notion of what constitutes skills, it would suggest that there is potential for a deeper re-engagement with the work of Bourdieu and his conceptualisations of economic, cultural and symbolic capital, particularly in relation to motives and impacts of skilled migration.

Three of the concepts which are central to Bourdieu’s work include: habitus, capital and the field (Postone et al. 1993). Focusing upon capital, given its potential importance within migration studies, Wacquant (1998:221) conveys Bourdieu’s understanding of capital as “any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it”. Bourdieu conceptualises capital to exist as four different species; economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1986:48) defines economic capital as being “immediately and directly convertible into money”. Social capital is defined as the: “aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, or in other words, to membership in a group” (p.51). Cultural capital is understood to exist in three states: embodied, persisting developments of the mind and body that become internalized into a habitus; objectified, in the form of cultural goods, and institutionalized cultural capital, in the form of educational qualifications (p.47). Finally, symbolic capital is defined as “the form that various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate” (1989:17).

The above definition of capital refers to the value of the resource in a “given social arena”. For Bourdieu, these social arenas are conceptualised as ‘fields’ and as such it is necessary to provide a brief summary in order to acknowledge the importance of ‘field’ as one of Bourdieu’s key conceptual tools (Calhoun 1993). Hilgers and Mangez (2014:5) define the field as: “the analytical space defined by the interdependence of the entities that compose a structure of positions among which there are power relations”. This definition encompasses the significant features of the field which are the relationality of actors within the field and power struggles that determine behaviour within the field (Bourdieu 1983).

The understanding that social reality is fundamentally relational (Hilgers and Mangez 2014) underpins Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of society. The contemporary behaviour
of a social actor’s position in a field is determined by their stock of a specific form of capital relative to other actors in the field; these actors may be individuals, groups or institutions (Bourdieu 1983). The manner in which these relations arise, change and are shaped over time require acknowledgement in empirical studies (Bourdieu 1983; Wacquant 1998), and this is addressed in this study where the historical context of migration is specifically interrogated.

Of further significance to this study, Bourdieu’s work gives direct consideration to sporting fields (Warde 2004), noting the economic and social capital benefits of sport, as well as noting the potential to acquire embodied cultural capital, from which there may be subsequent symbolic capital benefits (1984). Bourdieu’s theory of practice requires the study of relationships within the field and broader society (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992); such a focus enables the relationships between culture, power and social structures to be examined (Swartz and Zolberg 2004), and how these impact upon individual actions (Swartz 2012). Consequently, freedom to act is subject to enabling factors and constraints (Swedberg 2011), so behaviour is influenced by factors beyond personal consciousness (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), and outcomes may not be as intended by the individual (Bourdieu 1984). It is necessary to give consideration to this understanding of society within any research that engages with the work of Bourdieu, in order to accurately incorporate the relationship between culture, power and social structures.

Despite the benefits of a re-engagement with the work of Bourdieu, it is necessary to acknowledge and address the criticisms that have been levelled at his work. At the most basic level, Bourdieu’s work has been criticised for its complex writing style and the difficulties associated with translating the key texts from their original French versions (Swartz 2012). Methodologically, Bourdieu’s reliance on statistical data (Silva 2006:1185) is considered to have enabled him to achieve the aim of “objectivating the subjective”, yet the resulting lack of qualitative data restricts the possibility of detailing the reality of diverse cultural practices. Further generic criticisms relate to the perceived ambiguity of Bourdieu’s arguments (Goldthorpe 2007) and lack of conceptual clarity (Sullivan 2002), notably in relation to precise understandings of capitals (Mander 1987). More specifically, questions have been asked about the wider
applicability of Bourdieu’s work, given its focus upon French society (Gripsrud et al. 2011; Nowicka 2013), arguably, a society that no longer exists (Vander Stichele and Laermans 2006); so can concepts and conclusions arising from this focus be applied to other capitalist societies (Bennett and Silva 2011)? Within these societies, class has been a central aspect of Bourdieu’s work, and there have been suggestions that this has come at the expense of gender considerations (Jarvie and Maguire 1994). For example, Erel (2010:646) notes how feminists have critiqued Bourdieu’s tendency to treat women as passive agents rather than active members of society.

Throughout his work, Bourdieu has been occupied with transcending dualisms that are seen to characterise the social sciences (Wacquant 1998); notably structure and agency and freedom and determinism. However, questions have been raised regarding Bourdieu’s success in overcoming these dualisms (Jarvie and Maguire 1994), which have been, at least partially, attributed to the economic reductionism underlying the conceptualisation of capitals (Holt 2008). As Sullivan (2002:163) states:

“Bourdieu’s claim that the notion of habitus solves the conflict between structure and determinism on the one hand and agency and individualism on the other is quite unjustified. In fact Bourdieu’s theory has no place for individual agency, but even for individual consciousness”.

Further criticism has been levelled at Bourdieu, in relation to economics given the use of the borrowed terminology (Swedberg 2011). However, Bourdieu has responded to this criticism by noting that “only the terms are the same”, and that the analysis and usage of the terms vary greatly to their existing usage in economics (Bourdieu 1980:33).

A small number of studies have drawn on the work of Bourdieu when researching migration (Kelly and Lusis 2006; de Haas 2010; Nowicka 2013). The benefits of utilising these conceptual tools (Jarvie and Maguire 1994) are highlighted by Erel (2010:646), who notes that it enables a thicker description of migration through investigating the interaction between the different forms of capital. There is potential to use capitals to understand motives for migration, as possession of capital allows an individual to exercise control over their future, as they seek to maximise capital accumulation to
define their social trajectory (Postone et al. 1993) and career progression (Bennett and Silva 2011). Occupationally specific talent can be developed in the course of migration, and, as Bourdieu (1986:48) notes: “talent is itself the product of an investment of time and cultural capital”.

Erel (2010) recognises that through Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of cultural capital it is possible to examine the dynamic role of the individual during migration, particularly in acquiring and transforming cultural capital. Since cultural capital is understood to exist as a set of competencies, it means migration may be motivated by an opportunity for training and self-enhancement to maximise cultural capital accumulation (Bennett and Silva 2011). However, when considering capitals in relation to migration it is important to consider the social field in which it is being accumulated (Nowicka 2013), both in its contemporary form and the historical context (Steinmetz 2011), and this is significant as cultural capital has an arbitrary value and relative value depending upon the social context (Goldthorpe 2007). Thus, it may be that the value of an individual’s stock of capital fluctuates in the course of migration between the home and destination locations (Erel 2010), in much the same way as has been suggested for the value of skills (Bauder 2012; Cohen et al. 2012)

It is not only cultural capital that has a role in migration, social capital has been shown to be significant, particularly in low and unskilled migration (de Haas 2010), and reflecting neo-classical economic theory, the opportunity to accumulate economic capital is likely to motivate migration (Dustmann and Weiss 2007). It is important to note that Bourdieu was critical of neo-classical economic models governing human action (Swartz and Zolberg 2004). However, in migration there is a purpose to this form of capital accumulation, as cultural capital is utilised and converted to economic capital (Steinmetz 2011). Finally, when a culture of migration becomes established, participation in the flow enables symbolic capital to be accumulated (de Haas 2010), and further symbolic capital acquisition can occur when other forms of capital are converted, honoured and legitimised.
2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has considered in a critical way the pre-existing scholarship in four key areas of temporary, skilled migration, where it has been demonstrated that this thesis will contribute to theoretical and conceptual understandings of the temporary, seasonal, international migration of skilled workers. First, the temporal dimension of migration was explored, highlighting the importance of investigating skilled migration that occurs on a seasonal timescale. Second, the multiple conceptualisations of the highly-skilled were discussed, highlighting the similarities and contradictions that exist between terms used in different academic disciplines and in policy contexts. Third, the impact of globalization on skilled labour flows were explored, alongside the spatial distribution of existing skilled labour migration research. Finally, the processes of migration were examined, including the motives, experiences and decisions that determine the process. In relation to this, the work of Bourdieu was reviewed to provide a rational for the adoption his notions of capital, to provide a new method of analysing and understanding the motives that drive skilled labour migration.

Next, context will be provided for the professional cricket case study that is being used in this research. Chapter 4 will introduce the research methodology, prior to the four empirical chapters of this thesis, which will present the findings of the study, and how they can contribute to the broad debates discussed in this chapter.
3. Contextualising International Migration in Professional Cricket

3.1 Introduction

The methodological principles required to conduct rigorous empirical migration research were outlined in Section 1.2. Included within these principles was the need to provide a detailed historical context of the migratory flow (Castles 2007, 2010; Collinson 2009). Likewise, Findlay and Gould (1989) noted in their research agenda for skilled migration research that explanatory mechanisms for migrations must acknowledge the historically and geographically specific contexts within which flows of skilled labour are unfolding. Therefore, to understand the contemporary migrations in professional cricket, it is necessary to reflect on the historical development of the sport, from which its present state has evolved. This chapter will present a brief overview of the development of cricket, and then focus on how the sport has changed and been reconfigured during the 21st Century. The impacts of these developments will be considered on specific processes of elite professional migration, in order to present a background to the case study.

Whilst the origins of cricket are unclear (Major 2007), the sport has always been associated the British Empire and Imperialism (Stoddart and Sandiford 1998). The first laws of cricket were detailed in 1744 (Mani 2009), and it was already evident that the geography of the sport was closely aligned to the extent of the British Empire (Holton 2010). Initially, the game was only played by the British colonisers, but it came to be utilised as “a vehicle for the colonized to integrate into British cultural norms” (Malcolm 2013:56) and later a sport that enabled the indigenous population to contest and oppose the colonisers’ rule (Appadurai 1996; Mehta et al. 2009). The legacy of this imperialism remains, with all the major international cricket teams representing former territories of the British Empire (Malcolm 2013). The first international governing body of the sport, the Imperial Cricket Council, was established in 1909 (Mani 2009), and, by the time World War Two broke out, the members of this body
were (with dates of joining): England, Australia, South Africa (1909); India, New Zealand, West Indies (1926).

Whilst an official domestic County Cricket Championship was established in England in 1890 (Russell 1996), it has been acknowledged that, in the period following World War Two, cricket underwent a significant period of change (Down 1985). Throughout the history of cricket, it has been recognised that the periods of greatest change correlate to the most significant shifts in social structures and processes more generally (Malcolm 2013:48). Internationally, in the post-war period, Birley (1999) notes that, within cricket, imperialists tendencies were strengthened with plans for future fixtures established amongst the members of the Imperial Cricket Council. In the UK, there were major changes in everyday life and more specifically in sport, with an increasing focus on results as opposed to the playing of the game (Down 1985). Changes were evident in employment patterns and there was diversification of leisure activities; both of which have been shown to contribute to falling attendances at domestic cricket matches in England (Birley 1999). The situation in which cricket as a sport found itself at this time reflects what Maguire (1999) has termed the “fourth phase of sportization”. A phase in the development of modern sports within which a number of globalizing processes are evident including: “an increase in the number of international agencies; the growth of increasingly global forms of communication; the development of global competitions and prizes” (Maguire et al. 2002). As Birley (1999) recognised, the complex political economy of this period had a significant impact on the sports industry and its functions during this period. The Imperial Cricket Council sought to assert its power and position, within the countries of the former British Empire, when faced with challenges to Western hegemony (Maguire et al. 2002). Such challenges, as will be seen later in the chapter, have had a significant impact on cricket.

Cricket was required to reform as a result of these broader social changes. These reforms began in the 1960s with the abolition of the amateur gentleman/professional player distinction in English cricket (Wagg 2012). This abolition was an attempt to remove historic class divides in the sport, when amateur gentleman were only compensated for the costs of running their estates and the professional players were paid to play, and lived off this income (Wigmore 2013). Following this, all players were
remunerated for playing and were established as professional cricketers (Shindler 2012). The timing of these changes correlate to start of the fifth phase of Maguire’s (1999) model of sportization. Characterised by hybridization of sports cultures, a greater degree of standardization in sport and further challenges to Western and male domination, the fifth phase of sportization reflected more general changes that were occurring in line with globalization processes (Molnar and Kelly 2013). The social changes included a further increase in the number of global institutions and the exponential growth of global communications and mass media coverage (Robertson 1992).

In reacting to such global social, cultural and commercial transformations, one of the most significant changes to cricket of the twentieth century, the introduction of a One-Day cricket competition, the Gillette Cup, occurred, in England, in 1963 (Davies 2007). In an attempt to meet public demand for matches with a result, cricket matches, defined by both time and structure (a pre-defined number of overs), were introduced (Wagg 2013). This was the first competition in cricket that was supported by commercial sponsorship, which, as with the other changes in cricket at this time, were reflective of wider social change (Down 1985), where television and advertising were flourishing. The importance of this introduction, where commercial potential was embraced and public demands were met, is summarised in a ‘Daily Mirror’ report from 1963 where cricket is compared to the thriving association football:

“‘Lord’s, the temple of tradition’, could be transformed, on a cold damp September Saturday, into a ‘reasonable replica of Wembley’, a sell out with rosettes, singing, cheers, jeers and counter-cheers. This triumphant sporting experiment... may not have been cricket to the purists, but by golly it was just the stuff the doctor ordered” (Wilson 1963, quoted in Birley 1999:294).

Although One-Day cricket was not played at the international level until 1971, it was then quickly incorporated into international cricket. The first World Cup, featuring One-Day cricket, was played in England in 1975. This tournament provided an insight into the commercial potential of this form of cricket. The final was hosted at Lords, London, in front of a capacity crowd; despite the game featuring Australia and the
West Indies, and not the host team, it “provided the first indication to the international community that serious money could be made from cricket” (Steen 2009:670, emphasis as in original text).

One individual who recognised the commercial and media potential of One-Day cricket was the “Australian media magnate Kerry Packer” (Rumford 2007:208). As the result of a dispute between Packer’s ‘Channel 9’ and the Australian Cricket Board (ACB) in the mid-1970s (Steen 2009), Packer exploited the shift in the Australian economy towards increased commodification of media and culture to launch a rival tournament, World Series Cricket (WSC). After having been refused the rights to air the 1976 Australian Test series on his television station, Packer introduced WSC, which initially involved thirty-five of the world’s best cricketers (Wagg 2012), who played in a series of One-Day matches that were broadcast on Channel 9 (Kitchin 2008). The tournament is now seen as pivotal, with cricket starting to exploit wider processes of commercialization and mediatisation, WSC was the first time the sport became a “television spectacle” (Mehta 2009:594). The changes to the game that enabled this to take place included: coloured clothing for the players, as opposed to the traditional whites; and the introduction of day-night matches, that began mid-afternoon and were played into the evening under floodlights (Mehta et al. 2009). These modifications reflected consumer (spectator) preferences (Sloane 1980), as matches were played after work and were broadcast on prime-time television. Furthermore, the process of televising cricket was transformed by the introduction of video replays and using multiple cameras from around the ground so that, for example, it was possible to always see the front of the batsman (Kitchin 2008).

Despite initial criticism, a mutual agreement was reached between Packer and the ACB after two seasons of WSC (Steen 2009). This new unity, between the governing body and the media, saw Australia rapidly embrace One-Day cricket (English 2011), and incorporate a number of the modifications introduced by Packer, including day-night matches and new rules regarding fielding restrictions (Davies 2007). The legacy of the ‘Packer Revolution’ relates to the Americanization of cricket with “commercialization, sponsorship, profit and television” the new focus of the sport (Down 1985). These changes allowed WSC to be financially lucrative, and this enabled Packer to attract the
world’s best players to the tournament (Davies 2007). However, the English governing body, the Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB), reacted to this by banning, from First Class and Test cricket, any players who participated in Packer’s tournaments (Sloane 1980). These actions lead to a High Court case regarding “Restraint of Trade” by the TCCB, and, when the Judge ruled in favour of the players, it opened up new opportunities for commercialization and increased the freedom of movement of players (Down 1985). The ruling, and a later mutually-beneficial agreement between Packer and the sport’s governing bodies, led to increasing professionalization of the sport, and this was reflected in the remuneration received by players and other financial aspects of cricket (Mani 2009; Gupta 2011).

Blofeld (1978) indicates that during the 1977 English County Cricket season players were earning a basic salary of £2,500-£3,500 depending upon their seniority, which was supplemented by appearance and winning bonuses. A benefit year, usually awarded to long-service players, might also supplement earnings, and could enable an income in the region of £25,000. Given these figures, the lure of WSC is evident, with salaries of up to £25,000 available in return for just sixty-five match days (Sloane 1980). The result of increasing sponsorship in cricket and the emerging strength of players’ unions, as was occurring in other industries (Martin et al. 1993), facilitated increased player remuneration. In the year following this, the fee for participating in an England overseas cricket tour rose by 67% (Down 1985). Minimum salaries of £4000 per annum were negotiated in English County Cricket, with further bonuses available of up to £500 (Sloane 1980), which represented a true living wage (Gupta 2011). The increasing centrality of money in cricket reflected wider change where money was becoming the primary determinant of people’s role in society; a society in which the sport and leisure industry was growing in significance (Birley 1999:322).

It can, therefore, be seen that the actions of Kerry Packer, and the emergence of One-Day cricket, resulted in substantial changes to many aspects of the sport. As Appadurai (1996:108) has noted in his discussion of cricket’s evolution in the 1970s: “the Victorian code and nationalist concerns are subordinated to the transnational flow of talent, celebrity and money”. It is now evident that the way cricket developed at this time ‘opened-the-door’ for further evolution. In this case of Packer and WSC,
revolutionary change was initiated in Australia, as opposed to England (Maguire 1999), and as will be discussed in the following section, this paved the way for the shift of global cricket power away from the traditional establishment, to the Asian cricketing nations, most notably India (Rumford 2007).

3.2 Cricket in the 21st Century

In the UK, the need to modernise to ensure the survival of cricket was acknowledged, and, in 1997, the TCCB became the ECB, and Lord MacLaurin was appointed as the Chairman of the ECB. MacLaurin was appointed to modernise cricket in the UK, as he had previously done as the Chairman of Tesco Supermarkets (Birley 1999:322). These changes create a blurred boundary in the phases of cricket’s evolution, as it was not until the start of the 21st century that significant changes began to take effect. The most revolutionary of these was the advent of Twenty20 cricket in 2003 (Axford and Huggins 2011). The inaugural Twenty20 competition was arranged by the ECB, and involved the eighteen First Class Counties of England and Wales (Rumford 2007). Twenty20 cricket is an even shorter version of One-Day cricket, with teams batting and bowling for a maximum of twenty overs each (Davies 2007), ensuring that the game is completed within approximately three hours (English 2011). Like the development of One-Day cricket in the 1960s and 1970s, there was initial scepticism regarding the concept of Twenty20, but the format proved to be popular, with record crowds, including 26,500 people attending a match between Middlesex and Surrey in 2004 (Mitra 2010), and financially lucrative (Rumford 2007). In 2005, the first international Twenty20 was played between Australia and New Zealand and this was followed by the inaugural Twenty20 World Cup, hosted by South Africa, in 2007 (Saikia et al. 2012).

In much the same way as the advent of One-Day Cricket, Twenty20 has developed the sport as a consequence of processes of globalization and has resulted in intensification of the professionalization of cricket, as King (2011:1405) notes:

“One of the major effects of Twenty20 has been to demand a high level of professionalism from players. It has demanded higher player standards on the pitch... highly trained athletes are now able to produce a sporting spectacle”.
Other aspects of globalization are also evident in the success and evolution of Twenty20, the most significant of which relates to the establishment of multiple franchised tournaments across the world. Franchised Twenty20 cricket leagues now exist in all the major cricket playing nations, with the exception of the UK, where the “Twenty20 Blast” competition remains tied to the county structure (Dobell 2014). The first, and most successful, league to date has been the Indian Premier League (IPL) who hosted its inaugural tournament in 2008 (Mitra 2010). The success of the IPL has been attributed to league administrators and the governing body, the Board of Cricket Control in India (BCCI) adopting a business model “that has enabled them to transform cricket into a twenty-first century sport (Gupta 2011:1317). The IPL has been hailed as a televisual and commercial success and as a result the format has subsequently been exported throughout the cricketing world (Axford and Huggins 2011). The resulting competitions can be seen to be “flourishing as never before in terms of frequency, media coverage and global interest” (Steen 2009:670).

The IPL is based on the US sports entertainment model, with matches played daily, in the evenings, to coincide with prime-time television coverage. Stadiums are branded to maximise local and global coverage and there is match-day entertainment including cheerleaders. These features have led Rowe and Gilmour (2009:172) to declare that: “the IPL is a strange hybrid of English village green, ‘Bollywood’ and the Super Bowl”. Cricket has been transformed by Indian capitalist ideals, which, based on commercial principles, has far removed cricket from its traditions of gentlemanliness and morality (Mehta et al. 2009). The commercial success of the IPL is reflected in its value which was estimated to be $4.13billion in 2010 and the recognition that the players’ average annual salary is globally the second highest after the American, National Basketball Association (NBA) (Mitra 2010).

One of the pivotal factors behind the success of the IPL has been the exploitation of its media potential. Unlike other traditional cricket-playing nations, India has its own self-sustaining television audience, with approximately 1.5billion viewers (Gupta 2011:1319). Cricket provides comparatively low-cost television content and commercialized tournaments, such as the IPL, provide an important outlet, where companies can advertise their produce to an increasingly affluent local population
(Mani 2009). Furthermore, the IPL has been shown to attract a diverse viewing audience when compared to other forms of cricket (Rowe and Gilmour 2009), with their traditionally male dominated demographic (Axford and Huggins 2011). Processes of globalization have impacted on the significance of media coverage of the IPL, as despite the mass domestic television audience, the tournament is broadcast globally, making it available to expatriates and diasporic communities across the world, as well as to others with an interest in the IPL (Rumford 2007).

The IPL is a significant sporting model as it has taken a sport, and a form of the sport, Twenty20, that was initially developed in the UK. Yet, Twenty20 has been most effectively adopted in India despite being a ‘Western’ sport. Furthermore, the IPL is based on the North American sports franchise model, which demonstrates another aspect, where traditionally ‘Western’ models have been evolved and successfully adopted in non-Western contexts. This represents an example of an industry, which under conditions of globalization, has not simply been exported from the West, it has instead undergone processes of hybridization and creolization (Maguire 1999) to reflect the social, cultural, economic and political conditions of the receiving nation.

3.2.1 Cricket as a Global Game?

It is clear that cricket’s development has been subject to processes of globalization that have helped it to disperse and evolve beyond its traditional roots in the nation states of the former British Empire (Malcolm et al. 2009). However, debates continue as to whether cricket can be classified as a global game, with questions remaining over whether the sport has a global appeal (Fletcher 2011). Rumford (2007:207) contends that cricket will “never ‘go global’” and, instead, argues that cricket is best understood in terms of the “post-westernization” of the game.

At the start of the 21st Century, the world governing body for cricket, now renamed the International Cricket Council (ICC) had 47 member states (Mani 2009). Membership has since more than doubled, to incorporate 105 countries (ICC 2014). This expansion was made possible through the ICC Development Programme, funded using income from a landmark sale of cricket broadcasting and sponsorship rights, first in 2000, and, subsequently, renewed in 2006 (Mani 2009). Whilst the involvement and financial input from the media is central to demonstrating how cricket has developed,
through processes traditionally associated with globalization, and, what has been referred to as the media-sports complex (Maguire 2011c), it is important to note that these changes occurred when Jagmohan Dalmiya, an Indian cricket administrator, was the President of the ICC (Rumford 2007). With over one-hundred members the ICC can justifiably be understood to be governing a global sport. The importance of the role played by Dalmiya highlights the initial shift towards a post-colonial understanding of cricket (Majumdar 2007; Mehta et al. 2009) which, as Rumford (2007:212) demonstrates, was the start of a transfer in “the balance of power between the traditional centres and the subcontinent”.

The transfer has continued to shift in this direction, from the West to the East throughout the 21st Century, and provides “the most tangible example yet of a genuine political and economic shift in the power relations of a major sport” (Rowe and Gilmour 2009:178). India and the Indian sub-continent (Fletcher 2011) is recognised to be moving towards cricketing hegemony (Gupta 2011), and this view has been reinforced by the overall development of the Indian economy (Rowe and Gilmour 2009), as well as the economic, media and political power of the BCCI, as a consequence of the success of the IPL (Rumford 2011). Thus, unlike traditional understandings of globalization, that reflect Western domination, it would appear that cricket is journeying beyond this, with India central to cricket’s globalization, to what Rumford (2007:203) argues to be the “post-Westernization of the game”.

3.3 Overseas Players & Migration in Cricket

It is clear that within cricket, like other industries, there are continuous, multidirectional cultural flows across the world. These include flows of mediated sports images, sporting goods, advertising and revenue (Maguire 1999, 2011c). Against this background, flows of sport and related labour have occurred and thus cricket players and others involved in the game, such as coaches and sports scientists have migrated throughout the world (Mehta et al. 2009; Wagg and Ugra 2009). Migration has always been part of cricket; its initial diffusion through the British Empire could not have occurred without individuals migrating away from Britain. Since England is deemed to be the traditional home of cricket (Mehta et al. 2009), and due to the English continuing to dominate global cricket for most of the 20th century (Holton
England has been the most common destination for those foreign players wishing to play overseas. An Australian, Billy Midwinter, is often cited as the earliest migrant who travelled to England to play cricket as a professional, when he returned to his birthplace of Gloucestershire in 1878 (Lemmon 1987; Brenkley 2009). Such migration was sporadic until the 1960s when, after a series of challenges, it was agreed in 1967 that counties were able to employ the services of an overseas professional once every three years (Lee 1997). The developments of the 1960s enabled the first seasonal migrations (Maguire and Stead 1996) to occur within professional cricket. As remains the case today (Steen 2009), England and Wales are the only major nations whose playing season takes place during the northern hemisphere summer (Lee 1997; Stewart 2012). England and Wales was therefore an attractive destination for foreign cricket talent, where their “skills, reputation and visibility” (Maguire and Stead 2005:71) could be enhanced whilst earning a salary from their county cricket club employers (Lee 1997). Throughout the latter part of the twentieth century English County Cricket came to be seen as a “Finishing School” for aspiring overseas cricketers (Stead and Maguire 1998).

Since this time there has been an increase in the volume of cricket players migrating across the world. Down (1985) recognises that this has been enabled by the so-called “Jet Age”, which has allowed easier and quicker travel. These are processes that are reflective of globalization of industries, more generally, as well as what Miller et al. (2003) have termed the New International Division of Cultural Labour. In cricket, the result has been increasingly shorter international tours which are weeks or months in length rather than the duration of an entire cricket season. These changes have meant that more cricket is played at an international level than at any time previously (Steen 2009) and the results of this are evident when current English Cricketer, Stuart Broad (2013a) commented: “We can do 270 or 280 nights a year in hotel rooms”.

However, it is not just opportunities to travel as part of a team that have increased. It is possible to see a proliferation of individual player migrations, either to play as a professional in an overseas competition or to play at the recreational level for an amateur club team. Whilst opportunities for migration are increasing, completely free movement of professional cricketers is not possible. For example, at present when
foreign players migrate to England to play professionally they are subject to regulations put in place by both the National Governing Body, the ECB and from the United Kingdom Home Office who control permissions and refusals of visas. In order to protect the development of indigenous talent, current ECB regulations state that counties may include one overseas registered player for First Class (Four-Day) Cricket and two overseas registered players for One-Day and Twenty20 cricket (ECB 2014a). Furthermore, the necessary Tier 5, temporary worker visas, can only be issued by the Home Office to individuals who have played at the highest level, namely international cricket, in their home nation (ECB 2014b). Despite this, ECB player qualification criteria have been challenged by a ruling at the European Court of Justice that mean that, as result of EU trade agreements and employment law:

“a foreign player with a work permit, if coming from a ‘Kolpak’ country (such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, and the Caribbean islands), must be treated the same as a domestic-qualified player” (Rumford 2007).

Such regulations, which enable and restrict player migrations, are in place around the world, and thus, despite increasing instances of migration, it is clear that any movement is subject to regulation and control at multiple spatial scales.

As within cricket more generally, the Packer revolution, and later, the emergence of Twenty20 leagues, such as the IPL, have caused the migratory activities of players to evolve. In recent years there has been much scholarship that has focused on the impact of the IPL on cricket labour flows and, it is necessary to provide a background to this, in order to understand the significance of the migration flow between England and Australia, that is the focus of this research. First, it has been acknowledged that in relation to playing talent, as a consequence of the IPL, there has been a reversal of conventional labour flows with professionals leaving Western nations to migrate to India (Rowe and Gilmour 2009). Already, instances have been identified of a talent drain from Western nations, for example, New Zealand, as their established professional players opt to play in the IPL as opposed in their domestic leagues (Mehta et al. 2009). These flows and impacts are contrary to traditional understandings of global flows of talented labour, and it may provide an early indicator of the future of skilled labour migration in other occupations.
It would appear that inward migration flows to the IPL, and in some cases other Twenty20 leagues, are driven by mercenary motives, and Stoddart (2011) has termed the players involved as “the New Cricket Mercenary”. Like the labour flow more generally, this demonstrates a reversal of conventional movements with migrants previously having been encouraged to travel to England in search of monetary reward for playing professional cricket (Mehta et al. 2009). The salaries available for participation in the Twenty20 leagues are perceived to be impacting on the traditional career trajectory of a professional cricketer. The ideal career trajectory of a professional cricketer has been understood to have Test Cricket, played at the national level, being seen as the pinnacle of a career. For example, the former Australian Cricket Captain, Ricky Ponting, has indicated that “the ultimate cricketing pedigree can only ever be realised in the long game” (Kampmark 2013). Despite this, it is perceived that the short-term financial gains available from Twenty20 may result in players diverting from traditional career trajectories (Rumford 2011b). Young players may opt to follow this path early in their careers or they may ‘retire’ from other, more traditional, forms of cricket in order to gain financially from participating in these leagues in the latter part of their career (Stoddart 2011:1426).

These apparent shifts in career aspiration are just one area where developments in cricket as a result of Twenty20 leagues, and the IPL more specifically, has resulted in controversies in the sport. Such changing aspirations for a career in cricket have resulted in comments from former international cricketers, such as the West Indian, Michael Holding who declared that Kieron Pollard, a young player from Trinidad and Tobago, “is not a cricketer” (quoted in Rumford 2011b:1365). Pollard has been classified as a “Portfolio Player” and has, in a single year, held playing contracts in Australia, England, India and Trinidad and Tobago. Michael Holding is believed to have felt that in honouring these contracts for financial gain and choosing not to pursue a traditional career in the Caribbean by aspiring to represent the West Indies in Test cricket, Pollard was undeserving of the respect ordinarily afforded to a professional cricket player (Rumford and Wagg 2010).

Other controversies, more specifically resulting from the IPL are evident at the scale of the National Governing Bodies. For example, disapproval of the IPL by the ECB,
particularly due to their seasonal overlap, has meant that English professionals have tended to struggle to participate in the IPL (Gupta 2011). Likewise, Cricket Australia initially attempted to regulate the participation of Australian players, which was seen to be retaliation of the BCCI’s earlier refusal to allow Indian’s to participate in the Australian Big Bash Twenty20 league. Finally, controversies resulting from the IPL have been seen to reach the national scale with India stating that they would refuse to issue visas to migrating English professional cricketers (Gollapudi 2013). This action stemmed from a dispute regarding media rights to matches that IPL franchises were looking to host in Ireland and Scotland. The ECB’s exclusive rights agreement with Sky TV meant that these matches could not take place and, in response to this, the BCCI refused to grant permission to professional cricketers from seven English counties to play in India as part of a developmental training camp. The training camp was relocated to Sri Lanka, and this incident provides an example of how the media, commercial interests and economic power can, together, influence global migration flows within professional cricket.

3.4 Outbound Player Migration from County Cricket

Within this wider context of global migration flows in professional cricket, there is a significant flow of English county cricketers leaving the UK during the winter months to play cricket overseas. The post-war origins of this migration pathway stems from the fact that, despite the professional set-up of English County Cricket and the availability of financial rewards for the incoming overseas players (Lee 1997), cricket at this time remained a six month occupation, with professional players only employed from 1st April to 30th September of any given year (Stewart 2012a). Consequently, English cricketers began to participate in seasonal migration and take up opportunities to play overseas. Ease of travel and time restrictions meant that early migrations were commonly to South Africa, however, the ‘Jet Age’ that has already been discussed (Down 1985) and the political tensions arising from Apartheid in South Africa (Gemmell 2004), resulted in Australia became an increasingly feasible and popular migration destination.

From extensive biographical searches, the partial records that are available, and subsequent confirmation from the research interviews, it would appear that the
earliest English migrants started to undertake seasonal migrations to Australia in the mid-1970s. It has already been demonstrated that this period represented a time of commercialization within the sport and the recruitment of established English professionals to represent recreational club cricket teams can be seen to be a product of this. Such established professionals were available to partake in the migration as, at this time, England international tours did not take place every winter (Steen 2009). Senior England cricketers were recruited to play in Australia on the basis of their reputation so that the host clubs could market their brand value, in much the same way as overseas professionals were sometimes used in English club cricket leagues (Lemmon 1987; Hill 1994).

A second migration flow at this time was established through the introduction of “Whitbread Scholarships” by the TCCB in 1977 (Preston 1977). The aim of these scholarships was to develop promising young English players, with a view to them progressing to play Test cricket in the future. They were introduced as a direct reaction to the Packer Revolution, when the TCCB believed that England could be left with an inexperienced Test squad (Martin-Jenkins 1982). Sponsored by the Whitbread brewery (Preston 1977), recipient scholars were sent to Sydney or Melbourne to play Grade Cricket (the most senior level of recreational cricket in Australia) and to train alongside the professional state team (Martin-Jenkins 1982).

Thus, during the early years of this migration flow, the migrants who were able to participate can be seen to be the pioneers of temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. The migration appears to be a comparatively privileged opportunity with only established professionals or emerging players, selected by the TCCB, able to undertake a migration of this type. Consequently, only a small number of individuals were able to migrate during this early phase of 1975-1980.

The influence of Packer Revolution and the development of the game, more generally, resulted in this migration flow becoming more widespread and more common in the years that followed. It has already been noted that six month contracts in English professional cricket (Stewart 2012a) resulted in that migration was an attractive opportunity, as it enabled migrants to continue to play cricket and work within their primary occupation all year round. Furthermore, the potential for development that
underlay the Whitbread Scholarships (Preston 1977) was recognised by others, and they in-turn looked to participate in these opportunities. In seeking to participate it seems fair to suggest that as the migration flow became more established, the network of cricketers with contacts in Australia became more developed, thus, increasing the ease with which individuals could identify opportunities (Pennell 2012).

The migration flow of English county professionals continued in this way until the end of the 20th Century. The changes that were observed at this time can be attributed to the introduction of twelve-month contracts in English professional cricket (King 2011). This development is a marker of the professionalization of the game and how being employed as a professional cricketer became a year-round occupation. The result is that, at both the county and national level, every individual became involved in playing and training throughout the summer season and having a tailor-made fitness and training programme for the off-season, and for some players, this may include a period of time playing and training overseas (Stewart 2012a). It is for these reasons that there has been an increase in the number of individuals migrating to Australia during the winter months. Australia has become the destination of choice, given the networks and relationships that had developed in the earlier stages of this migration and the well-developed and competitive nature of the cricket that is available in the recreational game in Australia, when compared to countries such as South Africa, for example (Kampmark 2013).

The significance of an international aspect to contemporary player development is highlighted by the ECB in the publication “From Under Eight to Test Great”. This text outlines the development pathway and career trajectory of aspiring junior cricketers through to representing the national team. Within the publication, it is noted that overseas touring and training during the off-season is an important aspect of development from as early as 13 years old. Likewise, in ECB’s strategic plan for 2014-2017 “Champion Counties” one of the objectives is to put in place a training camp for the England Lions (the representative tier below the national team) in Australia prior to the 2015 World Cup, to be hosted by Australia and New Zealand. This demonstrates the importance of international experience and familiarity with foreign conditions for individuals who aspire to be part of the national team. It is this need for developing
professional cricketers to experience previously unfamiliar overseas conditions, and the potential for individuals to be involved in cricket all year round that has led to Australian Grade Cricket being seen as a “Finishing School” for English professionals (Pennell 2012). And, as already noted, this is a label that has previously been applied to County Cricket, in relation to overseas players who migrate to England (Stead and Maguire 1998).

For players who migrate to Australia now, there are generally two styles of migration that can be undertaken. Players can migrate to play Grade Cricket and represent a team within leagues that are generally located around major metropolitan areas. Grade Cricket features the most traditional form of cricket and is usually played over two days over two weekends, for example, on two consecutive Saturdays (Cricket Australia 2014). For the migrants who take up an opportunity to play as an overseas player for a recreational team in Grade Cricket, weekend matches and training on weekday evenings are their only definitive commitments whilst they are overseas. However, for the second style of migration, players have cricket commitments every day. These are migrants who travel to the Darren Lehmann Cricket Academy (DLCA) in Adelaide. The academy was established in 2005, with programmes in place, during the Australian summer, with the aim of helping emerging international players to develop in Australian conditions. The intensive programmes have players training throughout the week then playing for local Grade Cricket teams at weekends (Turner 2013). English cricketers can travel independently to the DLCA, sometimes with support from their counties or philanthropists (Wagg 2011) alternatively, the DLCA is the current destination of ECB scholarship recipients. This scholarship is similar to the Whitbread Scholarships of the first migration phase, with emerging county cricketers from across the UK selected to complete a season long programme of fitness, training and playing at the DLCA during the English winter (ECB 2013).

3.4.1 Phases of Outbound Player Migration from County Cricket

Drawing the socio-historical context presented, this research case study will consider migratory activity during three Phases: 1975-1980; 1981-2000; 2001-Present. Whilst these phases have been constrained in relation to changes within cricket, it is significant to note that they coincide with the phases of migration identified by Castles
et al. (2014:103), in what they term the “second phase of international migration”, that began in the mid-1970s, following the Oil Crisis in 1973. Migratory activity then gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s in line with neoliberalism, economic deregulation and increased labour market flexibility. Migration continued to evolve following the start of the 21st century, with a sharp increase in flows at the start of the new Millennium, with movement characterised by temporary and seasonal migrations (Castles et al. 2014:116). Castles et al. demonstrate that this phase was characterised by a period of global economic restructuring which resulted in complex new patterns of migration. The comparability of cricket as an industry to broader corporate and social changes at this time further justifies the use of this case study, as well as the significance of considering the socio-historical context within which contemporary flows are occurring.

Using archival data it is possible to provide quantitative evidence on how cricket, as a global industry, has evolved during this period. This archival data has been obtained from an online database (cricinfo Archive 2014) and has been compiled and processed to produce the descriptive statistics displayed in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

![Breakdown of Total International Matches 1975-2013](image)

Figure 3.1 Total international matches played 1975-2013 (Data obtained from cricinfo Archive (2014) and compiled by the author)
First, at an international scale it is possible to see how the number of matches played between national cricket teams has increased significantly since 1975. These changes are evident in all three forms of the sport, Test Match Cricket, One Day cricket and Twenty20 cricket. As can be seen in Figure 3.1 the number of Test Matches played has increased steadily over this period whereas for both One Day and Twenty20 cricket the number of games played in these formats has increased rapidly since their inception. Second, at a national scale, the changing length of the UK County Cricket season provides an insight into how the sport has evolved (Figure 3.2) with a clear increase in season length throughout the period.

In both Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 the phases that will be used to consider changes in the migratory activity have been marked. The figures support the use of these phases, as, in Figure 3.1, it can be seen that there is a slight increase in matches during Phase 1, followed by a period of growth during Phase 2, before increased match frequency and continued growth in Phase 3. Similar changes are apparent when considering the changing length on the UK county cricket season. Phase 1 represents a period of slight decrease in season length, prior to an overall steady increase during Phase 2. Finally, there is sharp increase in season length as Phase 3 progresses; at the start of the
Phase, in 2001, the season was 150 days in length, whereas the 2014 season was 188 days in length.

These changes can all be understood within the context of the processes of globalization, commercialization, mediatisation and professionalization that have been outlined above. For instance, the rapid increase in the number of One Day and Twenty20 international cricket matches played reflects the commercial and media potential of these formats of the game (Rumford 2007; Anstead and O’Loughlin 2011). These are processes that are evident in global sport and industry, more generally (Maguire 1999); therefore, drawing on the evolution of cricket and wider global change, the three time phases under consideration throughout this research will be referred to as the: Packer Phase (1975-1980); Proto-Professionalization Phase (1981-2000); Professionalization Phase (2001-Present).

3.5 Media and Biographical Support for Temporary, Seasonal Migration to Australia

Autobiographies of professional cricketers provide a useful source of secondary data for research on sport and sports labour migration (Takahashi and Horne 2011), and they can be used here to provide an insight into how seasonal migration to Australia occurs within the context of global cricket. One example is provided by Simon Hughes (1997:148), a retired bowler, who migrated in the 1980s:

“A winter’s cricket in Australia is a beneficial exercise... the wickets were hard and reliable and the matches were two-day examinations rather than afternoon frolics... the serious attitude to twice-a-week practice, the lengthy team talks, the total commitment to win and the unbelievable levels of sledging definitely left their mark. Many English players had their best county season after a winter in Australia.”

Likewise, Alec Stewart, a wicket-keeper, who played for England for fourteen years, was a seasonal migrant at that time. He wrote in his biography (2003:27) about the advice he had given Robert Key, at the time an emerging county player, and who went on to play for England:
“My advice was to go and do what I did years before, which was to go to Perth, Western Australia, and play grade cricket. It proved to be the making of Robert, as it had been for me. As a proud Englishman I don’t like to say this – especially after recent hammerings by Aussie cricketers – but I must admit that without the finishing school provided to me out there, I would not have made the leap to becoming a regular England cricketer. There is simply nowhere better in the world to spend an English winter if you have serious ambitions about a career in cricket.”

Finally, Andrew Strauss (2009:63), the recently retired England Captain, recalled his time playing in Sydney, for two seasons at the start of the twenty-first century:

“My cricket education was taken to another level when I went to Australia to play grade cricket. I arrived in Sydney with Luke Sutton, neither of us knowing what to expect or what the standard would be... it was very soon apparent that this was a take-no-prisoners environment. A Pom with a county contract had to prove himself even more than the other guys who went to club training because reputations meant nothing.”

These reflections all provide positive views of the opportunity to play recreational cricket in Australia and the potential impacts of temporary migration. The first two quotations are recollections from migrations that occurred over twenty years ago. However, from media interviews it is possible to ascertain the feelings and experiences from those who have migrated more recently to Australia. Sam Wood (2014:26) was 20 years old when he migrated from Nottinghamshire to Melbourne at the start of 2014; immediately following his return to England he stated: “to go away and develop my game in Australia was a great opportunity. To have three decent bats every week, and good bowling spells was really beneficial to my game, and has really set me up for this season.”

Josh Cobb, from Leicestershire was 19 years old when he first migrated to participate in a programme at the DLCA in Adelaide. In a testimonial on the DLCA (2014) website Cobb is quoted describing his motivations for taking up the opportunity: “Matt Boyce [a colleague at Leicestershire] told me I should definitely go. It helped him a lot and he
feels that he matured thanks to it, mentally and physically.” These two comments provide an insight into the benefits that young and emerging county cricketers feel result from temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. Further supporting comments are evident in this regard in DLCA (2014) testimonials from English County Academy coaches. First, John Childs, of Essex, stated: “I do see the DLCA as an excellent vehicle for a young English pro [sic] to obtain an improved level of understanding of his game and himself”. Second, Chris Tolley, of Nottinghamshire noted that: “Jake Ball [then a 20 year old Nottinghamshire cricketer] has taken huge strides forwards over the past twelve months and he came back from Australia with more physical strength and a more confident approach which has served him well.” Together these quotations demonstrate how recent migrations, by young and emerging county cricketers, have had beneficial impacts on their career progression.

It is possible to gain an insight into how temporary, seasonal migration can have longer term benefits on an individual’s career, by considering the impacts of the migration flows undertaken by current England Cricketers. Yorkshire batsman, Joe Root was 20 years old when he migrated to the DLCA and he reflected on his sojourn in a testimonial for the Academy (2014) website: “When you’re always playing and improving, you feel as though you’re doing more than other county players are, those who spend their winter in the gym or whatever. In that respect, it’s a nice mental edge.” Stuart Broad (2013b), an 18 year old bowler from Leicestershire at the time of his migration to Melbourne recalled:

"I loved it... I opened the bowling; I opening the batting; they let me bowl 20 overs a day. It made me responsible - 'You’re our overseas player, here's the ball, we need a wicket.' When I came back to Leicestershire pre-season, I was a different bowler. I was taller, I was quicker, I was hitting the bat harder, because I'd got so many overs into the legs. I had a steeliness, an aggression that I think you need as a bowler."

Like Root, Broad refers to the importance of regular and consistent playing that was enabled by participating in temporary seasonal migration. Importantly, they also both refer to personality and mental characteristics that they developed in Australia, that
have since helped them progress their careers to the highest level possible. Finally, Ian Bell (2013), an England batsman from Warwickshire, described the all-round experience of temporary migration to Australia, an experience that he feels was necessary to allow him to progress his career as far as the England Test team:

“Out in Australia, rather than have your washing done for you by the guys at the ground, you go and live on your own in a strange city, where you have to do your own washing, cook your own dinner, do your own things, meet new people, and then on the pitch go out and score runs, because they’re not interested unless you do. It was an important experience at 21. As the season went on I got better and better – and I peaked at the right time going into the English season and started like a train in county cricket, which eventually got me selected towards the end of the summer when there were a few injuries. It really was a good time for me and helped get me into the Test team”.

3.6 Conclusion

Together these secondary data examples provide an insight into experiences and impacts of temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. This evidence indicates that migration is a significant aspect of contemporary career trajectories of English professional cricketers, given the personal and professional benefits that are cited by these migrants. It is these impacts, along with the other elements of the migration process that will be subject to a more in-depth investigation in the empirical chapters of this thesis, in order to establish the significance of temporary, international migration on the career trajectories of skilled professionals.
4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the qualitative methods that were adopted for this thesis. It shows that this included three main phases, based upon the phases of temporary, seasonal cricket migration that were identified in Chapter 3. Phase one focused on interviews with those who migrated between 1975-1980. During phase two interviews were undertaken with migrants from 1981-2000 and phase three involved conducting interviews with migrants from the period 2001 to present. Cross-cutting these three phases, interviews with a range of intermediaries were completed. This chapter is divided into five sections. This first section will discuss the rationale for a qualitative methodology and the second section will focus on qualitative interviewing. The third section will present the methods of data analysis and the fourth section addresses the ethical considerations. Lastly, the fifth section of this chapter will reflect on the methods used and their implementation in the field.

4.2 The rationale for a Qualitative Methodology

In the last decade there has been a reassertion of the importance of qualitative techniques (Delyser 2008), which has been accompanied by the recognition of the importance of clearly stating the methods employed in research, particularly in relation to semi-structured interviews (Crang 2002). This allows some of the political, ethical and moral concerns of a piece of research to be addressed, given that they remain a central and inevitable part of qualitative research (Crang 2005). It ensures rigour and evidential quality of the data (Baxter and Eyles 1997). The following passage discusses the techniques that were applied in the course of this research, the justification for the use of these methods, and a discussion of the experience of applying them in the field.

Empirical migration research, has in the past, included both quantitative studies of migratory flows and models (Lundmark 2006; Dustmann and Weiss 2007; Khoo et al. 2011), as well as qualitative studies that tend towards smaller-scale studies of migratory activity (Rahman 2009; Lan 2011; Joseph 2012). To address the aim and
objectives of this research, detailed micro-scale data is required which are only obtainable using qualitative techniques.

A discussion of the debates surrounding the new orthodoxy of qualitative methods can be found in a series of papers by Crang (2002, 2003, 2005). There are a range of qualitative methodologies that can be used to obtain the non-numerical data that is required in this study. Empirical studies of migration commonly employ interviews, questionnaire surveys and field observation techniques (Ho 2011; Carling 2012). Of these, interviews are the most common qualitative method (Holstein and Gubrium 2004), and will be the primary method of data collection for this research. There are a number of reasons for this selection and why alternative techniques were excluded from the research methodology. First, field observation and other ethnographic methods were deemed to be unsuitable, partly because of the international nature of this study and the lack of appropriate financial resources to facilitate overseas travel. Furthermore, it would be difficult to obtain some of the required information because of the long-term nature of the processes that are under investigation (Crang 2002). Utilising ethnographic methodologies would raise a number of ethical concerns associated with a female carrying out research with elite male participants. Second, it was decided that questionnaires, with either closed or open-ended questions, would be unable to illicit the same level of detail as could be obtained during interviews. Whilst, interviews are a more time-consuming technique, the comparatively small population of cricket professionals meant that it was still possible to include a high percentage of the population using this method.

4.3 Interviews as a Methodology

Interviews remain the most commonly used technique (Kitchin and Tate 2000) in migration research, because they “yield rich insights into people’s biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings” (May 2002:120). It is insights into these personal views that were required in order to address the aim and objectives of the research therefore justifying interviews as the primary methodology. Of the three interview types; structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Babbie 2007), a semi-structured schedule was deemed the most appropriate. Semi-structured interviews have a flexible, but pre-defined schedule of questions, meaning that it is
possible to address the same topics and issues with the interview participants (Bryman 2008). However, flexibility remains to refine the schedule, if the progress of the interview requires it (Harvey 2011b), as well as providing the opportunity for participant responses to be probed, clarified or amplified (May 2002). This flexibility means that should unexpected topics arise from a participant’s responses, it is possible for the interviewer to ask for further elaboration (Miller and Glassner 2004), which is likely to assist in the collection of richer data (Berry 2002).

Semi-structured interviews have been widely used in studies of international migration, both in geography (e.g. Beaverstock 2011; Gustafson 2002; Hanson and Bell 2007; Hall and Appleyard 2009; Harvey 2011a), and in the sociology of sport (Maguire and Stead 1996; Agergaard 2008; Darby and Solberg 2010; Carter 2011). This prevalence of interview methodologies in migration studies demonstrates the suitability of the technique for gathering the data necessary to provide an insight into the processes of international migration. Therefore this, along with the benefits above, justifies the use of semi-structured interviews.

It is necessary to be aware of the criticisms that have been levelled at the interview methodologies, particularly when they are used as the sole method of data collection. Most simply, it is recognised that it is time consuming and costly to carry out and analyse interviews (Kitchin and Tate 2000). Consequently, participant sample sizes are generally lower than can be achieved with methods such as questionnaire surveys (Pratt 2009). However, the comparatively small population of professional cricketers and associated individuals meant it was possible to include a representative sample of participants using interviews.

In critical appraisals of interviews one of the most frequently raised issues is in regard to whether interview data provides a true representation of reality (Domosh 2003), or whether participants may adapt or falsify aspects of their responses (Pratt 2009). This gives rise to a number of subsequent issues that must be acknowledged and addressed when using interview methodologies. First, the alteration of participant responses to questions during an interview may occur as the result of the participant believing they need to give socially acceptable answers (Roulston 2010). Second, it is necessary to consider how question phrasing or prompting by the interviewer may introduce bias
into the interview process, and thus, affect the validity of the data that is collected (Kitchin and Tate 2000).

Data that is collected from interviews has been subject to epistemological questions regarding validity and reliability, which occur as a result of debates surrounding whether there is an ultimate reality that can be conveyed in the course of an interview (Walford 2007). It is these questions that give rise to the critique of interviews from a range of geographical approaches. The positivist critique of interview methodologies stems from the interviewer’s bias, and the belief that interviewers cannot be objective or detached (Roulston 2010). However, Valentine (2005) notes that from a humanist or post-structuralist perspective, objectivity cannot exist in social science research. The post-structuralist critique of interviews is often related to the work of non-representational theorists who are critical of the methods used to transcribe and analyse interviews. This is because a significant amount of the communication that occurs in an interview context is non-verbal and non-cognitive (Bondi 2003), and this is not recognised in traditional transcription methods (Rapley 2001; Roulston et al. 2001). Finally, interview methodologies have been critiqued by feminist geographers who have raised issues regarding the power balance between the interviewer and participant and how this impacts upon rapport and trust in the interview context (Kitchin and Tate 2000; Valentine 2005).

Therefore, it is clear that there is reason to be critical of interview methodologies. Whilst it is impossible to overcome many of the criticisms that have been discussed here, acknowledging and reflecting upon them adds rigour to the data collection process, assisting in the collection of valid and reliable data.

4.3.1 Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews used here comprised of open-ended questions (May 2002, Bryman 2008). This provided the interviewee with the opportunity to answer the question in their own words and convey their personal views on the subject (Harvey 2009b). This is particularly significant for this study, as it is often noted that elite interviewees dislike being constrained by the fixed answers necessitated by closed questions (Berry 2002; Aberbach and Rockman 2002; Harvey 2011b).
The use of open-ended questions allowed the biographies of migrant players to be explored in detail. This draws on the oral history method, defined by Bryman (2008) as: “an unstructured or semi-structured interview in which the respondent is asked to re-call events from his or her past and to reflect upon them”. It is hoped that this technique will provide information on how individuals have used migratory activity during their careers to date and what impacts this has had. Oral history methodologies have been shown to be important for exploring aspects of processes and activities for which there are no written records (George and Stratford 2005). Whilst written records may exist for many aspects of the migration process being studied here, for example, travel details and employment contracts, using this method revealed information about the intricacies and micro-scale activities that shaped migration. This reflects the strengths of the oral history technique which allows events to be described and recorded as lived experiences (Bloor 2002); enabling a more detailed insight into the processes and events being studied.

A further strength of the oral history method is the opportunity to allow participants to discuss recollections and representations of events over a variety of timescales; over extended time periods this allows spatial and temporal change to be tracked and explored (George and Stratford 2005). This is significant in this research, as the impacts of spatial change through migration can be tracked temporally to consider the longer term impacts and consequences of temporary, international migration.

As with all research methods, the oral history technique has been subject to criticism. The most frequently cited critique is the possibility of introducing personal bias and distorted memories (Bryman 2008). However, the individual nature of stories and views means that this cannot be overcome or avoided, but it is important to acknowledge this critique and be aware of the impact it may have on the data that is collected. Incorporating the oral history method into semi-structured interviews, through the use of open-ended questions, enables biographical topics such as migratory activity to be explored in detail. This would not be possible in a structured interview, as the researcher would be unable to probe points raised by the interviewee, in order to stimulate further discussion and therefore, assist in gaining a more detailed understanding of an individual’s migratory experience.
It was intended that the interviews would be conducted on a one-to-one basis and would be face-to-face (Gaskell 2000). It was believed that conducting one-to-one interviews would be most effective because participants were more likely to be open and honest about their personal views in this setting, as opposed to during a focus group, for example (Harvey 2009b). It has been suggested that interviewees provide more detailed responses during face-to-face interviews (Sturges and Hanrahan 2004) and convey details regarding personal experiences, choices and biographies, some of which may be too sensitive to discuss in a group situation (Gaskell 2000). Furthermore, face-to-face interviews have been shown to be the most effective method because it enables the interviewer to personally assure the participant of data confidentiality (Harvey 2011b). These interviews allow the researcher to observe the non-verbal behaviour of the participant during the course of the interview, which is not possible during telephone and email interviews (Crang 2003).

As Bryman (2012) has noted, in qualitative research, re-interviewing is not unusual. Re-interviewing occurred in this study, with a follow-up interview taking place with a representative from the ECB, Ian, who is involved in the career development of professional cricketers who aspire to play for England. This interview took place in order to validate and clarify findings from the other interviews, and thus, add further rigour to the research process. Charmaz (2006) recognises that follow-up interviews are an important part of qualitative research where analysis applies grounded theory, as it enables the interpretation of findings to be refined. This follow-up interview was felt to be necessary given the key role that this intermediary plays in both the migration process and the career development of English professional cricketers.

All interviews were digitally recorded to allow for transcription of the interview to take place as soon as possible after conducting the interview (Burdsey 2010). The use of recording equipment has been critiqued as being off-putting for interviewees, and may mean that non-verbal aspects of the interview process are missed or go unrecorded (Bryman 2012). In order to address the second of these perceived problems a reflexive field diary was kept throughout the research process (Pini 2005), which recorded reflections on the process of conducting, transcribing and analysing interview data.
4.3.1.1 Interviewing of Elite Participants

As discussed in Chapter 2, the participants in this research can be understood to be elite participants. Consideration of this status is required throughout the data collection phase in order to address issues that surround interviewing elites (Odendahl and Shaw 2002). At the early stages of research it may be that accessing elite participants may be more difficult and time consuming (Conti and O’Neil 2007). To overcome this, a variety of methods may be required in order to access potential: including the use of gatekeepers; snowball sampling; and perseverance (Harvey 2011c).

Furthermore, Harvey notes that elites represent a comparatively small sample of society and it is important to ensure potential participants are not likely to suffer from research fatigue. This case study was focused on an occupation that has previously not been the subject of much social science research and thus, when potential participants were approached they were willing to be included in the study.

When interviews have been arranged it is particularly important for this group, that interviews are well prepared and that there is flexibility in the interview schedule (Odendahl and Shaw 2002). In preparing for interviews, there was a need to ensure that no questions are asked where the answers should be known by the interviewer. Whilst this is an important consideration, in many cases the participants being elite may be of benefit, because information may be more readily available (Harvey 2011c). This was true for this participant cohort as there is much information publically available in cricket statistics and in the media, sources which were utilised in order to gain a detailed background on participants prior to interviews. Preparing and conducting interviews with elites have been shown to require different time commitments to other interviews. Harvey (2011b) reflected on his experiences of elite interviewing and found that ordinarily interviews lasted 30 to 45 minutes, which is shorter than the traditional hour to an hour-and-a-half. These timings reflect the interviews that were conducted in this research with the majority of interviews lasting thirty to sixty minutes.

Further considerations that are required when interviewing elite participants include addressing and reflecting on the power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee (Berry 2002). This was particularly significant in this study, given that the
interviews were conducted by a young, female PhD research student and all, bar one, of the research participants were male. Finally, one of the criticisms levelled at qualitative interviewing and recording interviews relates to the use of recording equipment and the impact that it has on the interviewee (Bryman 2012:482). The impact of this on elites has been shown to vary with Harvey (2011b) suggesting that the media training received by many elites may negate this impact. However, questions remain as to whether this training has other impacts on the research interview.

4.3.1.2 Telephone Interviews

Scholarship regarding telephone interviews has been largely neglected in the qualitative research literature (Novick 2008). Telephone interviews are generally believed to yield lesser quality data than that which can be achieved from face-to-face interviews (Sturges and Hanrahan 2004). The reported disadvantages of telephone interviews include lower response rates, shorter interview duration and a loss of non-verbal and contextual data (Novick 2008). However, in the few studies that employed telephone interviewing and have discussed their methodological suitability, these criticisms have not generally been ratified. For example, Miller (1995:37) concluded that there are no significant differences between face-to-face and telephone interviews. Likewise, Sturges and Hanrahan (2004:113) found that the nature and depth of responses did not differ substantially, nor did the response rate to interview requests between the two interview techniques. Bryman et al. (2008) note that responses to telephone interview questions were expansive and that they did not experience problems with recording the interview.

As well as negating the criticisms levelled at telephone interviews these studies have suggested that there are benefits to telephone interviewing when compared to face-to-face interviews. For instance, Novick (2008:393) reported that:

“Respondents have been described as relaxed on the telephone, and willing to talk freely and to disclose intimate information. Qualitative telephone data have been judged to be rich, vivid, detailed and of high quality”.
The potential for disclosure of sensitive information during telephone interviews has been widely acknowledged as it reduces participant distress (Bryman 2012), and increases perceptions of anonymity (Greenfield et al. 2000).

When data collection for this study commenced it was intended that interviews would be carried out face-to-face and on a one-to-one basis. Whilst the interviews have all been conducted individually with participants, it transpired that carrying out telephone interviews was a more fruitful technique. Primarily, this allowed increased flexibility as to when interviews could be conducted, which was particularly suited to this occupational group, whose working pattern varies daily and is significantly affected by weather conditions. A further benefit of this was the increased geographical spread of participants that could be viably included in the study. As with other studies that have employed telephone interviews, no significant differences were identified between those interviews that were conducted face-to-face and those that were conducted over the telephone. Glogowska et al. (2011), undertook research investigating student withdrawal from university courses. They felt that for their participant sample, telephone interviewing was a suitable method given the accepted status that telephones now have among young people. Many of the participants in this study were young people whose ages reflect those in the study of Glogowska et al., and this is likely to contribute to the successful implementation of telephone interviews in this study. Furthermore, as noted by Harvey (2011b) in relation to the media training of elites, the majority of participants in this study were frequently required to speak to the media and often this required giving telephone interviews. Thus, telephone interviews are familiar to the participants in this study and this may contribute to the similar outcomes from both interview techniques.

4.3.1.3 Email Interviews

It was necessary to complete a small number of email interviews. These interviews were carried out with participants in Australia and this reflects the acknowledgement that whilst face-to-face interviews are seen to be the “gold-standard” method in terms of validity and rigour (McCoyd and Kerson 2006:390), they are not always possible when participants are geographically dispersed (Sedgwick and Spiers 2009). Deakin and Wakefield (2014) recognise that there are number of options now available
through which to conduct online research and email interviews are one of these techniques. In this study email interview techniques were employed in order to include an Australian perspective on the temporary, seasonal migration of UK-based professional cricketers. This provided the opportunity to validate findings from the migrants and other English participants adding rigour and reliability (Baxter and Eyles 1997) to the study through comparing and contrasting with the findings from the email interviews.

4.3.2 Selecting and Interviewing Participants

In order to collect the data necessary to answer the research aim and objectives the focus was on recruiting contemporary and former migrant cricketers. Other intermediaries who influence, assist or limit the opportunities and characteristics of migratory activity were also recruited as research participants. As outlined in Chapter 1, including both migrants and intermediaries, enables the key principles of Castles (2007,2010) and Collinson’s (2009) approach to undertaking rigorous migration research to be met, by undertaking historically grounded, multi-scalar research that considers both structure and agency. To achieve this, the following recruitment methods were utilised.

Snowball sampling has been shown to be a useful technique in gaining access to participants who may otherwise be problematic to involve in research (Browne 2005), which in this study is a population of elite participants. Snowball sampling techniques have been critiqued for introducing subjective bias into the research sample, producing less reliable results (Asthana and Bhushan 2007; Jones 2009). Despite this, it is argued that snowball sampling is the most widely utilised sampling technique in qualitative research (Noy 2008). Harvey (2011c) suggests that snowball sampling may be difficult to employ within elite populations as contact may be required between elite participants in order to gain permission to provide contact details to the researcher. However, snowball sampling was successfully employed by Burdsey (2010) in his study of British Muslim experiences in English Professional Cricket and it was found to be an effective technique for recruiting participants in this study. The success of this sampling method may be due to, as one interviewee (Stuart) noted “the cricket
community is very close, everyone knows everyone” and snowball sampling has been shown to be a useful technique within networked communities (Babbie 2011).

Participants were either contacted directly via email, using contacts from previous research. Alternatively, known gatekeepers were approached in order to recruit and make contact with potential participants. Snowball sampling was employed to recruit further participants using contacts provided by existing participants. It should be noted that by including contacts known from previous research, it was possible to include senior representatives, such as Chief Executive Officers and Managing Directors, from county cricket clubs and national governing bodies.

Tarrant (2014) recognises the importance of acknowledging the location of research interviews in order to reflect upon the power dynamics in the interview context. Here, face-to-face interviews were all carried out in spaces related to the professional cricket industry. These spaces included a number of county cricket grounds as well as at the ECB’s National Cricket Performance Centre, which is located on the Loughborough University Campus. Whilst the interviews were all carried out in areas which were quiet and ensured the confidentiality of information that was imparted, the interview locations were areas that could be considered communal spaces. These locations reduced the risk attached to conducting one-to-one interviews between a female researcher and male participants.

4.3.3 Research Population

As noted in Chapter 1, this study of temporary, seasonal, international migration sought to consider the whole migration process. This required not only interviewing migrant cricketers, but also other intermediaries who have a role in, and influence, the migration of UK-based professional cricketers. As indicated a variety of methods were used in order to gain access to the participants.

A summary of the interviewees can be found in Appendix A. It demonstrates that, in total, 64 participants were interviewed. However, 11 of these individuals were interviewed in two different capacities. Initially, they were interviewed as former migrants and they were subsequently interviewed in their current roles as either Directors of Cricket or as Governing Body Senior Managers. Thus, effectively 75
interviews were conducted; a total which comprises of 52 migrant interviews and 23 interviews with intermediaries. A summary of the interview participants, including the pseudonyms that are used for the remainder of this thesis is in the appendix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intermediaries</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directors’ of Cricket at County Cricket Clubs</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governing Body Senior Managers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian League Representatives</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1 Numbers and Roles of Intermediaries interviewed (Data source: Researcher’s own data)

The sample of ten Directors’ of Cricket from England and Wales County Cricket Clubs accounts for a greater than 50% representation of the total potential population given that there are eighteen County Cricket Clubs. The inclusion of six Governing Body Senior Managers is a full representation of individuals who have a role in enabling and regulating this migration. Within this sample population, it includes national and international governing bodies as well as the Professional Cricketers’ Association, the representative body of Professional Cricketers in the UK. The sample includes both Managing Directors and a Chief Executive Officer; however, specifying further information within the interviewee details is likely to compromise participant anonymity, so more general terminology is used.

Players’ Agents were included in the research sample. Using the theoretical sampling technique of grounded theory analysis the inclusion of two agents was justified. Finally, five representatives were recruited from leagues in Australia and the sample includes participants from five of the seven Australian states. The five states that are included are: Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland and New South Wales.

The research sample of migrants was broken down into three phases in order to reflect the phases identified in Chapter 3. By including both contemporary migrants in the sample, as well as historical migrants, it was possible to investigate how the wider changes in cricket over this period have impacted upon this style of temporary, seasonal migration. Whilst the sample populations for the Packer Phase and Proto-
Professionalization phase are included in this research to provide background context, the samples can be understood to be a representative sample of migrants from this time phase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migration Phases</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Packer Phase (1975-1980)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Professionalization Phase (1981-2000)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalization Phase (2001-Present)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.2 Numbers of Migrants interviewed during each Migration Phase (Data source: Researcher’s own data)

No formal records of temporary, seasonal, international migration between England and Australia exist. Neither out-migration from England is recorded, nor in-migration to the Australian leagues. Consequently, extensive literature and online searches, including cricket statistical archives and player biographies and autobiographies, have been used to try and establish the volume of migration between England and Australia. Using this method, during the Packer Phase it was established that twenty individuals undertook temporary, seasonal migration to a range of destinations in Australia, most notably, Western Australia and New South Wales. These individuals were primarily involved in the Whitbread Scholarship Scheme implemented by the TCCB (Martin-Jenkins 1982) and a small number of individuals migrated independently having been recruited by host teams in Australia.

During the Proto-Professionalization Phase, the secondary data sources, which included incomplete datasets provided by cricket archivists in Victoria and Western Australia, would suggest that approximately 50 different individuals were involved in temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. Thus, the research sample of twelve individuals represents just under 25% of this total sample.

During the winter of 2013-2014, from data provided by the County Cricket Clubs, either in personal communication or via club websites it was possible to identify that in total 67 individuals participated in temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. Using this value it is possible to estimate that over the 12 seasons of the Professionalization Phase that 800 migrations to Australia have taken place. Whilst the sample of 35
participants only accounts for approximately 4% of this total, it is necessary to take into consideration that in many cases a single individual may undertake repeated migrations and thus the 35 individuals will account for far greater than 4%.

The participant sample size can also be seen to be justified given the grounded theory approach that was used for data collection and analysis. The theoretical sampling that is a key aspect of this approach (Charmaz 2006) whereby, data collection ceases once theoretical saturation has been reached (Bryman 2012). For the Professionalization Phase migrants in particular the general findings were proving to be consistent as new interviews were conducted, with only minor differences evident in individual and specific experiences.

4.3.4 Interview Structure and Content

The interview schedules varied slightly depending upon the participant group being interviewed. When interviewing migrants and former migrants the schedule drew on an oral history approach, by chronologically investigating the migration process. The primary topics included in the interview schedule can be seen in Figure 4.3.

**Discussion Topics for Current and Former Migrant Interviews**

- Biography and background
- Motives and drivers for migration
- Migration experiences: cricket and social
- Post-migration reflections: impacts and achievements
- Views and advice for future migrants
- The future of temporary, seasonal, international migration

Figure 4.3 Discussion topics included in the interview schedule of current and former migrants

Likewise, interviews with the intermediaries were based on an initial interview schedule that enabled an insight into the processes of migration (*Figure 4.4*). Within these more general discussion topics it was possible to address more specific subjects that were related to the role of the intermediary.
### Discussion Topics for Intermediary Interviews

- Views on seasonal player migration
- Regulation and Contact during the migration
- Employer support and funding
- Motives and benefits of migration for individuals and employers
- Traditions and social networks in migration
- Impacts of migration and career progression
- The future of temporary, seasonal, international migration

Figure 4.4 Discussion topics included in the interview schedule for intermediaries

### 4.4 Quantitative Analysis of Archival Data

Epistemologically this thesis has privileged qualitative data that was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews. But, methodologically it is necessary to report and reflect upon the archival data that was used in Chapter 3 to contextualise the case study. Secondary data was obtained from online archives of professional cricket (cricinfo Archive 2014) and was compiled in order to quantitatively demonstrate how cricket has developed and professionalized during the study period of 1975-Present.

The inclusion of quantitative data in contextualising the research enhances the validity and reliability (Bryman 2012) of the analysis of the primary data, by supporting the identification and use of the phases of outbound player migration from county cricket. As previously demonstrated in this chapter, the research aim and objectives could only be effectively achieved through the collection of detailed qualitative data. However, the descriptive statistics that were used to assist with contextualising the research, demonstrate an important addition understanding the case study that is central to this thesis.

### 4.5 Data Analysis

Once the interviews had taken place in the manner described above, the audio recordings were fully transcribed as soon as possible after the interview had been completed. Following guidance from Thomson (2014) undertaking full transcription provides the first opportunity to re-think, remember and reflect upon the conversation and is a valuable task, despite being a time-consuming process. Full
transcription is advocated by Bryman (2012:482) as it: “corrects the natural limitations of your memories and the intuitive glosses that we might place on what people say in interviews”. Bryman (2012:486) cautions against partial transcription to avoid missing key points and potentially save time, if it is later necessary to go back to recordings, to source an issue that only emerges as significant at a later stage of analysis. Following transcription the interview transcripts were imported into NVivo10 where the coding process was carried out electronically.

The process of coding and analysis adopted a ‘grounded theory’ approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967), which is considered to be the most frequently used method for analysing qualitative data in social science research (Bryman 2008). This is an inductive research technique (Glaser and Strauss 1967) that allowed the data to expose the most appropriate categories, concepts and potentially theory (Charmaz 2000), rather than using the data to test a priori assumptions. Whilst this method is argued to allow theory to be developed that is more intimately linked to the primary data (Strauss and Corbin 1998) and, is thus more difficult to refute (Glaser and Strauss 1967), a number of criticisms have been levelled at grounded theory. The primary critique is that the inductive approach means that researchers are unable to disregard existing theory until late in the research process (Bryman 2008). However, the widespread use of this approach, and the lack of pre-existing geographical research on sports labour migration, means that a grounded theory approach remains the most suitable method for data analysis in this research.

Guided by the principles of grounded theory analysis interviews, transcription and initial coding of data occurred concurrently throughout the data collection phase (Glaser and Strauss 1967) until theoretical saturation was considered to have been reached (Bryman 2012). This phase of initial coding allowed emerging themes to be explored in more detail, alongside the other sensitizing concepts gained from the literature review that guided the design of the research aim and objectives (Charmaz 2006). Initial coding emerged from the first impressions of the data and these initial codes have been defined by Charmaz (1983:186) as “shorthand devices to label, separate, compile and organize the data”.
Following completion of data collection and initial coding a process of more focused coding occurred. The review of the coding enabled the suitability of the initial codes to be checked. Consequently, as data analysis proceeded the most useful and enlightening codes were progressed with (Charmaz 2006). Under the guidance of Strauss and Corbin (1990), further analysis and re-analysis of the data was carried out at this stage using the remaining initial and more focused codes.

As the process of coding and data analysis advanced, the codes became more distanced from the initial data. This assisted with the broader conceptualization of the migration phenomenon that was being studied (Bryman 2012), whilst not discarding the specificities of the more detailed codes and individual migratory experiences that were conveyed during the research interviews. When related back to the research questions these codes were used to frame the presentation (Charmas 2006) of the empirical data in the thesis.

In particular, this more abstract level of data analysis exposed the similarities between the concepts that were emerging from the empirical data and Bourdieu’s concepts of economic, cultural and symbolic capital. Previous research has hinted towards the potential usefulness of Bourdieu’s notions of capital in skilled migration research. Therefore, the Bourdieusian concepts of economic, cultural and symbolic capital were used, alongside the codes that had emerged from the ground theory analysis, as a tool for understanding and interpreting the data (Charmaz 2006:11), most notably in relation to the first research objective: “To examine the motives for migration of the skilled workers, their employers and intermediaries”.

The process of data analysis was aided by the use of Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). The use of CAQDAS, is for the most part, considered to be a beneficial addition to the research process by ensuring rigour (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). In this study the CAQDAS programme that was utilised was NVivo10. NVivo10 provides a set of tools that simplifies data management and supports the application of a variety of analytical methods, as opposed to prescribing a method of analysis (Ishak and Bakar 2012). Software such as NVivo enables researchers to be simultaneously, close to, and distanced from the data (Richards 1999). By allowing researchers to move between scales of analysis it is possible to consider individual,
micro-scale, quotations alongside their position within the wider context of the discussion, and in doing so, it enables a more sophisticated analysis (Bazeley and Jackson 2013).

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Throughout the research process ethical considerations were paramount. Diener and Crandall (1978) demonstrate that there are four key areas of ethical consideration: lack of informed consent, harm to participants, invasion of privacy and deception. These areas were all addressed when research clearance was received from the Loughborough University Ethics Advisory Committee. Prior to all interviews informed consent was gained from participants. In face-to-face interviews, a participant information sheet was provided that outlined: the research; who to contact in case of concerns; the right to withdraw at any point; information about confidentiality agreements; and how the data was to be used. At this point permission to record interviews was obtained. After explaining and discussing the above with participants, written consent to participate was obtained. For email interviews this procedure was carried out over email in order for consent to participate to be obtained.

Following a recommendation from Novick (2008:394), in the telephone interviews a prepared script was used that included all the information covered in the participant information sheet. This was discussed with the participant prior to gaining verbal consent for participation. Telephone interviews have been shown to address ethical concerns as they encourage feelings of anonymity for the participant and it is also believed to be easier for participants to terminate a telephone interview compared to one that is conducted face-to-face (Bryman 2012).

In order to maintain anonymity and thus the potential for harm to participants, distinguishing features including names and cricket clubs were anonymised during transcription. Given the high profile nature of participants in this research, the procedures of Burdsey (2010:320) were followed: “to maintain anonymity, the names of players and clubs, as well as distinguishing attributes and achievements, have been removed from the text”. During transcription all participants were given pseudonyms and these are used throughout this thesis.
4.7 Methodological Reflections

In the introduction to this chapter the need to fully disclose and reflect upon the methods employed in a study in order to address the political, ethical and moral concerns of a piece of research (Crang 2005), and ensure the evidential quality of the data (Baxter and Eyles 1997) was highlighted. This section will reflect on the research processes, considering issues that emerged and were addressed in the course of data collection. Given the ethical and power issues that could have potentially arisen, the positionality of the researcher will be discussed. Detailed consideration of these issues through reflexive practice (England 1994) allows rigour to be established in the research process (Baxter and Eyles 1997), and some of the concerns regarding the use of qualitative research techniques to be addressed. Together these increase the validity and reliability of the data and subsequent conclusions, by improving the transparency of the research methods (Bryman 2008).

Reflecting on the early stages of the research process, when participants were sought and contacted regarding participating in the study, there are three reflections to be made. First, five gatekeepers were used to assist with gaining access to and arrange interviews with seventeen current professional cricketers. The use of gatekeepers (Heller et al. 2011) at both county cricket clubs and the ECB can be seen to be a successful method of accessing potential participants. The gatekeepers were all contacted personally, via email, where the purpose of the research was outlined, alongside a request for an interview. After conducting interviews with them, these participants were all willing to act as gatekeepers to current players and assist with organising interviews. However, despite this willingness, the gatekeepers did not usually provide a detailed insight to their contacts as to the background of the research, so interviews with these participants generally needed to begin with an introduction to the research. Whilst this was initially unexpected, it was found to help build rapport and stimulate discussion at the beginning of these interviews. It would perhaps be expected that this willingness to participate without detailed knowledge of the interview could be attributed to the fact that the gatekeepers were all senior managers and therefore, current players felt obliged to participate. However, similar experiences were had when participants were contacted through snowball sampling.
and recommendations came from peers as opposed to managers, which would suggest that obligations to management is not the underlying cause of the willingness to participate.

Second, as Harvey (2011c) acknowledges, it is necessary to reflect upon the impact that university affiliation has on gaining access to participants. For this research, which utilised a sports case study, affiliation to Loughborough University was generally found to be beneficial. Loughborough is traditionally regarded as a university with a strong sports focus and the ECB’s National Cricket Performance Centre, is located on the campus, so the university is widely known amongst the professional cricket community. Although, whilst the university affiliation was found to be beneficial, there was generally surprise from participants that I was from a geography background as opposed to a sports science background, for example. The potential for this had been anticipated and thus, in correspondence to potential participants I included reference to my joint supervision by the Department of Geography and the School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences.

Once interviews began, reflections in my field diary raise two important points regarding conducting interviews. The first of these was my increasing confidence and familiarity with the interview schedule (Bryman 2012), which allowed interviews to become more conversational and free-flowing. Second, transcribing interviews as soon as possible after conducting them meant it was possible to reflect on and act on any issues that became apparent when listening to the audio recording. This process enabled me to identify that allowing periods of silence in the interview allowed more extensive answers to be provided as interviewees were given ‘thinking-time’. Thus, whilst these silences may have felt long and in need of filling when conducting the interview, allowing silence improved the quality of the data collected (Cook 2009; Berry 2002).

During the process of transcription and data analysis it was possible to reflect on presences and absences from the data. Two key areas of absence were identified from the data: problematic migratory experiences and discussion of financial matters. With the exception of minor issues that occurred in the course of migration, no instances of significant struggles or failed migrations were conveyed by participants. Whilst it may
be possible that such instances are rare and therefore difficult to identify within the sample population, it is possible that individuals who have had such experiences are unwilling to participate in research. Some participants did provide secondary evidence of friends or colleagues who had experienced problems, so it would suggest that there are individuals who struggle overseas. But, it may be that given these interviews are centred upon recollections of migratory experiences that, upon reflection, despite any struggles encountered during migration, the overall experience was positive and beneficial.

The second significant absence from the data was the lack of discussion of financial impacts and monetary issues that were related to migration. It was only in a small number of interviews that finance was raised initially by the participant, and even when specifically asked or probed (May 2002), migrants did not speak openly on the topic. It may be that money and finance is not a significant consideration in this style of migration, but it should be noted that financial matters have not been widely spoken of in relation to cricket. As Lee (1997:177) notes: “the fact is that money has always been something of a dirty word in cricket, especially money that might find its way to the players”. Wagg (2013:4) also reiterates: “English cricket, historically, had always been run... by men who had money, but disdained talk of money”. This tradition of professional cricketers not speaking openly of money may provide something of an explanation as to why participants were disinclined to speak of financial issues in the course of interviews.

In Harvey’s (2011b:433) discussion of methodological protocols for interviewing elites, he notes that in many instances this group of participants may have received media training that results in them being wary or threatened within the interview context. The influence of the media can be seen to have mixed impacts on the data obtained in this study. First, whilst it has been noted that audio recording equipment can be off-putting for interviewees, the participants in this study are frequently interviewed by the media are therefore regularly exposed to recording equipment, which would suggest that it would be less likely to impact upon the interview setting. Second, there were examples in this thesis where it could be suggested that participants who have been widely exposed to the media have impacted on the style
of the interview. In my field diary I reflected on what was ultimately the shortest interview I conducted, lasting about twenty-five minutes; this interview was with Brad, an established county cricketer who has played Test Cricket for England. Reviewing the transcript, it is clear that Brad’s responses to my questions were clear and concise and that the information conveyed did not appear to lose any detail despite the short duration of the interview.

The third example of where the media can be understood to influence the interview context occurred during an interview with Gerry, a migrant from the Proto-Professionalization Phase, who is now a journalist involved in written and television coverage of cricket. Having introduced the interview to Gerry, I placed the audio recorder between us so that it would be able to effectively record our conversation. However, Gerry questioned this, picked up the recorder and continued throughout the interview to use the recorder as if it were a microphone, including holding it towards me when I asked follow-up questions. Whilst this is a slightly different context, given Gerry’s experience in the media, Arendell (1997:350) reveals a similar experience in her research with divorced fathers: “almost two-thirds of the fathers instructed me on where to position my tape recorder and how to operate it”. Gerry’s actions can be understood to influence the power dynamics in the interview context and a discussion of the power dynamics in this study more broadly will follow.

Prior to undertaking this research, and throughout the interview process, it was necessary to consider some of the unusual issues relating to the power balance between the researcher and the interviewees that underlay the research context. Ordinarily these issues were seen to occur as a result of the relationship between the male participants and the female researcher. It was possible that this gender difference could have impacted upon the balance of power in the interviews; however, there are few examples of such a research conflict in existing scholarship. It has been suggested that respondents tend to react best and disclose most information when they were being interviewed by researchers in a similar position to themselves (Horton 2001). Therefore, it was possible that data collection in this research had the potential to be hindered by the gender difference.
As well as the gender difference, the potential for power inequalities between myself and the interviewees may be enhanced by the elite status of the participants. The potential for power inequalities between elite participants and junior researchers has previously been discussed by Harvey (2011b,c) and Conti and O’Neil (2007). But, in both cases the researcher has been male and the participants have also been male, and the lack of gender difference acts to negate some of power inequality between the interviewer and interviewees. Whilst the gender difference was evident in this research, it may be that the power balanced is redressed by the ages of the researcher and the participants.

As professional athletes, the migrant participants in this study are able to achieve elite status at a comparatively young age. Consequently, when data collection took place just over half of the interviewees were of a similar same age to myself (±5years). The remaining participants, who were employers, intermediaries and former migrants, ranged in age from 31-72 years old at the time of interview. When the younger participants were involved it was possible that the similarity in age with the researcher impacted upon the power balance to reduce inequality. Tarrant (2014) has reflected on the power balance in a study involving an early career researcher interviewing grandfathers. The shifts in the power balance that Tarrant reflects on were evident in some cases in this research. For example, in conducting a telephone interview with Martin, a Packer Phase migrant, Martin indicated that he assumed my youth when discussing parenthood and the role of children in the migration process.

It is commonly assumed that in an interview context the researcher is in possession of the greatest power, as they control the interview, as they attempt to extract data from the interviewee (Oakley 1981). However, research has shown that when the interview participant is considered to be elite, as in this research, the power relationship is transformed with the interviewee dominating (Berry 2002). Whilst the cricketers that were interviewed here are considered elite athletes, due to their status as professional players, it is unlikely that they would be considered elite members of society away from the sporting arena (Odendahl and Shaw 2002). It is for this reason, that as a researcher, I was able to draw on my academic knowledge and qualifications as an early career researcher to redress this power balance.
The power balance in the research was affected by my pre-existing position within the research field. Having been a long-term employee at one of the county cricket clubs involved in the study it meant that I had an inside knowledge of the research field (Taylor 2006) and had prior acquaintance with a number of the research participants. For these participants it meant that I was not meeting them for the first time in the interview context (Garton and Copland 2010). I believe that this was beneficial to the data collection process rather than a hindrance. Prior acquaintance increased rapport and helped the interviews to take a two-way conversational form as opposed to a data extraction process. This familiarity (Smith 2012) was evident in the transcripts of these interviews where nicknames and references to mutual acquaintances were made, alongside phrases including “as you know...”.

Whilst as a researcher I have no personal experience of the migration processes that are being studied (Arendell 1997), I did have an academic understanding of migration, as well as knowledge gained from working within the cricket industry, where these processes are occurring. The lack of personal experience could have been seen as beneficial to the interview as I was unable to introduce personal ideas or views that may influence the participant’s position; a situation discussed by Oakley (1981) in her work on women’s experiences of childbirth. Academic knowledge and knowledge and language gained from being an insider (Macphail 2004) within the professional cricket industry was found to be beneficial when interviewing previously unknown participants. For example, during the concluding stages of my interview with Paul, a Director of Cricket, he enquired after my background, after acknowledging that he had been surprised by my knowledge of the interview topic. Demonstrating an understanding of the topic has been shown to help reduce power inequalities in the interview context (Pini 2005), particularly when interviewing elite participants. However, Harvey (2011b) recognises that in some instances it may be necessary to ‘play dumb’ in order to get an explicit clarification of an issue within the interview data. In this study this was particularly important in interviews with prior acquaintances, given their tendency, as noted above, to assume knowledge. Therefore, in order to conduct successful elite interviews it is important to achieve a balance between demonstrating sufficient, but not too much, knowledge.
The mixed approach to the interviews conducted in this research means it is necessary to reflect on the impact that using both telephone and face-to-face interviews had on the research process. Reviewing and reflecting on the interviews and transcripts would suggest that there were no significant differences in the quality or quantity of the data collected (Sturges and Hanrahan 2004). Using telephone interviews influences the power balance between the interviewer and interviewee. As it has been suggested by Glogowska et al. (2011), the separation over the telephone enhances feelings of anonymity for the participants, which may result in the disclosure of more sensitive information (Novick 2008:391). This may be enhanced by the fact that during a telephone interview the participant can decide on their location and this may allow them to feel more relaxed. Although Novick (2008:393) notes that this may mean that there is an increased potential for participants to be distracted in the course of the interview. This was not found to impact upon the interview process in this research, despite participants revealing their locations to include, for example, being on a golf course and watching a county cricket match.

It is clear that in the course of this research there were a number of factors that had the potential to influence the power relationship between myself and the research participants. Whilst it was impossible to account for these inequalities in the methodological approach, the awareness of the potential issues demonstrated above strengthened the research process and improved the quality, validity and reliability of the data. The implementation of these methods did not appear to be obviously affected by any of the issues discussed above. However, issues regarding power relations rarely manifest themselves in an obvious form during research, so it is possible that these issues may have had an impact on the research process.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the methodological framework that was adopted in order to investigate the motives, processes and impacts of temporary, seasonal, international migration. Qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with contemporary and former migrants, as well as other intermediaries. These techniques enabled interviewees to convey their personal views and experiences on the above issues, and the analysis of this rich empirical data will be
presented in the following chapters. Chapter 5 investigates the motives of migration for the contemporary and historical migrant cohorts and, further to this, Chapter 6 considers the motives of the intermediaries involved in migration. Chapter 7 explores the processes of migration. Chapter 8 examines the realities and impacts of being a migrant.
5. Pre-Migration Decision-Making Processes of Professional Cricketers: Motives and Appeals

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the motives and appeals that underpin the migration process, drawing upon qualitative findings from interviews with cricketers who moved to Australia between 1975 and the present. The discussion is divided into three parts based on the periods of restructuring of world cricket, as identified in Chapter 3. First, the investigation focuses on the earliest seasonal migrations of County Cricketers from 1975-1980, during the so-called “Packer Revolution” in Australian cricket. Second, migration flows that took place between 1981-2000 are discussed. During this Proto-Professionalization Phase cricketers in England and Wales were predominantly employed on six-month contracts, from 1st April to 30th September each year (Stewart 2012a), allowing professional cricketers to partake in overseas migration during the out-of-season period in the UK. Finally, the Professionalization Phase focuses on migration from 2001 through to the present day, which is tied to the emergence of twelve-month contracts in County Cricket; a key indicator of how the sport has undergone processes of professionalization during this period (King 2011).

Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of economic, cultural and symbolic capital are utilised to explore the motives for migration of each of the migratory phases. This Bourdieusian framework provides a mechanism to tease out the similarities and differences between the migration processes during the three phases of study, and to establish the relationships between the motives for temporary, seasonal migration in professional cricket and the accumulation of economic, cultural and symbolic capital.

For the purposes of the analysis the following definitions of Bourdieu’s species of capital are applied. Economic capital is defined as being: “immediately and directly convertible into money” (Bourdieu 1986:48) and, consequently, encompasses financial drivers for migration. Cultural capital is most relevant in the embodied state, of which Bourdieu states: “the accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state...
presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (1986:48). Embodied cultural capital motives can be seen to include those that relate to skill development and improving as a cricketer whilst overseas. Finally, Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as “the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate” (1989:17). For the purposes of this study, other forms of capital are most likely to be perceived as legitimate when a player’s career progresses in a way that is attributable to their temporary migration.

5.2 Packer Phase 1975-1980

5.2.1 A Financial Imperative for Migration?
During this first phase, findings from interviews with five former cricket migrants reveal that there was an underlying financial imperative. As was shown in Chapter 3, at this time there was relatively limited economic capital in cricket, as it was prior to more lucrative media and sponsorship investment, and this was reflected in the lower salaries of cricketers. Thus, when asked about their reasons for going away all the former players immediately highlighted the fact that working as a professional cricketer in England at this time was a sixth month occupation (Stewart 2012a), and that there was a need to find employment during the off-season. Martin, a former spin bowler, who was first invited to play cricket in Perth at the age of 26, recounted:

“Well, in those days, as you’ll know, cricket was a six month occupation. So, there was always that difficulty of winter employment for any professional cricketer. And therefore, the opportunity to go and play overseas was immediately attractive”.

Martin highlights that anyone wanting to be employed as a cricketer during the winter had to go overseas. This can be understood as a destination pull factor in migration scholarship, and is reflective of neo-classical economic theories for migration (Conradson and Latham 2005; Dustmann and Weiss 2007; Batnitzky et al. 2009). The opportunities that Martin refers to were, in the case of those interviewed, all opportunities in which the migrants were invited to participate. These invitations
generally came directly from clubs who approached established English professional cricketers who had already developed a reputation in the sport. Bill and John, both former batsmen, were 29 and 36 years of age, respectively, and had already been successful in playing for England prior to their migration to Australia. Through their reputation within cricket, they were able to gain a good income whilst in Australia, and this was shown to be a key motive for migration. Their income came from a variety of sources, as Bill recalled:

“It was quite a big promotion role as well because I was just about on the fringes of the England cricket team. So I did that. I might have done a couple of, what do you call them, television advert things. I did quite a lot of promotional work as well, for a sports company, so I made a bit as well. So it was revenue as well as playing [sic].”

Similarly, John was provided with several roles through which to gain an income during his stay in Australia:

“I was well-known and a very good player and they could sell me or market me. I wrote for two newspapers, two newspapers in Australia. I did television commentary, I did coaching, I did a two-week coaching clinic, which was supported by Esso, and I did some speaking. So I earned my living, my way to stay there [sic] and I played cricket on a Saturday”.

As well as these opportunities for earning, invited migrants had their transport and living costs covered by their host clubs in Australia. Martin noted: “they would have organised, and felt responsible, for a house, car, flights and a source of income”. This ‘cost-covering’ by the hosts and arranged sources of income, enabled migrants to make money whilst overseas. They were able to bring this wealth back to the UK with them upon their return home. Hence, in the course of migration these individuals were acquiring economic capital that was transferable between Australia and the home country.

Martin, John and Bill were established professional cricketers at the time of their migration. But, there were emerging opportunities for younger players who had more
recently gained professional contracts. This was a migration flow that arose as a consequence of the “Packer Revolution” (Blofeld 1978). As with the established migrants they were invited to participate in migration, for example Dave, an 18 year old wicket-keeper, was invited to play club cricket by a contact in Australia, whereas, young batsman Tony was invited to participate in the TCCB scholarship scheme. For Dave and Tony acquiring economic capital was an important aspect of migration. Whilst they both received some assistance with living costs, such as accommodation in Australia, they were required to find work outside of cricket in order to gain sufficient economic capital to enable them to play cricket, their primary occupation, all year round. Dave revealed:

“It showed me that playing cricket is a great job so I didn’t just want to play at it, but work at it. That’s what it showed me. I didn’t want to be stacking shelves... But I did it because I had to so that I could earn some money so that I could be in Australia to play cricket”.

Similarly, Tony noted: “for the first three months of the winter 1978/79 I think I had, I had to work, so I worked in one of the factories out there”. For these younger migrants, there was less opportunity for them to acquire economic capital through cricket because of their career stage and lack of established reputation. But, the need for financial gain during migration remained as it enabled them to continue with their primary occupation all year round.

As cricket was not a fully professionalised sport at this time, it would appear that neo-classical economics, and here, economic capital motives for migration are evident. However, for the migrants who were still looking to establish their career, the suggestion that more complex motives for migration, as outlined in Section 2.5, are apparent. In many instances the other motives for migration can be understood to contribute to the acquisition of cultural capital, and it is these motives for migration which will be considered next.

5.2.2 Skill Enhancement Cannot be ‘Done at Second-hand’

All the migrants were keen to emphasise other motives for migration, most notably the chance to better themselves and improve as cricketers. Martin summarised: “I
went purely to play grade cricket to sort of enhance my game”. Within this enhancement the migrants indicated that there were four elements that would help enable an overall improvement. First, sojourns allowed migrants to play cricket all year round. Established batsman Bill expressed: “I thought it was important to continue playing cricket, rather than just play for six months, if I was going to get any better, then I’d have to play all year round.” The potential for continuous cricket was an important motive for the younger migrants in the early stages of their careers as professional cricketers. Dave articulated: “so what it does, is it fast-tracks your cricket, because you’re playing twelve months of the year, training and playing twelve months of the year”, thus, like Bill, highlighting how regular cricket assisted with skill development.

Second, the opportunity to play in new environments and unfamiliar cricket conditions, was a further motive that facilitated player improvement. This was true of the physical environment of cricket in Australia, which was discussed by John:

“I think any sportsman should put himself in different situations, different pitches, different environments because that’s what makes you a better, rounded player, because if you can play in all sorts of conditions, all countries, you become a better player, a rounded player”.

The conditions of cricket in Australia were recognised to vary in terms of the playing atmosphere and the competitive nature of the cricket. Experience of this was seen to be beneficial to migrants at all stages of their career, as Bill noted:

“The standard of cricket there was excellent and very competitive. You knew when you walked out there to bat that you’re in for a good fight, even though you were playing on very good batting wickets; the wickets were fantastic for batting on”.

Despite being an established cricketer, Bill recognised the importance of experiencing conditions such as these in order to further develop his cricket. This development involved his physical ability to succeed in the playing conditions and the mental ability to perform under pressure. These sentiments were echoed by Dave, who, as a young
wicket-keeper, was experiencing these conditions for the first time, and learning how to successfully cope and compete:

“You’re playing in new conditions, so in Australia rather than just in England, and it also toughens you up as well, because not only are you playing against the opposition on a Saturday in grade cricket, you are an Englishman, so they will try to single you out or test you out, which is all part of your learning curve”.

Tony, who was 21 at the time of his first migration, agreed:

“Trying to improve as a player, you’ve got to learn quickly and learn from your mistakes. And the more you can play cricket, the more experiences you can get, in different situations, and, you know, learning to earn respect from people who are very decent themselves”.

Furthermore Tony, expressed how important it was for him to migrate early in his career, as it allowed him to see what would be required for him to succeed as a professional, something which then assisted his future personal and professional development: “It was a great place to get that shock to the system, to show a young man how much further he had to go, if I wanted to get to the top. So it was a big wake-up call for me”.

These developmental experiences were specific to cricket. But off the field, migrants indicated that personal development motives were important aspects of temporary migration. These were most evident for the younger migrants, for instance, 18 year old Dave, who was away from home for the first time, stated: “when you’re out there on your own, not only is it maturing me as a cricketer, it was also going to mature me as an individual”. This indicates, that for Dave, migration was an all-round developmental experience which was beneficial both personally and professionally (Vind 2008).

The potential to acquire economic capital in Australia has been shown to be a destination pull factor for this style of migration. Yet, this data would suggest that climatic conditions, as well as material factors are acting as push factors, away from the UK where conditions mean that cricket cannot be played (Green et al. 2008). Consequently, these motives demonstrate that the acquisition of cultural capital,
particularly in its embodied form, was an important motive for the Packer Phase migrants. The motives stated by the migrants clearly reflect Bourdieu’s notion of embodied cultural capital, with cricketing ability reliant on a player’s body, their natural talent and their acquired and developed skills. In defining embodied cultural capital Bourdieu (1986:48) states “like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand”. This is evident in this case, as migrants recognise that they must migrate on a temporary basis so that they are in an environment where they are able to acquire embodied cultural capital in the form of cricket playing skills.

5.2.3 ‘Going That Bit Further in a Career’

The final element of capital discussed by Bourdieu (1989:17) is symbolic capital; defined as being capital which is acquired when other “species of capital are perceived and recognised as being legitimate”. In this case, the symbolic capital is generally acquired when the embodied cultural capital developed in the course of migration is converted as a result of career progression. Symbolic capital can be legitimised upon the cricketers’ return to England, as a result of the honour and prestige that is attached to participating in temporary, international migration.

The data indicates that, for the most part, the acquisition of symbolic capital was not an explicit motive for migration amongst this group. However, it was recognised to have been acquired with career progression being stated as an outcome of migration (Biemann and Andresen 2010). The three established migrants, Martin, John and Bill, all re-gained their places in the England national team, an impact which they largely attribute to migration. Bill stated: “I’d been left out of the team and it did help me to get back into the team by playing during the winter”. Similarly, John played for England again upon his return from Australia and recalled: “so when I came back in March I actually played for England for that summer. It gave me that confidence”. John went on to note a further benefit of his sojourn, as he had been exposed to cricketers that he subsequently faced again when they were both representing their national teams: “I played against a very fast bowler. And a few months later, when I was playing for England he was bowling against me”. Martin, the other established migrant
made reference to how migration had impacted upon his career as an international cricketer:

“I’m very proud to have played in Western Australia... So what I’m saying is whilst I was reasonably successful, and did well and the side did well, I did not subsequently play, well I might have played once more for England after that, so it was probably too late to dramatically enhance my career”.

Despite Martin believing that migration did not have a significant impact upon his career following migration, he reflects on the pride he feels at having played overseas. This suggests that there is kudos attached to having played cricket successfully in Australia, and this can be understood as having acquired symbolic capital (Findlay et al. 2012); a finding that reflects Ryan and Mullholland (2014b), who note the significance of having prestigious migrations on a CV and their impact on career progression.

The early career migrants, Dave and Tony, recognised the benefits of playing overseas, and how it impacted on their careers. When asked whether participating in migration was beneficial, Tony replied: “yes, without a doubt. I mean, I always say that it sort of finished me off, it rounded me off as a player and probably gave me that, sort of, belief that I could go a little bit further”. Dave’s comments supported this view, particularly in terms of the theme of it ‘finishing them’ off as players: “I wouldn’t call it a finishing school, but you could perhaps call it an apprenticeship. I credit my time in Perth as having a huge influence and huge benefit on my career”. These comments are significant as they reflect the findings of Stead and Maguire (1998) whose research on in-migration of overseas professional cricketers to English County Cricket indicated that migrants viewed England as their ‘Finishing School’. Whilst in this case study it is out-migration from England that is seen to be a form of finishing school, it would suggest that in cricket more generally, undertaking migration is an important part of a successful career trajectory.

Therefore, motives related to economic capital were significant for the small number of players who were able to undertake temporary migration to Australia during the period 1975-1980. This was due to the financial imperative driving migration, as well as the potential for established players to accumulate economic capital whilst
overseas. Despite the significance of economic motives, the opportunity to develop skills to enable the acquisition of cultural capital was emphasised by these former cricketers. Finally, motives related to symbolic capital were rarely stated by migrants in this phase, instead career progression was expressed as an impact of migration.

5.3 Proto-Professionalization Phase

5.3.1 ‘A P45 and Off You Go’

In many respects there is a similar relationship between migrants’ motives for migration and the acquisition of economic capital during the Proto-Professionalization Phase. During this phase, six month contracts were still in place for professional cricketers, meaning that a financial imperative for temporary, seasonal migration remained. The significance of this was clear in comments from migrants when they were asked why they initially decided to go to Australia. For instance, former batsman Peter commented:

“I’d just signed my first professional contract. And then basically, the winters, you’ve got to find yourself employment. In those days, we didn’t have twelve month contracts like they do now. So basically from the end of September to the beginning of April it was up to you to find some work”.

Similarly, Gareth, a former batsman recalled: “back then we were only employed on a six month contract and then you got your P45 back and off you went on your merry way. So as far as we were concerned it was a no brainer really to go away”. This is a view that was echoed by Richard, again a batsman, who, when asked about the background to his migration agreed: “to be honest in those days, cricket contracts were six month contracts, so during September, it was ‘see you boys, first of April’ and you had to find your own employment [sic]”. From these statements it is clear that economic capital, in the form of employment was a significant driving factor for temporary, seasonal migration.

Yet, financial gains were not usually described as motive for migration because, whilst players were able to gain an income through overseas migration, it was unusual for them to return home with much of the economic capital they had acquired. This was
expressed by several migrants, both former batsmen and bowlers who had migrated at different stages of their careers. For example, Gareth, who spent two winters away in his early twenties noted: “you very rarely brought any substantial amounts back with you”. Nick, also in his early twenties, agreed: “we got a very small fee for playing, like just enough to live off, nothing more”. Jeff, a bowler in his mid-twenties, had a similar experience: “we didn’t really get paid much. We got paid enough to live and we got put up”. This final comment of Jeff’s is significant as he refers to being “put up”. All of the migrants interviewed from this phase arranged ‘deals’, a type of relocation package with their host clubs. These deals varied depending upon the destination club and individual involved, but examples included Roger, a young wicket-keeper who wintered in Perth for three consecutive years, he recalled: “financially, I was very well looked after in terms of air fare, car and accommodation”. Gareth was able to arrange a similar deal with his club: “you’d agree obviously on your air fares, your accommodation and possibly a car and a wage for playing”. Gerry, was eighteen when he travelled to Sydney after his first summer of professional cricket in England, was offered a slightly different deal: “the club didn’t have much money, so there wouldn’t be a lot of money in it. But they’d pay an air fare and they’d find me some work during the week and I jumped at it”.

These deals can be considered to be indirect economic capital, given that the Australian cricket clubs paid directly into these packages, rather than providing the migrant with an equivalent salary. Thus, whilst migrants did not gain economic capital in this way, they were not required to cover the basic costs of migration themselves. The deals reflect the financial imperative for migration that continued from the Packer Phase and continued throughout the Proto-Professionalization Phase. Such similarities between the two phases reflect Castles et al. (2014) when they identified three phases of migration since the mid-1970s, where they suggest that the second phase through the 1980s and 1990s acted as a period of consolidation and growth following the initial stages in the late 1970s.

5.3.2 A Cricketing Education?
Despite the financial imperative driving migration, migrants in this phase emphasised the opportunity that migration provided them to develop and improve their cricket.
Much like the migrants in the Packer Phase, the stated motives were dominated by comments regarding their cricket education and a wish to have new cricket experiences. For example, when asked about their motives, migrants, such as batsman Richard, began by stating: “it was about lots of practice and as much playing as possible”. Gerry provided further detail:

“The reasons were pretty simple, when you are trying to become a top class professional cricketer, and hopefully go on and play for your country, you, a; need to play as much cricket and have as much breadth of experience in all conditions that you could find and all around the world. And, b; you need to practise and train as much as you can and clearly the English winter doesn’t give you much time to practise other than in an indoor cricket school”.

The opportunity to experience other cricket environments, and to play cricket overseas, were motivating factors for Gareth, who conveyed: “to play cricket of a fairly high standard and learn about life in other cricketing environments”. Nick, also remarked: “I went with a team-mate to gain, just to gain experience of playing overseas cricket, to gain a bit of consistency because you are playing all year round which helps you with your game”. These comments highlight some of the key aspects that migrants expressed as being important to them when developing as players.

The most commonly stated development opportunities that were available through migration were the ability to be exposed to new and unfamiliar cricket conditions and the chance to gain more general life-skills. In terms of experiencing new cricket conditions former batsman Peter expressed: “playing in different conditions was good for my cricket development, so it was good for my career”. Gerry, also a former batsman, agreed and noted how important he felt it was to experience a wide variety of different cricket conditions:

“If you went abroad you got all the obvious benefits of the summer, the conditions, the weather to play and train and practice and moreover you got to know the ways that different cultures play the game... Really I was just trying to get the biggest portfolio of cricket skills under my belt”.
Batsmen, such as Peter and Gerry, were not the only type of cricket players motivated to migrate for the chance to play in new environments. For example, Jeff, a bowler, commented: “it was just about general experience really. Playing on different wickets, playing against different bowlers, just purely experience [sic]”. In addition, wicket-keeper, Roger, agreed that he was motivated by the chance: “to get as much exposure as possible to good quality players and quality cricket, in terms of quick, hard pitches and a competitive atmosphere”. It would appear that migration was therefore providing an opportunity to develop and broaden an individual’s skills portfolio and these are migration motives that have been demonstrated within other skilled occupations (Yang et al. 2011; Erel 2010).

The opportunity for personal development, both on and off the cricket field, was a further motive for migrants. For instance, Peter noted: “it was a really good life experience because it was the first time I’d been away for six months on my own, so obviously that’s a challenge in itself”. More specific to cricket, Gerry was able to shed light on how migration provided him with the chance to develop mental attributes such as leadership skills:

“I went to another, smaller club, it needed lifting, it needed leadership and for club cricket, supposedly a bit of a face and a bit of name... And that was a great experience, it was a great experience because that was an experience of leadership which I was keen to learn more about and keen to achieve myself”.

Furthermore, Jeff, Gareth and Roger reflected on how migration allowed them to develop personal skills, such as responsibility, that were beneficial to them whilst they were overseas and on their return to England. Jeff conveyed: “getting out and meeting new people and as I said before, bringing responsibility to the club and having to perform as an overseas cricket player puts a lot of pressure on you which stands you in good stead when you come back”. On reflection, Gareth would count being put in a position of responsibility as the most beneficial experience he had overseas: “cricket-wise the responsibility of being the one that people actually look to was a good experience. I think that it made me, far more responsible as a player”. Similarly, Roger noted how acquiring these skills aided his development: “out there as the team pro,
you are in a position of responsibility with coaching duties and things as well. It helps you grow as a player”.

Motives related to the acquisition of cultural capital were emphasised by those who migrated during this phase. These motives included the opportunity to develop and acquire cricket skills in new and unfamiliar environments and exploiting the chance to continue to play cricket all year round. Personal development motives were revealed by the Proto-Professionalization Phase migrants. The most notable of these was shown to be being placed in a position of responsibility for the first time. These were all embodied skills that players were able to draw on, both during their time in Australia and when they returned to the UK. These findings in relation to personal and professional development during the Proto-Professionalization Phase are in line with findings from other research into temporary, skilled migration at this time. The importance of skill development during short-term migrations was highlighted in Findlay and Gould’s (1989) research agenda and was addressed empirically in papers, including Beaverstock’s (1991) considerations of secondments within transnational accountancy firms. Beaverstock demonstrates how new international labour markets were being exploited in order to allow migrants to develop new skills and have experiences, that they would not be able to have if they remained in the UK. Whilst this scholarship focuses upon employer driven labour secondments, these motives for migration reflect those conveyed by individuals who migrated during the Proto-Professionalization Phase. Furthermore, Findlay and Gould (1989) and Beaverstock (1991) recognise how migration may be motivated by the opportunity for career development. This is a motive that can be analysed using Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic capital and the prevalence of these motives will be addressed in the following section.

5.3.3 Becoming a ‘Top-class Professional’

As with the Packer Phase there are only occasional references to motives that can be classified as symbolic capital acquisition. In relation to career progression Peter stated that: “it was good for my career”, and Jeff illustrated how the skills gained overseas could be utilised on his return home: “having to perform as an overseas player puts a lot of pressure on you which stands you in good stead when you come back”. Gerry
expanded on this and noted that he hoped migration would help him progress his career in England: “you are trying to become a top-class professional cricketer, and hopefully go on and play for your country”. These comments suggest that, during this phase, migrants did give some consideration as to how their skills, which can be understood as embodied cultural capital, could be recognised and legitimised when they returned to England. In recognising that these newly acquired skills can be legitimised and contribute to career progression, these can be considered to be symbolic capital acquisition motives.

Four of the migrants interviewed from this phase went on to progress their career to the top level and play for the national England team. Unlike in the Packer Phase, migrants did not tend to discuss this impact of migration. However, Richard, who went on to represent England noted: “I was quite fortunate really. I had a winter in Australia and then I was fortunate to tour the West Indies and Australia”. Nick, who also went on to play for England, was clear about his hope that migration would help with his career, but he was unwilling to be explicit about his long-term aspirations at the time of his migration:

“At that stage in my career probably not, I was a 20 year old, just become a professional cricketer. If I looked more than a year down the line that was probably as far as I got. I never looked past cricket, cricket was my life at that time and at that time it was my future and my immediate future. So it was just to go over there and try to better myself so I could prolong my career as a professional cricketer. I had no intention of doing anything else other than playing cricket”.

Many of the migrants interviewed from this phase made reference to their coaching duties and developing their coaching skills whilst participating in temporary migration. Richard recalled the background to his trip: “I was going because I wanted to coach and I wanted to go and learn the game”. Similarly, Roger recounted: “I was out there as the team pro and I was in a position of some responsibility with coaching duties and things as well”. Nick articulated the importance of this responsibility that he felt whilst he was overseas: “if a club are may be funding you to play for them, I think the least you can do is at least coach the kids an evening or two a week, which is what I did”.
The chance to be involved in children’s coaching was noted by Jeff: “I was coaching and I was vice-captain and I was running kids teams, all things like that. So basically it just gave me great experience and it gave us some organisation skills as well”. These opportunities for coaching, and as a result knowledge and skill exchange, reflect the motives for migration outlined by Beaverstock (1991) that were occurring in other occupations at this time, as well as more recently by Khoo et al. (2007).

In a similar way to developing their playing skills, the acquisition of coaching skills can also be considered to contribute to the accumulation of cultural capital. By being involved in coaching these migrants were developing a further set of embodied skills that have the potential to be converted to symbolic or economic capital later in their life-course. These migrants did not immediately apply these newly acquired skills when they returned to the UK. However, all those quoted above have taken up coaching roles in either professional or club cricket following their retirement from professional cricket. In these roles they are drawing on the skills developed during migration earlier in their careers and, consequently, it can be understood that they are converting this element of cultural capital into symbolic capital, as their skills are recognised as legitimate in their position as coaches.

Therefore, as in the Packer Phase, a financial imperative remained for migration; however, the opportunity to acquire sufficient economic capital for it to be repatriated upon return migration was reduced. Instead there was a focus on acquiring embodied cultural capital which could be utilised immediately. Longer-term motives related to symbolic capital acquisition were not widely stated, but migrants gained skills during their sojourn that were converted to symbolic capital later in the life-course.

5.4 Professionalization Phase

5.4.1 ‘Club Cricket is Not a Money-making Thing’

For the majority of participants in the Professionalization Phase financial considerations were not stated unless they were asked specifically. Instead, skill development (acquisition of embodied cultural capital) and career progression (symbolic capital) motives took precedence. This was reflected in comments from migrants at a variety of career stages, for example, all-rounder Scott remarked of his
first migration when he was 21: “the first time, I didn’t get paid at all really. I was just starting out my career and wanted a place out there”. Greg, an established all-rounder in his mid-twenties stated:

“I didn’t get paid a penny or dollar for going. I got flights, accommodation; I got a car and a gym membership. So apart from that, I lived off my wage from here and it’s quite hard because it’s an expensive place now Australia. So it wasn’t anything to do with finance. I didn’t get absolutely nothing financially [sic]. I purely went for cricketing reasons”.

When probing this issue, it became evident that the professional structure of cricket (King 2011) meant that finance was not required to be a key motive for migration. This can be seen in the previous quotation from Greg when he recounts that he was able to draw on his salary from England. Professionals are employed on twelve month contracts by their county employer, regardless of their location in the world. Whilst this has regulatory implications, which will be addressed in Chapter 7, it means that employees receive their salaries all year round, so finding opportunities for acquiring economic capital during the off-season are not a financial necessity. However, migrants have a tendency to seek out deals, similar to those seen in the previous phases, that cover their costs of flights and accommodation whilst overseas. The situation was summarised by Noah, an established county cricketer who had undertaken multiple migrations to Australia, who commented:

“I think you realise that going to play club cricket is not necessarily a money making thing, it’s definitely not money that will change your lifestyle. You need to get whatever you can get, your flights, your accommodation, and may be a little car to look after you, then it takes out a lot of the expense. And then you might get a little bit of money to get you by or you might do a little bit of coaching or stuff like that”.

The significance of the relocation deal was important to younger migrants too. Tom, a spin bowler, who migrated at the age of 19, commented: “sorting out all the accommodation and flights and things, that was free so... It’s quite a no-brainer really,
if you get that sort of opportunity, to turn down really [sic]”. There was a single example of a senior cricketer being persuaded to migrate because of financial considerations; Toby, a bowler who migrated for the first time at the age of 24:

“There was an opportunity for me to go and play in Sydney, in grade cricket and it was quite a good deal, sort of, financially. They gave me a flat, and a car and flights, then they flew me home for Christmas...

Obviously I hoped that it would help my cricket as well, but I’d say that it was the financial aspect that tipped me into going. But now having been and come back, I’m like, over the moon that I did it and I’m very glad I did it. And I am probably more inclined to go again in the future even if the deal wasn’t quite so good”.

Overall, this style of migration is not evident in other occupations. Self-initiated migrants are unlikely to be temporarily leaving employment in the home country and, for those undertaking employer-driven secondments, individuals are still employed, and thus paid, by the same company, negating the impact of economic motives at the time of the migration. However, the deals available to players during the Professionalization Phase do have similarities to those that were available in the preceding phases. Whilst deals often cover the costs of flights and accommodation, everyday living costs were generally covered from the migrant’s English salary. There were an increasing number of examples of individuals like Greg and Scott, who funded the entirety of the trip themselves from their English salary, as they were solely driven by motives that could be understood as acquiring cultural and symbolic capital; migration motives that will be discussed in the following sections.

5.4.2 ‘Getting Out of Your Comfort Zone’

Given the shift away from the economic considerations that were underlying migration during the Packer Phase and the Proto-Professionalization Phase, the data for the Professionalization Phase demonstrates that the dominant migration motive was for individuals to improve their skills. This was shown to be the case for all types of cricketer as the quotations below come from a bowler, a batsman and an all-rounder respectively. First, Toby noted: “I’d definitely say that my key motive was to improve
my cricket. Cricket was absolutely my motive for going away. Most young cricket players would go with a view to improving their cricket”, despite saying that the pivotal factor in deciding to migrate was the financial package. Second, batsman Chris who first migrated aged 18 agreed: “I knew that I wanted to go out there simply for cricket and get better as a cricketer”. Greg stated that improving cricket was his primary motive for temporary migration: “my motives for going away were quite plain and simple, to get better at cricket and give myself the best chance of getting to where I wanted to get to in the game”. These comments suggest that cricket experiences and development were significant for all migrants, regardless of their age and role in the cricket team. It can therefore be inferred that cricket players can potentially all benefit and improve their game by participating in temporary migration and thus, acquire embodied cultural capital.

To achieve the desired improvements migrants were motivated by the opportunity to play more cricket and continue to develop their skills (Williams 2007b; Yang et al. 2011). As Tom observed, migration enabled the cricketers to continue to play outside throughout the English winter: “my plan was always to go abroad in the wintertime to keep playing, just to gain more experience. The more games you play the better you’ll get”. The ability to be consistent and play cricket all year round was important to established players, for example, Jamil who migrated at the age of 27: “for me personally, at this stage, it’s to go away and play more cricket and to groove my skills even more. So I can come back next season and basically be ready to go”. For those players migrating for the first time, professional development and bettering themselves as cricket players emerged as the most important motives for migration. This was again shown to be true for different styles of cricketers. For example, George, a spin bowler who migrated to Brisbane straight after leaving school commented:

“I guess I had to, I didn’t really think about it in any other way other than going to play cricket. I didn’t really consider going somewhere specific to travel, I needed somewhere to go and play cricket”.

Similarly, pace bowler Lee who migrated after leaving school recalled that for him, his first migration was:
“A springboard to try and get into professional cricket, I think at the time when I was on the academy, it was sort of fifty-fifty whether I would make it or not and I think the experience I had when I was out there the first time definitely gave me a massive push to play at a higher level of cricket when I came back”.

This indicates that Lee was motivated to migrate to develop his cricket and enhance his prospects of playing professional cricket upon his return.

From these observations it can be seen that migration motives are focused on a wish to develop skills that would contribute to the acquisition of embodied cultural capital. It became clear that there were a number of aspects that migrants hoped would contribute to its acquisition. The first element was the opportunity for migrants to experience cricket in foreign conditions and unfamiliar environments. Second, they were able to use migration as an opportunity to invest in their fitness and training. Both of these elements were enabled by the material conditions of migration, primarily the summer season and improved climatic conditions available in Australia compared to the UK. Whilst climate is only an indirect driver for migration it contributes to the ability to acquire embodied cultural capital, it is evident that it can be considered to be both a push factor, away from the home country, and pull factor, towards the destination country (Green et al. 2008).

Finally, the migrants’ wish to improve their cricket was motivated by the opportunity for personal development that was offered through migration and can be understood to be a further aspect of cultural capital acquisition. Away from cricket, the opportunity for cosmopolitanism and a cultural experience, primarily through the new lifestyle offered by temporary migration, but also the potential for ‘getting away’ from conditions at home during the English cricket off-season were recognised to be considerations in the migration decision-making process. Such lifestyle and cosmopolitan motives can be seen to be a form of cultural capital acquisition (Bauder 2012). In the following sections these motives and appeals for undertaking temporary, seasonal migration and subsequently accumulating cultural capital will be discussed.
5.4.2.1 Different Environment and Conditions

In much the same way that overseas secondments are used by international businesses to allow employees to gain experience of foreign business conditions (e.g. Salt and Wood 2012; Beaverstock and Hall 2012), the opportunity to develop occupational-specific skills in foreign conditions was a widely stated motive. Shaun, a 20 year old batsman, summarised his views, and indicated that he believed them to be reflective of others in his position: “a massive thing was obviously the cricket and to experience a different cricket culture. But that’s what everyone goes to Australia for I think, just to experience a different culture and play hard fought cricket”. Aaron was 19 when he first went to Adelaide, and as a pace bowler he was more specific about his wish to experience the different bowling conditions on offer in Australia: “I think for me, it was to go away and obviously get a bit of experience of playing in different weather conditions and the wickets out there were a lot different [sic], they are a lot flatter and you have to work harder to get people out”. Tom stated that it was these opportunities that motivated him to migrate, although he is a spin bowler rather than a pace bowler like Aaron: “my key reasons for going away, it would be to gain more experience, in my cricket, that would be my main one. And learn bowling in Australia [sic], because obviously it is quite a lot different to playing in England”.

These migrants refer to their reasons for choosing Australia as the destination of their migration and following his comments shown above, Tom continued to suggest why Australia was a popular destination in terms of allowing skill development in different conditions: “at the time they were probably seen as the best country cricket-wise, because they’d dominated world cricket for a while. So everybody wanted to go out there, because it is different, I suppose, and give it a go. Different pitches, different weather and all that kind of thing”. Tom’s comment provides an indication of the reputation that Australia has as a destination for migrant cricketers. The wish to migrate to the most prestigious locations possible in the occupational field is a widely recognised motive for professional migrants (Beaverstock 2002; Harvey 2011a; Ryan and Mulholland 2014b), and skilled athletes (Darby and Solberg 2010; Agergaard 2008).

The importance of experiencing the different conditions and playing environments offered in Australia was seen to be beneficial by migrants and, as such, was reflected in
their personal motives for migration. Brad was 23 years old when he first played club cricket in Australia, and recalled: “playing in different, foreign, conditions against different opponents is definitely more beneficial than just hitting balls indoors... I prefer to have different experiences, meeting different people and playing on different surfaces at a young age”. Oliver, a batsman in his early twenties, and who had just returned from Adelaide, agreed: “I think it helps you because you get different conditions thrown in front of you and wickets that you’re not used to”. Scott highlighted the benefits of playing in different environments to those he had previously experienced, as well as conveying some of the further advantages of playing cricket in Australia:

“I think one of them was just to play more cricket, obviously to play all year round and then just to put that sort of pressure on yourself to be in an environment that you haven’t been in before and a country that you’ve not been to; I hadn’t been to Australia before. So it’s just to put yourself under a bit of pressure, being a new player in a new side, with new grounds and playing against players who are successful and to get out of your comfort zone really”.

Whilst Australia was the destination of all these players, when asked about repeat migration the opportunity to experience other, foreign, conditions was recognised as a potential motive for future migrations. Oliver commented: “I liked Adelaide and it would be nice to go again, but I think I might go somewhere else just to experience a different condition”. Similarly, Brad stated: “I’d love to go to New Zealand at some point, to go and play there for a season. Just to get away, I think, and see how other people work and how they do it in different environments”. This comment from Brad, and the quotation from Scott above, implies that migration not only provides cricketers with the opportunity to experience different cricket conditions. Instead, the chance to play for new teams in unfamiliar environments exposed migrants to new social situations which they had to cope with and adapt to. This enabled personal and professional development and the opportunity for this was an important motive for many migrants.
5.4.2.2. Personal and Professional Development

Migrants recognised that occupationally-specific playing skills could be enhanced by developing personal and professional skills that were not directly linked to the embodied skills of cricket. The opportunity to acquire personal skills and attributes that would be beneficial in their profession was a motive noted by many migrants, a motive which has been subject to calls for further empirical research (Williams and Baláž 2005). Tom articulated:

“For me, because I went out there and I was only nineteen, it was a bit more like personal development, toughen you up a bit and being away from home for six months, it’s kind of, a bit of independence I suppose, that’s the correct term to use... To be independent and do it yourself; it’s part of growing up I suppose [sic]”.

Likewise, Shaun emphasised the benefits of being able to be independent and develop a range of social skills in the course of migration:

“It helped me find myself as a person because at eighteen, nineteen years old, you don’t really know yourself properly yet, do you? So it was really nice to go out there, I mean we get thrown in at the deep end kind of thing because I didn’t know anyone, but that kind of helps with your social skills”.

The importance of developing social skills and integrating with new communities whilst overseas was seen as an important developmental aspect of migration by Jamil, who first went to Adelaide, when he was 21 years old:

“In the winter you can see a part of the world that you probably aren’t going to see again and you are socialising with people you’ve never socialised with and you’re branching out and you’re becoming a more rounded person. And it made me, and I think it does for a lot of people, it makes you grow up” [sic].

Migration was believed to be an ideal situation in which to acquire personal skills such as maturity and independence. Migrants were motivated by the potential to develop
attributes including responsibility and the ability to succeed in pressured situations which are likely to be encountered in their future careers. Scott reflected, for his first migration, “it was about that sort of experience of being away and being under pressure”. Likewise, Noah, who is now 30 years old, recalled that when deciding to migrate for the first time he thought: “the experience of playing on different wickets, in different scenarios and having the responsibility of being an overseas player would help my cricket and develop me further”.

These motives were echoed by the early-career migrants who were between the ages of 19 and 21 at the time of their sojourn. These migrants emphasised the importance of independence and maturity both on the cricket field and in their personal lives (Waters et al. 2011). Aaron remarked: “I wanted to go out there and test myself... I needed to get away and experience tough cricket, because I hadn’t experienced that before”. George supported this view: “I think it was just going out there and playing in a new environment, that was a bit, sort of, alien to me and having to think on my feet a bit as well”. Outside of cricket, migrants including Liam, a spin bowler in his early twenties commented on his motives: “so it was going to a different country, a bit of independence, living on my own and all that sort of stuff”. Freddie, who was 19, and had just completed his first season in professional cricket, indicated that he had similar motives: “[it was] probably to help me mature a bit and living off my own back. Just to grow up a little bit more”. Nathan was 18 years old when he went to Melbourne, immediately after leaving school, and he expressed that it was important for him to migrate and mature:

“I wanted to go away and grow up, I wasn’t very self-sufficient, I was a bit naïve and not really ready for the real world. So, kind of, going in that sense, that was a big thing for me, to grow up, be self-sufficient, learn the ropes, and yes, so in terms of lifestyle that was it... I felt like I’d come back a better person and a better cricketer for it”.

From the above quotations it can be seen that personal and professional development motives were important for many migrants, particularly when they are still early in their careers. This is a finding that has previously been identified by Thorn (2009) who noted the wish for migrants to learn more about the self during temporary migration.
For both the established players, who reflected on their motives for migration earlier in their careers’, and the younger players, who had just returned from their first trip overseas, it is evident that the chance to acquire social skills was a key motive. Themes of maturity and independence are evident with regards to players developing personally as well as helping them to improve professionally.

5.4.2.3 Opportunities for Fitness and Training

The importance of maturity and independence were themes that emerged in relation to the chance for players to train and work on their fitness away from the guidance of coaches. This was particularly important for those migrants who were still early in their careers as they viewed the ability to successfully take control of their own training as a required skill for them to become an established professional: For instance, 19 year old Ben revealed: “I kind of went out there and had to deal with my own training and my own fitness rather than having the coach and the fitness coach doing it for me; so it was new and I got to see how I deal with it myself”. This need for independence and ability to develop autonomy in fitness training early in a playing career was something that was reflected on by Jamil, a senior, established player who has previously played for England, advised that young, ambitious migrants must: “go there knowing you are going to improve your fitness and improve your game”.

Motives of this nature were stated by Nathan, a county academy cricket player:

“I felt that if I went there, even if I didn’t do as well as I’d have wanted, I felt like I’d come back a better person and better cricketer for it. And yes, to be honest, looking at how I’ve done this year; I’d say that’s a massive thing that has really helped. Because I went there, I was a bit overweight, a bit lazy, and I’ve come back, I’ve lost sixteen kilograms, I’ve been playing really well and I put it down to having had a season of hardening up in Australia”.

The importance of fitness and training regimes (Weedon 2012) whilst in Australia was indicated by the more established migrants. The opportunity to use a winter overseas as a chance to improve fitness was a motive stated by many participants and, in particular, those cricketers whose primary role is as a bowler. For example, Aaron stated: “I needed to get away and get stronger, probably physically and mentally
stronger as well". Toby agreed that fitness was important motive: “I wanted to go over there, get overs under my belt and get fit”. 24 year old Josh, who had spent four winters in Australia, two years each in Adelaide and Melbourne, illustrated how the Australian lifestyle motivated him to work on his fitness:

“The lifestyle that you can, sort of, live out in these warmer climates, you know, it contributes towards fitness; it's definitely a lot easier to get fit out there. You know, if you're over here, stuck in the snow, then there's not much you can really do over here, whereas over there you can have full days at it”.

The lifestyle that Josh refers to provides an indication of the significance of the climatic conditions available in Australia. As Josh suggests, the climate affects a number of the factors that underlie a player’s decision to migrate and examples of this can be seen in the following section.

5.4.2.4 Appeal of the Australian Climate

Professional cricket as an occupation is currently climatically controlled. Cricket is a summer sport and there is a spatial and temporal shift in the playing of the sport to reflect these conditions. Consequently, those who play cricket professionally, and wish to play all-year round, are required to migrate to match the seasonally shifting locations of play (Maguire 2011b). As Jamie stated: “obviously you can’t play cricket in England in the winter, so if that’s what you need, if you need to play games and you need to be part of that then going away is your only option [sic]”. Jamie’s view was supported by Ashley, who was 21 and migrating for the first time: “it’s just being able to carry on playing through the winter, carry on from the season just gone”.

Whilst these underlying material conditions have a controlling effect on the structure of this occupation and subsequent worker migrations (Carter 2011), the Australian climate was frequently noted as a factor that influenced the decision to migrate. Players were motivated by the opportunity to spend some time in warmer climates away from the English winter. As Aaron commented: “why wouldn’t you really, instead of being in the cold, I’d rather be out there playing cricket”. The ‘pull of the sunshine’ and warmer climate in Australia was seen as an important factor for Oliver who
expressed: “Australia is sunny which is always a plus point, rather than being stuck in the cold”. Furthermore, Lee joked that his most significant motives were: “cricket and life skills that was pretty much it, there was nothing else. Apart from probably a suntan, that was about it [sic]”. Even though the suntan that Lee could achieve as a consequence of migration was included as a joke, it does exemplify Bourdieu’s (1986:48) comment in relation to embodied cultural capital that: “Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan it cannot be done at second hand”.

Whilst climate was seen to be an important lifestyle factor for the migrants, the impact the climate could have on opportunities for cricket and training were widely cited, most frequently this related to the ability to be playing and training outdoors. Jamil summarised the all-round benefits: “England being the way it is, it’s going to get cold and probably start to snow and all that stuff so to get away from that climate and to be able to practise and to be able to do that in a warm, sunny climate is fantastic”. The potential for outdoor practice and training as opposed to being indoors was noted by Noah: “obviously it’s nice to get a bit of sun on your back rather than having five months in the gym and indoors”. As well as training, Noah makes reference to the chance to play outdoors all year, which is something that Chris, a batsman, concurred with: “I want to get better at cricket and I don’t want to be training inside, I don’t particularly feel that training indoors benefits my cricket as much as being outside”.

As well as these lifestyle and motivational benefits that result from the attractive climate, the occupation specific training and skill development that could take place outside was seen to be a further motive for seasonal migration. Jamil revealed:

“It gets you away from the cold and allows you to go outside and put the training into practice. It is beneficial to a cricketer because your body doesn’t have to go through the rigours of smashing on a hard indoor floor. At least when you’re outdoors your body doesn’t take as much of a pounding”.

Similarly, another bowler, Ben, who is still early in his career, had already found that: “It’s a lot better than bowling indoors I’ve found. It’s so much better on your back”. In the case of cricket, where the occupation and the necessary skills are reliant on an
embodied talent (Evans and Stead 2014), it is notable that individuals are making migration decisions based on options that will have both the least detrimental effect on their bodies, as well as also enabling them improve and develop their embodied talent and acquire cultural capital. For Bourdieu (1986), the notion of capital is a determinant of an individual’s life chances and future potential (Wacquant 1998; Postone et al. 1993), which further demonstrates the importance of protecting and preserving the source of a player’s embodied talent.

The further benefits of the climate and its impact on training regimes and fitness skills were noted by migrants, particularly in relation to the lifestyle and motivations for personal development. Toby indicated:

“You know if the weather is warm, which I find when it comes to exercise it helps a lot, whereas over here in the winter you get up at half seven, it’s pitch black and freezing cold and you just don’t feel like it. Whereas, over there, everyone’s up and about at six, running around, swimming”.

Likewise, Oliver compared the climates’ of England and Australia and how they impacted on his willingness to train:

“Actually when you get out of bed at 8 o’clock in the morning and it’s cracking flags and it’s sunny then it makes you want to do stuff [sic]. It’s kind of motivational. Whereas, when it’s 8 o’clock in the morning and it’s cold, wet and dark still then you’d rather get back under the covers and have another couple of hours kip than get out and train”.

Here Toby and Oliver noted the attraction of Australia as a destination during the winter, but Shaun discussed the more negative aspects of remaining in England for cricket training and how migration offered more beneficial alternatives:

“Training in England is very monotonous; it can get very boring, because you are in the nets all the time. Whereas, when you are in Australia or in South Africa or wherever you decide to go, there are games, you’re training outside; you’re socialising, rather than in England where doing nets indoors all the time can get very boring”.
Another downside to remaining in England, which was a push factor for migration was summarised by Chris, a 26 year old batsman:

“Training indoors for six months, it can be quite soul destroying because you lose sight of what you’re actually doing, what you are trying to achieve. I want to go away again because I’ve spent this last winter indoors and come the end of January I was starting to get ‘cabin fever’, you’re concentrating more on lifting weights and you forget what a real game of cricket is about... It is so artificial inside that you lose track of what you do and what it’s actually like to play outdoors”.

These weather and climatic motives were shared by many of the contemporary cricket migrants. Yet, it is interesting to note the acknowledgement by the younger players, who are yet to fully establish themselves as county cricketers, that disappointing weather during the English summer had motivated them to go away. As Jamie articulated: “with the summer we had last year where we barely played any cricket because of the weather. Instead of having another winter of technical work and gym work, I thought it would be a lot more beneficial to go away and actually play cricket”. Jamie’s view was supported by Freddie who stated:

“Well we missed quite a lot of cricket during the summer because of the weather. And towards the end of the season because we’d not played much, I thought it would have been good to go, in terms of getting a bit more practice and a bit more cricket in, instead of practising indoors”.

This is a further example of how material conditions can influence migration, although in this instance the climate is acting as a push factor encouraging migration away from the home country. The appeal of the climate and its impact on a migrant’s lifestyle was widely discussed by cricket players and their comments on how this influenced the decision to undertake temporary, international migration can be seen below.

5.4.2.5 Lifestyle Motivations and Appeal of Getting Away

Other motives were recorded by migrants, which were not always occupationally specific but, were seen to be positive aspects of temporary, international migration
that were beneficial for cricket careers and the acquisition of cultural capital. The opportunity for travel and to explore a different part of the world through playing cricket was a frequently cited motive (Suutari and Taka 2004). This was summarised by Chris: “the first time was a bit more about exploring life. The opportunity to get out there and see the world whilst playing some cricket at the same time”. Noah was more specific in noting that migration allowed him to have experiences that he felt he’d otherwise missed out on by taking up a career in professional cricket:

“My motive was, were twofold really. One I wanted to make use of the experience and travelling the world by playing cricket, which I thought was a wonderful opportunity. And I never went to university when I was younger; I chose my county contract, so it’s a little bit like having a little bit of freedom and a little bit of fun whilst you are away instead of having the university experience”.

The chance of a better life abroad during the winter was an appeal that motivated Edward, who expressed a wish to escape England and play cricket overseas:

“[This] is a pretty unexciting place to be around for six months in the winter, and when there’s a whole world out there it is a no-brainer. I could play matches, the lifestyle is infinitely better and it would have taken a lot to keep me at home I think. An opportunity not to be missed... As soon as the season is finished I can’t wait to get away. I’ve seen far too much of my team-mates”.

Here, Chris, Noah and Edward all indicate that the better lifestyle available in Australia during the winter is a motivating factor. For Noah and Chris the opportunity to travel was important to them and is suggestive of a wish to acquire cultural capital through cosmopolitan activities unrelated to cricket. Finally, for Edward he demonstrates the existence of both push and pull factors influencing his decision to migrate. He expresses a wish to leave his home and team-mates and travel overseas to experience a better lifestyle and play cricket at the same time. Migration motivated by a wish for a better lifestyle has been identified in previous labour migration literature (Harvey 2012). Ley and Kobayashi (2005) discovered variations in migrant preferences for the best location for employment compared to the destinations that offered a better
quality of life. In Harvey’s (2011c:13) work on highly-skilled British migrants in Canada, the most common motives were to seek a “better lifestyle, environment and quality of life” and for “travel, adventure and change”. Despite this migration being temporary in duration, the climatic and related lifestyle factors can be seen to be significant factors in the decision to migrate.

The opportunity to accumulate cultural capital through the combination of skill development alongside global travel was the reason that established professionals, who were all repeat migrants, recommended migration to future professionals and inferred what their motives could be. For instance, Noah stated: “I’d recommend it to any young player, to go away and experience playing abroad, even if it is only to experience the lifestyle somewhere else and to be able to travel. It’s something that is a wonderful experience to go and do and if you can pick up some cricket, that’s fantastic”. Scott agreed that the cricket and lifestyle opportunities offered overseas were not to be missed:

“It’s a good way to see the world and there are not many jobs where you can do that for five or six months through the winter. So whilst it’s a great way to travel you have to make sure your reasons are right for cricket, but it is a great experience to travel”.

This appeal of getting away, initially stated by Edward, was noted in relation to escaping from the everyday lifestyle of a professional cricketer in England. Chris referred to the idea of “cabin-fever” and Brad stated: “you can get away from things as well. From England, it’s nice to get a bit of a break from England”. These sentiments were echoed by Aaron, a bowler early in his career as a professional cricketer, who summarised:

“I suppose it’s to taste isn’t it? [sic] Like we’ve got players in the side here who wouldn’t have it any other way, they prefer to go away and get away for the winter. With cricketers you are around each other in the summer, pretty much six months non-stop, you’re around each other, on top of each other, travelling together, staying in hotels together. So for some people it’s just the right thing to do, to get away for three or four months and then come back here and go again. So as
well as for its cricketing benefits, you can get away, relax, there’s less pressure on your cricket, so you’re still getting your cricket but it is away from everybody else”.

Comments such as these indicate that players believe that their migration is of further benefit to them by being able to play, train and relax in a setting away from the one they are immersed in at home.

This variety of motives contribute to players being able to obtain embodied cultural capital in the course of migration. These include developing personal and professional skills, which are enabled by the migrant’s presence in the host location, where they are immersed in local cultures and practices. This reflects Bauder’s (2012) comments regarding the temporary mobility of academics to foreign institutions where they must adapt to and learn the local cultural practices. In doing so migrants are able to accumulate embodied cultural capital, which, as Waters (2012) notes, subsequently enhances an individual’s employment prospects. Using Bourdieu’s capital framework this outcome can be understood as the conversion of cultural capital to symbolic capital and the presence of this in migration motives will be discussed next.

5.4.3 ‘Where Can The Game Take Me?’

Motives related to the acquisition of symbolic capital were significant for the Professionalization Phase migrants. Unlike the first two phases, aspects of symbolic capital were explicitly stated as motives for migration. Cricket players recognised that accumulating other forms of capital, particularly embodied cultural capital, could be converted and legitimised upon return to the UK. There were three areas identified by the contemporary cricket players that can be considered to be symbolic capital acquisition motives: attaining a professional contract; gaining a contract extension; and more general aspects of career progression. These aspects of career progression provide specific examples of how forms of capital acquired overseas can be honoured and recognised as legitimate in the home country. It should be noted that through converting embodied cultural capital to symbolic capital it is likely that further conversion to economic capital (Postone et al. 1993), as a result of career progression will occur (Waters 2012).
5.4.3.1 Attaining or Extending a Professional Contract

The empirical findings provide examples of individuals who were motivated to migrate in order to achieve or extend a professional cricket contract upon their return to England. Stuart first undertook seasonal migration having lost his professional contract the previous year and viewed migration as a route back into a career in county cricket:

“I was highly motivated to go because, you know, I’d decided that I wanted to get back into the professional game so I had to do some work and make sure that the following season I hit the ground running... I was pretty much willing to put my life on hold to make sure that my cricket, you know, I got to where I wanted with my cricket... I just thought, right, well, I’ll just go for it; I didn’t want to die wondering. That was the thing, if I wasn’t going to make it as a professional cricketer I wanted to know that I’d done everything I possibly could do”.

The potential to progress and improve in order to gain a full professional contract motivated the early career migrants. 18 year old George migrated immediately after finishing school with the aim of obtaining a full professional contract, as opposed to the short-term summer contract that he was already in possession of:

“I thought, if I went to Australia and practised, carried on playing for six months, then I could hit the ground running in the summer and put in some good performances then hopefully they’d give me a full contract”.

A further example was 23 year old Connor, who was injured at the end of his penultimate year of a contract. He was motivated to go away in order to play and prepare effectively for his final year:

“I wanted to just do a bit of time away because I was coming into the last year of my contract here so I wanted to go and play a bit... It was so I’d come up to date with the other lads, because obviously I’d missed a lot of cricket the year before. So I’d caught up, got a few overs under my belt and was ready to start the season having played a few games”.

Like Connor, Stuart expressed a wish to improve his chances of performing to the best of his ability during the following English summer. This motive was discussed in relation to his sixth, and most recent, trip to Melbourne when his stay overseas was driven by the hope of extending his contract during the following summer:

“I suppose after last year when I had a poor year, I suppose my focus of going away and going away for so long was purely and simply because it’s the last year of my contract, I had to get back into the side. And I’ve worked too hard and put too much into what I’m doing, mentally and physically, to have to play, I wanted to play. And that was, I had to do whatever I had to do to get back into the side playing and playing well [sic].”

The narratives here provide specific examples of where the aim of migration was to career progression by either obtaining or extending professional contracts; a motive for migration that has previously been highlighted by Richardson and Mallon (2005), in the case of self-initiated expatriates. However, these were not the only examples where players from the Professionalization Phase made reference to aspects of career progression influencing the decision to migrate.

5.4.3.2 Career Progression

The ability to progress a career by playing cricket consistently throughout the year was identified as a motive for migration, particularly for those players who had undertaken repeated migrations. Stuart stated: “I’ve always gone over with a focus to try and improve my game and just to keep myself ticking over so that pre-season isn’t a fresh start. I don’t want fresh start; I’m a ‘the more overs I bowl, the better I bowl’ kind of cricketer [sic].” Similarly, 24 year old Josh stressed that:

“I know this works for me. So I knew that the results I’d get would be good, good enough to come back here and start the season and do well. So my incentives are always the same: to be in the first team for the first game of the season and then obviously it’s my place to lose then”.

For Josh and Stuart their inclusion in their county’s first team at the beginning of the cricket season was a significant motive for their migration. It provides a
specific example of how their performance and investment in migration could be seen to be honoured and legitimised when they returned home. For this reason it can be understood that these outcomes represent the conversion of embodied cultural capital, which is obtained overseas, being converted to symbolic capital.

Further, Dev noted that by going away with the hope of developing his skills he would be able to put them into practise on his return to England and progress his career (Williams 2007b):

“that was my main motive for going. Putting myself in competitive situations and playing games... To work on the skills I've got, my mental and physical skills, in a match scenario, which is what we need when we come back home”.

This comment is particularly significant as the Dev, a 26 year old batsman, refers to the need to develop overseas the skills that “we need when we come back home.” This comment indicates that through migration these individuals are specifically looking to invest in themselves in order to accumulate cultural capital that can be rewarded by being legitimised and converted to symbolic capital, in the form of career progression upon return to the home country. This notion of investments and rewards is specifically addressed by Bourdieu in relation to sport and social practices (Jarvie and Maguire 1994), and these data provide a further insight into how players’ view migration as a personal investment where cultural capital can be acquired (Bourdieu 1986:48), and rewarded through conversion to symbolic capital.

Other examples of symbolic capital acquisition and career progression motives were discussed by the migrants. For instance, Alfie was 23 years old when he migrated and he viewed migration as a chance to develop a wider skill-set which he would then be able to adapt and apply in England to establish himself as a first team county cricketer. He identified his motives as:

“The main one was to try and get experience because there was a period towards the back end of last season in England where the older wicket-keeper retired and then we signed another guy on loan, who we
then signed full time and I asked why I didn’t even get given a chance. They said it was a lack of experience; they wanted to get promoted so they wanted an experienced guy in there. And I was like, how do I get experience without playing? So the main reason was to go out and play and get a bit of experience”.

Other participants, who were part of the English County Academy system at the time of their migration, made clear reference to their wish to progress their career and viewed temporary migration as an opportunity that would assist that. Jamie perceived that his migration was an important step in helping his professional goals: “I’ve always been pretty clear on what I wanted to do. I’ve always been pretty sure that I wanted to play cricket... I just saw it as a good opportunity for a bit of development and a little bit of a stepping stone”. Likewise, Edward aspired to develop his cricket to his full potential and saw migration as an element of that development:

“I went because I knew I had a passion for the game and I wanted to improve and I wanted to see where the game could take me. I went for five months, played in Melbourne, had a fantastic time and came back and that summer got given a three year contract”.

These factors related to skill development and career progression were highlighted by 18 year old Nathan who revealed: “I was very keen to try and take my cricket to the next level. I’m an ambitious player and an ambitious person and I really wanted to go away and learn”.

As well as career progression with their current employers, migrants recognised that seasonal stays overseas could be beneficial in terms of progression and selection for the national, representative side. Whilst many migrants were focused on short-term personal development and professional improvement, and were often unwilling to look too far into the future, they were aware how their actions may, in the long term, assist with their aspirations to play international cricket. Greg conveyed:

“This is what works for me; it’s worked for me when I’ve been before so I thought it would again. And that’s proven that it has so far. I’ll just have to wait and see what happens... I want to win trophies here and
hopefully my performances will help that. Then if I do get an international call, which I hope I do, then that’ll be great”.

Other participants were more directly motivated by the possibility of playing international cricket. For example, Oliver was selected by the ECB to spend the winter on a scholarship at the DLCA. When asked about his motives for migration, he emphasised: “I thought it was a pretty good idea because it was an ECB scholarship so I thought if they were giving it to me then I might as well do it, because they were obviously interested”. The interest of the ECB was an important influence on Oliver’s decision to migrate as it is the governing body who are responsible for selecting players for the national representatives teams. Therefore, Oliver is indicating that he believed that partaking in this temporary migration would place him in a good position to progress his career further, perhaps to the level of international cricket. It can be inferred that Oliver was able to acquire further symbolic capital through this migratory experience, as there is prestige attached to being selected at the national level for a place on this scholarship scheme.

As well as career progression to the national team, there were examples of migrants who were motivated by the knowledge that by being in Australia during their cricket season it may allow them to be selected as an overseas player in the internationally recognised Twenty20 League, the ‘KFC Big Bash’. This opportunity for the cricket players to be in the right location for selection for teams in more prestigious leagues has been recognised in previous literature on sport labour migration. For example, work by Maguire and Stead (1996) and Stead and Maguire (1998) on in-migration to English County Cricket noted that players viewed the destination league as a “shop-window” in which to demonstrate their playing ability. More recently, Elliott (2014) and Elliott and Bania (2014) demonstrate that migrants who moved to play in soccer leagues in Hungary and Poland respectively, with the aim of participating in prestigious European-wide competitions, which were felt to be a “shop-window” for the more established European leagues. In this study, Brad reflected on his first trip to Perth and noted that in the future he would be motivated to migrate for this potential opportunity:
“I think it will encourage me to go to Australia, to play club cricket, just so that I’m out there... Then at least I’m playing cricket and I’ll be closer to them [a ‘KFC Big Bash’ team] so I can fly on to there... It’ll encourage me to go out there for different opportunities, as well as playing club cricket”.

It can therefore be seen that motives that can be understood to contribute to the acquisition of symbolic capital were more widely stated by players during the Professionalization Phase. Motives were primarily related to career progression (Waters 2012) and these were explicitly stated by migrants in relation to attaining or extending professional playing contracts. Alongside this, migrants expressed a belief that migration would enable a general improvement to their game, which may in the long-term enable career progression (Richardson and Mallon 2005; Biemann and Andresen 2010). Furthermore, the data was able to shed light on how migration allowed cricket players to acquire symbolic capital from the honour and prestige that results from being selected by either the national governing body, the ECB, or internationally recognised teams overseas.

5.5 Discussion

This chapter sought to investigate the motives and appeals for the migration of cricketers who temporarily moved to Australia from England and Wales between 1975 and the present. Using Bourdieu’s notions of economic, cultural and symbolic capital it can be seen how the motives have changed and evolved over the course of three time phases: 1975-1980; 1981-2000; 2001 to Present. Figure 5.1 provides a diagrammatical representation of how the significance of each form of capital varies over the time phases. Furthermore, it demonstrates that during each of the three phases, migration is influenced by motives related to all three forms of capital. This finding supports the assertion of Scott (2006) and Castles (2007) that attempting to identify a single causal factor for migration represents an oversimplification of reality, thus using Bourdieu’s notions of capital provides a lens of analysis through which to consider more complex motivational factors. However, it can be seen that there is a shift in the relative
importance of the motives and appeals that relate to economic, cultural and symbolic capital.

During the three phases it is possible to see how the extent to which different forms of capital have motivated professional cricketers to undertake temporary, seasonal migration to Australia. The decreasing significance of motives related to economic capital supports the findings of Agergaard and Botelho (2011, 2014), who note that despite mercenary motives for migration being repeatedly stated in the sport labour migration literature, in their investigation, economic gain was not a primary motive for migration. This supports findings from studies considering skilled migration (Ryan and Mulholland 2014). For example, Labrianidis’ (2014) research into Greek professionals employed overseas, found that whilst earnings were generally higher in the destination countries, the opportunity for increased income was not the dominant motivating factor. Harvey (2011a) asserts that in the case of migrating scientists economic conditions and cost-benefit analysis were not the only factor influencing the migration decisions. These findings differ from what would perhaps be expected given the impact of globalizing process on the cricket industry and the increasing availability of finance within the industry.

However, these impacts are most visible in the increased wages available at home as opposed to in the course of migration. The reduced significance of economic motives may be related to the shift towards younger migrants who are earlier in their careers and less well established. This means that migrants are likely to have a longer career during which they can gain rewards from their investment (Bourdieu 1986) in migration. Finally, cricket has become a fully professional occupation where it is possible to have a career as a cricketer, resulting in an increased focus upon career-progression motives.

This developing professionalism has impacted on the extent to which symbolic capital accumulation was a motivating factor for migration during the time phases. For the first two phases there were only limited references to motives that can be considered to relate to symbolic capital, with motives instead focused upon more immediate skill development, despite migrants at all stages of their careers being included in the research sample. However, there was evidence of symbolic capital accumulation as a
consequence of migration when migrants reflected on the impact of their stay overseas. This is evident both in terms of the acquired cricket specific skills and other skills acquired in Australia, for example, coaching skills during the Proto-Professionalization Phase. For the most recent phase motives that provided the opportunity to acquire symbolic capital were more explicitly stated by players. The opportunity for career progression following overseas migration was an openly stated motive for many recent migrants. Whilst this can perhaps be understood to be as a result of the increasing number of migrants who are in the early stages of their career, these findings support existing migration research on skilled professionals that has shown that migration provides an opportunity to acquire knowledge and skills which can be applied upon repatriation in the home country (Waters 2012).

This reflects the efficiency considerations of migration stated by Dustmann et al. (2011:58), whereby skills should be acquired in the place of lowest cost, which is often overseas, and then utilised in the home country where rewards are higher. As this research has shown that players are motivated to migrate in the hope of progressing their careers upon their return, it would indicate that individuals are able to increase the value of their labour through migration. This finding contributes to calls by both Raghuram (2008) and Bauder (2012) to further investigate how skills are circulated and developed through temporary migration, and thus enable the value of an individual’s labour to be increased.

The opportunity to acquire cultural capital by developing and gaining new cricket skills has been the most frequently stated motive for migration throughout the three time phases. The ability to experience new cricket conditions, play in different environments, and play cricket all year round were the motives common to all three periods and to migrants at all stages of their careers. For the early career migrants, Dave and Tony, in the Packer Phase and migrants more generally in the Proto-Professionalization and Professionalization Phases, the opportunity for personal development was seen to be an important motive for migration. Personal development, responsibility and maturity through migration were notable motives for many of the players.
Figure 5.1 Diagrammatical representation of the significance of the different forms of Bourdieu’s capital during the three time periods
This combination of personal motives alongside professional reasons for migration has been recently recognised in the skilled labour migration literature, which demonstrates a shift away from traditional understandings that migration is financially driven (Recchi and Favell 2009; Ryan and Mulholland 2014b). However, these motives are similar to those recorded by Stead and Maguire (2000:54), who note, in their study of Nordic/Scandinavian footballers migrating to English League Soccer, that: “notions of self-development and personal investment come to the fore. Migration was seen as a multifaceted ‘rite de passage’ rather than as an opportunity for immediate gratification”. Similar findings are evident in Maguire and Stead’s (1996, 2005) investigation into the in-migration of professional cricketers to English County Cricket. They noted that whilst financial rewards were a consideration of migrants, multiple motivating factors were evident including: personal and professional development, gaining skills, knowledge, status and recognition that would subsequently enhance earning potential (2005:79).

Such professional ambitions and personal development motives suggest that migration is viewed as an investment opportunity, which are themes that reflect Bourdieu’s understandings of capital accumulation (Jarvie and Maguire 1994). When explaining the embodied state of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986:48) notes that “the work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort that presupposes a personal cost, an investment, above all of time”. Themes of investment in motives for skilled migration are evident in geographical research, Dustmann et al.’s (2011) model of return migration decisions is based on the principle that individuals migrate to acquire skills at the lowest cost and return in order to gain the greatest reward in the home country. Whilst primarily an economic model, the individual is still investing in themselves in order to make the greatest financial gains. Similarly, Harvey’s (2009a, 2011a,c) empirical studies of emigration and immigration decisions indicate that decisions to return to the home country are driven by the potential for better professional and economic opportunities that are available to them as a result of the skills acquired overseas.

It is clear that for these elite cricket migrants there is a complex variety of motives driving their temporary, seasonal, international migration. This finding is reflective of
other studies considering the motives of skilled professionals, although there is some variation in the comparative significance of different types of motivations. Bourdieu’s notions of capital have been used to provide an insight into the extent to which skilled migration motives have changed and evolved since 1975, in line with wider occupational change.
6. ‘Enabling Migration’: The Motives and Appeals of Employers and Intermediaries

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 examined the motives and appeals of professional cricketers who undertook temporary migration to Australia between 1975 and the present. Prior to migration occurring, the decision-making process is influenced by both the employers at the county cricket clubs and other intermediaries. To fully understand the migration process it is beneficial to investigate the motivations and appeals of the employers and intermediaries who may encourage, enable or restrict temporary, seasonal, international migration. This issue is the main concern of this chapter.

In line with Chapter 5, the motivations and appeals for migration will be discussed using Bourdieu’s (1986) notion of capitals, considering in turn motives related to the acquisition of economic, cultural and symbolic capital. Using data drawn from interviews with representatives from both groups, discussion will focus on the employers and intermediaries respectively. The focus in this chapter, on the motives and appeals of employers and intermediaries in the migration process, is only applicable to the Professionalization Phase (2001-Present) migrants. This is tied to employers and intermediaries informing on temporary, seasonal migration in contemporary professional cricket. Furthermore, during the Packer Phase (1975-1980) and the Proto-Professionalization Phase (1981-2000) migrants were employed on six month contracts, meaning their activities during the winter months were not influenced or regulated by others.

6.2 The Motives and Appeals of Employers of Skilled Workers

The majority of existing scholarship on the migration of skilled workers has focused on the employer’s perspective for sending employees on temporary sojourns. This has particularly been evident for research that has considered global labour flows through ICTs and employee secondments (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Whilst there has been
an increasing appreciation of the role of employee agency in driving temporary, international migration it is important to still consider the role of the employer, in order to fully understand the processes that determine migration. With this in mind, the following section of this chapter will consider the motives that underlie the decisions of the home employers, of Professionalization Phase migrants, to encourage temporary migration. However, unlike the motives for the migrants themselves, there is a lack of comparative empirical data from the sociology of sport literature which has tended to focus on the employers in host countries who are recruiting temporary sports labour migrants (Elliott and Maguire 2008b), as opposed to employers in the sending countries.

6.2.1 “They are paid twelve months of the year”

Employers often made reference to the financial motives of migrants, and there was a general agreement that motives related to the accumulation of economic capital were not shown to be important drivers for migration. Henry, a Director of Cricket, noted that he would discourage overseas clubs from significant financial remuneration for migrants:

“I don’t think money is a huge driver because they are getting pretty well paid by us now, you know. And I would encourage the club over there; if the club asks me should I pay them, then I would be saying, no, don’t pay them very much. Pay their airfares, pay for their accommodation, and give them a car. But they are getting paid anyway. It’s more about covering costs and the fringe benefits, the things that would cost them money, give them a house, give them a car, and give them their airfares, but don’t necessarily pay them a load of money”.

Here, Henry refers to that fact that players are well paid by their county in England. Kevin, also a Director of Cricket, was able to provide further insight into this, and when asked about the extent to which economic gain was a motive for migration commented:

“I don’t think so. The important thing now, is that if you look at most professional cricketers, is that they are paid twelve months of the year,
which didn’t use to be the case, so their money is in instalments of twelve and that means whether they are in England or overseas they’ve got the regular flow of cash coming in”.

Paul, again a Director of Cricket, noted the influence that twelve month contracts have had on winter activity and how it is funded. Paul indicated that:

“Most of people’s winter activity is self-funded. We’re paying them a salary for twelve months of the year... What will usually happen is that there will be an arrangement where a player goes over and he gives his services to a local cricket club and in return they might fund his airfare, they might find him some accommodation and a car. It depends on what profile the player has got”.

These comments suggest that the potential to make money was not a significant factor in the decision-making process, and Peter, another Director of Cricket agreed:

“They don’t tend to make, obviously at the Darren Lehmann Academy they are not making any money to go there, and as far as, you know, the league clubs go, they make a little bit, but it’s not life changing, it’s kind of, to live on really if I’m being honest. So I think money is a very small factor”.

This, and the quotation from Paul above, reaffirm the comments of the Professionalization Phase migrants who explained that if there was the opportunity to make a little money, it was only sufficient to cover their day-to-day costs. However, Paul’s comment regarding the profile of a player is important, as it suggests that there is some variation in earning potential of a migrant player, and this varies with the stage of their career and their reputation. Despite this, it would appear that there is a general agreement that financial considerations do not have a significant influence on the migration decision-making process, and thus, accumulating economic capital cannot be considered to be an important motive for migration.

Financial remuneration is only discussed intermittently in the skilled migration literature in relation to the employer’s perspective. Cranston (2014) refers to the relocation packages available to intra-company transferees, but the financial aspects
of temporary migration are otherwise absent. First, this may be due to the fact that employers are not concerned with the financial issues such as salaries, for example, with this only being of interest to the employee alone. To an extent, this is evident here as employers’ references to money are centred on their views of their employees’ motives. Second, in most cases finance and economic capital are not believed to be primary motivating factors for skilled migrants with, as in this case, other motives for migration taking precedence (Ackers 2005; Ewers 2007).

6.2.2 Learning by Playing

In much the same way as the migrants themselves, acquiring cultural capital through professional development was the primary motive referenced by all employers. Employers are responsible for planning the career development of their employees, and this development was noted to frequently include a migratory phase, with migrants training and developing overseas. This was the most general and frequently stated motive for migration by the employers. Peter remarked: “the more you can play the better really, because that is how you learn, by playing matches”. These sentiments were echoed by other employers, both from their personal point of view and in reference to the reasons that they believed motivated their employees to participate in migration. Kevin stated: “motives for the players themselves is that it allows them to make genuine improvements as a player”. Henry agreed that becoming better players and furthering their careers was what motivated his players: “they are hoping to go to improve their cricket... it can’t really do your career any harm”. Don, a county Head Coach, was able to shed light on what motivated him as an employer to encourage seasonal player migration:

“If we feel like they’ve not played enough cricket, it’s a good opportunity to play some more cricket... So, you know, along with it being of benefit to their cricket, that’s the most important thing. The most important thing is that they actually come back better players... They are not going out there for a holiday; they’ve got to come back having improved and so that they are ready to start our domestic season”.
This comment demonstrates that the motives for migration of the employers are reflective of those discussed by the migrants themselves. As employers they are required to develop and improve their players, and, as Don suggests, this may occur as the result of temporarily playing overseas.

The inclusion of a migratory phase in a young professional’s development is not unique to sport, for example, a participant in Beaverstock’s (2004:168) work on professional legal firms stated: “the trainees are all offered a secondment during their two years training programme and that is typically six months. The trainees will go anywhere... it is part of their learning curve”. It is significant in this example that the trainees’ secondment is only of six months duration; this is shorter than the secondments commonly associated with ICTs, but is reflective of this sport-led migration. Employers recognised that there were a number of elements that contribute to improving players and enabling them to acquire cultural capital, each of which will now be considered in turn: new cricket conditions and experiences; technical skill acquisition and development; fitness and training; personal and professional development; and lifestyle motivations.

6.2.2.1 New Cricket Conditions and Experiences

Employers noted the opportunity for migrants to experience different cricket conditions and broaden their cricketing experiences. Temporary migration was recognised by employers to broaden migrants’ cricket experience by playing in new and foreign conditions. As the following quotations reveal, it was an opportunity that was seen to be of current benefit to the employees as well as in their future careers. Henry remarked: “there are opportunities to go and play in different conditions, to learn more about cricket in different countries, which may assist those players individually and in the future”. The contemporary significance of migration was demonstrated by Kevin: “it is part of their career now; it provides them with the opportunity for physical and career development”. Information regarding how physical and career development could be enhanced through migration was provided by Peter:

“I think broadening their cricket experience is the main reason... If we’re happy with their fitness and happy that they will be disciplined in doing their fitness whilst they are out there and we’re happy that there
are no technical issues and you know, playing in a different condition would be beneficial then we would let them go”.

This comment highlights the benefits that employers felt migration could have for a player and provides an insight into some of the reasons why employers may look to regulate an individual’s participation in cricket overseas, an issue that will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 7. The focus on player improvement and assurances that employers seek with regards to this was expressed by Paul:

“We look at it from a purely cricket point of view. We want them to come back better cricketers than when they leave us. We want to have reasonable comfort that they are developing their game at an improved rate than they would playing in our indoor training centre”.

Here Paul reveals how migration can be a beneficial aspect of a player’s development, but it must be undertaken in a professional manner to ensure that the aims of the sojourn are achieved. It is clear that migration can be a beneficial part of an employee’s development.

6.2.2.2 Technical Skill Acquisition and Development

Beyond the potential for the general improvement of a player’s game in the course of migration, the employers emphasised the opportunity for migrants to make specific technical developments and acquire new skills. One aspect of this was the opportunity for migrants to experience cricket in different countries and environments, as Gareth, a county coach, stated:

“Certainly Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, give the guys good enough experiences to go and learn how to play cricket in those countries; with enough emphasis for us to go and learn about their countries and to go and play in different environments, on different pitches”.

Alongside this general experience, Jeff, also a county coach, revealed how they could use migration to improve or acquire specific technical skills:

“We’d give them a plan; technical and physical and we’ll give them this plan which we obviously expect them to adhere to whilst they are away.
It could be something significant like playing spin or playing a shot or it could be trying to develop a new delivery when they bowl or it could actually just be keeping them ticking over”.

This chance to make technical changes or developments overseas was expressed by Peter:

“Obviously if they are going away then there will be things to work on, and just keep an eye on and make sure you are doing whatever it is. So, you know, if you’re a bowler, get somebody to have a look, make sure your front arm is not too low or whatever is might be. Or it might be let’s try and get you playing spin better, or playing pace better or whatever. So they go away with that specific target if you like”.

These comments demonstrate how temporary, seasonal migration can be used to develop skills that are both spatially bounded or skills that could be developed in a range of locations. As Gareth commented, migration enables players to experience conditions that they would not be able to if they were immobile and remained in England. However, Jeff and Peter suggest that migrant players are able to improve technical skills that could be developed and applied in a variety of locations. By developing skills that are both spatially and non-spatially bounded, players are able to accrue cultural capital which they are able to draw on both in the course of migration, and following their return home when they can utilise their newly acquired skills. This personal training motive for migration is reflective of existing literature on other skilled occupations (Skeldon 2009, Williams and Baláž 2005). For instance, Beaverstock (1994:331) notes in his early work on the international labour migration of investment bankers, that for short term secondments, of less than two years in duration, the employers state that migration “was a response to the specific training needs of the investment banker”.

6.2.2.3 Opportunities for Fitness and Training

It was shown in Section 5.4.2.3 how significant the opportunity for fitness and training work in the sunshine was as a motive for migration by the workers themselves. Fitness was referred to by the employers; however, there was clear variation as to the extent
to which migration was deemed to be beneficial. Henry perceived fitness to be the most important motive and the aspect in which he expected to see the biggest improvement: “more on the fitness side than anything else... It tends to be more go and get fit”. And Gareth recognised the benefits of training outdoors when compared to being indoors during the English winter:

“It’s far easier being in the outdoor nets with the sunshine on your back and you’re enjoying going out and doing your training, than probably what it is from October through to the end of February here, where it is absolutely freezing and, you know, you don’t want to get out of bed in the morning to go to the gym and all your nets are done on a bowling machine or with a side arm predominantly, which is artificial [sic]”.

However, the comments of Paul were contrary to this, with other motives taking precedence for migration, as fitness was not necessarily seen to benefit:

“If a player goes away for the winter I’d be surprised if he was any better than any of our players on strength and conditioning because we’d have pretty much all our players man-marked here and we’d know exactly what they were doing every day. Whilst they are away, if you train on your own, the intensity is not the same as training in a group when you’ve got competition. So that’s something we’d monitor and as soon as they come back we monitor their condition and see if they are behind or not. It’s very unlikely that they will be ahead”.

Whilst fitness alone as an appeal for migration cannot be understood to directly contribute to the accumulation of cultural capital, it can be seen to be an enabling factor for improving other aspects of cricket. For instance, good levels of fitness are required to be able to train and play successfully thus facilitating player development and the accumulation of cultural capital.

6.2.2.4 Opportunities for Personal and Professional Development

Employers recognised the importance of migration as an opportunity for a player to help develop the mental attributes necessary for an individual to succeed as a player and progress in their career. The responsibility of being a senior player in a side and
reacting to the pressures that come with responsibility were recognised to be an important skill that could be developed overseas. Henry provided an insight into this issue: “I think to go and be the overseas pro in a team, the player that everybody else looks up to, I think that there is a certain amount of responsibility which that brings”. Henry’s view was supported by Jeff:

“Usually they have to be the professionals at the club, so they have to take on a lot of responsibility there, they’ve got to perform, they’ve got to pick teams, and we encourage them to basically live the life of that cricket team”.

As well as the responsibility of being a senior and professional player in an amateur club team, Gareth expressed the importance of developing the mental attributes necessary to cope with the pressure of being an overseas player in Australia:

“It is hard, you know, you’re predominantly out there as a sole Englishman, in a semi-hostile environment when you’re out in the field. So it hardens you up, it makes you very vulnerable if you’re not in the right frame of mind. You learn as much about yourself as a person a lot of the time as you do about yourself as a player”.

The importance of developing personality attributes and the ability to succeed in a position of responsibility echoes the motives of Human Resources Managers in transnational legal firms, who revealed in research by Beaverstock (2004) that a key motive for temporary migration was to develop individuals capable of taking on positions of responsibility in the future.

Alongside the opportunity for professional development, employers recognised the significance of migration in assisting players’ personal development, both on and off the cricket field. This was reflected in comments including this from Henry:

“It may improve a player’s self-confidence and maturity about their own game... Game mentality and things are also likely to improve, if you’re the overseas player, in amongst a team of ten Australians, then they will be looking to you”.
Outside of cricket employers noted how migration could assist with a player maturing, for example, Kevin conveyed: “depending on the type of individual, the one’s you want to grow up a bit, may be you give them a little bit of independence”. This aspect of personal development off the cricket field was expressed by Gareth who reflected on previous employee migrations: “they’ve come back different people, not necessarily better players, but better people and better adjusted to their environment”. Whilst Gareth indicates that migration might not make individuals better players directly upon return to the home country, the independence enabled by migration was noted to be beneficial to player development. As Peter revealed: “the best players are those that work a lot of stuff out for themselves”. This suggests that personal traits that can be developed through migration, and contribute to the accumulation of cultural capital, which can be further developed and later converted to symbolic and economic capital as a result of career progression.

As well as providing playing and training time, sojourns sometimes provided migrants with the opportunity to lead coaching sessions, often for junior members of the host cricket club. This was seen to be an important aspect of personal development and the impact this can have on individual player was illustrated by Peter:

“I think it is a good thing to have to go and do some coaching out there. It makes you think about the game more generally... Getting others to understand what it takes to improve a skill, it’s not just a physical thing; it’s a mental thing as well. And if you have to try and teach somebody a skill, particularly a young person, it’s a good experience, with how you have to communicate, and if they don’t get it the first time, what do you do to try and get them to understand what you are trying to do with them and how they can learn the skills. So it’s obviously a good development tool for you”.

These comments demonstrate how temporary, seasonal migration provides an opportunity for personal and professional development both on and off the cricket field. The employers were able to shed light on how these opportunities are beneficial to the players themselves and their performances when they return to England, and it was for these reasons that they encourage and enable migration. Personal and
professional development can be understood to contribute to individual players accumulating cultural capital as they are developing embodied attributes that can be utilised when they return to their county employers.

The general life-experience that could be gained through migration was a widely stated motive by the employers. Kevin stressed:

“IT makes them more street-wise and it takes them away from the cold winters... They come back more worldly-wise and more experienced, more able to stand on their own two feet... I think in their corner, it improves them as cricketers and as people”.

Jeff agreed with this view: “It’s about the lifestyle, they go away and they meet new people. Gain life-skills”. Whilst these skills may not necessarily directly enhance a player’s performance for their home cricket team, this further aspect of personal development can be seen to be beneficial by the employers.

The life experience opportunities provided by migration were seen to be particularly significant for the young migrants, for example, those going away soon after leaving school or college. As Peter articulated:

“They’ve got no experience elsewhere. And that is one of the downsides of the Academy Systems I suppose and the way the game is going now is that they’ve had no life experience if you like. Some obviously go to university and their time is split between university and professional cricket for a while. But for a lot of lads, they finish school and it is straight into playing cricket, so they’ve not had to earn a living if you like and have no experience of the real world”.

This combination of personal and professional development is reflective of other corporate motives for employee migration. Beaverstock and Hall (2012:280) quote the corporation ‘Clifford Chance’ who state:

“There is no virtual substitute to physically relocating to another office. This is a key means for increasing the firm’s diversity of views, cultural knowledge and cohesion. It is also a fantastic way to augment learning and personal development, and strengthen cross-jurisdictional
networks... There is no better way to learn the intricacies of a local market than to immerse yourself in it”.

It was shown in Chapter 5 the importance of migrant’s opportunities for personal development and to mature as an individual. It is evident that this is an important motive for the home employers. It is clear from the findings here and existing knowledge on temporary migration that in many cases there is no substitute for the skills and capital that can be accumulated through mobility. In the case of cricket this has much to do with the material conditions, meaning that the game of cricket can only be played overseas during the English winter. However, the secondary motives such as the ability to be independent from coaches and in control of one’s own training are seen to be equally important.

Despite these seemingly positive motives for migration, in relation to personal development, there were examples referenced by employers where the outcomes of migration were not as they would have liked. However, employers recognised that negative outcomes were important as they were still learning about an individual, their mentality and commitment to their career in the sport. As Peter observed:

“Sometimes, you know, players have come back not as fit as we would have liked, so that’s disappointing when that happens, but it also tells you a lot about the player, so we learn about them, whether it be positive or negative, at least you’re learning about them.... It tells us how driven they are. It isn’t easy to be away, the other side of the world, and think ‘I should be doing this today, but no, I don’t feel like it’. Whereas, the best are making sure that they will do it”.

The opportunity for players to develop both personally and professionally is an important motive for the employers who enable and encourage individuals to partake in temporary, seasonal migration. Whilst employers like Peter did note the potential for negative outcomes from migration, they reflected upon the significance of migration as a learning opportunity for them as employers, where they can gain an insight into their employees, that would not be possible without migration. One particular aspect of personal and professional development has been shown to relate
the lifestyle and life experiences that are offered by migration, and it is motivations and appeals that relate to this that will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.2.5 Lifestyle Motivations

When asked about the more general appeals and decisions that underlie migration, employers explained why Australia was the most popular destination. Henry summarised: “If someone said to me, which country should you go to, I’d say Australia. Because they will get the quality of cricket, the ease of cultural exchange, the life experience they will get”. Henry went on to reveal that, for his employees: “They are going to sample a different way of life I suppose... It’s an opportunity to do something different and see a new place, to have a good time and to get out of this country to do some warm weather training”. The attraction and recommendation of Australia as a destination was noted by Peter:

“I think Australia, from a player’s point of view, is a desirable location, I think they probably look at Australia as a place that they would like to go... I think there is the enjoyment of going to a different country and the lifestyle that they give you”.

As these comments begin to show, employers expressed similar sentiments to the migrants with regards to the lifestyle and climatic benefits offered by temporary migration. This reflects the recognition in the literature that quality of life is a significant influencing factor in the migration of skilled personnel (Straubhaar 2000; Ackers 2005; Ewers 2007). Whilst Paul believed that: “It [Australia] will stay popular in the near future just because of the lifestyle, you can enjoy it for six months” other employers were able to shed light on the more general reasons that players look to migrate during the English off-season. These factors included both push factors as indicated by Kevin: “I feel that a motive of theirs is to go away and miss the cold winters and the indoor sessions because they can be off to some nice places to be honest and play some good cricket”. Conversely, employers, including Don, expressed what they believed to be pull factors offered by the destination location: “You know, I always say, when the players do their appraisal mid-season, would you rather spend the winter here or would you rather be spending the winter in Perth, Sydney, Auckland or Cape Town”. Similarly, Jeff revealed: “if they are to get out of doing the gym in the
winter, in the middle of winter and running outside instead then you don’t have to be Einstein to work out which one is best!”

From a lifestyle perspective, it is evident that there are both push and pull factors (Green et al. 2008) that influence the opportunity and the decision to migrate. The climate and quality of life on offer overseas appeals to employers as it enables players to train and play outside throughout the English winter. This, in turn, provides players with the opportunity to develop the skills that can be considered to contribute to the accumulation of cultural capital.

Much like the Professionalization Phase migrants, it has been shown in this section that motives and appeals that are related to, or enable, the acquisition of cultural capital are the most frequently stated by employers. These motives can be understood to be of most benefit to employers, as players are able to draw upon their newly developed skills when they return to their home county where they are working and performing directly on behalf of their employer. It has been shown how these motivational themes, in terms of skill development and gaining experience in overseas conditions, reflect findings from research into temporary migration in other skilled occupations. In discussing these motives related to cultural capital accumulation it becomes apparent how they can lead to career progression and development. This can be considered to enable the conversion of cultural capital to symbolic and economic capital. However, motives that were related to career progressions and thus, symbolic capital were specifically expressed by employers and these will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.3 “They come back better players”

Symbolic capital motives for migration were widely stated by employers. As can be seen in the previous section on cultural capital accumulation, employers are concerned with the development pathways of their players which lead to symbolic capital accumulation through career progression. It has been noted that these pathways frequently include a migratory phase, demonstrating that employers are concerned with their employees acquiring embodied cultural capital, whilst they are overseas, which can then be applied and converted to symbolic capital upon their return home. For this conversion new skills must be gained and developed overseas
and this enables the primary purpose of migration to occur, which was expressed by Don: “the most important thing is that they actually come back better players”. By improving as a player, individuals are better placed to progress their careers and accumulate symbolic capital upon their return.

As well as the general opportunities for progression and capital accumulation that can be enhanced by temporary migration, employers stated similar examples to the employees of more specific migrations that enable career progression. Peter made reference to an example of migration where an employee had gone overseas in order to catch-up on playing and training time following an injury:

“So rather than him bowl indoors we thought it would be a good idea if he went away for a month and bowl on grass and in matches, so it was kind of getting a head start on everyone else because he’d missed so much cricket last year”.

Employers made reference to the prestige that is considered to be attached to playing club cricket in Australia. Paul noted that at his club there has been a tendency for players undertaking temporary migration to travel to Australia and that, as employers, they would encourage players to seek opportunities in Australia. He remarked: “I suppose traditionally we would do that, just because we’ve got more contacts there and because of the structure of cricket there. There are other destinations which are a consideration but they just haven’t been trendy, if you will”. Paul’s recognition that Australia is the “trendy” destination for temporary migration suggests that there is likely to be prestige and kudos available to players who partake in an Australian migration. This prestige can be understood through Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of capital to contribute to the acquisition of symbolic capital as it honours the player’s participation in migration.

Finally, employers were able to provide an insight into how migration may have long term impacts on a player’s career trajectory and thus, the potential for them to obtain symbolic capital. Henry summarised: “obviously if you’re in a climate which is warmer and drier and things like that then there is a greater opportunity to practise cricket outdoors and do your fitness outdoors, which in the long term is probably better for you [sic]”. Whilst Henry here focused on the long term benefits of playing and training
outdoors, he alludes to the chance to experience the foreign conditions. This was a motive for migration that was noted by Jeff who revealed how familiarity with overseas conditions could be advantageous in the future: “I think it can’t do any harm because if you’ve been to Australia you know what the surroundings are like and you know what to expect, so you, kind of, have one-up on other people”. Alongside these migration motives that are specific to Australia, Kevin indicated how the skills developed during migration could, in the future, enhance the possibility of career progression and selection to the national cricket team. Kevin expressed:

“I think it will always be a benefit to them because they will become more rounded as cricketers and more rounded as people and I think that those type of people do become better and become more consistent which equates to being selected for as high a cricket as they can get to [sic]”.

Together these comments demonstrate how temporary migration can, in the long-term, allow players who have migrated to accumulate symbolic capital, through career progression and this capital accumulation is dependent on players gaining skills that are only available by participating in temporary migration.

The importance of career development, and the conversion of cultural capital to symbolic capital, as a motive for migration as noted above, varies in the existing literature. Beaverstock (2004) found that whilst career development did occur as a result of migration, it was not a primary motive for overseas postings. Conversely, Beaverstock’s (2005:256) research into managerial elites in New York City’s Financial District found that secondments there were “prized”, given the ability of the migration to fast-track a career in both the home and destination country. In terms of employers’ motives for employee migration, career development and specialist training have been shown to underlie secondment policies in transnational businesses for some time (Beaverstock 1994; Beaverstock and Smith 1996); findings which are reflected in this study.
6.3 The Motives and Appeals of Employers of Skilled Workers: Conclusion

It can be seen that the employers’ motives for skilled migration closely reflect those motives of the migrants themselves, demonstrating that there is a consensus in terms of the factors that determine temporary, seasonal, international migration. The acquisition of cultural capital, in its embodied form, is the dominant motive for migration and the ability of this to be converted to symbolic capital upon return to the home country was particularly significant to the home employers. Similarly, like the Professionalization Phase migrants themselves, acquiring economic capital was not seen as an important motive, with cultural capital accumulation motives again taking precedence. Whilst the findings discussed in Chapter 5 suggest that employee agency is the dominating factor behind migration, it has become clear that structural constraints imposed by employers still play an important role in the migratory process. Despite this, it is evident that in most cases, employers are supportive of migration and the benefits that partaking can bring to the individual, and in turn, the employers. It is important to note however, the cautionary tones that are evident in the responses of employers when compared to those of the migrants. It could be suggested that this is related to the employers’ greater awareness, and perhaps, prior experience of potential problems and negative outcomes that could result from temporary migration. These issues present a background as to why employers may act to control or in some cases restrict the mobility of their employees, an issue that will be explored in Chapter 7.

It has been shown in this section that generally employers’ motives for migration are reflective of employers in other highly-skilled occupational sectors. Motives in this case study and in the literature are commonly focused on occupation-specific motives in the form of cultural capital accumulation through skill acquisition and development, alongside personal development motives. In terms of the overall motivational themes it has already been noted that there is some variation in the extent to which career progression and symbolic capital acquisition is seen to be an explicit motive for temporary migration. But it has been shown here that career development and progression is a clearly defined motive for migration for employers who influence the migration of elite cricket professionals.
6.4 The Motives and Appeals of Intermediaries

A number of intermediaries who have a role in the migratory process were interviewed. As with the employers, their views and experiences relate to contemporary migrants, those who have undertaken temporary, seasonal, international migration during the Professionalization Phase (2001 to present).

First, participants were interviewed from national and international governing bodies and these were senior members of the organisations, including managers, directors and a Chief Executive Officer. Second, interviews were conducted with Sports Agents who act on behalf on the migrant players and third, participants from the host country were interviewed. The intermediaries in this case study represent an interesting addition to the migration process as groups such as the Governing Body do not exist in other examples of skilled migration. From the literature it would appear that medical and other healthcare staff are the only other occupational group where professional bodies influence the migration process (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Yet, in this case study, these participants were all able to inform on different aspects of the migration decision-making process and these will be discussed in the following section.

6.4.1 “Clubs cannot afford to offer attractive packages to English players”

The acquisition of economic capital as a motive for migration was not something that was widely discussed by the intermediaries in the migrant process. However, the economic motives and financial aspects of migration were a significant component of the interviews with agents. For example, Ken, an overseas agent, discussed the fees involved in using his mediation and recruitment service. Similarly, Tim a professional sports agent, who assists with arranging seasonal migrations for his clients, described in detail the financial packages that they would look to broker for a migrant cricket professional, the amount of money that could be made through migration and the role the agent has if there are issues with a player not receiving the agreed remuneration from a host club. Tim revealed: “typically a deal could be, I don’t know, let’s say, $(Aus)300/400/500 [£160-275] a week and then there’ll be some sort of incentives for performance”. Furthermore, Tim noted how motives for migration could change during the life-course to reflect the career stage and personal responsibilities:
“I think in terms of money, yes, it’s not the driving force but I think that the older they get, that does make a big difference. I think younger players just want to go for the experience and they will literally just go knowing that the club has a good set of nets or that there is a gym that’s nearby or it just offers a good standard of cricket as a team. Whereas, for a twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six year old, who might have a girlfriend here or whatever then it tends to be more about going to make money”.

These comments support other empirical findings that the motives related to the acquisition of economic capital are not the dominant motives for temporary migration. However, for the minority of players, those who enlist the services of agents, there is likely to be some financial remuneration. Unlike the migrants themselves, this agent indicated that there was the potential to accumulate economic capital in the course of migration, particularly for the older and more established migrants.

Yet, Gary, a representative of a host cricket club in Western Australia, indicated that the financial situation of Australian clubs meant that it was often not possible to provide overseas players with significant levels of remuneration. Noting that, in his view economic capital cannot be considered to be an important motive for migration: “the clubs in the WACA [Western Australia Cricket Association] competition often cannot afford or will not offer out of principle attractive packages to English players.”

For the intermediaries in the migration process it is clear that there is variation in the extent to which economic motives and the subsequent acquisition of economic capital are significant. For the most part, the comments from the Australian representatives reflect the views of players and their employees that have been discussed previously. However, for the agents it is evident that there is a greater emphasis on the financial considerations of migration. Whilst this reflects other research on the role of agents in athletic migration (Molnar 2006; Poli 2006, 2010), it does suggest that contrary to some of the other data gathered in this research, that there are opportunities to make money, and thus acquire economic capital during migrations that have occurred during the Professionalization Phase. Despite this, as Tim, an agent, recognised, in most cases players and intermediaries are still motivated by the wish to improve and
develop as a player and it is these cultural capital motives that will be discussed in the following section.

6.4.2 Enabling the Personal and Professional Development of Players

As with the employers of migrants, the intermediaries were generally supportive of temporary migration. Supporting comments included the following from Colin, a Chief Executive Officer, who observed: “wintering overseas is very much an activity that is to be supported. It enables the personal and professional development of players”.

Further supporting comments came from Ian and Tony who are both Managing Directors for Governing Bodies. Ian identified: “I think, certainly, the opportunity to go and play overseas and testing yourself against tough opponents, becoming familiar with what previously would have been less familiar, hard environments will definitely continue to be really important”. Similarly, Tony stated: “it will definitely continue, it is so, so important. We need to give young players the opportunity to really see what cricket is all about”. These comments reflect the overall motives of migrants and their employers, with player improvement motives taking precedence. These intermediaries made further supporting comments, particularly with regards to Australia as the primary destination for this style of migratory activity. As Colin briefly summarised: “it allows access to club cricket which, in Australia, is of a very high standard and offers very competitive leagues”. The quality of the cricket available in Australia was noted by Ian: “The vast majority of players feel more comfortable to go to Australia and there are great benefits of going to Australia in terms of the type of cricket you have to play and the sort of environment they go into.” As well as the quality of the cricket which Colin and Ian refer to, Tony noted the importance of the different cricket cultures which can be experience in Australia:

“You know, getting away from here, understanding again what they are about, what makes Australian’s tick and playing some decent cricket... It’s about being on your own, fending for yourself, it’s about being able to mix in and understand the culture and philosophy of Australian cricket. Australia really is the toughest country to play cricket in”.

The benefits of Australia as described here by a range of Governing Body representatives reflect the sentiments expressed previously by players and their
county employers, that experiencing different cricket environments, particularly the challenging conditions in Australia, was important in assisting a player’s development. Further to this, intermediaries recognised that it was important to develop the mental attributes deemed necessary for a successful career in cricket. These attributes can be considered to contribute to the acquisition of cultural capital as they are embodied skills that require a personal investment of time by the individual (Bourdieu 1986). For example, Ian conveyed:

“For some of those players it is an opportunity for the first time in their lives to have to stand on their own two feet and front up to what is a relatively difficult cricket environment, not only in terms of the skills they will require to be successful, but also the culture and the environment that they are going to... It’s really been about that and about developing the personality and the characteristics and mental toughness that enable players to make better decisions for themselves”.

This need to develop the personality attributes that Ian refers to were noted by Colin: “playing in this type of environment is beneficial to and changes players’ attitudes towards playing the game” and by Tony:

“It’s an opportunity to learn and recognise that you need to earn your place and respect your place in the team. Regardless of whether it is in the first or third grade you need to back up your selection with performances”.

Whilst these comments suggest that personal development overseas is beneficial specifically when playing cricket, one of the agents, Tim, recognised the wider personal responsibilities that they could develop in the course of migration: “I guess it is about taking responsibility, for the first time often in their lives, they are given autonomy and the chance to run their own diaries and training regimes”, Tim’s view here was supported by Ian who noted that migration provides a unique opportunity as he noted that:

“For the first time they have to determine what their own lifestyle looks like, their own, sort of, nutrition habit, their own, sort of, lifestyle habits,
what they do in the day, when they do their training, all that sort of stuff, they have to take responsibility for themselves and that’s really important”.

Like Ian, other intermediaries who were governing body representatives in England were keen to emphasise the importance of the opportunity for personal development and new life experiences available in Australia. The results of this personal development were seen to be of benefit to players both on and off the field, as revealed in the following quotation from Tony: “It’s about developing social skills, for example, a mental ability that allows you to be in the right frame of mind to succeed… They need to learn to believe in yourself and your ability to succeed [sic]”. Ian agreed with Tony in relation to these personal development motives and stated: “they go to play, for two reasons really, so that they play some tough cricket but then also for them to develop greater independence and for them to go and grow up more quickly”.

Together these comments indicate that there are a variety of ways in which players are able to develop personally as a result of partaking in migration. These developments can all be understood to enable cultural capital to be acquired by providing players with the opportunity to improve embodied skills that will assist them with professional development. The insights from the intermediaries here, as well as data from employers and the players suggest that by taking these opportunities that are available through temporary migration, it will result in career progression upon return to the home country and thus the conversion of cultural capital to symbolic and economic capital.

As well as considering the intermediaries in England and Wales, in order to gain a greater understanding of the whole migration process, data was also collected from intermediaries in Australia. From an overseas perspective, Eric, an Australian representative involved in coaching on the English governing body scholarship programme at the DLCA, recognised that the experience was intended to develop both physical and mental attributes of the migrant cricketers:

“It exposes players to high level players and those who can adjust to competition and conditions... The principles of the programme have always been the same, to make the players uncomfortable, in all
aspects from training to living, and be responsible for organising themselves. We ensure that they continually get questions asked of them and plug holes for players to hide in”.

Eric was able to inform on the motivations behind Australian cricket clubs’ decisions to recruit English cricketers to represent their teams. Much like the players themselves the participation of the English cricketers enabled the club to develop and assist with local players acquiring new skills and thus cultural capital of their own: “they [the clubs] can see the value of an English player to add depth, create competition for spots and strengthen their team”. This view was supported by Ken, the agent who is based overseas: “overseas players are employed to help clubs reach new levels”.

Further information on the views and motives for hosting English players was provided by Gary, a club representative from Western Australia, who iterated: “Our club has a positive attitude towards the inclusion of overseas players in our cricket teams. Overseas players are selected on merit and can bring new skills and insights to the game as it is played here. They also provide additional depth to our playing resources”. Gary’s comment indicates that there are professional development motives present for both the English migrants and the host clubs and their local players, who are able to acquire embodied cultural capital through developing new skills that would not be possible without the migrant cricketer being present.

The motives stated by intermediaries that can be understood as contributing to the acquisition of cultural capital are reflective of the players and their employees. In the case of the governing body, the ECB, this is because the intermediaries are tasked with developing players and recognise the importance of overseas experience and the skill development in this process. The importance of developing the necessary personal attributes to succeed as a professional cricketer was widely stated by the intermediaries and this reflects other findings from this study and from examples in the wider skilled migration literature (Beaverstock 2004). It is significant that the intermediaries in Australia were able to inform on the impact migrants have on their host cricket clubs. Previous research has noted that there is a potential to disadvantage local talent by bringing in overseas players (Stead and Maguire 1998; Maguire and Stead 2005). But the comments indicate that the incoming migrants had
a positive effect on the host clubs and enabled local players to acquire cultural capital by developing new skills.

6.4.3 Developing Raw Talent

Many of the comments made by intermediaries, in the previous section on cultural capital motives and appeals, provide an indication of the significance of player development and thus, symbolic capital acquisition through career progression. As Gary, the representative from Western Australian Cricket, noted of the current migration trend: “it is mainly younger emerging English players”. With this being the case it suggests that players are using migration to acquire embodied cultural capital early in their careers, and they can later use this investment in themselves to convert cultural capital to symbolic and economic capital.

It has already been noted in Chapter 5 that migrant players can be seen to be investing in themselves and their career by undertaking temporary migration. And this theme of investment was one that was echoed by senior intermediaries involved in player development at the Governing body. As Ian stated:

“In many ways we do treat players like commodities to be shaped and developed and moved on to the consumer. And I guess the consumer is the England team... A supply of players must be delivered to the England team that are capable of performing at the world’s best levels. To take a mining analogy, we look to extract raw talent from within first class cricket and to invest in that player’s development and put support structures around them”.

Through this, the Governing Body representatives offered a new perspective to career development by looking at the most senior level of professional cricket and how players progress to that level. Ian was able to provide an insight into the particular significance of personal attributes that must be developed in order for individuals to be able to progress to the highest level:

“When they go into the England team they are going to have to be self-determining, independent and have to be able to make really good decisions under pressure on and off the field and they need to be able
to do that. If they can’t do that in the England team then they are not going to be successful. So at some stage in their development they are going to have to make that switch, and I had this conversation with several players over the winter, they have to make that switch from being a boy to being a bloke, and that is just a maturity thing. So from having to go from looking to others to make their decisions for them early on, to actually taking responsibility for their own decision-making, that has to, almost that ‘rite of passage’ that has to happen at some stage during a player’s development”.

From these quotations it is clear that career progression and symbolic capital accumulation is at the forefront of Governing Body considerations for temporary migration. The themes expressed here by Ian regarding self-determinism and independence reflect the findings of Williams (2007b:374) who said of international migration “it can be a source of exceptional learning as individuals take responsibility for acquiring knowledge and enhancing their employability”. Whilst it is evident that these outcomes are dependent upon players acquiring cultural capital, the Governing Body’s motives for encouraging, and in some cases funding, migration are driven by longer-term career progression motives and thus the acquisition of symbolic capital. These longer-term considerations reflect the findings of Stead and Maguire (2000:54) who, like Ian, utilise the phrase “rite de passage” when, reflecting on their study of Nordic football migrants highlight, self-development and investment motives taking precedence over more immediate impacts.

6.5 The Motives and Appeals of Intermediaries: Conclusion

The role of intermediaries in the migration process has previously been given little consideration in the literature. This is likely to be because occupational migrations are usually driven by the employers alongside their employees, so larger scale bodies do not have a role in this stage of the migration process, particularly in the home country. In this example, it is evident that intermediaries encourage and facilitate temporary, overseas migration and that their motives and appeals related to migration are generally reflective of those that were previously revealed by the players and their employers.
The motives of the intermediaries do demonstrate that for migrations where agents are involved there is a greater focus on motives related to the acquisition of economic capital, and suggests that there is more opportunity for financial gain in the course of migration than was evident from interviews with players and their employers. The views of intermediaries support the motives related to embodied cultural capital accumulation. It is important to note the beneficial views expressed by the representatives from the Australian cricket clubs with respect to their motives for hosting overseas players. They recognised that whilst players were in Australia they were not only developing skills of their own and improving their game, migrants were assisting with the development of the indigenous talent.

Finally, when considering motives that can be understood as contributing to the accumulation of symbolic capital the intermediaries made reference to the investment that young players were making in themselves through migration, as well as the financial investment that the governing body are making. Investment in development and subsequent capital accumulation is noted by Bourdieu (1986), so it is significant that temporary migration is viewed in this way by players, their employers and other intermediaries. This notion of investment through a migratory experience was identified by Stead and Maguire (2000:44), who use the same terminology as highlighted in Ian’s final quotation and state: “For many, moving abroad did appear a logical progression, in a real sense, a “rite de passage” in their soccer career development”. Whilst Stead and Maguire were exploring the motives of Nordic/Scandinavian soccer players, it is significant that others, who are intermediaries in the migration process and are responsible for developing players to perform at the highest level of elite cricket, are identifying the same motives for undertaking temporary, seasonal migration as part of career development.

6.6 Discussion

This chapter sought to investigate the motives and appeals that underlie the decisions of employers and intermediaries to encourage and enable the temporary, seasonal, international migration of English professional cricketers. Using a conceptual framework based on Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of economic, cultural and symbolic capital the motives and appeals of these two groups have been discussed. For the
employers, motives related to the acquisition of cultural capital through developing new skills and techniques came to the fore. Symbolic capital motives were highlighted as this species of capital can be acquired when skills gained overseas are applied and legitimised upon a migrant’s return. The opportunity for economic capital accumulation was not discussed in detail by employers, and any references to monetary matters tended to focus on how players could finance temporary migration. For the employers it was apparent that their focus was on the salary players are paid by the county club all year round, as opposed to any opportunities for players to make money in the course of migration.

The findings regarding the motives and appeals of intermediaries were generally similar to the employers, particularly in relation to embodied cultural capital motivations. Differences were, however, evident when considering the motives and appeals discussed by agents who facilitated migration and the Australian representatives from host cricket clubs and academies. First, for the agents there was increased attention given to the potential to acquire economic capital during temporary migration, when compared with the motives of the migrants and their employers. Given the role of a sports agent (Esson 2014), the increased focus on economic aspects would perhaps be expected, however, the agents did recognise that it was older and more established players who were likely to be able to gain such economic rewards. Second, the representatives from Australia were able to inform on how the migrants’ presence overseas was able to assist with the development of indigenous talent and enabled locals to acquire embodied cultural capital of their own.

To establish the significance of these findings it is necessary to investigate the extent to which they reflect research that has considered other skilled occupations.

Prior research that has examined the motives of posting employees temporarily overseas indicates that there are five key areas where findings from this research support evidence from the literature. First, from an employer’s perspective temporary, skilled, international migration is primarily focused on early career skilled workers (Thorn 2009). The findings here support this with employers making reference to the benefits migration can have for an individual when they are in the early stages of their career and are looking to develop. As Williams (2007b:374) notes “migration may
constitute ‘significant learning moments’” when considering personal development and achievements other than formal qualifications. Williams goes on to list competences including self-confidence, adaptability and self-reliance as skills that can be developed during a migration. These are all aspects of development that the employers and intermediaries highlighted as areas where they would hope to see improvement in a player following seasonal migration to Australia.

Second, the chance to gain new business skills and foreign work experience is highlighted in the literature as a key component of temporary, international migration (Froese 2012; Biemann and Andresen 2010). This is a long recognised benefit of temporary business secondments and a key motive for firms sending their employers overseas. For example, Beaverstock (1994) demonstrated that training programmes within transnational banking organisations were focused on accelerating career development, as individuals gained international work experience. Similarly, Beaverstock and Boardwell (2000) note that, as a result of temporary migration, employees were able to obtain skills, knowledge and expertise that were specific to the destination location. Like the employers and intermediaries in this study these new skills and knowledge allowed migrants to become more rounded workers, who were able to draw on and adapt these skills for use at home following the completion of temporary migration.

Third, as has been shown through the application of Bourdieu’s notions of capital, developing these skills enable migrant players to acquire cultural capital, particularly in its embodied form. Whilst a framework based on the economic, cultural and symbolic capital has not previously been used in the literature, Beaverstock and Boardwell (2000:280) recognise the relationship between transient migrants and cultural capital. They note that cultural capital can be acquired through gaining knowledge and expertise, as well as through becoming embedded in the local culture and business networks. This recognition not only supports the use of an analytical framework based upon Bourdieu’s notions of capital, it supports the views of employers and intermediaries who view migration as an opportunity to develop and acquire cricketing skills, alongside life-skills in unfamiliar environments.
Fourth, it is evident in the literature that employers and corporations recognise that there is a relationship between career progression and the potential for accelerated development as a consequence of temporary migration (Biemann and Andresen 2010). This phenomenon has long been recognised in the literature on migrations within TNCs with Beaverstock (1994) highlighting career development as a motive for corporate-driven migration, and Beaverstock and Smith (1996) noting how careers could be fast-tracked as a result of migration. More recently, Beaverstock (2004) has shown how professional service legal firms are using the temporary, international migration of trainees as a career development tool. Such motives for migration and the hope that it will accelerate the development of skilled workers were clearly evident in this case study, with both employers and the intermediaries noting the significance of these motives in the decision to encourage and enable player migration.

Finally, as well as the employers and intermediaries being motivated to encourage and enable migration in order to develop their employees, it is evident that firms are able to benefit from employee migration. It has been shown that temporary, international migration of employees enables the firm to acquire cultural capital of their own which results from the composite value of the embodied cultural capital possessed by all the firm’s employees (Williams 2007b). In this case study there was little evidence of employers stating motives that were of benefit to the firm, despite this, outcomes such as those identified by Williams (2007b) are likely to occur and benefit the employers. It appears that the intermediaries were aware of how encouraging and enabling migration could be of benefit to them. This was particularly shown to be true for the intermediaries from the ECB who noted motives and appeals, that can be understood as symbolic capital motives, when they are looking to invest in players and their development, to aid their progression to the national team. As well as the potential for firms to acquire cultural capital through employee migration, Beaverstock (2004) has recognised how this ultimately leads to a firm accumulating economic capital. As employees obtain embodied skills and knowledge this enables them to offer a better service to their customers and increase the firm’s earning potential. Again, whilst this was not discussed by the employers as a motive it is likely that this was a factor in their decision to encourage and enable temporary migration of their
employees, as it will be beneficial to the County Cricket Club as a whole as opposed to simply the migrant player.

The inclusion of intermediaries in this study has enabled an insight into how the temporary migration of English professional cricketers is of benefit to the cricket clubs that host them in Australia. These cricket clubs demonstrated similar motives for migration to other overseas employers of skilled workers. For example, it has been shown that Australian clubs are motivated to host an English cricketer as they bring with them new and foreign embodied skills (Williams 2007b). The addition of these skills to the cricket club allows indigenous players to be trained (Khoo et al. 2007), and in this case coached, by the migrant player. Activity such as this provides an opportunity for co-learning as differences between the migrant and the locals are exploited to enable skills and knowledge transfer (Williams 2007a).

The findings therefore serve to demonstrate that the motives and appeals for employers and intermediaries who encourage, and enable temporary migration are reflective of those in other skilled occupations. Using an analytical framework based on Bourdieu’s notions of capital it has been possible to show that motives and appeals related to the acquisition of cultural capital come to the fore and, for the intermediaries in particular, longer-term motives that enable symbolic capital be accumulated were shown to be significant. Lastly, as with the Professionalization Phase migrants themselves, economic motives appeared to be lesser considerations for employers and intermediaries, with the exception of the sports agents who spoke explicitly about the financial potential of migration. This chapter has examined the influence that employers and intermediaries can have on the migration decision-making process. By exploring the processes that underlie migration, Chapter 7 will consider the influence that employers and intermediaries have on regulating and constraining the temporary migration of elite cricket professionals.
7. Becoming an Elite Cricket Migrant: Migration Processes

7.1 Introduction

Chapters 5 and 6 investigated the motives and appeals that influence the decision-making process of temporary seasonal migration of elite cricket professionals. Prior to departing for the sojourn there are several further stages that must occur. The first stage involves the identification of players who are potential migrants. Second, it is necessary to identify opportunities for UK-based cricketers to travel overseas, and a cricket club that can host the players during migration. Third, the overseas sojourn must be organised and this process includes travel arrangements, visas and accommodation. All stages of this process are subject to regulations and controls, in the home and host country, that must be negotiated in order to enable migration to take place (Castles 2004).

Whilst there has been much research on the reasons behind skilled migration and its benefits, there has, to date, been a lack of empirical work on the practice of skilled migration, and how it is operationalized (Williams 2007b). With this in mind, the first stage of this process, the identification and selection of prospective migrants will be discussed in relation to existing literature on ICTs and business secondments, where employees are selected for overseas postings, as well as literature on self-initiated expatriation. In considering the processes through which opportunities for migration are identified and operationalized, the significance of social networks will be demonstrated alongside the role businesses and employers have in both the home and destination country. This synthesis between processes reflects a call from Raghuram (2008) to investigate both immigration and emigration contexts in order to gain a fuller understanding of migration. The impact of regulations will be considered throughout the migratory pathway; in line with the call from Gabriel and Pellerin (2008) to give further consideration to structures that govern international migration.

The migration pathways and processes will be discussed drawing on the data from interviews with current and former professional cricketers from all three migration
phases, as well as their employers and other intermediaries. This chapter will first consider the processes of selection for participating in migration. Following this, the next two stages, of i) identifying, and; ii) arranging migration, will be considered together, which reflects the way they were discussed by the migrants themselves in the course of their interviews. Finally, the regulatory frameworks that must be negotiated to enable migration will be investigated.

7.2 Processes of Selection

Processes of selection for participation in temporary migration to Australia can be seen to occur in four different ways. First, selection can be made by coaches at the home county, a process that is occurring at the local level. Second, at the national level in England it is possible to be selected for overseas migration by the ECB for participation in talent development and scholarship programmes. Third, from a host perspective, there are examples in the data of professional cricketers being selected for participation by Australian cricket clubs. Fourth, the most frequently stated process of selection is a process of self-selection, where cricketers seek to undertake a type of self-initiated expatriation. Each of these types of selection will be addressed in turn in the following sections of this chapter.

7.2.1 Selection by Home Coaches & ECB

Just under a quarter of the migration events during the Professionalization Phase occurred as a result of players being selected by their home employers. This is contrary to much of the existing scholarship where the majority of individuals are selected to participate in an ICT. For example, Beaverstock and Smith (1996:1385) showed that over 90% of transfers occurred when personnel were sent overseas by their firm. There were a variety of methods listed by migrants when they explained how their migration had been initiated. Connor had been injured during the season prior to his migration, and the coaches at his club, felt that playing in Australia would form a beneficial part of his recovery. He recalled how his migration had been arranged: “every year a few clubs write to or email our Director and then obviously he put them on to me and I spoke to them and just sorted it out on my own really”. Being selected to participate in temporary migration was not restricted to those cricketers
returning from an injury. Will and Dev were encouraged by their employers to spend the winter overseas. For Will, this encouragement came during the preceding English cricket season and he was put in touch with clubs in Perth. He revealed: “during the season you try and think about what you are going to do in the winter and at the time I got put forward to playing in Perth [sic]”. For Dev, these discussions with coaches took place a little later, as the migration to Melbourne was a short-term trip after Christmas: “at the end of the season me and the coaches have an appraisal [sic], we talk about what we want to work on, and then it was a case of indoor training pre-Christmas and then testing it out in competitive situations and matches when I played out in Australia”.

For these migration events, there was flexibility from the coaches about where employees could travel. However, there were examples of players being selected by coaches for a specific opportunity. Ashley commented: “one of my coaches had been a coach at a side over there. Originally he asked one of the other lads to go over but he came around and asked me if I wanted to go”. Alfie had a similar experience, whereby one of his county coaches was contacted by a former coaching colleague about an opportunity at his club. As Alfie recalled: “my coach was asked if he had a wicket-keeper batsman... so he asked me if I fancied it and that’s how it came about really [sic]”. Alfie’s opportunity can be understood to have resulted from the contacts and networks that his coach has access to and as a result it, and the experience of Ashley above, demonstrates how networks of coaches can determine the destination and duration of an employee’s migration (Epstein and Gang 2006). These examples suggest that players are invited to participate in migration as opposed to being sent overseas but there is generally a feeling of obligation and that these are not opportunities to be refused. Toby summarised: “I wouldn’t necessarily say it is an expectation, but it is a good thing to do and I guess it does show commitment”. Whilst Toby does not believe that seasonal migration has become an expectation in cricket, the themes of obligation and commitment reflect the feelings of skilled migrants and their employers that have been highlighted in previous in studies (Harvey 2011c).

Alongside these examples where players are selected to participate in club cricket in Australia, individuals were selected to attend academies, such as the DLCA in Adelaide.
This was the case for Shaun who described the arrangements for his first trip to Australia:

“I went to Adelaide when I was 19. I went for a six month stint. I got a kind of scholarship type thing, for ‘young player of the year’ or ‘academy player of the year’, whatever it was; which meant I got sent to this academy over there, the Darren Lehmann Academy”.

The same was true for Jamil who was invited by his county to spend a month at the same academy when he was 21 years old: “they asked me if I wanted to go away in the winter, for four weeks, to the cricket academy”. The DLCA that Shaun and Jamil visited is also the destination of the recipients of ECB scholarships awarded to young and emerging county cricketers. Aaron received this scholarship when he was 20 years old:

“I went to Adelaide, to the Darren Lehmann Cricket Academy, on an ECB scholarship in 2010. I was there for four months and was at the Academy every day, Monday to Friday and then played at the weekends”.

Likewise, Oliver was a recipient of this scholarship and recalled how the opportunity had been offered to him late in the English season by the ECB and he was asked by his coach whether he wished to participate: “the coach asked if I wanted to go and I was like, ‘alright, I’ll go and that was right at the end of August and I was on a plane to Australia at the start of October”. As with opportunities presented by county employers, those that came from the ECB were seen as opportunities that should be accepted. Oliver noted: “I thought it was a pretty good idea because it was an ECB scholarship so I thought if they were giving it to me then I might as well do it, because they were obviously interested”. From Oliver’s perspective this suggests that the ECB are interested in his ability as a player and are willing to invest in his development and aid his career progression.

This scholarship scheme was introduced by the governing body during the Professionalization Phase, but there was one example of an earlier migrant who had been selected to undertake temporary migration during the Packer Phase. Tony was selected by the then governing body, the TCCB, to migrate to Sydney on a scholarship
scheme that was intended to assist with his development and allow him to experience cricket in Australia. He revealed:

“The TCCB decided that it would be a good thing to send some players out too, some of their better young players to actually learn about playing in other parts of the world. And obviously, Australia being our biggest foes, if you like, it was a good place to send them”.

Like Oliver above, this example demonstrates the willingness of the national governing body to invest in young players and their career progression.

The role of the employers in selecting players for migration can generally be seen to take on an encouraging role, either directly asking players to go away or through suggesting that spending a winter in Australia may be beneficial. Employers can be understood to be what Harvey (2011a:92) classifies as “Enticers” who are individuals that provide a “specific incentive to move”. The governing body could be classified in the same way as they select individuals for specific overseas opportunities, in this case at the DLCA. It is important to note that the players selected for migration by their county clubs or the national governing bodies were generally in the early stages of their career, and it would suggest that, for these individuals, overseas experience in the form of temporary, seasonal migration is seen to be an important aspect of the career trajectories of young professionals.

7.2.2 Selection by Overseas Team

In some instances players were selected and approached about the possibility of migrating by Australia teams. This now appears to be an unusual occurrence with the majority of examples occurring during the Packer Phase with just a single instance noted in each of the subsequent two phases. During the Packer Phase, Bill was invited to play in Australia twice, first by a club in Perth, and, later by a club in Melbourne. He recalled: “I was contacted directly; I was approached by a club. That was the same both times, yes. They organised everything for me, I just turned up and played”. Bill’s comment reflects the experiences of others who were invited to play by clubs in Australia at this time and he highlights the fact that those players recruited by overseas teams could expect to have their trip organised for them. A further example
was Martin, who was recruited by an Australian club via a colleague at his English county cricket club. He remarked: “I went to this particular club simply because there was a connection, a [county] connection, one of my colleagues at the time, he’d played for this club a year or two previously”. This provides an early example of how social networks and professional contacts can influence migration and the identification of both potential players and host clubs. This supports the findings of Elliott and Maguire (2008a) who demonstrated the existence of similar networks and mechanisms in English Ice Hockey. This suggests that this may be a common function of networks in sporting occupations, and evidence from Harvey (2011a) indicates that similar processes are apparent in academia and higher education, but further research is required to establish whether such processes occur in other occupational sectors.

Such networks were behind players being recruited by Australian teams in the Proto-Professionalization and Professionalization Phases. First, during the Proto-Professionalization Phase, Gerry was invited to a club in New South Wales by a colleague at his county club. He recalled: “one of the senior players said to me that there was an opportunity for a young player to go and play at a club just north of Sydney”. As was the case for Martin, this example demonstrates how networks and county cricket colleagues can influence migration. More recently, Freddie, a Professionalization Phase migrant, described how he had been invited to play in Melbourne by an acquaintance that he had previously played club cricket with in England:

“Someone that I used to play with in the local league, a few years ago, remembered me from a little kid weirdly, and he got in touch with me on Facebook, late August time, saying they were looking for someone to go over. So I wasn’t really planning on going to Australia, it was all pretty last minute, in late August”.

Within this data, Freddie’s experience was unique in the Professionalization Phase. However, it begins to demonstrate the significant role that social networks amongst personal and professional acquaintances have in initiating and influencing temporary migration (Epstein and Gang 2006). Further examples of the role played by social networks will follow later in this chapter.
7.2.3 Self-Selected Migration

Just over half of the Professionalization Phase migrants, indicated that they had made the initial decision to migrate. This represents a significant proportion of the migrants and supports calls for further research into the concept of self-initiated expatriation (Inkson et al. 1997; Suutari and Brewster 2000; Thorn 2009). It supports the acknowledgement by Thomas et al. (2005), Ho (2011) and Harvey (2011c) that for skilled migration, a shift in research is required away from ICTs towards self-initiated moves, as they would appear to be a more widespread phenomenon than is currently apparent. The potential for self-initiated moves was summarised by repeat migrant Noah:

“I’ve always looked for opportunities, there’s always word of mouth, basically wherever you want to go. Obviously we have a lot of players who have played cricket for us or they know areas where people have played or know players there or certain things like that”.

Taking the initiative to identify an opportunity to play overseas was something that Chris had been involved in. He described his second trip to Australia, when he spent the winter in Brisbane:

“I knew I wanted to go away and was thinking of may be going to Zimbabwe, but that fell through. And then I was sort of frantic, looking for something because it was coming up to October and I was quite frantically looking for somewhere to go because I really wanted to go away”.

The personal decision to go overseas and seek an opportunity that would enable this was noted by Josh and Brad. Josh articulated: “it is pretty much a personal decision; I find that it [migrating to Australia] works for me” and Brad recalled: “this was my first time this winter; I was in Perth for a month, playing for a club side out there. That was unbelievable; I did it purely off my own back”. For these migrants the decision to migrate meant leaving their county club and not participating in indoor training during the winter. However, independent decisions to migrate that were unaffected by county clubs were noted by some migrants. For example, the first time Jack went to
Perth his decision to migrate resulted from the circumstances in which he found himself:

“The initial trip, I’d been playing for a county and I got released. I got released right at the end of September so I wasn’t quite sure what I was going to be doing with my winter. It was pretty much a last minute decision to try and get away, play a bit of cricket”.

Like Jack, others exploited their personal circumstances; five migrants (Tom, Luke, Nathan and George) decided to travel to Australia immediately after finishing school. They recognised that it was the ideal time to go away after completing studies and before embarking on a professional cricket career during the following English season. Luke noted: “I’d just finished my A-Levels and was looking to go out” and Tom who recalled: “it was my decision; I went because it was always something that I’d worked towards when I was at school. Whilst I was going through my studies my plan was always to go abroad in the wintertime to keep playing”. Like Tom, Nathan had been looking into the possibility of going away after finishing school:

“I realised that I didn’t want to go straight into study after sixth form, and the head of cricket at my school, he’s a close cricketing friend of the family, and he mentioned that he’d spent some time in Australia and he could help set me up to go”.

Finally, George described his situation and his decision to go to Brisbane: “I knew that once I left school, I’d have a summer county contract, for the next, sort of, March to September, so I thought I’d give myself the best chance possible by going away and playing in Australia for six months”.

It was not just individuals who were early in their careers that made personal decisions to spend the English off-season overseas. In many cases cricketers were considering the possibility of going away and then spoke to their contacts in order to operationalize their migration (Harvey 2011a; Robinsons and Carey 2000). This highlights the importance of considering the agency of skilled migrants and how they utilise personal (Voigt-Graf 2004; Conradson and Latham 2005; Elliott and Maguire
2008b) and professional networks during migration (Beaverstock 2005). Scott was 21 years old when he first went away and revealed:

“Initially it was just that I wanted to go away in the winter. The first time I went through actual word of mouth, one of my team-mates had been to play club cricket in Australia before and I asked him if it would be feasible, if the club wanted me and they said yes [sic]”.

Jamie found himself in a similar position prior to his migration:

“I was playing second team cricket last year and I was just speaking to a few of the guys and saying that I wanted to go away. One of the pros had a guy, who had come over and been an overseas player at his club. This guy had spoken to him about helping him find some overseas players for their season. So he suggested me to them and they got in touch with me”.

These examples demonstrate the importance of social networks in enabling the migration of skilled workers (Ho 2011; Purkayastha 2005), as contacts within a network can be utilised to help identify and organise opportunities overseas (Conradson and Latham 2005). Utilising networks is mutually beneficial (Meyer 2001) to both the recruiting team and migrant (Elliott and Maguire 2008a), as it reduces the risks and unknowns that can be otherwise associated with international recruitment (Massey et al. 1993; Radu 2008; de Haas 2010; Williams and Baláž 2012).

Whilst Scott and Jamie, used contacts from the professional game to find opportunities to realise the feasibility of their decision to migrate (Harvey 2011c), there were examples of players who used contacts from recreational club cricket. Lee commented: “the first time, when I went across it was through a lad that was playing local cricket in England and I had contact through that with a club in South Queensland”. Like Lee, Stuart benefitted from contacts in club cricket once he had made the decision to spend the winter in Australia, although he made the contacts in a somewhat unconventional setting:

“I went on a night out in Leeds and bumped into some friends who I used to play club cricket against and they introduced me to an
Australian bloke who randomly said ‘we’re looking for an overseas player, would you fancy coming over?’”.

The experiences of Lee and Stuart demonstrate how contacts can act to determine the destination and geography of migrations within their networks (Collyer 2005). Whilst this may provide opportunities to individuals in the network, such mechanisms can act to exclude other potential migrants, as well as restricting the spatial spread of migration destinations (Bale 1991; Elliott and Maguire 2008a).

It was not just the players who migrated during the Professionalization Phase that were making personal decisions to winter in Australia. Chapter 5 demonstrated the significance of six month contracts during the Proto-Professionalization Phase in driving migration, enticing players to self-select themselves for migration. Peter stated how this had influenced his decision: “from the end of September to the beginning of April it was up to you to find some work. So a friend of mine who was in the team, he’d been away the previous year and he recommended the club to me”. Similarly, Roger who spent time playing cricket in Perth recalled going away was “something I’d been looking to do” and he approached colleagues who had contacts in Australia in order to find an opportunity overseas. These are just two examples from the Proto-Professionalization Phase, but they show how migration was a personally driven activity and highlights the persisting significance of social and professional networks in identifying overseas opportunities.

It can therefore be seen that examples of migrant selection by employers, governing bodies and overseas clubs are occurring during all three migratory phases. However, self-selection and a personal decision to migrate would appear to be the most frequent style of selection. The significance of self-selection is contrary to existing scholarship that has focused on TNCs and supports the call for further research on self-initiated expatriation (Inkson et al. 1997; Harvey 2011c; Ho 2011).

Many of the above quotations indicate that contacts in social networks have a role in providing background information about migration, and in providing assistance to find placements. It is these processes that will be discussed in the following section of this chapter, alongside the process of identification and organization when other methods of selection underlie the migration process.
7.3 Identifying and Organizing Migration

7.3.1 Opportunities and Assistance Home Coaches, ECB & Overseas Teams

For those players who are selected for migration to the DLCA in Adelaide, their migration is organised by the ECB, with some involvement of the player’s county club. For instance, Oliver expressed: “to be fair when I actually left I didn’t know a lot about it, I just got on a plane. [My county] booked tickets through the ECB; I just got on the plane. I didn’t know who was picking me up when I got there”. Aaron was also selected and remembered being grateful for the organization done on his behalf: “it was all done for me, which was a big help. I was still quite a young lad then so for everything to be done was a big relief for me. Even out there everything was all sorted, accommodation, everything was all sorted”.

It was not only those migrants who were on ECB Scholarship programmes that had their opportunity for migration identified and arranged for them. It has already been noted that Shaun was the recipient of a scholarship from his home county that enabled him to spend the winter at the DCLA. The scholarship which he received followed a similar format to those awarded by the ECB, and, like those awards, Shaun had everything arranged for him:

“It was all sorted for me. They [Home County] booked my flights for me, sent me over there and it all ran pretty smoothly... Accommodation was sorted by the club out there, not the Academy, well the Academy, kind of, assigns you to a club and then obviously the training schedule and things are all sorted for you.”

Ashley did not attend the DLCA, but he had his trip arranged for him by his county who had invited him to take up an opportunity overseas. He stated: “It was all organised. Obviously they sorted the flights out, they were organised by the club. I think the club out there paid for the flights and the accommodation, all that sort of thing”. These processes of selection and then assistance with arranging migration reflect traditional understandings of business secondments where re-location is organized and paid for by the company on behalf of the migrant (Millar and Salt 2008). For many of these types of migrations re-location packages will be put in place to assist the employees
move (Beaverstock 2002, 2011), and these too are reflective of the arrangements in place here.

Other migrants who were encouraged to migrate by their home employers were required to make their own arrangements for their trips to Australia. The discussions with employers that led to Connor and Dev’s migrations have already been presented (in Section 7.2.2), but they were then both required to organise their own trips. Connor made his own arrangements after his employer suggested he went to a club in New South Wales:

“I sorted all that on my own. But I know lads who go out there, their clubs sort their visas and stuff like that. And they get x and y amount for this and that. But I was happy just to go and play. I used it for how I wanted to use it... Accommodation was all I got, but it was all I wanted really”.

Unlike Connor, Dev was encouraged to go overseas but he wasn’t given details of a club. As a consequence he contacted an agent to help him with his arrangements:

“Last year I couldn’t find somewhere in Melbourne, because I didn’t have many contacts in the league that I wanted to play in, I sought an external person that I paid a small fee to and he put me in touch with a club”.

The use of a third party agent demonstrates a further pathway in the organizational process. Agents in the migration literature are defined as intermediaries who, in return for a fee, help individuals to find work (Martin 2005). Agents have recently begun to receive increased attention, particularly in relation to their role in skilled migration (Gabriel 2013; Mavroudi and Warren 2013). In Collyer’s (2005:706) discussion of the migration of Algerian asylum seekers, he considers smugglers to be the third party agent, but notes that they are: “effectively employed to extend the reach of a migrant’s social and search network”. There are clear similarities between this and the role of the agent in Dev’s migration, when he was unable to find an opportunity through his own social networks. Furthermore, in the work of both Stead and Maguire (1996) and Elliott and Maguire (2008a), they note that whilst the cricket migrants and
ice hockey migrants, respectively, may initially use the services of an agent, once their network has been developed, and they are more familiar with the process, they tend to take on the negotiations and organisation of migration themselves.

Another variation of the process was described by Will who had been encouraged to migrate by his employer, and received opportunities from clubs in Perth before making his own arrangements:

“At the time I got put forward, put across to playing in Perth and a few people emailed me a few clubs and a few people over there emailed me. I took the best offer and flew over there and spent six months there... I did all the organising in terms of getting my flights and stuff like that”.

Will’s experience, where his migration decision-making was initiated by his employers, and then organised by himself, is in line with the findings of Owen-Smith and Powell (2008), who argue that institutions put in place conventions and expectations for employees, which are then operationalized through the individuals and their social networks.

The third selection and organization process was invitations from overseas teams. This would seem to be rare during the Professionalization Phase migrations, as there was only a single example evident in the data, a finding supported by Evans and Stead (2014) in their work on in-migration to English professional rugby league who found invitations of this type to be unusual. Freddie, the lone migrant who was shown to have experienced this in Section 7.2.2 explained that once he had accepted the invitation to play overseas he received logistical support from the Australian club: “they helped me look into stuff, in terms of cheap flights and which was the best visa to get”. The approach of Freddie by this Australian club supports the understanding that posts overseas are frequently acquired through connections (Meyer 2001; Yeoh and Lai 2008). What is significant in this quotation is the support that Freddie received in terms of obtaining a visa and making travel arrangements. In Harvey’s (2011c) work on British expatriates moving to Vancouver, he found that 55% of expatriates received logistical support during their move to Canada and this was often in the form of assistance with visas. The process pathway that Freddie experienced is similar to those of Connor and Will, despite the initial invitation for migration coming from overseas.
Whilst the identification stage varied for these migrants, they were all required to make their own arrangements. Therefore, even though migration is often encouraged and initiated by someone other than the migrant, identifying opportunities and organising the migration are frequently tasks that fall to the migrant.

7.3.2 Personal Identification of Opportunities and Organizing Migration

For the remaining migrants, who made their own initial decision to migrate there were a range of methods used to identify placements overseas as well as differences in who was responsible for making the arrangements for migration. First, there were two examples of players who decided that they wanted to spend the winter in Australia and sought clubs where they could play and subsequently made their own arrangements. As Liam recalled:

“I just emailed off... the club I went to were pretty good with helping set things up. As part of the agreement I got all my accommodation set up with them so all I had to do was book my flights in time for when I wanted to go over there and sort out my visa”.

Here, Liam notes that negotiations and arrangements were made via email, and as would perhaps now be expected of international migration, there was a lack of face-to-face contact between the parties involved in the migration process (Maguire and Stead 1996). Jack described a similar experience:

“It came about through my own research. I got in touch with a few clubs, emailing and one got back to me and that was it... I spoke to the club for a brief period of time before I left; they said they would give me a place to live, well a place in someone’s house to live for free. But with the flights and stuff, I funded those myself and I went on a working holiday visa”.

Other migrants who wished to spend a season in Australia were able to benefit from assistance in finding placements where they would be able to play cricket in Australia. This was a common process with just over a third of migrants using contacts to seek opportunities overseas (Castles 2004). Of these, eight players completed the remainder of the process independently and made their own arrangements for travel.
Having identified places to play in Australia with the help of contacts, players liaised with their host clubs before booking their own flights and obtaining a visa. Nathan summarised: “I went on the proviso that as long as I got myself out there, they would give me a room to stay in and they would try and help me find some coaching work whilst I was out there”. Stuart was able to negotiate a similar arrangement following the offer of a place at a club in Melbourne:

“I Facebooked [sic] him and said ‘I’m keen for this’ and we just organised it like that. I didn’t get paid to go. I paid my own way. I paid for the flight and they said they would help me get a job and they sorted me out accommodation for the first three weeks”.

George made his arrangements via email having been offered a place at a club in Brisbane, by a contact who had previously been an Australian overseas player in his English club team:

“He gave me the contacts for the people at the club in Brisbane and I spoke to them about whether they would be able to help out financially, they said I could work on the ground as the assistant groundsman and they’d give me a bit of money for that... I did the flights myself. They paid for the return flight, they said they would pay for one flight, so they paid for the return flight and I had to fund the flight going out there”.

These quotations all reflect migrations where individuals had been responsible for making their own arrangements. However, there were examples of migrants who, following their decision to migrate had identified places to play with the help of contacts within their social networks, an occurrence that Harvey (2011a) has noted for migrations in other skilled occupations. The clubs where they agreed to play often then assisted them in making travel arrangements for their migration. As Ben noted:

“It was very easy to get things sorted, I just communicated with the guy at the club, who was the guy I actually lived with, and he was the chairman. It was a good club and the deal included flights and accommodation which they sorted out for me”.

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Lee had a similar experience of arranging his migration through a club cricket contact and recounted: “he got it organised with the club and then got in touch with me and said, ‘this is what we are offering you’ they offered to pay for my flights and things like that which was a good deal. He just sorted the whole thing for me, basically I was just to turn up and the airport with my cricket kit”.

Therefore, in terms of migrants personally finding and arranging their migration, there were examples of individuals undertaking their own research via emails and on the internet. But it was more common for migrants to draw on personal and professional contacts within their networks to identify opportunities. Even in the cases where employers assisted with organising migration it is has been shown that coaches and Directors of Cricket utilised their own networks to help find clubs in Australia. This suggests that these early stages in the migration processes often occur in an informal manner, but throughout the pathway it is necessary for the potential migrants to negotiate the more formal regulatory structures that are in place to control migration.

7.4 Processes of Regulation

Regulatory processes influence all stages of migration and exist at a variety of spatial (Lazaridis and Williams 2002) and temporal scales, in both the home and host countries (Bauder 2012; Yeoh and Lai 2008). Recently, there has been a call for further empirical research examining both the policy context and regulatory structures that enable and constrain migration (Mavroudi and Warren 2012; Gabriel and Pellerin 2008). The importance of considering both the home and destination regulatory contexts has been specifically highlighted (Gabriel 2013; Raghuram 2008). Therefore, the extent of the regulatory influences and their implications for this migration process will be addressed in the following sections of this chapter. Existing research that has given detailed consideration to multi-scalar regulatory frameworks for migration has tended to be focused on professional occupations such as in the health services (Williams 2007a; Manning and Sidorenko 2007), as the social responsibilities of these occupations mean that they are subject to regulation and registration by professional bodies (Raghuram and Kofman 2002; Raghuram 2004; Bach 2007). This case study has a similar regulatory structure with governing bodies playing a role in migration, as well as the local employers and national state policies that would
ordinarily impact upon migration. The regulations in place in England will be discussed first, at both the local and national scale and then those in place in Australia will be considered, again at the local and national scales. By considering the home and destination contexts at multiple spatial scales, this research supports Iredale’s (2001) assertion that the structural framework within which migration occurs has a significant influence on the migration processes.

**7.4.1 Local Scale Regulations in the Home Country**

At the local scale it is the home employers that regulate migration, and, as Koser and Salt (1997:297) have acknowledged, the employers have “an important voice in managing migration”. Underlying the ability to control and regulate the movement of players throughout the off-season is the introduction of twelve month contracts during the Professionalization Phase. As Paul, a Director of Cricket, summarised: “players are on twelve month contracts and these have been in place here for fifteen years now. As a result that means that as a club we have a controlling influence over the players and their activities all year round”. This was a view shared by Henry, also a Director of Cricket, who stated:

“They have a twelve month contract here now. So in the past they used to be able to do what they liked in the winter. But, they now get paid all year round and their contract runs all year round. So we have much greater say now, in what they do between October and March each year”.

The change in the extent to which migration is regulated, was recognised by some of the earlier migrants. Nick who migrated during the Proto-Professionalization Phase and is now a club cricket coach commented: “the clubs look after their players a lot better these days than they did, you know, they’ve got them on a tight leash”. The greater control of players by their home employers was noted by Roger, who like Nick played club cricket in Australia during the Proto-Professionalization Phase:

“Young players with county contracts can no longer disappear from their county for six months. There is a more professional set up so that counties can ensure that they are looking after their playing assets all
year round, rather than letting them go away over the winter and get drunk every night”.

As well as recognising how cricket has become increasingly professionalized it is interesting to note how Nick refers to cricketers as a county’s playing assets. This reaffirms some of the comments in Chapter 6 regarding employers’ motivations for encouraging temporary migration. It is a theme that was noted in relation to the need to regulate player’s activities all year round. Edward, a 24 year old who has recently spent two winters in Melbourne and Adelaide, respectively, reflected on the regulations in place at his county:

“I suppose if the club are investing a figure or an amount in you then they want what they are getting for that [sic], and that’s not just during the season when you are representing them, it’s twelve months of the year whilst you are under contract. They want to know, if they’ve invested money in a young player, what he’s doing, so that’s totally justified”.

As well as Edward, other recent migrants, such as Jamil, were accepting and supportive of the control that their employers have during the winter:

“That’s where twelve month contracts are good; it gives the club a bit more control over what you can do and what you can’t do. And I guess it works for some cricketers, like the senior players, so they can come back in February or March... Whereas for the youngsters, they have more control over them to get them working on their skills and their fitness, it’s very good”.

This regulation and control at the scale of the home employer reflects those that have been shown to be in place when migration occurs within TNCs (Koser and Salt 1997). However, the extent of regulation and the frameworks that are in place would appear to be less structured in comparison to the TNCs as in Beaverstock’s (2004:175) work on professional service firms he identifies that “expatriation is a strategic organizational policy” which is not evident in the regulatory framework in cricket.
In this case study it is usually control by the Directors of Cricket alone that determines whether the prospective migrants are granted permission to spend the winter overseas. For seven of the eight county Directors of Cricket interviewed they revealed how the final decision to allow a player to go away lay with them. Peter described: “it’s my decision ultimately. I mean, I’ll discuss it with the other coaches but ultimately it’s my decision”. Similar protocols were in place at Kevin’s county, where he, like Peter, made his final decision following consultations with others in his coaching and management team:

“It’s very much down to myself, as the Director of Cricket, I decide in consultation, as to whether or not we let them go, with colleagues, firstly the player, but then members of the support team, strength and conditioning coach, the physiotherapist, the bowling coach and assistant coach. Then all their opinions are collated along with that of the player who wants to go away”.

The inclusion of the prospective migrant player in the decision-making process was evident at Henry’s county, however, unlike the other Directors of Cricket, it was implied that he made the decision alone as he commented: “if they want permission to go, it would purely come from me”. The final, eighth county indicated that there were slightly different processes in place as decisions must be agreed with the Chief Executive of the county club before permission to migrate is granted. Jeff commented: “we’ll have to go through the right channels, run it past the Chief Executive, see what he thinks”. It would seem from these quotations that, despite minor differences and the occasional need for more senior clearance, in most cases permission for a player to winter overseas is determined by regulations in place at the scale of the county club. However, permission to be away from the county during off-season is the most simple regulatory structure that is in place and once permission has been granted there are many further regulations that migrants are required to negotiate.

After receiving permission to migrate one of the most frequently regulated aspects of the migration is the length of time that migrants are able to and allowed to remain overseas. From the coaches’ perspective they noted a change in the general trend away from full winters to shorter periods of playing club cricket. Henry remarked:
“That’s certainly changed in the last few years. I think this will continue to change things. If you speak to our players, they might say ‘I’d love to go for five months, but realistically I’m not going to go for five months because I want to have a rest and things. But [Henry] will say do some training in November and December and then he’ll let me go’ [sic]. So that will continue as a trend, yes definitely”.

Paul expressed similar sentiments:

“We may also, we might, recommend a reduced period of time away. You know, a pace bowler, we would normally want him to have six weeks complete downtime from bowling. So they, so their skeletons can re-structure itself, re-form itself, whatever it does and can be fully repaired. Then they can have a re-integration back into bowling programme and then have a two and a half month period away. Rather than just have another six months hammering their body [sic]”.

It is significant here that Paul is indicating permission and decisions regarding going overseas may differ between cricketers who have different roles. In this example he is suggesting that pace bowlers require a greater period of rest and indoor training. However, Gareth indicated that similar conditions may be put in place for any cricketer if they have technical problems that are affecting their performance:

“If you’ve highlighted something that is inherently wrong with their game that you believe as a coach needs quite a lot of work doing on it, I wouldn’t say you can’t go away, but I would certainly say, is it a good idea for you to go away for the full six months or should you even work up until Christmas or even go away up until Christmas and then come back and sort out these problems if they haven’t gone away”.

Regulations that act to control the duration of temporary migration have been shown to exist within secondments in TNCs. As the comments from Paul and Gareth demonstrate, the purpose of migration may determine the length of stay overseas at a host cricket club. Similar variation in the purpose of migration influencing duration is evident in previous studies. Beaverstock (1996) found short-term stays of less than six
months are often used by TNCs for the purpose of ‘fire-fighting’ and resolving business problems (Millar and Salt 2008). Whereas, longer term secondments of up to three years are used for training and development programmes, and stays up to five years were more common for senior managers going overseas (Beaverstock and Boardwell 2000). These examples demonstrate how the purpose of a trip, as determined by the home employer, can influence the length of a temporary, international migration in both this case study and for other occupations.

Above, Gareth notes how technical problems may influence the duration of a migration, but such issues may result in a player being refused permission to go overseas and are instead asked to remain in England to train indoors with their coaches throughout the winter. Kevin summarised: “there are examples when we hold players back, if there is something we want players to work on specifically”. Technical problems were the most frequently stated reason for holding players back and comments in relation to this included Jeff, who revealed: “we’ve had a few lads that wanted to go away last year but the coaches thought that they weren’t technically right to go away. It would just have been a winter of waste”. Also, Peter stated: “if someone needs to work on conditioning or there’s a technical issue that he needs to work on then we would be less likely to want them to go away, so we can keep an eye on them, whether that would be improving their fitness or improving their technique”.

As well as technical issues, other reasons that were noted for withholding permission included recovery from an injury or to enable a bowler to rest. Kevin remarked:

“The cases when we would hold them back would be if there had been an injury and a player needs time with the strength and conditioning coach. Or if they are a bowler and they have had a heavy workload during the summer”.

The opportunity for relaxation and recovery was echoed by Don: “if someone has had a hard season, then we rest them up and they do some recovery and then they do some fitness work”. Jeff agreed that fitness work was an important aspect of the decision to keep players at home: “the younger ones, we’ll probably try and keep them here, just to keep an eye on them, get them in the gym, get them into a routine that’s necessary for them to become a professional cricketer really”. This comment is
particularly interesting as it contrasts with the motives from migration discussed in Chapter 5, when it was suggested that migration offered young players the opportunity to mature and develop into a professional cricketer, whereas Jeff is indicating that these are best acquired indoors in England. As well as this, Jeff noted that they may refuse permission for players to participate in overseas academies:

“There’s been a few times that we’ve pulled people who wanted to go to Academies, there’s the Darren Lehmann in Australia and there’s a few other academies around, which for me personally, I’m not that keen on them going to the academies, as obviously we don’t know what they are being taught. We know a lot more about them technically and I just think it’s a little bit too much coaching. And we might not even be singing from the same hymn sheet so, you’ve got to be very, very careful where we send them [sic].”

There were two further significant comments from Directors of Cricket who grant permission for their players to go away in the winter. First, Henry noted the importance of trust in his players in the decision to grant permission:

“There is an element of trust if you let a player go to Australia, you would expect to see an improvement in their results and we’ve had players who have gone away and come back in worse shape than when they went and they tend not to get invited to go away again”.

Second, Mac stated that ordinarily he was unlikely to allow players to go away: “we have this past season encouraged players to stay here in the UK as we feel we get more out of them when they are here and working hard”. Together, these comments would suggest that there is a clear regulatory influence regarding the potential for, and the duration of, migration. At the local scale of the County Cricket Club it is evident that Directors of Cricket and other management staff are able to grant or refuse permission to players wishing to go away. Furthermore, if permission is granted there may be other conditions attached to it to which the players will be required to adhere during their migration.
Yet, in this respect there didn’t seem to be an issue for the migrant players with only two commenting on how their time in Australia was restricted by their club. First, Tom conveyed the following about the regulatory structures that he had to negotiate before going to New South Wales when he was 19 years old:

“It was only the club, just the club and the coach. If he was happy with the standard and how long I was going for, because obviously there is a period when I have to be back in England for pre-season. So as long as they are happy, that’s about it really, you don’t really need anybody else’s go-ahead I suppose”.

Second, George indicated that he had had very similar experiences to Tom, when he went to Brisbane at the same age:

“I spoke to them [the club] about it and about what work they may be want me to do out there, cricket-wise. But they just gave me a return date, ‘you’ve got to be back for this date for pre-season training’”.

For Tom and George the duration of their migration was not controlled by their coaches encouraging them to remain in England to train or rest, but, instead by the need to be available for cricket commitments prior to the new English cricket season commencing. The timing of these commitments varies between counties but as Gareth described, for players at his county: “the season is longer now, so we have all our pros [professional cricketers - sic] back by March because the season starts really in the first week in April”. Thus, whilst the individual counties at the local level regulate the return dates of their players’ migrations, there is some evidence of national scale influence, as the cricket fixtures that determine the start date of the season is controlled at the national scale by the ECB.

As well as controlling the duration of migration, there was evidence of employers acting to influence the destination of a player’s migration. This spatial influence on migration differs somewhat from the employer’s influence in other skilled occupations when the destination is ordinarily determined by business needs (Millar and Salt 2007). For the Directors of Cricket, their role can be understood as looking for players to meet business needs as through their influence they are attempting to make the
migration as beneficial as possible to the player and, in turn, their home club. Don commented: “we tell them where we want them to go and to work with people who we trust”. Encouraging players to go to locations, where some of the locals are known, was important for Jeff, who when asked about the destinations of players going overseas:

“Yes, we would regulate that quite closely. But it is usually through acquaintances who are at the club, may be someone who knows me, or I’ll mention it to someone. So we try to steer them in the right direction, because there’s a few of us here who have had experiences overseas and if we know it’s a good place we’ll try and encourage them to go there”.

This comment from Jeff raises two important points, first, the importance of going to locations where they, as employers have prior knowledge of the conditions, facilities and social networks. Second, it further demonstrates the role of social networks in the migratory flow. Like Don and Jeff, Paul, a Director of Cricket, discussed the extent to which they would look to influence the destination of migrants from his county going overseas:

“Before they go away we look for re-assurances on the resources that are available to them. I mean if they go to a club we look to make sure that if we send them away with a training programme, then they’ve got access to the gym and if they’ve got technical issues that they want to work on then they need access to good practice facilities and also the quality of coaches that that particular club employs, not to drive, but just to oversee the work that the player has in mind”.

From the players’ perspective, obtaining permission to spend the winter overseas was seen to be an integral part of the migration process. Yet, there is little evidence of other skilled migrations in the literature where permission has to be formally obtained. An exception is Nowak (2009), who notes that female Ghanaian migrants who wish to migrate must first obtain permission from either their father or their husband. Whereas, in this case study, prospective migrants must gain permission from their employers, for example, Greg described the process he went through once he had
identified an opportunity to go overseas; an invitation from a former Australian team-
mate:

“So I spoke to the manager, obviously we’re twelve month contracted now so we have to make sure that everything is ok to go [sic]. And the manager was all for it… I emailed the chairman of the club, the President of the club, sorry, and it just went from there and everything was sorted within a couple of weeks”.

Josh, a player at Henry’s county club had a similar experience:

“Yes, it was my decision to go. But [Henry’s] got to, sort of overlook it and it’s his decision at the end of the day…. I approached him about it, I think August, September time. I think probably late August sort of time and said, ‘look this is what I want to do in preparation for next season, what do you think?’ And yes, he obviously said, ‘yeah, go for it [sic]”.

Greg and Josh were established players at the time of their migration, but this process of gaining permission seemed to be common for younger migrants too. Jamie was a 19 year old academy cricketer who had to gain permission from the Academy Director, before getting final clearance from the Director of Cricket:

“I just spoke to the Academy Director and asked him if he thought it would be a good idea for me to go away and he thought it was and he said he was fine with it. He spoke to the Director of Cricket and he’d got no problems with me going away. So yes, I just cleared it with them and it was all good”.

The comments of Greg, Josh and Jamie suggest that obtaining permission is a straightforward process. However, comments from other migrants indicated that a positive response from the Director of Cricket was not always to be expected. As Dev conveyed:

“There are processes you have to go through before you can go away. You have to get their ok and then you can go and do it... It’s just about clearing it with the club and making sure that they want you to go out,
because sometimes they want you to stay at home and work on specific things, under their eye and that happens too”.

Adam, who was 20 years old when he first went to play in Perth, recognised that being refused permission to migrate was a possibility:

“I think in some cases you get told to stay behind if they think you need to rest or something. But my big thing was trying to get fit because I couldn’t really stay on the field over the summer [sic], so they thought going away and bowling overs would get me fitter and stronger”.

All of these experiences of being granted permission are described as being comparatively informal. However, Scott and Noah who are senior players at the same county revealed that, for them, there is a more formal agreement in place. Scott noted:

“We have twelve month contracts so legally you are contracted all year round, so they’ve generally been ok with everyone and myself [sic]. It’s just been a question of having to let them know where you are going and keeping them updated and we have to sign a clearance form these days, like a contract, but they’ve always been fine with players going away”.

Noah was able to provide more detail about these clearance forms:

“You are under contract and you go with the blessing of the club. But if you bring the club into disrepute, there’s no sort of contract in place. So they’ve made it so you sign, and it’s like an agreement between the club you are going to and the club here”.

So far, the regulatory measures that have been discussed in this section have been implemented to allow employers to control what seems to be an individually driven migration. However, there were comments from both employers and migrants that suggest that in some cases there is a greater input by employers in driving the migration. This would reflect temporary migration within other occupations, where firms have expatriate policies in place meaning employees are selected and sent on overseas secondments (Beaverstock 2004), with little apparent consideration of the employees themselves. When initially asked about their thoughts about playing
overseas during the winter months, responses from the Directors of Cricket provided an insight into the role that employers and other structures can have on migration. For example, Kevin commented: “I actively advocate players wintering overseas”. Henry expressed similar feelings: “yes I would encourage it. Not always for the full winter, depending on how hard a season they have had. But I would certainly encourage it, yes”. Supporting these comments from employers, migrant players including Tom stated: “I think now, the coaches are always looking to try and get the young lads who finished school to go out and play for six months”. This style of perceived encouragement from coaches was noted by Adam: “we got, not sort of pushed, but it was a good idea to play cricket all year round”. Together these comments from employers and migrants suggests that, in some cases, the feelings of encouragement that come from employers negate the power of the migrant as they instead respond to institutional pressures, where there would seem to be an increasing level of expectation (Beaverstock and Smith 1996) attached to migration.

Despite this, employers emphasised that there were only certain circumstances in which they would encourage migration. Paul stated: “whether or not we advocate players going away depends on their circumstances”. Peter emphasised the importance of making decisions based on each individual: “I think it’s done on an individual basis, if we feel it would be right for a player to get away and play a winter of cricket then we would actively try and find them something, whether that would be with a club or the Darren Lehmann Academy”. Jeff was able to provide some more information on the situation at his county and what areas they would consider before judging whether it would be right to encourage a player to migrate:

“If we’re happy with them technically and we think it will help their development, it’s just lifestyle more than anything; we would definitely encourage them to go away. But like I said it all depends where they are really. It depends on their physical state and whether we trust them to go away and work on the specific things we’ve asked them to work on”.

This section has discussed the regulations that govern migration at the local scale in England. It is clear that these migrations are subject to significant regulations put in place by the home employer and these have been shown to control the destination
and duration of migration, as well as whether overall permission is granted to allow temporary migration. However, in addition to this, migration requires the negotiation of regulations at the national scale in the home country and further regulations in the host country and these will be discussed in the following sections.

### 7.4.2 National Scale Regulations in the Home Country

Beyond the local scale of home country employers, Carter (2013) has recently highlighted the importance of considering the role of sports governing bodies in shaping an individual’s migratory experience. However, outside of sport the focus of research on the role of national professional and governing bodies has tended to be focused in the receiving countries where qualifications can be verified and migrant workers registered (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). At the national scale, in this case study English cricket’s governing body, the ECB oversee the sport, including the rules and regulations that govern participation in the sport in this country. However, with the exception of those players who are involved in national representative teams or development programmes, the ECB do not have a role in influencing the activities of individual county cricketers during the off-season. Despite this, there was a recognition by some employers and intermediaries interviewed that increasing opportunities to participate in ECB winter development programmes and national tours were restricting the availability of players to be able to spend their winters playing club cricket. For example, Colin commented:

“This is reflected in the formalization of the Under 17s, Under 19s, EPP [England Performance Programme] and the Lions scheme. The England Lions will be shadowing the senior England squad during the Ashes tour of Australia next winter [2013]. This allows the players to experience conditions as well as being there and being prepared should call-ups to the senior squad be required”.

The formalization of these programmes and its impact on player availability for playing club cricket overseas was noted by Don who revealed: “Funnily enough, there’s only about five or six away this winter, but that’s because three of the guys are in the EPP and another two are touring with England”. Henry provided a further insight into these views and gave an example of a young professional at his county who had opted to be
immobile during the winter and remain with his home county, following a year of playing cricket in many different countries for England youth teams:

“I think because of the opportunities for overseas experience provided by the representative teams, I think sometimes they don’t want to go on things like this. For example, we had one lad, who has spent a lot of time abroad in the last year, in Bangladesh, South Africa and Australia with various England teams. So when the chance came up for him to go to Australia this winter, he turned it down, because he hadn’t had any time here”.

Whilst this indicates that formalization of the development of cricketers at the national level is reducing the opportunities for players to participate in club cricket, there was an example of a player who was excused from part of an England development programme in order to be able have a short, one month stint with a club in Australia. Unlike other county cricketers, who it has already been shown have their club cricket participation regulated by their employers, in the case of Brad, he had to seek permission from the ECB. As he revealed: “it was the ECB mainly, well it was an ECB issue really because I missed their programmes at Loughborough [at the ECB National Cricket Performance Centre]. So I had to get permission from the ECB to miss their pre-tour stuff”.

It is evident that there is no formal regulatory framework at the national level in England governing the participation of county cricketers in Australian club cricket. However, the data demonstrate that there are other factors at the level of the Governing Body that influence the ability of cricketers to spend their winters in Australia. It would appear that the ECB are introducing programmes that enable early-career cricketers and more established players to travel overseas to develop their cricket and progress their careers. This would suggest that overseas experience is seen by the ECB as a vital part of the ideal career trajectory of a county cricketer and are formalizing programmes at the national level that allow these opportunities.

It should be noted that at the national level it would perhaps be assumed that more general factors could be seen to have a regulatory influence on the potential for cricketers to undertake international migration. For example, to able migrate legally a
passport is required and it is possible that there may be instances where a player is unable to obtain a passport and, thus, the UK Government Home Office would be acting to regulate migration. However, there were no examples of this in the data indicating that it is assumed by migrants and their employers that, they are in possession of, or are able to obtain a valid passport. This finding reflects the current situation in existing literature where little attention has been paid to the ways in which emigration and related state policies can influence migration (Raghuram 2008). It is not only in the home country where migrants are subject to regulatory structures that influence their participation in club cricket overseas. As in England, passport and visa regulations are in place at the national scale in Australia, and their impact on the migration of cricketers will be discussed. But first, the local level regulatory frameworks will be investigated.

7.4.3 Local Scale Regulations in the Host Country

In the Australian context there is no centralised, national level for player registrations and thus, regulations for cricketers who are going to participate in recreational club cricket. Registrations and regulations are instead implemented locally (Ewers 2007), usually at the state level. For example, in Western Australia competition rules state: “a Club shall not play more than one Overseas Player per team in a match” (Western Australia District Cricket Council Inc. 2014:20) and in Queensland regulations state: “a Club is permitted to play no more than two [2] overseas players per competition on any given day of a match” (Queensland Cricket Premier Grade Handbook 2013:13). Regulations such as this reflect findings from Ray et al. (2006) who demonstrated the presence of local scale restrictive policies that act to protect domestic staff from incoming international workers. Within sport the presence of such regulations has previously been demonstrated for cricket where the participation of overseas players in English cricket is regulated (Maguire and Stead 1996; Stead and Maguire 1998). The presence of conditions such as this act to regulate the participation of overseas players in Australian club cricket both in terms of spatial and temporal regulations. Spatially, it limits the destination of migration so that players are not concentrated at a single or small number of clubs. As Eric, a club cricket representative in South Australia, expressed:
“Clubs saw English players holding up the development of their own players. A couple of clubs still see this. Now they are more willing to have them and can see the value of an English player to add depth, create competition for spots and strengthen their team”.

Eric’s comments indicate that whilst there is a general appreciation that overseas players are beneficial additions to teams, something which Williams (2007a) has demonstrated in terms of the value the migrants can bring to the host employers, the occasionally less positive reactions demonstrate the need to regulate the inclusion of foreign workers. This feeling was one that Toby experienced first-hand when he migrated to New South Wales. When asked about his reception at the club and whether they were happy about the presence of an overseas player in their team he remarked:

“No, I don’t think it’s a problem because there is only one per team. And the coach had gone down the route of trying to sign, they wanted a seam bowler and at the end of the previous domestic season their coach went down the route of, and spent a month or so trying to sign a local lad, a seamer, because they wanted someone who could come in and lead the attack and sort of, be a role model for the younger guys. That all fell through and then that was when he went down the route of looking overseas [sic]”.

In this example, the host club were accepting of Toby as he was seen to be benefitting the team and there was no local player available who could fulfil the same role. The recruitment of overseas workers to overcome a specific skills shortage has previously been shown by Khoo et al. (2007) to be one of the most frequently stated motives by Australian businesses regarding their motives for employing foreign workers. Toby notes how regulations in place, restricting clubs to only one overseas player per team, helped his experience as he was able to integrate into the club and be accepted, rather than the other players feeling like their opportunities were being restricted by his presence in the team.

Temporally, there are regulations in place that govern the participation of overseas players in club cricket. As Karl, a league representative in Queensland noted, since
players are required to be registered with the league in which they are playing, they are able to restrict the time for which a migrant participates. The length of a player’s stay with a team was noted by Eric: “grade clubs views have evolved over time. Initially they didn’t see the value unless they were playing for the whole season”. This suggests that clubs are less willing to include more transient migrants who are only available for a short period. This was a view that was supported by club representative Gary from Perth:

“Whilst we always prefer to have English players for the full six month season, we accept that this is part of the changing landscape of cricket, particularly in the professional game. County sides now have their players on longer all year round contracts. Their off season training programmes are also more tailored than in the past”.

This is a significant acknowledgement from Gary, who addresses the contrasting wishes of the host club compared to the migrant cricketers and their employers in England. Professionalization of the domestic game in England has reduced the longer-term opportunities for players to spend the whole off-season overseas, as was demonstrated earlier in the chapter, but the Australian host clubs would prefer long term commitment from their overseas players. As Gary notes, this change in the nature of the sport is something that clubs accept and adapt to, particularly as they are seeing similar changes in the Australian professional game. This was a change that Eric reflected on: “the whole cricket landscape has changed over the years as local players are in and out of the teams more with the amount of high performance cricket played draining teams”. Eric comments indicate that in the case of both overseas players and local players who are involved in professional cricket, clubs are now required to adapt to their increasingly restricted availability.

Despite this, when discussing negotiating deals with clubs, English agent Tim commented:

“I mean, the harder deals to make happen are the three month deals, purely because most regulations now insist that the player signs and are on-site from October/November. I think there are some that have to
have the registration done by January-something, but it obviously varies from league-to-league.”

This reflects the notion that ideally Australian host clubs would still prefer to have players available for as much of their season as possible. Tim’s comments inform on the structures that are in place to regulate the temporal aspects of a player’s migration. At the level of the club they are looking to secure a player’s services from the beginning of the season. At the league scale, where player registrations occur, they too are looking for a longer commitment by players by ensuring that registration is completed by January meaning players are available for the second half of the Australian club cricket season. The wish of the Australian clubs to have English Cricketers available to play for them for as long as possible can be considered in terms of the cost-effectiveness of recruiting someone from overseas. This was noted by employers in the work of Khoo et al. (2007) on the sponsorship of skilled temporary workers to Australia as they frequently cover the costs of visa applications and relocation costs. Thus, the longer an overseas worker can be available in Australia the greater the value of the return they can get from their investment in the worker.

At the local scale in Australia it is clear that playing regulations and the requirement for incoming players to be registered does have a controlling influence on migration and acts to protect local players from the overseas professionals (Ray et al. 2006). It is clear that whilst regulations in the home country mean that migrants are available for increasingly shorter periods of time, this is contrary to the wishes of local clubs and the regulations that are currently in place. It has been shown that host clubs wish to have the migrant players available for as long as possible so that they can benefit from their presence and any investment that they have made in the incoming player (Williams 2007a). However, these contradictory regulations are further influenced by the national scale policies that are in place in Australia and these will be discussed next.

7.4.4 National Scale Regulations in the Host Country

As noted these local level regulations are the only cricket specific regulations in place in Australia. There are no controls and regulations at the national scale by the Australian Cricket Board. Regulations at the national level are focused on Government immigration policy and visa requirements (Ewers 2007). The short-term nature of the
trips meant that in the cases where negotiating Australian immigration policies was necessary migrants were able to obtain short-term visas rather than applying for work permits (Manning and Sidorenko 2007). Amongst the contemporary migrants interviewed there were four different visa options identified. First, for two of the players interviewed visas were not necessary for them to travel to Australia. Noah, a 30 year old batsman and Justin, a 24 year old batsman have both frequently returned to Australia to play cricket since moving to England as teenagers. Noah and Justin are dual passport holders allowing them to move freely between the two countries without being restricted by visa regulations. As Noah articulated: “I’ve got dual nationality so it’s very easy for me to to-and-fro between here and Australia. So I’ve got, basically, I don’t use visas, I go in on my Australian passport [sic].”

Second, there were examples of players being able to use an eVisitor visa. eVisitor visas are free for British Citizens to obtain and allow migrants to visit Australia for up to three months (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014). This visa category was used by Connor who spent three months in Australia re-integrating himself into cricket following an injury: “I went on an e-trip visa because it was only for three months, like a holiday visa. So I was in luck with that, I didn’t need to pay for a visa or anything like that.” For Connor the time restrictions on the eVisitor visa were suitable for the time he was looking to spend in Australia as part of his injury rehabilitation. But for others, this visa limits the time they are able to spend in Australia so Working Holiday visa and Holiday visas were the most frequently used visas for the migrants. The use of these visas are significant as they reflect post-colonial relations between the United Kingdom and Australia (Ruhs 2006), which, as was shown in Chapter 4, underlies the cricketing relationship between the two countries. Furthermore, these visas aim to encourage cultural exchange (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014), which supports the findings discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 which demonstrated that both overseas and indigenous cricketers benefitted from the presence of the migrant through the accumulation of cultural capital (Hugo 2004). These visas account for the third and fourth visa categories noted during the interviews. 21 year old George
recounted the research into visas that he had done and why he opted to travel on a holiday visa:

“I had to sort the visa because I had to work out whether I needed a Working Holiday visa or whether I could go on a Holiday visa. And in the end I managed to go on a Holiday visa which means potentially in the future I could go out there again on, because you can only use a Working Holiday visa once every seven years or something like that [sic].”

These restrictions that are placed on these visas, in that they are only available to an individual once, were specifically noted by migrants; Jack, Adam and Chris had all experienced problems and had been restricted in subsequent trips to Australia as a result. Jack recalled how on his second trip to Perth he had been restricted to a three month stay because of having to use a Holiday visa: “I’d used my Working Holiday visa before so I could only use a Holiday visa. So the easiest way to do that, you’re only really allowed in the country for three months, so it was the visa that decided it [sic].”

Like Jack, Adam had used his Working Holiday visa on his first trip to Australia, as his visa was arranged by his county employers, but he subsequently wished he had used a Holiday visa instead:

“I wish I’d known about the visas. Like the first year, you’re only allowed one Working visa, so the first year that I went to Australia I used that. But because the conversion rate to dollars was so good, I saved a bit of money and took it out with me so I didn’t really use the Working visa.”

Having a visa organised by someone else involved in the migratory process proved to be problematic for Chris. Prior to his first trip to Australia his host club had arranged his visa for him and he assumed the same would be true on his second trip, however he articulated:

“I messed up, because the first time I went, they sorted out my flights and with that my visa. And then the second time I went I thought the same sort of stuff would happen and it didn’t. So I had to do my visa at the airport and I had my flights booked for five months later but the
bloke gave me an electronic visa for three months. I got into a bit of
trouble with that when I left Australia which wasn’t great.”

From these examples it is possible to see how national scale regulations influence the participation of migrant cricketers in Australian club cricket. In the case of Chris, if he decides to migrate seasonally in the future he will be looking to travel to South Africa as he is unlikely to be able to obtain a visa for Australia after overstaying previously. For Jack and Adam, immigration policies are likely to impact upon the length of time they can play overseas. The short-term stays that are determined by visas provide a further regulatory restriction on migration. It can, therefore, be seen that whilst short term stays controlled by national policy, often reflect the wishes of County Cricket Employers in England, who are generally in favour of shorter term stays overseas, they contrast with the wishes of the Australian clubs who would prefer longer-term participation.

7.5 Discussion

This chapter has considered the processes and pathways that must be negotiated by individuals in order to successfully operationalize their temporary migration. In most cases a process of selection occurs first to establish potential migrants. This is followed by a search for opportunities overseas where the migration can be hosted. Once this has been completed it is necessary to put in place the logistical arrangements, including travel and accommodation for the time overseas. Throughout this process there are regulations in place that act to control emigration and immigration and these must be successfully overcome to enable the migration to take place. A representation of these processes and pathways can be seen in Figure 7.1. This diagram outlines the key actors and institutions at each stage. Further, it can be seen that the whole process is subject to regulations and controls. These are a key component of migration and are an inescapable part of the processes, that must be negotiated to enable a successful sojourn to be arranged.

In discussing the processes of selection in the first section of this chapter it has been shown that in the Professionalization Phase just under a quarter of individuals were selected for a temporary stay overseas by their home employer and a further small
number were recruited for migration by the ECB. In comparison to other studies of employer driven temporary migration this would appear to be a much smaller group of migrants than would perhaps be expected (Beaverstock and Smith 1996). Although being selected by employers or the ECB did not make migration compulsory, there were feelings of expectation and obligation to take up these opportunities noted by the migrants. The second method of selection was driven by employers and cricket clubs in Australia. This was more common during the Packer Phase with just a single example being identified in each of the latter two phases. During the Packer Phase, it was shown that recruitment by a host club generally occurred as a result of the potential migrants’ existing reputation in cricket, as was the case for John and Bill. The more recent examples occurred as a result of invitations to play in Australia that reached individuals through contacts and acquaintances within their social network (Harvey 2011; Epstein and Gang 2006). Finally, the most significant selection process during the Proto-Professionalization and Professionalization Phases was shown to be self-selection, where migrants had made an independent decision to undertake temporary migration.

This contrasts with much of the existing geographical scholarship on skilled migration, which focuses on employer driven and arranged secondments. It supports the call for further research that investigates the phenomenon of self-initiated expatriation (Inkson et al. 1997; Suutari and Brewster 2000; Thorn 2009; Ho 2011; Harvey 2011). This indicates that migrants in this case study are able to demonstrate a significant level of agency in determining their own migratory activity, within the wider context of institutional and employer controls that influence migration.

This chapter sought to investigate how overseas opportunities were identified by potential migrants. As can be seen in Figure 7.1 a significant number of actors and intermediaries were shown to have a role in this process. For those migrants who were selected for migration by their home employers or the ECB, they often received assistance in finding host clubs overseas, and then in making the arrangements for their migration. This was shown to reflect the secondments that occur within TNCs when employees have their sojourn arranged on their behalf (Millar and Salt 2008; Koser and Salt 1997).
Figure 7.1 Diagrammatic Representation of Pathways of Migration Processes
Those migrants who were recruited by Australian cricket clubs were generally shown to have similar experiences where they received assistance with organising their stay. Finally, for those migrants who made a personal decision to participate in temporary migration, they exploited contacts within their social networks in order to seek opportunities overseas (Yeoh and Lai 2008). The final group of intermediaries that were shown to have a role in this process were the third party agents (e.g. Martin 2006; Gabriel 2013; Mavroudi and Warren 2013). Whilst agents were not frequently used by the cricket migrants, unlike in soccer for example (Esson 2014; Darby 2007), their potential to be involved and to facilitate migration indicates that either in the future, or in other occupations, they may have a more significant role that warrants further research.

When considering the regulatory framework that influences and controls the migration flow, it has been shown that regulations are in place at multiple spatial scales (Lazaridis and Williams 2002) in the home and destination country (Raghuram 2008; Gabriel 2013). These regulations act to control both the spatial and temporal limits of migration and may in some cases prevent migration from occurring. The role of regulations, notably at the scale of the home employers, was shown to be most prevalent during the Professionalization Phase, following the introduction of twelve month contracts in English County Cricket. This was one example of professionalization and the impact it can have on migration. A further impact was highlighted at the local scale in Australia when the professionalization of the sport was shown to have reduced the period of time for which professional players are available to play for recreational cricket clubs. The regulations outlined in this chapter were shown to have contradictory impacts for different groups of stakeholders and intermediaries. For example, it would appear that for the migrants themselves there is variation in the optimal length of their stay overseas. Generally, it can be suggested that younger migrants are willing to spend the entire winter in Australia, but as players progressed in their careers increased commitments at home, and the requirement for longer periods of rest reduced the length of time for which they wished to be overseas. Beyond the migrants themselves, the home employers noted that they preferred players to be overseas for increasingly shorter periods of time as opposed to the
traditional full off-season of five to six months as evident in the Packer and Proto-
Professionalization Phases.

At the national scale in the home country, it has been shown that participation in the
ECB Scholarship Scheme required commitment for a five month period, otherwise the
only regulations in place that restrict participation in temporary migration was the
fixture list for the English Cricket Season that determines when players are required to
be available to play in England. In Australia, representatives from the host cricket clubs
indicated that they preferred overseas players to be available for the whole cricket
season and the local leagues implement regulations that act to encourage this.
However, at the national scale in Australia it was demonstrated how visa regulations,
with migrants tending to obtain eVisitor or (Working) Holiday visas, reduce the
duration of migration as they restrict the time that individuals are allowed to remain in
Australia. Thus, despite host cricket clubs preferring to have overseas players available
for as long as possible, the national scale regulations in place controlling immigration
effectively support the wishes of the English employers who are more willing to allow
their employees to go to Australia for shorter periods of time. Whilst the specificities
of this are unique to this case study, it highlights the importance of considering both
the emigration and immigration contexts when investigating regulatory controls on
migration (e.g. Raghuram 2008; Bauder 2012).

Finally, this chapter has revealed how social networks influence migration. For the
individual migrants, it is evident that they use personal and professional contacts to
discuss the feasibility of their wish to migrate (Harvey 2011c) and to identify
opportunities overseas (Purkayastha 2005; Ho 2011). Networks were utilised by the
host clubs in Australia to recruit English professional players, and this was evident in
the case of Martin, in the Packer Phase, Gerry, in the Proto-Professionalization Phase
and Freddie, in the Professionalization Phase. Social networks were used by the home
employers as it was shown how Directors of Cricket draw on their own contacts to find
placements for their employees and thus, determine the destination of migration. The
use of third party agents to facilitate migration adds a further dimension to the role of
social networks, given Collyer’s (2005) acknowledgment that agents act to extend the
migrant’s social network in order to identify opportunities that would not otherwise
be available. It is clear that social networks have a significant role in the temporary migration of elite cricket professionals. Elliott and Maguire (2008a) have demonstrated that they have a similar role in migration into English Ice Hockey and Harvey (2011a) has considered the role of networks in academic and research occupations. This would suggest social networks have an important role to play throughout the temporary, skilled migration process in a variety of occupations, and further research is now required to establish whether this is the case.

Whilst social networks have been shown to have an important role throughout the migration process this chapter has demonstrated the importance of technology, and specifically, social media in operationalizing these pathways. As Maguire and Stead (1996) noted in their work on migration in professional cricket, arrangements for temporary stays overseas are normally made at a distance and that there is little face-to-face contact. This was shown to be the case here, with most of the logistical arrangements made via emails between the migrant and their host club. However, there were examples presented where initial requests for opportunities are made via email or through the use of social networking websites, such as Facebook, where informal conversations can initiate the migration process before more formal arrangements are made. This supports recent research from Dekker and Engbersen (2014) who found that social media facilitates migration by providing prospective migrants with insider knowledge and enables informal and unofficial initial communications. Social media and online social networking therefore comprises a new, but increasingly significant tool that can influence and facilitate the migration process. The extent to which it is used by migrants in this case study suggests that it is likely to be important in other skilled occupations, particularly when individuals undertake self-initiated expatriation. However, Dekker and Engbersen’s (2014) research reveals that it is not only prior to migration that social media has an important role to play, but in the course of migration too, in order to remain in contact with friends and relatives who are immobile. The prevalence of this use of social media will be discussed in the following chapter, where the realities of temporary, seasonal, international migration will be investigated.
8. From “Adversity to Triumph”: The Realities and Impacts of ‘Being’ a Migrant

8.1 Introduction

It was shown in Chapter 2 that there have recently been calls to give a fuller consideration to the experiences of being a skilled migrant (Ley 2004; Conradson and Latham 2005; Yeoh 2005; Ho and Hatfield 2011). This chapter will first examine the role of family in migration, and the migrant’s relationships with their friends and family at home. It will then address issues related to homesickness, boredom and isolation that may arise in the course of migration. Finally, details will be provided regarding the personal and professional practices of the migrant and the impacts of this. In doing so, this chapter will address Raghuram’s (2008) call for improved understandings of the processes of skill production and circulation through migration. Furthermore, it will contribute to Rogers’ (2005:406) observation that through focusing upon the realities and lived experiences of migration, it will enable a greater “understanding of the personal trials, costs and sacrifices made, as well as the joys and rewards” of temporary migration.

8.2 Skilled migration and the Family

The migrants in this case study were all young males; this gender bias provided an opportunity to explore lived experiences, as well as considering the relationship between the migrant, their families and their migratory experiences. The empirical findings will be discussed in relation to existing understandings of skilled migration experiences and the role of the family.

8.2.1 Accompanying family in Temporary, Seasonal Migration

It appears that migration is commonly an individualistic experience with migrants tending to travel alone. However, there were a small number of cases that were contrary to this, and the presence of the accompanying family would appear to have had a significant impact on the migration experience. During the Packer Phase, Martin
and Bill, migrated with their wives and young children. Bill noted that his migration “was a family thing”, and, recalled that when he went away to Melbourne “one [of his children] was little and the other was a baby so they were both sort of pre-school age”. He went on to recall how having his family accompany him had benefitted his experience:

“They are amazing people out there and we had an amazing time... One because it was a great opportunity and experience for my family... I did about five months both times, quite a long period to be away from the rest of your family. But it’s nice to be there with your family”.

It is clear from this that Bill has fond memories of migrating with his young family. Similarly, Martin travelled to Perth with his wife and young daughter and he echoed Bill in expressing how beneficial the sojourn had been for himself and his family:

“I think it was extremely beneficial for my daughter, who was about six or seven, and she went to school in Perth. It’s amazing really, she turned up, and within three days, she had what seemed like a broad Western Australian Accent, and learning things like the words to Advance Australia Fair”.

Martin provided further information about his daughter’s education in Australia:

“I remember she went to a local primary school and it was terrific. They were used to having itinerants in Perth; a lot of people were sort of, passing through. So she wasn’t that unusual to be popping in for two terms or whatever it was”.

Thus, despite Martin being an early migrant in this flow it would suggest that there were other temporary migrations that were spatially anchored to this area of Western Australia at this time. As a result of this, Martin and his family were able to have a positive experience, particularly in relation to this daughter’s education.

Martin also illustrated how the presence of his family had influenced the networks and communities within which he integrated. When thinking about meeting people (Collins and Coleman 2008) when he was away Martin revealed: “you discover that your kids, the school, kids the same age, that’s often a fruitful, as fruitful a way of meeting
people as anything”. Martin’s experience reflects previous work on skilled migration with an accompanying family. The works’ of Ryan and Mulholland (2014a), Froese (2012) and Beaverstock (2005), in London, South Korea and New York respectively, have demonstrated the importance of partners, usually female, and children in accessing and constructing networks. Ryan and Mulholland (2014a) note, these are often family-specific networking opportunities that would not be accessible for migrants not accompanied by partners and families.

John was the final, established cricketer in this study, who migrated during the Packer Phase. Whilst he did not travel with his family to play club cricket in Sydney, he was accompanied by his wife and daughter during migration later in his career and he noted how it was of benefit to his young daughter. He described:

“She was always being put up, being looked after on a plane, in her own seat, but she was confident, she wasn’t nervous at all, she was fantastic, she looked forward to going away, it was an adventure. It broadened her, she’s very experienced, a mature young lady and that did it all for her”.

These examples of migrating with a family during the Packer Phase allowed these, now retired, cricketers; Bill, Martin and John, to reflect on both the short and longer-term impacts on themselves and their accompanying family. It is evident that they all found travelling with their family to be a positive experience and beneficial for all, notably in terms of the exposure of children to new and unfamiliar socio-cultural settings.

Despite these long-term benefits it would appear from the data that travelling alone became more common for those migrating during the Proto-Professionalization and Professionalization Phases. Whilst this can perhaps be attributed to the increasingly younger age at which individuals now undertake sojourns, it is useful to still consider the impact on migration for the minority who are still accompanied by their families.

26 year old Greg was the only Professionalization Phase migrant who was accompanied by his fiancé and daughter for the duration of his stay in Melbourne. Much like Martin, John and Bill, he was very enthusiastic about migrating with his family, stated the experience was: “unbelievable, absolutely amazing”. Before remarking on the significance of travelling with his daughter:
“My daughter was only four months when we flew out so it was really
good. I thought it was the perfect opportunity to get us, in the early,
early stages of her life, to spend every day together. Because, if we’d
have been in England I would have needed to be away at indoor
training a few days a week and things like that. I thought it was very
important that I spent a lot of time with her and it makes it a lot easier
now when I do have to leave, knowing that I’ve got her through her first
year of life”.

Whilst it would perhaps be expected that migration would reduce the amount of time
Greg was able to spend with his daughter, his situation, whereby he lives in a different
city to his family, when he is with his county cricket club, was improved by migration
as they were all able to live together throughout their time in Melbourne. He observed:
“it was just like being in England but with sunshine. We lived it as a family life”. As well
as the pivotal role of his young daughter in determining his migration, Greg highlighted
the important role his fiancé had played in the decision-making process:

“There was an option of going to New Zealand and playing some cricket
there. But my fiancé has been with me twice before so she’s got a really
good friend in Melbourne, who is one of her best friends in the world.
So it made a lot more sense. And then when [a former county colleague]
made the opportunity arise then it was basically a done deal
straightaway in my mind. And my fiancé was all for it, she was more up
for it than me at some points!”.

This is a significant comment as it demonstrates that Greg’s fiancé was supportive of
the chance to migrate so that she would be able to see one of her best friends, who
was local to Melbourne and someone she had met during a previous migration. This
contrasts to the findings of Beaverstock (2005:262) who found that in the case of
migrants in New York, where clustering of English migrants is identified and with one
participant quoted as saying “my English wife collects too many English friends”. The
contribution of Greg’s fiancé to the decision-making process and establishing the
destination of migration would suggest that whilst she can be understood as a trailing
spouse in the sense that the migration was for Greg’s profession, she remained a key
agent in the migration process, which differs from traditional conceptualisation of the trailing spouse (Harvey 2011a).

Whilst Greg was the only Professionalization Phase migrant who was accompanied by a child, there were other examples of how being accompanied throughout migration by a wife or girlfriend could influence the overseas experience. Scott recalled how travelling with his wife helped him integrate into the community where his host cricket club was situated:

“It helped the first time because I’d never been to the country and didn’t know what to expect really. But it was nice to go with someone; I mean it’s the other side of the world really so you can’t see any other family or friends, so it was good to have someone with you”.

Likewise Jack revealed: “for the last visit I went with my girlfriend for six months, so we lived together and went to Melbourne and Sydney together. I mean it was good as it didn’t affect anything with the cricket or the social stuff”. This comment begins to illustrate how being accompanied during migration influences an individual’s experiences. Jack notes that the cricket and social activities at the host cricket club were unaffected by his girlfriend’s presence, suggesting that the impact was on the day-to-day activities outside of cricket. As well as this, Jack reflected on travelling away from Perth with his girlfriend. This is notable as a number of migrant cricketers had visits from friends and family whilst they were in Australia, often over the Christmas and New Year Period, and travelling was a frequently mentioned activity that was undertaken with these visitors. The arrival of overseas visitors during this period reflects a phenomenon identified by Clarke (2005) who found that family and friends of migrants in Australia, classified as Working-Holiday Makers, would commonly join the migrants for the Christmas and Post-Christmas holiday period.

Chris had his girlfriend to visit over the Christmas period, he stated:

“My girlfriend flew over for two-and-a-half or three weeks and we went up the coast a little bit and then the club sorted us out with a flat on the beach and then we spent Christmas there and then went down to Sydney for New Year which was good”.
Similarly, Dev recalled:

“My girlfriend came out for two weeks and we went down the Great Ocean Road from Melbourne which is quite a cool thing to do. And we did a bit of travelling here and there, like Melbourne town [sic] itself and things like that; the kind of things that tourists do”.

Chris and Dev were both twenty-six at the time of their migration and demonstrate how visits can encourage travel and tourist-like behaviour (Beaverstock 2005). This influence from visitors was not restricted to wives and girlfriends as George, for example, who was 18 when he travelled to Melbourne from his host club in Brisbane to meet with his parents: “having my mum and dad over there, it meant it kind of broke the trip up nicely, sort of three months away, then a couple of weeks for Christmas with people I know and then another sort of three month slog”. Eighteen year old Nathan had a similar visit from his parents: “my parents, they came out; they’d always wanted to go to New Zealand so they went there for a month and then they can came and joined me in Melbourne, so to look forward to that was good”. Whilst Nathan indicates that his parents were already travelling overseas for Chris, Dev and George their temporary migration had encouraged the migration and mobility of others in their family.

8.2.3 Family at Home

Other migrants highlighted the issues that they experienced when their family was not able to be mobile in this way. For example, it has already been noted that Greg used his migration to spend time with his young daughter. In doing this, it meant that family who remained at home were unable to see his daughter: “with my little girl, it was the first year of her life and we had Christmas away so my mum and Dad and my fiancé’s mum and dad didn’t see her so that was quite tough for them”. Jordan noted that his overseas trips had impacted on his family and he indicated that he believed these issues to be the downside to temporary migration. He remarked: “there are silly little negatives, like I haven’t seen, I haven’t been here for my sister’s birthday for the last six years, which she’s getting quite ticked-off about”. These “silly little negatives” that Jordan refers to were referred to by Scott: “I think you have to accept that you sacrifice a few things at home as well, obviously not seeing friends and family for six
months at a time”. Josh acknowledged these sacrifices, but he considered the longer-term impacts on his migration and hoped that the future benefits of the migration would outweigh the short-term struggles:

“You do miss a lot of the year, which is hard, but it is just part of the job. I mean, I went, but, I got better at cricket every single time. So if that means I’m going to have to go away then I’m going to have to go away. I mean, my number one thing is cricket. That might sound selfish, but I suppose I’m only twenty-four so I’ve still got plenty of time for everything else like that in the future”.

8.2.4 Relationship Struggles

As well as realities such as this, where Josh recognises the balance between the negative aspects of migration and the career benefits, a number of the migrants referred to the realities of sojourns and their impacts on relationships. This is an issue that has been identified in previous studies of skilled migrants, yet Conradson and Latham (2005) have called for further consideration of how kinship is “re-worked and re-imagined” through migration. Furthermore, Rogers (2005:406) has acknowledged that “we could learn more about how friendships and other intimate relationships can be made and sustained across long distances and between shifting workplaces”. One example in this study was 22 year old Shaun, who expressed similar feelings to Josh’s, when he reflected on the balance between relationships and his career:

“I did have a girlfriend when I went out there and we ended up breaking up. Just because I realised that, I’d been with her a couple of years, and then we just ended up breaking up because I wanted to concentrate on my cricket”.

Alongside Shaun, both Edward and Stuart indicated that their temporary migration had contributed to them ending long-term relationships. Stuart believed that this was the most significant negative impact:

“I think the main one would be probably my personal relationships, that’s it really. I was in a long term relationship and we made it work,
we did make it work for a long time but then it just got to the stage
where we didn’t see each other enough to justify a relationship”.

Edward expressed similar feelings: “I had a pretty serious girlfriend when I went to Adelaide in 2011-12 and I suppose I can’t solely blame it on that but I think it played a big part in the two of us splitting up. It does put a big strain on relationships”. These consequences of migration reflect the findings of Ley (2004:158) who stated: “family separation may lead to a growing apart of a husband and wife… the break-up of relationships is common”. Likewise, in Bauder’s (2012:9) discussion of academic mobility he notes: “personal relationships may suffer, and accompanying spouses and family members may suffer distress”. Furthermore, in previous studies of sports labour migration the breakdown of relationships has been listed as a consequence of migration by Australasian rugby league players in England (Evans and Stead 2014) and in Maguire and Stead’s (1996) study of overseas players in English professional cricket. Whilst the former of Bauder’s two impacts has been found to be true in this study, those migrants who travelled overseas with their family generally stated positive impacts for their partners and children. In these examples, migration can be seen to be contributing to the end of relationships, but there was evidence where the opposite was occurring, with relationships being stated as the primary reason that migratory activity was curtailed.

8.2.5 Responsibilities at Home

In Khoo et al.’s (2011) study of skilled migration from Europe to Australia they found the most frequently stated reason behind the return decision of western European migrants was homesickness or family reasons. It has been demonstrated that the likelihood of long distance moves decreases as migrants gain commitments at home, including employed partners and children (Castles 2004; Coulter and Scott 2014). This chimes with Ackers (2010:90) recognition that mobility is relational and “tied up with caring, guilt, responsibility and negotiation”. This was found to be true for this case study with many migrants emphasising the fact that they were taking advantage of overseas opportunities whilst they were young and early in their careers. Alfie noted: “I think it gets harder to go away as you get a bit older, like if you have a girlfriend or a family”. Noah agreed: “I just think it’s harder with relationships because sometimes
you can’t take your partner with you and to go away for four or five months it can be quite hard to have a long distance relationship”. Even though these migrants talked openly of their thoughts and the realities associated with relationships and temporary, skilled migration, to date they have not been widely discussed in the literature. The significance of these findings was further emphasised in comments from the coaches and employers who recognised the reduced potential for migration later in a career. When asked at what career stage migration was most beneficial Henry, a Director of Cricket, observed:

“I think you’ve got to be realistic, I think in many cases it’s more about how old your kids are and things like that. If you’ve got school age kids it becomes difficult… I think once you get children or a mortgage and things like that then whole thing becomes more difficult anyway”.

Paul agreed with Henry: “when you’re married with kids, when you’ve got mortgages, it’s not easy when you’ve got other things going on. It’s more difficult to just disappear for six months with kids in schools and all that sort of stuff”. This shift in personal priorities reflects previous work on skilled migration. Ackers (2005, 2008) noted how, as individuals move through the life-course, priority attached to migration is altered. Ackers suggests that early in the life-course and career trajectories individuals are more “foot-loose” and that they become “sticky” as commitments to a location increase. Further examples of where this relationship has been identified include the work of Wilson et al. (2009) on the Overseas Experience of young New Zealanders, Clarke’s work (2005) on Working Holiday Makers in Australia and Liu-Farrer’s (2009) study of Chinese migrants in Japan. In these studies finding partners, starting families, obtaining a mortgage and children’s schooling were all stated as examples of commitments that would curtail migratory activity.

8.3 Realities of being a Migrant

8.3.1. Homesickness

Like the struggles with relationships the migrants spoke openly about homesickness and how it impacted upon their sojourn. Edward stated: “I’ve had some down time
when I’ve been away. It’s not all glamorous”. This provides an indication of how migration is experienced when compared to how it may be perceived. A winter in Australia may be perceived to be a glamorous activity but as the following discussion will show, the reality does not always reflect this. The contrasts between the imagined and the lived reality of the migration destination have recently been highlighted by Beech (2014) in her study of the experiences of incoming international students to the UK and further examples were found in this study. Tom described how his social network had influenced his decision and expectations of migration:

“The whole reason that I went to that part of Australia was just through word of mouth, from the other people that are in cricket. Everyone who’d been out there loved it, and said it was a great place, good people, good culture and loved the cricket”.

Likewise, Lee articulated why he would recommend temporary migration to others in his network and highlighted the positives of migration: “I’d recommend both my club and the people there. You get to sample a different lifestyle and culture, and enjoy doing something a bit different in the winter. For me, it’s the best place in the world”. However, Lee continued by expressing some caution that indicates why migration may not always meet the imagined idyll of a winter ‘Down-Under’: “there are some tough times, it’s not always easy, so it’s good to have people to support you”.

Homesickness was revealed by a number of the migrants to have occurred in the early stages of their first migration. Alfie recalled: “the first couple of weeks I was may be a bit homesick, like from being in a strange place”. Lee reflected on some of the reasons that he attributed his homesickness:

“Apart from the first, may be, two weeks, when I was a little bit homesick, I had a great time... It was because I was out of my comfort zone, I didn’t know where I was. Obviously you miss home straight away and think of the luxuries you’ve got at home and all of a sudden, you’re in the big wide world! But after two weeks I was alright”.

As well as during the first migration, Scott revealed how similar feelings occur when you go to a new environment for the first time, feelings that have previously been
identified in a sporting context, in Evans and Stead’s (2014) work on the immigration of Australasian migrants to English Rugby Super League:

“There were a couple of weeks where you think should I have come out? But I think once you start playing a few games and you start meeting some new team-mates it’s fine again. It’s just when you go into the unknown, you don’t really know what your team-mates are going to be like. So there are a couple of weeks when you get out there and you think what am I doing? Why did I come here? But it all panned out quite well really”.

Whilst Scott provided an insight into how homesickness can continue to occur, even if temporary migration is repeated, Josh felt he had matured and developed and was able to cope better with the homesickness he initially struggled with:

“I think over the four years it’s changed. I think when I first went away I probably rang home more and text more. But now, it’s probably once a week, once every two weeks, something like that. I mean you grow up don’t you?”.

The contact that Josh refers too here was important to many of the migrants and as George attributed his lack of homesickness to the ability to have regular contact with friends and family at home:

“We’d Skype and Facebook chat and all that other sort of rubbish! So you’re always in contact with people, so I never really got homesick or anything. Every now and then when you needed to see a familiar face, you could always do that through technology”.

This comment from George was just one example of where the importance of improved information and communication technologies (Horst 2006; White and Ryan 2008) was stated by migrants. The change in communication technologies between the migratory phases was recognised by Proto-Professionalization Phase migrant Gareth who indicated:

“The world is a different place now so I can’t put too much on when I went away, because that was a long, long time ago, the world has
grown up. And with everything electronic you can Skype and you’re talking to your family on the other side of the world free of charge, the only problem is what time you are doing it. Ultimately it is a far easier and friendlier world to go and explore than it was before”.

The potential for affordable and frequent contact with home via emails, telephones and specific technologies such as Skype and Facebook (Williams et al. 2011) has implications for the everyday life of a migrant (Thulin and Velhelmson 2014). It may be that everyday practices become focused on the internet and online social networks as migrants seek activities that will occupy their free-time, as Toby expressed: “you’re sort of sat there all day, there’s only so many times you can sit on Facebook or twitter and watch the same rubbish daytime TV and stuff”. However, improved electronic communications allows relationships to be maintained and stretched across national borders and reduce the disruption to social networks left behind (Clarke 2005). This was true for Greg who noted: “I kept in contact with all the lads, I’m pretty close to a few of the lads so we kept in contact and I didn’t miss much I don’t think, whilst I was away.” Despite this, the internet cannot fully compensate for presence and participation in social networks and activities that are occurring in the home country. For example, in Beaverstock’s (2005:264) study of ICTs in New York City’s financial district he found that “all indicated that they really missed keeping up with the London office and City gossip scene”. This detachment from social and corporate activities was evident in this study, as Jamie recalled:

“I missed a little bit being around all the boys at home, just sort of being part of a team every day, I missed training and seeing everyone and being around the ground and sort of socialising with that group. So that’s one. Obviously I was part of a team out there but people work all day, you’re only part of team two or three times a week, whereas here you’re around people every day. I missed that a little bit and obviously you miss out on things, you miss out on stories and things that happen, you sort of, not lose touch, but you’re out of the loop for a while, there’s no problems coming back into that, but you do miss it a little bit.”
As well as experiencing homesickness in the early stages of the stay overseas, feelings that were likened to homesickness were described by migrants towards the end of their trips. Shaun described how these feelings affected him:

“I had a little bit of homesickness, about two months in I think. I started just wanting to go home. But I think that’s just natural, not necessarily about going home to the family, but just to be at home, you know what I mean, just to be around people and back to familiarity”.

The most frequently stated time at which homesickness affected migrants was over the Christmas and New Year period. This hardship was noted by Clarke (2005) who discussed the impact of pivotal events, such as Christmas and New Year, as being peak periods for migrants in Australia making international phone calls and other contact with home. In this study, Bill, a Packer Phase migrant stated: “there are always issues of homesickness, around Christmas time and stuff like that” and Professionalization Phase migrant Adam articulated: “at Christmas-time it’s a little bit harder being away”. Similarly, Lee summarised:

“Christmas and New Year were the hardest, being away from my family and stuff and what you are used to. It’s very different, Australian Christmas, I don’t know if that’s a culture thing, but a hot Christmas and they don’t have Christmas dinner really. It’s more like, go to the beach, and I found that very difficult, especially when I would speak to people from home and I could see what was going on there”.

Despite these struggles of being away over Christmas, the migrants reflected on how this was something that they needed to learn to cope with to help them to achieve their goal of a successful career in professional cricket. For example, Shaun, who recently spent a season at the DLCA, recounted: “it’s the first time I’ve been away over Christmas, and that’s just one of those things that I had to get over because it is going to happen often”. Migrants from the earlier phases reflected on their experiences of this issue, as Proto-Professionalization Phase migrant and now cricket coach, Jeff described:
“For the first few years homesickness was a problem, yes. Especially at Christmas-time, New Year time, missing family and stuff like that. But you get over them and it probably hardened me a little bit. But with what I’m doing now and travelling around all over the country and staying in hotels so it doesn’t really bother me so much anymore”.

Likewise, Bill revealed how he now feels about the Christmases he spent overseas: “now you get much older, you spend every Christmas at home so they are just nice memories to look back on really, because you’re older and can’t do it anymore”.

8.3.2 Boredom, Isolation & Living for the Weekend

One of the most commonly stated reasons for homesickness was attributed to boredom. When asked about this Toby made reference to the impact a visit from his girlfriend had had, he remarked:

“I preferred it when she was there to be honest; I thought that I’d be glad when she left, so that I’d sort of be left to my own devices and crack on. But the boredom factor was the biggest issue and downside of the trip for me and once she had gone, that last three weeks I was sort of sat around, not pining for her necessarily – I wouldn’t tell her that – but more just boredom”.

As well as describing the impact that boredom had on his migration, the result of Toby’s girlfriend’s visit reflects the experience of a participant in Clarke’s (2005:312) study of Working Holiday Makers in Australia: “Amanda says ‘my mum came out a couple of weeks ago and I got very sad saying goodbye to her. That was a low, which is bizarre because I wouldn’t have had that low if she didn’t come’”.

Toby was not the only migrant to experience boredom towards the end of a trip. It was noted by Jamie who commented that he struggled with homesickness because of boredom during the week, between the cricket matches played at weekends. Jamie recalled:

“When it got to sort of February time I was just missing home a little bit and that was when I’d done all the sort of in between bits and I just
wanted to play cricket. I just wanted Saturday to come around and I wanted to play games”.

The importance of considering boredom has been highlighted by Anderson (2004) who notes that there has been a lack of studies into this emotion in the social sciences, but given that it is an everyday emotion it warrants more detailed consideration. Anderson, in particular, calls for further studies into the temporal and spatial conditions under which boredom arises. The importance of studies into emotions and emotional geographies has also been demonstrated by Pile (2010) who stated that there is a need for greater prominence of emotional geographies and further discussion as to why emotions are interesting and important.

As a consequence of boredom both Toby and Jamie indicated that they would look to make changes to negate these issues if they were to repeat temporary, seasonal migration. Toby noted: “I think that if I’m going to go back I’m going to try and line it up so I can at least have another English bloke near me, if not living together, so that we can at least train together” and Jamie stated: “if there was an opportunity to go out somewhere and play more cricket in the week then I’d enjoy that”. The importance of being accompanied on migration reflects the acknowledgement of White and Ryan (2008) that networks reduce emotional struggles of migration. However, Ryan and Mulholland (2014a) have since identified that skilled migrants are not protected from loneliness despite being embedded within networks whilst overseas.

Toby and Jamie were not the only migrants who conveyed feelings and struggles with boredom during their migration. Aaron, who spent a winter at the DLCA acknowledged that if he had not been at the Academy and on a full-time structured training programme: “I think it could get quite boring... I’m not sure boring is the right word... but if you’re not doing something every day then it could get quite tedious, twiddling your thumbs”. It was for these reasons that others noted the importance of remaining occupied and active in between cricket matches and training to alleviate the risk of homesickness. Freddie revealed that this had been the case for him:
“I was going over there with a purpose to make my cricket better. I was in the gym quite a lot, which they paid for, and that was quite close, so it was easy just to nip down there”.

Stuart made reference to staying focused on the purpose of the migration in order to make it a success:

“It’s funny, I always thought that I’d be quite homesick, that’s one of the reasons why may be I didn’t, I hadn’t gone before. But I’ve never been homesick whilst I was there, I’ve always had a good time, it’s felt as if I’ve been there for a purpose, I enjoy the sunshine, I enjoy the people, I enjoy the culture, and so I think it does make a big different when I go over there”.

Other migrants discussed different strategies that they used in order to remain occupied in the time outside of cricket. First, Dev indicated: “I do a degree, a part-time degree so I’m always pretty busy doing stuff. If I’m not playing or training then I’ve got work to be doing or stuff around the house. So I’ve managed to keep myself busy which is good”. Second, Tom revealed that he had a different coping strategy: “I’m very much an introvert; I like to spend time by myself, which I think some people struggle with... So I was never lonely”. Third, Tony who was a young migrant during the Packer Phase on a TCCB scholarship in Sydney recalled that his programme was intense and as a result “it was full on and we didn’t really get chance to get homesick”. The Professionalization Phase scholarship recipients also highlighted the benefits of these programmes, most notably the fact that they were accompanied by other English county cricket professionals. Aaron stated: “if you’re not at training then there’s always going to be something else, someone else will always say do you fancy a beer or do you want to go and get some food? There’s always something to do”.

Shaun agreed with this and expressed the importance of the presence of other English cricketers: “it’s just nice to have those, to have a bit of home with you, if you know what I mean, because it gets very lonely sometimes, so that was very nice”. Such feelings of loneliness and isolation amongst migrants has previously been identified by Shortland (2011) in her study of migrant women, but Clarke (2005) has noted the significance of the connections to home that Shaun refers too; a sense of “homeness”
where migrants drawn to others of the same nationality or from the same hometown. The importance of home in negating feelings of homesickness was observed by Stead and Maguire (2000), in their work on the in-migration of Scandinavian footballers to England, as they identified that migrants found ways for the homeland and home cultures to accompany them in England, for example, the ability to receive television channels from their home country.

The significance of company during migration was further emphasised by Chris, who revealed feelings of isolation and, consequently, homesickness in New South Wales:

“The first time I went I was a bit homesick, it was miles away and I hadn’t been away before. I was a bit trapped, before the accommodation got sorted I was basically in the parents’ house of one of the other blokes and I didn’t have a car and it was quite a long way from the centre of the city. So that was pretty isolating”.

The isolation that Chris felt from being a lone, migrant supports the findings of Beaverstock (2005) who acknowledged that single intra-company transferees found migration to be an isolating experience as it difficult to integrate with communities outside of the workplace. Likewise, isolation and loneliness was identified amongst various groups of sports labour migrants who undertook temporary migration to the UK, these included rugby league players (Evans and Stead 2014), association footballers (Stead and Maguire 2000) and professional cricketers (Maguire and Stead 1996). Chris struggled with this situation at the time of his migration, but he recognised that whilst small changes would have enhanced his experience, he was able to develop skills and learn to cope with the struggles:

“The first time definitely it would have been nice to have someone with me. That would have really changed my experience, just to have a friend that I could have done stuff with, because there was a lot of sitting around by myself, which probably means that I’m happier on my own now, in my own company”.

Connor, who migrated to a club in a region north of Sydney, had similar experiences of boredom and isolation and whilst he felt it allowed him to focus on improving his
cricket and recovering from an injury, he noted that he would have preferred some company and to be closer to people he knew:

“I was in the middle of nowhere; I lived by myself in a little granny flat out the back of somebody’s house. It was nice to live on my own and be able to chill on my own, but obviously it was boring as well. I didn’t go out, didn’t drink. It was cricket, gym and training. That was it. If I was to go again I’d like to go somewhere more social, rather than being stuck on my own. I wouldn’t want to go on my own again; I’d like to be around people that I know”.

It was noted at the outset of this section that boredom and how it arises as an emotion has yet to be rigorously considered in the social sciences (Anderson 2004; Pile 2010). However, from the findings here it would appear that understanding boredom and the factors that contribute to it in the course of temporary migration are of great importance. It would perhaps be expected that if a migrant struggles with these emotions it is likely to affect their professional performance whilst overseas and therefore the migration is unlikely to have the desired impacts. Explicit examples of such experiences were not evident in the data; however there was anecdotal evidence as Jamie articulated:

“There are some people I know who have struggled with being away and they’ve sort of felt like they are on their own a lot and if their cricket doesn’t go well, if that’s the reason they are out there, if they are not performing, which can easily happen if you’re young, then it can affect you a lot, because that’s your purpose there and if you’re not doing that then it’s kind of, why are you there, what are you doing kind of thing, and it can affect people and it can get quite tough, being away. And in that situation then you haven’t got the support groups you have at home, you haven’t got your family, your coaches that you know and things like that. So if you get into a bit of rut then it can be very hard”.

This would suggest that it would be beneficial to give further consideration to the struggles that may be associated with, or experienced during, skilled migration. The potential for such an outcome was noted by Connor who cautioned against
recommending temporary migration to others: “can you imagine sending somebody away who doesn’t want to be away, they just want to be at home. You’re not going to do great out there, you’re not going to help anybody, you’re just going to be wallowing”. Connor’s acknowledgement here supports the assertion of Maguire and Stead (1996:11) who wrote: “miles away from home, family and friends, the migrant [cricket] player can be vulnerable, a fact which in turn can affect performance and thus lead to a downward spiral”. A greater understanding of the possible impacts of struggles such as these is, therefore, likely to be particularly significant for migration where home employers are investing in their employees and their temporary migrations.

8.3.3 Integration and Acceptance
Integration into host club and local community was revealed to begin immediately upon arrival to Australia and was generally considered to be a straightforward process. This reflects experiences of rugby league migrants who found that they were able to integrate and make friends at their host club with relative ease (Evans and Stead 2014). Oliver remarked: “it was pretty simple to get involved, I was the only English lad out there, but it was pretty simple because they were all very welcoming and everything, so they just made me one of them quite quickly”. The ease with which Oliver felt he was able integrate and embed himself within the host cricket club reflects the mutual effort to encourage this on the part of both Oliver and the host club. This example contrasts with findings of Ho (2011) who found the migrants longed for hospitality from the hosts to enable integration. The process of integration was noted to begin as soon as migrants arrived in Australia, for example, Shaun was immediately introduced to his cricket club and team-mates:

“I got picked up from the airport and got taken straight to the club because they had a social event on that evening. I’d just had a long flight and I arrived and they were all there and they kind of said this is [Shaun], give him a big welcome and they all said hello and they were all so accommodating, it was really nice, they were really friendly and made me feel welcome”.
Shaun’s experience of meeting everyone at the club was not unique and others attributed the friendly and welcoming nature of the local Australians to their position of being new and unfamiliar. This was something which Jamie reflected upon: “when you are the overseas at a club, as soon as you arrive, everyone wants to know you and everyone wants to help out, show you around, take you out and everyone wanted to be your friend”. Similarly, Jack recalled “everyone was very friendly, they all knew I was coming over, it was organised before, so they all made me feel very welcome and looked after me”. Aaron articulated the benefit of this welcome to Australia when reflecting how he had learned and developed from the experience:

“You are sort of thrown in at the deep-end to some extent. I’d definitely say that life-skills grew side-by-side with cricket; it’s not just a cricket experience, but an all-round experience”.

The immediacy of being “thrown in at the deep-end” and apparent ease of integration into the host cricket club reflects Beaverstock’s (2002) findings that the ability of a migrant to embed themselves into the destination community is enhanced when professional meeting places exist as a space where integration can occur.

Migrants frequently reflected on the benefits of common interests between themselves and the host community. Adam provided an insight into this: “I find that with sport in general, everyone is so welcoming and you just seem to get accepted straight away. I think it would be a lot harder if you were travelling on your own”. Edward also believed that the commonalities between himself and the host (cricket) club aided his integration to the local community:

“I think when you’ve got a skill, then people are always going to help you out, there’s a community kind of, ready and waiting for you out there, that you can throw yourself into out there and that’s what I’ve found on all my trips abroad”.

The importance of having a community into which to integrate is clearly beneficial for the migrants. These communities were usually focused upon the cricket, which resembles Beaverstock’s (2011) work on the expatriate clubs of Singapore; clubs such as the Singapore Cricket Club providing a bounded space where new migrants were
able to integrate and socialise with the host community. However, Beaverstock found a greater number of cases where sport acted as a marker of expatriate socialising and the exclusion of locals from such events. Whereas, in this case study sport is a commonality between the incoming migrant and the host community, that encourages the process of integration and assists with the migrant becoming embedded in the destination.

As well as cricket being a common interest of both the migrant and the locals, it was suggested that the historical colonial and sporting relationship between England and Australia, eased the process of integration. This was summarised by Freddie: “it probably helped, because it’s easier to have a little bit of banter between English and Australian cricket culture [sic]”. Connor was then able to shed further light on this:

“You get called the Pom [sic] because of the Ashes. It provides a nice breaking point; it’s a nice starting point for a conversation. You can get a bit of banter going about the Ashes, we’re better at cricket than you and all of that…”

Despite these positive experiences of integration that were expressed by many migrants there were examples where caution was noted. George revealed: “it’s different to playing over there, the fact they have different attitudes to training and they [local Australians] don’t always welcome the English guy as an overseas player, so it was a bit of a culture shock to start with”. Whilst George was a recent, Professionalization Phase migrant, Bill who migrated during the Packer Phase conveyed similar experiences: “when you go over there you can’t expect the people to be like here. They are totally different and you have to fit in with their way of life. So you can’t expect it to be like here so you’re in for a bit of a shock”. As a result of experiences such as these, some of the migrants emphasised the need to integrate into the host club and community quickly. Ben remarked:

“Six months can be a long time, it’s a long way away and if you don’t settle in straightway then it can be a long time. I settled in pretty quickly so I’d say that you want to make a huge effort to settle in as
soon as possible because it makes the time much more enjoyable and it will go much quicker”.

The effort which Ben refers to here supports the assertions of Conradson and Latham (2005) and Ho and Hatfield (2011) that significant amounts of time, energy and resources are required in the processes that develop and sustain simultaneous networks in the home and destination communities. Likewise, Lee recalled how cricket had helped him integrate and settle quickly into life in Australia: “the cricket helped, it helped me settle in better, because all I looked forward to was playing and training. I’d spend a lot of time at the club after training and things”.

8.3.4 Everyday Social Life in Australia

The extent of integration and socialising was dependent upon where migrants were hosted and whether there were other migrants locally. For instance, as Tom stated when asked who he socialised with:

“There were no other English guys really, it was more with the people who played at the club and I’ve got a lot of good friends over there really from playing over there. And of all ages, I thought it would just be my age but it was actually quite a good cross-section of older players and younger players”.

As Tom indicates here, integration and friendships generally developed between migrants and those they met through the cricket club. Tom reflected on how integration into the cricket team helped to enable integration into the wider community: “the cricket side of things was very easy and that helped the social side of things as well. Whenever you go to the pub you’ll find people in there, and the teams over there are more family based than they are over here”. Likewise, Dev mentioned the family orientated nature of the Australian cricket clubs, and how it impacted upon everyday social life, and who they were able to spend time with: “it’s people at the club mainly, the families that are involved through that, especially in the nets, you meet other Aussies [sic] and then they take you in and you can socialise through them”. These friendships and socialising with Australian team-mates were noted by a number of other migrants, including Stuart and Brad. Stuart recalled: “it was very
much that I was socialising with Australians and getting involved in their community and the club. It was massively beneficial, and I’m pleased it was that way round because it was easier to integrate into the club”. Similarly, Brad commented: “it was mainly the Australians; the other players. I met a lot of the Australians there, like the other guys at the club. I met up with a couple of English guys but 95% of my time was spent with the Australian guys at the club”. These experiences differ from traditional understandings of the social experiences of skilled migrants, where locals are commonly found to be in the minority within established expatriate communities (Beaverstock 2002, 2011), with previous work finding that skilled migrants are more likely to socialise with other expatriates (Froese 2012).

Cricket clubs can therefore be seen to be an important space of integration into the Australian community, although some migrants did reveal that their free time was split between socialising with locals and other migrants. As Liam demonstrated, this was often attributed to the commitments and availability of others:

“I’d say during the day, during the week I probably spent more time with the English blokes because obviously we weren’t at work. But when it got to the weekend you were with the cricket lads and you ended up spending time with them, going out of an evening with them, going out after the game. So it was kind of split”.

For Oliver, his time was also split between socialising with English migrants and Australians, and this was as a result of being part of the DLCA. Despite this, he felt that he achieved a balance and recalled:

“I had a quite a good club, so I had quite a good balance. Whereas, a few of the other lads didn’t quite get on with their clubs so they spent more time with the English boys. My club were really good so I spent a lot of time with them. But obviously, I spent a lot of time with the academy lads, because you’re living with each other, you’re on top of one another the whole time. And actually quite a lot of the academy lads spent time socialising with my club because they liked them the best out of everyone”.
This recollection suggests that not only was Oliver integrating with both the local and diasporic communities but he was increasing the breadth of the network and community by introducing other migrants to the locals with whom he had integrated. One further example of integrated Australian and English networks was conveyed by Greg who described how during his stay in Melbourne he trained and socialised with other English migrants from his county club, as well as with locals with whom he had previously played in England. This provides an example of a network (Bakewell et al. 2012) that was established in England being spatially and temporally transferred to Australia to correspond with the shifting location of the cricket season.

The common feature that unites all the networks that migrants are able to integrate into or establish in the course of their migration is cricket. The networks can be understood using Liu-Farrers (2011) concept of an “occupational niche”. These occur when skilled migration takes place to destinations outside of traditional expatriate enclaves (Beaverstock 2002, 2005, 2011) and thus, networks are centred on occupations or professions as opposed to nationality or ethnicity. Whilst the migrants in this study embedded themselves within the host communities their networks did not usually extend beyond those who are associated with cricket. The occupational focus of these networks and their spatial location away from traditional migration destinations means that despite the comparatively short-term duration of migration individuals become more embedded into the host community than would perhaps be expected from existing understandings of temporary skilled migrant behaviour (Harvey 2008).

Away from socialising, migrants spoke about their everyday activities and how these impacted upon their experiences of temporary migration. Unlike office-based work that would be expected to occupy the migrant’s time Monday to Friday, ordinarily cricket commitments only required players to be available for evening training during the week and for weekend matches. This situation was clarified by Scott who described that normally: “It’s just the three days of the week when you train, Tuesday and Thursday and then Saturday. So it’s only three days out of your week when you really have to give it your all and focus”. Consequently, migrants had a lot of free time and, as has already been shown, this can result in struggles with boredom and
homesickness. But other migrants found routines and strategies to allow them to fill their time. This reflects Clarke’s (2005) finding that routine and familiarity in the course of migration play an important role in overcoming anxieties such as homesickness. One example of this was Josh who provided an insight into his daily routine in Melbourne:

“I think my routine was: I get up in the morning, I go training, to the gym or for a run or whatever it was. Then come back, have some breakfast, go for a swim and go and play golf. Because I lived from here, to say there [pointed to the end of the interview room] which was the distance to the beach and then golf course was in my back garden! So I didn’t really have to worry about trying to find things to do, there wasn’t any sitting about getting bored”.

Jamie described his daily routine and described how it altered in the course of his migration:

“I worked a little bit, just to fill my days, but I realised that wasn’t really for me. I preferred to stay in cricket. So I went to the gym quite a lot and quite a few of the boys were off from uni during my time out there so we socialised, didn’t do a great deal, but just mixed, there was always something to do [sic]”.

As Jamie mentioned, he initially worked in Australia before deciding to focus on his cricket. George had a slightly different daily routine as he remained in work, as an assistant groundsman at his host cricket club, throughout his stay in Brisbane. He articulated:

“At times it was a bit tedious because I got on quite well with the groundsman, he was quite a young guy as well, that was good, but when there are only two of you, every day, you spend a lot of time apart because there were three pitches that we had to prepare and roll. But then when you’ve finished, mid-afternoon, if you didn’t have any coaching there was a lot of spare time. But actually it probably helps because I came back a lot fitter and stronger than I thought I would be
because you learn to fill that time with other things and using the gym quite a lot”.

George here expressed that, despite the struggles he had with his daily routine being tedious, reflecting on his migration he now recognises how he benefited from it.

As professional athletes, daily routines included fitness and training activities. Many migrants highlighted the importance of completing this training independently and learning from this opportunity. Taking personal responsibility for fitness and training was seen to be vital for personal maturity and to maintain and progress a career. This was demonstrated by Josh who reflected on his repeated migrations: “obviously as you grow up and you realise what is best for yourself, how your body works and what motivates you and how you are going to get results”. Similar feelings were noted by Nick, a Proto-Professionalization Phase migrant, who observed: “I think you’ve got to take responsibility for yourself. But at the end of the day it’s your career on the line and you have to turn up back in England in fairly good physical fitness and condition”.

This style of personal improvement (Van Mol and Timmerman 2014) resulting from the day-to-day lifestyle in Australia was discussed by those migrants who spent time at the DLCA. For instance, Jamil recalled:

“The onus was on you to better yourself. So it was good for me because my work ethic has always been very good. We reported in everyday at 10am and generally finished about 3pm and went to the gym and got back home about 5pm, knowing that the evening was ours”.

Oliver recalled having a similar routine when he spent the winter in Adelaide:

“The schedule is quite hectic so you don’t get a lot of free-time, it is a lot of training and a lot of cricket being played on the whole. So you didn’t get time to see Adelaide”.

Whilst this would suggest the Academy programme means players are less able to experience the wider Australian culture, Shaun reflected on his time at the DLCA and suggested that he had had sufficient opportunity to experience the local culture, something that has previously been shown to be an important part of temporary migration (Wilson et al. 2009). Shaun revealed:
“You trained during the day, you might train for half of the day and then spend the rest of the day at the beach. So I experienced a lot of Australian culture, well, I say Australian culture, but just going to the beach and stuff like that, it’s just a sort of southern hemisphere thing to do isn’t it?”. 

Yang et al. (2011) found establishing a successful work-life balance contributes to both personal and professional development (Niopek et al. 2011). This balance was highlighted by Edward who compared his trip to play club cricket with his winter at the DLCA:

“I’ve kind of realised that, when I’m performing at my best, I’ve got things that interest me in my personal life, away from the game. And I felt the Adelaide experience, I was training five days a week, playing at the weekends and not really, I’d have been better off playing half the amount of time and really, kind of, enjoying Australian life [sic]. It’s about finding that work-life balance and I think I got that a bit wrong in Adelaide”.

The opportunity to experience specific aspects of the local culture was discussed by other migrants as part of their everyday lives. Packer Phase migrant Bill, who had previously played for England at the time of his seasonal migrations, reflected on the differences between touring a country compared to a longer term stay: “you see the real people in Australia. It’s different to just being there as a tourist or as part of a cricket touring party. As then you just see all the hotels and all the big landmarks”. In terms of visiting landmarks and local attractions, Connor noted that he set aside time to travel in order to get a regular break from cricket, he recalled:

“I tried to sort out something to do every Tuesday. Just so I had something to look to, whether it was to go to see the Blue Mountains, or go to Sydney, I went yachting on the harbour. I tried to sort myself something out to do every Tuesday, so it broke the week up”.

Luke noted how he had the opportunity to learn about the local culture and the Italian diaspora in Perth and illustrated:
“The club I was at was mainly an Italian-based club so there were a lot of people there from Italian origins so I got to learn about how the identity of Australia was made up, more than just people being Australian, they stuck to their beliefs of where they were from”.

Whilst Bill, Connor and Luke conveyed positive feelings about experiencing Australian culture, Gerry, one of the Proto-Professionalization Phase migrants admitted that he had struggled to adapt to the local culture when he spent a season with a club in New South Wales: “it was a different culture for me being in Australia. I hung out a lot in the lads clubs with poker machines and with glasses of beer and eating pies, putting on weight. So that was difficult”. This recollection provides an example of where migration may not provide the desired learning and development outcomes if cultural adaptation (Cranston 2014) and integration is not successful.

8.3.5 Professional Life and Migration

The findings demonstrate that a number of aspects comprised everyday professional life in Australia. The importance of studying these aspects of migration has been highlighted by Maller and Strengers (2013) who have called for further studies of professional practices and how they are migrated, and if and how they are transformed in the destination. First, as well as the social integration and acceptance into Australian communities that has previously been discussed, the migrants recognised the importance of integrating and earning the respect of their colleagues. This respect could be earned from both on-field performances and off-field involvement in training and coaching sessions. The pressures and expectation of being a migrant player was highlighted alongside the reception and acceptance they received from both their own and opposition teams. Second, players and intermediaries were able to inform on how home counties could continue to influence and control the activity of their players during temporary, seasonal, international migration. Third, further impacts of migration are presented, including long-term outcomes and examples of less positive outcomes of temporary, international migration.

The need to earn the respect of fellow players to enable a migrant to be accepted into the team was widely discussed. As Ho (2011:734) has previously identified: “there are
particular working and socialising norms that they [migrants] have to acquire to fit into their new work environments”. In this case the techniques to do this were noted by individuals including Dev who revealed:

“I think if you come in with a hard-work ethic, they are quite hard-working themselves, so if you come in with that ethic and things, then they are pretty happy and they embrace you, you get respect around the club, so you just have to do your best on Saturday basically”.

Stuart indicated that this need to earn respect stemmed from the wish of the club for overseas players to perform successfully regardless of their performance and reputation in England. Stuart noted:

“In my view they don’t really pay any attention to reputation, they don’t care what I’ve done here or there or for any other club. They just want to see you performing for them and then they value you, not just as a person, they value you as a cricketer from then on, they want to see you performing for them”.

Noah reflected on the significance of a player’s prior reputation. Like Stuart he agreed that early performances for the host team were beneficial, but, he felt that early-career migration contributed to acceptance as it reduced the expectation placed upon the player:

“I think it’s a bit easier to get accepted if you perform earlier. You sort of, you come with a reputation and if you have some early performances for whatever team you play for, you get a bit of respect that way and your reputation is backed up by what you’ve done before. So if you go there as a young lad, which I did most of the time, I didn’t have much of a reputation. How you are as a person is the key, but you get respect from how you perform”.

From a performance point of view migrants from the Packer Phase had similar experiences to this. Dave recalled how he had to earn his place in the team by performing well as opposed to being immediately selected for the most senior team: “I had to earn my chance to play A-grade cricket, my first game was in the second grade,
fortunately I did well in that game and then there was an under-23 game, which I did well in. Then I got picked for the A-grade side”. Tony reflected on the situation when he migrated in the in the 1970s and he spoke of many of the same themes in terms of respect and reputation. He summarised the situation:

“I have to say it was up to you as a players when you go out to those sort of clubs, they don’t sort of give you too much respect you have to earn that, and quite rightly so. It’s a question of earning that respect and working hard and really doing that as you had to. And that was really what I needed, and certainly as a young man too, it was something you couldn’t get in the UK, because it was different, you’re in an alien environment, you had to work with different people you didn’t know, and they play the game differently. If you thought you had a bit of street cred in the UK, certainly when you were over there you had none whatsoever”.

Thus far, the comments regarding respect and reputation relate primarily to on-field performances, however, as many of the migrants acknowledged, their actions off the field contributed to the extent to which they were accepted into the club. Noah expanded this when asked what advice he would give to future migrants:

“I’d just advise that you need to try your upmost to settle into a club and give as much back as you can. But I think the more you give back, I think on the field is important, but what you do off the field is just as important. They want you to be there for the club, just as much as your performances”.

Similarly, Dev offered advice that highlighted the importance of integration into the host team: “embrace the club you play for, work hard and set a good example. They want you to set an example for their young lads and they will be watching you as a professional cricketer”. Contributing to coaching and training were suggested to be the most important activities where migrants were able to be involved in the club. For example, Scott noted: “the club training, you were there to sort of run the nets and be a coach as well, which is quite good really for someone starting off early in their career to have that sort of responsibility”. Connor revealed that there was a similar
expectation on him to be involved in coaching, especially with junior players at the club:

“They expected me to lead when I was at nets. They wanted me to set an example to the other, younger lads. So I was happy to do that. I worked with the younger lads and making sure they are going to be ready to play senior cricket in a couple of years”.

Involvement in coaching has always been a key aspect of this migration. It has often been a way of earning money, either as a necessary part of a deal or as a way of covering costs of living. Examples of this include Peter in the Proto-Professionalization Phase and Oliver in the Professionalization Phase. Peter recalled how the deals offered by host cricket clubs required players to carry out coaching work as well performing as a cricketer to earn their income: “I went in the late 1980s and you tended to have to do a bit of coaching as well, it was part of the deal. This reflected Oliver’s experience: “I had to cover my cost of living and I did a little bit of coaching out there as well at my club and that paid my way.”

The involvement of migrant cricketers in playing and training regimes whilst overseas provides one example of how migrants transfer their professional practices between their home and destination locations in the course of migration (Maller and Strengers 2013). In this instance, it would seem that transfer occurs with relative ease as procedures such as training and coaching with the locals are put in place in order to facilitate the transfer of professional practices.

The reverse occurs with professional practices transferred from the hosts to the migrants. This was an important impact of Aaron’s migration when he was 19 years old:

“You get away from people who have seen you play all your life and then you go and see someone else and they’ll tell you something different, and then you think about why they are saying that, you know what I mean? It helps you skills-wise just to get a different opinion”.

This senior role at club training and playing performances was recognised to develop a migrants’ personal responsibility. For instance Gareth, who migrated during the Proto-Professionalization Phase expressed:
“Cricket-wise the responsibility of actually being the one that people looked to was a good experience. I think it made me far more responsible as a player. It made me feel very special; you had to earn the right, you were out there and they were paying your airfares and your accommodation. When you add it up it’s a fair outlay and you had to earn the right to repay them through performance and contribution.”

Learning to cope with feelings of responsibility were subsequently important impacts of migration (Niopek et al. 2011), not only for the migrants themselves but also the employers and intermediaries. For example, Richard, a Director of Cricket, described how participating in temporary migration had impacted on his players:

“They seem to have more responsibility, self-responsibility. They seem to be a little more mature. I think a lot of the club systems abroad are quite strict, in terms of how many times they have to train, especially in Australia, it’s very disciplined”.

The importance of responsibility was raised by Ian, one of the Managing Directors at the ECB:

“When they go into the England team they are going to have to be self-determining, independent and have to be able to make really good decisions under pressure on and off the field and the need to be able to do that. If they can’t do that in the England team then they are not going to be successful”.

Alongside responsibility the migrants expressed feelings of pressure and expectations from their status as a migrant professional (Evans and Stead 2014). This was discussed by Will:

“You get tagged as being the overseas professional and you get that before you even turn up. So straightaway you’re in the side and you’re in and around training and everyone knows who you are. So there is expectation there, but I never felt any pressure doing it, I was just lucky enough to be doing something that I love. And all in all, it was good to
have that pressure because it makes you a lot stronger as a cricketer and as a person”.

Noah and Edward expressed similar feelings in relation to this pressure. First, Noah articulated: “I think sometimes you’re a bit of a target because you come with a bit of expectation, but apart from that I don’t think there were any problems with me playing as an overseas player”. Second, Edward noted: “I suppose people are always going to test you out to see what you are made of, but that is part and parcel of sport really”.

The idea of being tested out and targeted was shown to not only originate from the host cricket team, but also the opposition cricket teams. The reception that migrants received from the opposition teams was widely discussed. In some instances, the reception was expected to be more hostile than was experienced, as in most cases, the presence of the migrant was well accepted. Jack recalled: “I was expecting a lot worse from what people said. But it was all light-hearted and good natured. Even on the field, against the opposition there were no bad instances”. Like Jack, other migrants noted that, as the Englishman in the team, they were the target for jokes and comments made by the opposition in competitive situations. Nathan stated: “as an overseas person, you can be the brunt of the banter and jokes and stuff. But that is par for the course; if you went and you didn’t get that kind of talking too, then you might not feel you fit in [sic]”. This team-chat and so-called banter has previously been discussed in a cricket setting by Burdsey (2010) in his work on incidences of racism within English professional cricket. Like here, Burdsey notes how, within the team context, the boundaries of what is considered acceptable is blurred, with what may be deemed unacceptable in wider society (Oliver and Lusted 2014), accepted as a joke within the setting of a sports team.

All these aspects of professional development are facilitated by migration. Professionalization Phase migrants revealed how they hoped their sojourn to experience overseas environments would impact upon their careers in the future. First, Aaron described how he hoped that familiarity with the Australian cricket conditions may be beneficial in the future, if he were able to progress to playing for England:
“I think playing internationally you’re going to play in different countries, so if you’ve already been out there and experienced the climates and wickets and how they play out there, then it’s obviously going to have a beneficial effect on you isn’t it?”

Second, Brad expressed similar feelings:

“Because I am only young it is going to benefit me in the future, playing in these different kinds of conditions and having different experiences. I think it is a very worthwhile investment in yourself; to be going out there, to foreign countries to play cricket and gaining the experience in different conditions”.

This is an important acknowledgement from Brad who believed his migration to be an investment in himself (Bourdieu 1986) and his career; an investment he was able to make by travelling overseas to gain experiences he would not otherwise be able to have if he remained immobile in England.

Likewise, Tom referred to his time in Australia as a ‘stepping stone’ in his career:

“I think it’s a good stepping stone. I think everyone should really, if they are thinking of doing a sport, cricket, then I’d always suggest for them to go away and experience different places. I know I went back there three times, and I’d always suggest that if you get an opportunity to go and to go somewhere else, than take it”.

The concept of a stepping stone directly reflects Williams (2007b:374) when he writes: “In the context of cycles of migration, the stepping stones may not be to jobs in the destination, but via return migration to jobs in their country of origin”. In this case migrants are temporarily leaving professional cricket in the UK to play for a recreational cricket club in Australia. Whilst this appears to devalue their skills (Al-Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Bauder 2012) it is intended that it will enable accelerated development, and thus, career progression following the return home.

This was the case for Shaun who expressed: “I think because I went away, that was at the start of my career, so I think it just helped me kick-start my professional life, as far as training well and eating well, all that sort of stuff”. The importance of participating
in migration early in a career, like Shaun, has been demonstrated by Niopek et al. (2011) who encourage migration to take place early, prior to an individual becoming settled and set in their ways as a professional.

Like Shaun and Tom, Jamil spoke of his migration as acting as a transition period:

“At the time I didn’t actually know how good it was going to be and how it would affect me. But looking back on it, it was the best period of my cricketing career, the transition, the switch, what it did to me in such a short space of time was unbelievable”.

As with Shaun the “switch” that Jamil refers to occurred early on in his career as a professional cricketer and enabled him to progress his career upon his return to England. This was true for Edward, who described how he felt that his migration had had similar consequences:

“There were a lot of guys my age, so I was 18 who I was on a par with, but the experience of going away, growing up and making decisions for myself, I think it accelerated my progress and I think when I came back I was ahead of those guys... I knew I was a good school boy cricketer but it made me think I could do this game properly because I've travelled all the way around the world and I've still done well against men in a competitive environment. I’d go as far as saying I don’t think I’d have been a professional cricketer had I not taken that leap”.

Such impacts of migration have been identified in the literature, for example, Hamza (2010:53) considers migratory events such as these to be a “catalyst” for the development of the individual migrants. Likewise, Thorn (2009) notes that migration, between the ages 20-29 years old, is motivated by the opportunity to explore the self and discovering what an individual might become, a motive that is reflected in the impacts felt by Edward above. The impact of migration and how it was later considered to be a pivotal moment in the careers of individuals reflects the findings of Williams (2007b) who refers to such migrations as “transformational experiences” (p.372) and “significant-learning moments” (p.377). Whilst Tom, Shaun, Jamil and Edward all refer to the significance they felt that their migration had, in terms of
developing their skills, in order to enable career progression. Edward is more explicit in revealing the skills and confidence that he acquired during his migration as an 18 year old and attributes his subsequent success in his career as a professional cricketer to having undertaken a temporary migration. Yet, all these migrants considered their migrations to be a stepping stone in their career and a pivotal moment in their career trajectory.

Richardson and Mallon (2005:415) have previously demonstrated that migration can give individuals “the edge in career progression” and that there are positive implications of international experiences and these are findings that are all evident in the comments above. These views are in line with Cohen et al. (2012) who suggest that “career capital” can be gained through migration, as individuals demonstrate the ability to survive and perform in foreign environments.

Interestingly, it was not just the recent migrants that highlighted the importance of these experiences. Similar impacts of migration were noted by Dave and Tony, who were young migrants, early in their careers at the time of their trips to Australia during the Packer Phase. Dave reflected on his time in Perth: “I wouldn’t call it a finishing school, but it’s something, as I would call it, an apprenticeship [sic]. I credit my time in Perth as having a huge influence and a huge benefit on my career.” Similarly, Tony commented on his trips to Sydney:

“I was in what I would say sort of were my formative years and it helped enormously and turned me into without a doubt a better player. And, playing with some seriously good teams and with and around Test players on a regular basis. I always say that it sort of finished me off, it rounded me off as a player and probably gave me that sort of belief that I could go a little bit further”.

Tony attributes this transition and belief in his ability to progress his career to the conditions and situation in which he found himself in Australia. These conditions, as he noted, included competitive and regular cricket and exposure to senior players who had or were still playing for the Australian national team. The views of Dave and Tony on the opportunity to acquire and develops skills such as these, support findings from previous research on temporary migration, that identified the importance of gaining
situated knowledge and skills (Williams and Baláž 2005) and international experience (Hamza 2010) which become valuable assets upon returning home (Williams 2007a). Furthermore, the importance of overseas experiences for developing and progressing (Li et al. 1996) as an English professional cricketer reflects what Erel (2010:649) terms the “exchange value” of skills. In this case, the ability to perform successfully in Australia may not necessarily be valuable whilst in Australia, because of the number of individuals with similar skill-sets; however, upon return the reduced frequency of individuals with such skills means that the skill-set becomes more valuable.

It should be noted that skills acquired and developed overseas may not always be directly transferable between the different environments (Williams 2007b). Despite this, migrants noted that they were still able to draw on skills developed overseas and apply them in the home environment. Shane, who has had the opportunity to play and train in Australia and India, revealed:

“So when you’re playing a game here, when you think on this pitch I’m going to play, I’m going to remember that I did this drill in India it was like this, this is how I’m going to play this innings. Or it might be a quick bouncy pitch, and I remember working on this in Australia and this is similar to that. So, I guess it’s a way of drawing on experience, so it’s always going to be positive because you’ve always had that learning”.

Shane’s experience provides an example of how “acquired skills and knowledge from overseas may be transferred and used productively” (Ruhs 2006:26) upon return.

The individual migrants recognised how migration could specifically benefit their careers and improve their future job prospects (Williams and Baláž 2005). Ashley stated: “I think it helps, I think it will have a good effect down the line”. Yet, Henry, a Director of Cricket does not believe that migration to Australia alone would ordinarily influence this style of career progression:

“It could influence selection, but I don’t think that it does an awful lot. But it could be said, not so much Australia, because virtually everyone’s been to Australia, it’s the obvious one. But if someone has been to India
or Sri Lanka before and there was a team going there, then that might have an impact, because it is slightly more unique”.

Not only does this quotation provide an indication of the frequency with which English professional cricketers are incorporating temporary migration to Australia into their career trajectory, it suggests that there may be benefits to players who act as pioneers (Bakewell et al. 2012) and seek to undertake sojourns to other destination countries. Furthermore, the potential to acquire a range of location-specific skills (Millar and Salt 2007) has been shown to provide individuals with a comparative career advantage and aid further development (Constant and Zimmerman 2007) which may, in the future, be evident in professional cricket as individuals seek overseas experiences in multiple countries. Experiences in foreign environments can be important for an individual’s professional reputation, which was shown by Mahroum (2000) to be the case for research scientists whose mobility allowed them to gain credibility.

8.3.5.1 Professional life and the role of home employers

The life of a professional cricketer continued to be influenced by their home employers throughout their migration (Koser and Salt 1997). Comments from both the migrants themselves and their employers demonstrated that control and regulation by the county club does not cease once permission has been granted for a player to go overseas. In relation to this Jeff commented:

“We’ll monitor them regularly and we expect results back on their fitness tests. We email them every other week so we keep in close contact with them... We’d given them a plan, technical and physical, and we’ll give them this plan which we would obviously expect them to adhere to whilst they are away. It could be something significant like playing spin or playing a shot or it could be trying to develop a new delivery when they bowl or it could actually just be keeping them ticking over.”

Likewise, Peter noted that at his county as well, players were provided with clear objectives for their migration:
“They’d have a programme, our strength and conditioning coach would give them a training programme to carry out during the winter. They’d have a set of results, they’d get tested at the end of the season and they’d get a set of results and targets for the start of the next season, so it’s really specific, what they should be doing and what their targets are. And similarly with cricket, like I said, we’d sit down at the end of the season, and say how it’s gone and what you’ve done well, these are the areas where you still need to improve, what are you going to do to improve them? So they’d have a structured idea about what they were working on.”

Here, both Jeff and Peter, who are Directors of Cricket at their respective counties, highlight that there are cricket specific aspects to what is expected of players in the winter and combined with this there were clear fitness directives for the migrants. In order to regulate these programmes and ensure that they are being adhered to, other Directors of Cricket, including Don, Kevin and Henry, stated how frequently they would expect to be in contact with players whilst they are in Australia. Don summarised: “We are in regular contact with the players and what they are doing, you know fitness levels, how many runs or wickets they’ve scored, how many overs they are bowling. So there’s plenty of dialogue between both parties.” Kevin was more specific about the frequency of this contact:

“As far as contact, the players are all asked to report back to all the support team and myself once a week. And I have a round-robin every couple of months ringing round everybody who is abroad, every six weeks or so just to touch base with them and make sure that everything is alright.”

Henry indicated that he had less specifically professional contact with his players, but emphasised the significance of social media (Horst 2006; Dekker and Engbersen 2014) in helping him remain in contact with players: “Now with Twitter, Facebook and Skype and all that, it would be reasonably regular contact, but I don’t tend to bug them. Perhaps you could say once a month I suppose.” Paul agreed that social media now plays an important role in monitoring migration:
“In modern times you can have daily contact with a player if you want. Emails, Facebook, Twitter, they are there all the time so it is very easy to know what they are doing all the time, get the programmes emailed, get copied into emails [sic]. It’s as though they are in the next room now.”

The frequency of contact was something that was discussed by the migrants, but the data implied that contact was flexible and varied between players. Adam noted “I had quite a bit of contact with the coaches. Well just a couple of times a month just to see how I was getting on and they sent me through training programmes.” Greg had a similar experience: “there was some responsibility to report back to the club as, you know, they were kind of looking over me and looking out for me. But it was nothing too rigid.” Oliver and Toby had sporadic contact with coaches. Oliver suggested that he believed this to be because he was on a programme at the DLCA:

“It wasn’t massive amounts. They checked in a few times with me. They stayed in contact with the head coach at the Academy so they knew what I was up to, how my fitness was and how I was going cricket-wise. And I think they were getting reports constantly from him so I only got a few emails off them to see how I was.”

Toby was a more senior player when he migrated to Sydney and attributed his level of contact with coaches to this:

“Yes, I was in email contact, but they pretty much left me too it actually. I think really the expectation is that you should be responsible for your training and come back in decent condition. You know you’ve got a fitness test pretty much as soon as you get back so you have to do the training because if you don’t you’re going to get found out pretty quickly. It would stand out massively if you haven’t done what you’re supposed to have done.”

Josh described a similar experience to Toby and articulated that he believed that as professional cricketers there was an expectation to act as such even if they are away from their county club during the winter:
“Every time that I’ve been away I’ve been given a booklet to do and sort of stick to it. That’s pretty much it really; they just leave us to it really whilst we’re over there. They don’t really get in contact, I think you’re just expected to come back, it’s a professional sport now, so you’re expected to come back in the best shape possible. It’s about being a professional, there’s no good him keep ringing you up all the time.”

In this quotation Josh refers to having been given a booklet, this was a common feature with players frequently referring to fitness programmes and booklets that they received prior to migration. Chris noted: “I had a booklet that I took out with me that I had to follow, it had all my fitness in as well, so that was all pretty well taken care of.” George received a similar programme, but noted that his included training regimes to address some cricket-specific technical points:

“They gave me a fitness programme to try and complete and targets to meet by the time I got back. There were a couple of technical points that I needed to keep on top of but there wasn’t anything really specific that I had to work on out there.”

Technical improvements, such as the one that George refers to here, were not the only cricketing specifics that employers looked to regulate whilst players were overseas. Alfie revealed that for him his club had specified:

“The only thing was that they wanted me to bat high-up [sic], so I opened the batting out there, which I hadn’t really done before. So I think that was the main one.”

Bowlers, including Stuart and Josh noted that they had their activity controlled, but for them it was not about acquiring new skills, it was about restricting their participation so that the home employer was regulating their workload throughout the winter. Stuart stated:

“You know, there’s odd emails that are mostly, they want to know that I’m fit, that I’ve not got any injuries and that I’m not over bowling. They are the main things, certainly this year, they wanted information, they don’t want me bowling 35 overs on Saturday or in fact they don’t even
want me bowling 20 overs on a Saturday. So you know, there was an example this year, I think I bowled 25 overs in my first game over there, so obviously I wasn’t cricket fit, because I’d had a couple of, may be four weeks without bowling, so I went into the first game, bowled 25 overs and the physio was straight on the email because he’d seen the scorecard... So I suppose they keep an eye but they don’t, they’re not, they don’t pester me, don’t badger me [sic].”

In much the same way Josh revealed:

“If I’ve had a busy season, say I bowled three or four hundred overs, then that will affect the number of overs they want me to bowl abroad. So that’s normally something that clubs do understand and generally do stick to it. But I have been pushed in the past to do more.”

It is significant here that Josh recognises that there was a conflict between his employers in England and the club who hosted him in Australia. This highlights the importance of regulating migration and how it can be successfully implemented to benefit, the migrant, their home employer and the Australian host club.

8.3.5.2 Professional Life and Other Impacts of Migration

Whilst many of the outcomes of migration were recognised to have impacts soon after returning to the UK, the migrants indicated that economic rewards for their investment in migration may take longer to achieve. When asked about the financial impacts, migrants often drew comparisons with the recently established Twenty20 leagues, including the IPL. These are now considered to be the leagues into which temporary migration is required in order to acquire significant economic capital. Greg noted: “there is a lot of financial benefit to those competitions, the IPL and the Big Bash” and Martin recognised that: “the motivation to play in the Twenty20 is to maximise your earning capacity... that’s much less a developmental thing, it’s more of a commercial choice”. For these reasons, migrants like Josh revealed that if they were seeking economic impacts to their migration they would look to be involved in these competitions: “I want to try and be involved in every single competition I can be. I think all the IPL deals, worth millions of pounds, you want to be involved don’t you?”.
This focus on the economic and commercial benefits of participating in the IPL and similar leagues suggests that the Professionalization Phase migrants did not consider their migration to Australia to be an opportunity to acquire income *per se*. Instead, it was a chance to develop and refine skills that would enable career progression, which may, in the long term, provide them with the chance to participate in the more commercialised competitions.

Finally, it is important to note that whilst the cases provided so far have demonstrated positive impacts of migration and how it can influence career progression, there was one significant acknowledgment of how migration has the potential to be detrimental to career progression. This was noted by Chris who revealed the outcome of his first migration to Sydney:

“*I felt a little bit, when I came back from being away, that because I hadn’t been under the eye of the coaches, they had people that they had in mind to play, because they’d been watching them indoors. And I felt that, I did pretty well in the grade competition, which is a tough competition, and yet I was still nowhere really with the coaches. So a little bit of me felt that it was a bit of a political thing, I felt that if I’d have stayed back, I’d have been in a better position to start out in the first team. The phrase out-of-sight, out-of-mind might have prevailed there slightly*”.

Chris’ experience that he describes here contrasts to that of others who, as it has previously been shown, felt that their migrations had directly contributed to them gaining a place in the first team at the start of the season having played consistently outdoors through the winter. However, it does suggest that in some cases migration does not aid career progression and can, in fact, hinder progression instead.

Whilst these are just two further impacts of migration they are important to note given that they provide a different view to the potential impacts of skilled migration. First, the impact of the IPL and other Twenty20 leagues demonstrate how the changing nature of the cricket industry is already influencing migration and how it may evolve to have a greater influence in the future. Second, the experience of Chris provides the only definitively negative impact of migration following the return to the
UK. Despite this being a seemingly unusual occurrence it is necessary to recognise how migration motivated by long-term career progression motives may not achieve the desired impacts.

8.4 Discussion

This chapter sought to provide an insight into the realities and impacts of elite cricket professionals undertaking temporary, seasonal, international migration. In doing so, the chapter answers calls for further consideration of the lived experiences of migrants (Ley 2004; Ho and Hatfield 2011), their personal and professional practices (Rogers 2005) and how this contributes to skill production and circulation (Raghuram 2008). In order to contribute to these issues, the chapter first addressed the role and impacts of the family on migration. Second, the social experiences of the migrant whilst they were overseas were examined. Third, professional practices were investigated and together these components provide a detailed insight into the lived realities and impacts of migration.

This chapter began by considering the role and impacts of migration on the individual and their families. It was demonstrated how migration accompanied by a spouse and, in some cases children, has become comparatively less common since the Packer Phase. However, for those migrants who were accompanied for the duration of migration, the outcomes were generally shown to be positive. Family did not appear to significantly alter the behaviour and practices of the migrant whilst overseas. The most important influence appeared to be on networking, notably when children migrated and encouraged migrants to socialise with other families (Ryan and Mulholland 2014a, Froese 2012). In most cases these were shown to be local, Australian families, which contrasts with previous findings in the literature where partners and families have been shown to encourage integration into existing expatriate communities (Beaverstock 2005).

Family, both those who accompany migrants on their sojourn and those who are immobile, were shown to have a significant influence on the decision-making processes. In the case of Greg, who migrated during the Professionalization Phase with his fiancé and young daughter, his partner was shown to contest traditional
understandings of the trailing spouse (Harvey 2011a) given her role in migration decision-making. More generally, the family were shown to be a key factor in the decision to curtail repeated migration, for example, when commitments to home, including school-age children or a mortgage, take precedence. This finding is in line with previous understandings of changing priorities as individuals move through the life-course (e.g. Castles 2004; Coulter and Scott 2014). The evidence in this case study is particularly reflective of Ackers (2005, 2008) concept of “foot-loose” and “sticky” migrant individuals, as their commitments to a specific location increase. The “foot-loose” migrants in this study are frequently young and are free of any of the aforementioned commitments and view their migration as an individualistic experience. Yet, they recognise that, in the future, as they progress through the life-course, others, including spouses and children will become their primary consideration and render them “sticky”.

Despite what might perhaps be expected of this elite cohort, the migrants spoke openly of their struggles with relationships and the negative aspects of temporary, seasonal migration. These were impacts that were shown to affect both the migrants themselves and any accompanying family, as well as those family and friends who were immobile and remained in the UK. The findings presented here consequently contribute to Conradson and Latham’s (2005) call for further studies considering the impact of migration on kinship, and provides empirical evidence that supports Ley’s (2004:158) assertion that family separation, due to migration, frequently results in the break-up of relationships. However, separation was not the only reason cited by migrants that resulted in the conclusion of long-term relationships. For example, Shaun indicated that temporary migration had led to the realisation that he wished to focus upon his career, whilst he was still establishing himself as professional. Sacrifices such as these were acknowledged by a number of migrants, but they felt the sacrifices they were making were necessary and beneficial in order for them to successfully progress their careers. If temporary, international migration does become an increasingly significant component in establishing a career as a skilled worker then further research is required to fully understand the sacrifices that migrants feel that they are making and how this impacts on their relationships with family and friends.
In the course of this chapter a relationship between issues related to homesickness, boredom and isolation emerged. Some of the underlying causes of these issues were shown to relate to differences between the imagined image of the destination and the reality of the host location. This is a discrepancy that has recently been highlighted by Beech (2014) and the emergence of similar discrepancy here, and the problems that arise from it would suggest that it may be a more widespread issue that warrants further research. Many of the migrants in this case study noted that the struggles they experienced in the course of migration were important learning moments. Learning to overcome or cope with struggles with homesickness, for instance, was felt to be a skill that needed to be developed to enable them to successfully progress their careers, as a career as a professional cricketer frequently requires individuals to spend long periods of time away from home (Findlay et al. 2012). Other struggles with boredom and isolation enabled coping strategies to be established (Clarke 2005) as migrants were, for example, able to draw on past experiences and arrange any future migrations that would negate feelings of isolation.

The recognition of these struggles represents an important contribution to literature as they have not previously been subject to rigorous study. This is particularly the case for studies of boredom, as highlighted by Anderson (2004) and Pile (2010). Feelings of boredom and homesickness have been shown here to be somewhat negated through technology such as Facebook, Twitter and Skype, that allow immediate, regular and low-cost contact with home. However, the potential for struggles with such emotions and subsequent impacts would benefit from further study in other occupations and migration cohorts. Anecdotal evidence provided by the migrants in this study would suggest that emotional struggles whilst overseas impact upon professional performances. Given that it has been shown that home employers as well as the host cricket club and other intermediaries are investing in migration it would be beneficial to fully understand this relationship, to help realise the greatest possible impacts of such investment.

In giving consideration to the everyday personal and professional lives of these migrants it has been possible to establish the importance of acceptance and integration into the host community. Successful integration was shown, in this case, to
have both on-field – cricketing performance aspects - and off-field – cricket club involvement aspects, for example. Integration into the host community was shown to be atypical of other temporary, skilled migration case studies. Traditionally, temporary, skilled migrants have been shown to reside and integrate into existing expatriate enclaves (Beaverstock 2002, 2005; Ryan and Mulholland 2014a). However, in these examples, whilst there may be other migrants locally, in most cases migrants are required to, and do, successfully integrate into the host community, which was recognised to be beneficial for both personal and professional experiences whilst overseas. This finding is contrary to what would perhaps be expected given the short-term nature of the temporary migration (Beaverstock 2011).

Migration was shown to provide opportunities for personal and professional development, reflecting the motives stated by the skilled workers, their employers and intermediaries in Chapters 5 and 6. These elements of personal development include: self-confidence; self-reliance; independence; maturity and adaptability (e.g. Williams and Baláž 2005; Williams 2007b: Niopek et al. 2011; Yang et al. 2011; Lyons et al. 2012). The opportunity to develop these skills, alongside investing in professional training revealed migration to be a pivotal moment in an individual’s career.

Temporary migration can be a transformational experience (Williams 2007b) and a catalyst (Hamza 2010) for further career progression. Whilst caution has been noted regarding the exchange value of skills (Erel 2010), the data here would suggest that despite migrants moving from a professional cricket environment in the UK to a recreational environment in Australia, they are able to realise the full value of their skills upon completing return migration to the UK (Williams 2007b).

This chapter examined the level of control and regulation that is exercised on the migrants by their home employers throughout the duration of their migration. Whilst this could be seen to be a conflict between the interests of the home county and the host club, who have both invested in the migrant, the data would suggest that there was an acceptance and understanding between these two parties for regulation and control to be in the best interest of the individual migrant. The control exercised by the home employers can be seen to reflect the professionalization of cricket as a twelve-month occupation. The Packer Phase and Proto-Professionalization Phase
migrants indicated that they had little contact with their home counties whilst overseas, but the Professionalization Phase migrants were shown to have frequent contact with home, which utilised a variety of technologies. This, in itself, reflects wider changes with technological improvements enabling this contact (Thulin and Velhelmsen 2014) and increased control. However, it demonstrates that despite the assertion that technological change would negate the need for migration (Findlay and Gould 1989), physical re-location is still necessary for these migrants, but the nature of the migration has evolved to embrace technological and occupational change.

Throughout the chapter it has been shown that temporary migration is not always a positive and enjoyable experience. From the point of view of the family, it was apparent that migration was a beneficial experience for accompanying family. However there was evidence of relationship struggles and ultimately, relationship breakdown and an acceptance of the impact on the wider family left behind in the UK. It became apparent that the daily realities of life ‘Down Under’ may not always be as imagined prior to migration (Beech 2014). Feelings of homesickness, boredom, isolation and living for the weekend were widespread. Likewise, the struggles to integrate and adapt to professional life overseas were conveyed by migrants. However, on reflection, in most cases, experiencing and overcoming these challenges was recognised to be a decisive moment in a professional career. There was a consensus amongst the migrants that, in order to triumph and have a successful career, it was necessary to experience this adversity, and learn to overcome it.
9. Discussion and Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has investigated the importance of temporary, seasonal, international migration for the upward career progression of skilled individuals, using a case study of UK-based cricket professionals migrating to Australia. The chapter returns to the aim and objectives of this thesis, and discusses some of the key findings. Most importantly, the original contributions to academic knowledge within the fields of study are presented. Some suggestions for future research are also outlined, before providing a final conclusion to this thesis.

9.2 Key Findings: Aim and Objectives

This thesis aimed to investigate the importance of temporary, seasonal, international migration for the upward career trajectories of skilled individuals. Using the case study of UK-based cricket professionals, the objectives of the research first examine the motives for migration of the skilled workers, their employers and intermediaries. Second, the processes of identification, selection, recruitment and regulation of migration are explored. Third, the impacts of undertaking temporary, seasonal, international migration on the career trajectories of professional cricketers are revealed. In doing so, the thesis draws upon existing scholarship on highly-skilled and temporary migration, as well as academic literature on career development. The case study that was adopted to explore this phenomenon was the seasonal migration of UK-based cricket professionals to Australia, given this case study signifies an under-researched area of geography and migration studies. Consequently, this thesis has engaged with pre-existing sociological scholarship that has investigated sport-led migration.

The case study enabled a historical-temporal perspective of the migration flow to be investigated. Drawing on the academic scholarship on skilled migration presented in Chapter 2, and the social-historical context of the professional cricket presented in Chapter 3, a three phase model of the migration flow was developed and utilised throughout the research. In line with their defining characteristics the three phrases
were termed: the Packer Phase (1975-1980); the Proto-Professionalization Phase (1981-2000), and; the Professionalization Phase (2001-Present).

The first research objective was addressed in Chapters 5 and 6 using Bourdieu’s notions of economic, cultural and symbolic capital were used to conceptualise the changing importance of the different motives for migration during the three periods of migration. Migration motives understood as being related to the acquisition of (embodied) cultural capital were the most frequently emphasised, by migrants from all three phases. Economic capital motives were most pronounced during the Packer Phase, and there was a comparative decrease in their importance over time. For the employers and the governing body intermediaries, who were able to inform on the migration flow the Professionalization Period, the importance of enabling career progression, and thus the accumulation of symbolic capital, was relatively prominent.

The findings related to the second research objective were presented in Chapter 7, by exploring the processes and pathways of migration. Migration pathways were shown to be complex and, frequently, the precise processes were unique to each individual migrant. Throughout the migration process a variety of actors and institutions are involved in both the home and destination country, and all stages of the pathway are subject to regulations that enable and constrain migration. In exploring these regulations, it was demonstrated that there were multiple contradictions between different actors and individuals.

Chapter 8 revealed the processes, experiences and impacts of being a migrant that were addressed in the third research objective. In doing so the chapter considered the impacts on relationships with friends and families, personal and professional practices whilst overseas and the resulting production and circulation of skills. Ultimately, migrants suggested that consistent playing of cricket enabled skill development, and, consequently, career progression upon return from temporary, seasonal migration.

Therefore, using the case study of UK-based cricket professionals the findings reveal that there has been a shift in normative behaviours with an increasing number of individuals undertaking temporary, international migration. Whilst it would appear that there is no definitive need to partake in migration, with alternative career
trajectories still possible, migration is an increasingly common aspect of a professional cricketer’s career trajectory.

When considering the development of this form of migration, from 1975-present, it is evident that there is now a fuller emphasis on personal and professional development (acquisition of embodied cultural capital) in the course of migration, to facilitate career progression (acquisition of symbolic capital) on return to the UK. This shift in focus has been enabled and encouraged by the increasing levels of professionalism in cricket. The introduction of twelve month contracts (King 2011), which coincided with the start of the Professionalization Phase of this migration flow, has resulted in a year-round commitment to cricket as a professional occupation and thus, continual progression and development of individuals. This represents a change from earlier migrations, which occurred during the Packer and Proto-Professionalization Phases, when professional cricket was only a six month occupation, and migration decisions were centred on the need to make a living during the winter. The development of the migration flow has also been influenced by changes in global communications and technology (Dicken 2011), which has increased the ease with which it is possible to arrange and undertake temporary, seasonal migration on a global scale.

It is clear that in this occupation, and it has been shown to be the case for others in existing scholarship (Salt and Wood 2012; Ryan and Mulholland 2014b), that undertaking temporary, international migration provides developmental opportunities that would not otherwise be available in the place of origin. These motives have been shown to encompass both material and immaterial dimensions for migration; as the playing conditions and climatic environment cannot be replicated in the UK due to the contrasting seasons in Australia. Furthermore, migration can be effectively understood as an opportunity to allow individuals to experience a foreign business environment; a motive for migration that has previously been demonstrated in other occupations (Findlay 2002; Richardson and Mallon 2005).

Temporary migration has also been shown to provide an opportunity for personal development (Williams and Baláž 2005; Niopek et al. 2011), enabling migrants to acquire embodied cultural capital by developing skills and attributes including independence, maturity, self-reliance and other social skills (Williams 2007b). These
skills, as well as the opportunities noted above, are all attributes deemed necessary to enable career progression, and their acquisition is facilitated by undertaking an overseas sojourn. This demonstrates the relationship between temporary, international migration and upward career trajectories in cricket. The data shows that such a relationship is likely to continue with interview participants, indicating that they perceived the flow as a tradition within the occupation (Vertovec 2002), and that the outcomes of migration cannot be adequately achieved through an alternative means.

These findings all contribute to questions that have previously been asked in international migration research, notably Raghuram’s (2008) call for research into the processes of skill production and circulation during temporary migration. Likewise, Cohen et al. (2011) and Bauder (2012) have acknowledged that further work is required regarding the value of skills as they are transferred during migration. By utilising Bourdieu’s (1986) notions of capital as an analytical framework it has been possible to provide a more nuanced understanding of skills, how they are circulated and how their value fluctuates during temporary migration. The migrants in this case study were employed as professionals in the home country, and given the existence of twelve-month contracts in contemporary county cricket, they remain professionals throughout migration. Despite retaining professional status in the UK, whilst in Australia, migrants are playing cricket at a recreational level, with amateur status, which would perhaps suggest a devaluation and underutilisation of skills when they are being applied in the migratory context (Bauder 2012).

In the course of migration, it was identified that embodied cultural capital was being accumulated, as skills were acquired and developed in settings that were unavailable without migration. Upon returning to the UK, the newly acquired cultural capital enabled career progression, which in this study was conceptualised as accumulating symbolic capital, as the embodied cultural capital was recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu 1989). In enabling both embodied cultural capital and subsequently symbolic capital to be acquired it adds value to an individual’s total stock of skills as a consequence of migration (Dustmann et al. 2011). Therefore, it may be that skills are temporarily devalued or under-utilised in migration, but this is counteracted by an
overall increase in the value of personal and professional skills following return migration.

This finding has implications for the existing terminology and conceptualisations of what comprises a highly-skilled individual as outlined in Section 2.3. As demonstrated above, in this case study, migration was shown to be motivated by, and result in, migrants acquiring and developing skills. Thus, if skilling processes are occurring in the course of migration, it would suggest that it is unhelpful to classify migrants as highly-skilled at the outset, as traditional conceptualisations of migrants do not allow for a classification as possessing a skill-set that is superior to this. The decision to classify the individuals in this research as skilled workers at the time of their migration is ratified as they are able to become highly-skilled individuals, as an outcome of their migration, or at a later stage of their career.

Further questions have been raised in existing migration scholarship regarding the temporal dimension of skilled migration. In this instance, the concept of seasons and seasonality were problematized in Chapter 2, and the empirical findings of this study are able to contribute to the debates presented in this discussion. It is evident that the temporary migration occurring in this case study is climatically and culturally controlled by the weather conditions and the season during which cricket is played in the UK and Australia (Higham and Hinch 2002). During the Packer Phase and the Proto-Professionalization Phase migration occurred on a seasonal basis with migrants resident in each country for the duration of the respective cricket seasons, when professional cricket was a six month occupation. Technological improvements have since increased the feasibility of shorter-term migratory flows and these changes have occurred in conjunction with greater levels of professionalization and regulatory control which have had a tendency to reduce the duration of temporary migration (Beaverstock and Hall 2012). Technological change, professionalization and regulatory control, are all processes that are commonly associated with globalization and (Herod 2002; Dicken 2011), thus provide an insight into the evolution of migratory activity in skilled occupations as a consequence of globalization (Smith and King 2012).

Yet, it would seem that it is problematic to define a migration flow as being seasonal. Instead, the findings support the assertion that examining and defining temporary
flows by their duration is beneficial (Hanson and Bell 2007), and would enable a more detailed insight into contemporary migratory activity. Furthermore, it would seem necessary to give greater consideration to sojourns of a similar duration to those in this study. Existing research has focused upon business travel and mobility that is days or weeks in length (Salt 2008), or secondments that are normally one-to-three years long (Bell and Ward 2000). When setting their research agenda, Findlay and Gould (1989) acknowledge the shift in the temporal axis of skilled migration towards business travel and increasingly short-term migration. This shift was seen to be a marker of professionalization processes in relation to globalization and an emerging feature of the highly-structured contemporary labour markets. Since this research has demonstrated that personal and professional development can take place during a migration of three to six months in duration, further research is required in other skilled occupations to investigate the transferability of the findings from this study.

In giving consideration to migration processes, it was possible to examine how sojourns occur and how they are regulated and controlled at multiple spatial and temporal scales. Significantly, the case study of cricket professionals has highlighted how growing professionalization has influenced migration, with evidence of increased regulation by home employers prior to, and in the course of, migration. Furthermore, unlike other skilled migration flows it is apparent that the migrant has an important role in organizing the migration, with individuals frequently responsible for arranging their sojourn. This contrasts with skilled migrants participating in ICTs where it would be more common for employers to arrange the secondment package (Beaverstock 2011). The role of the migrant in the early stages of the migration process resembles the role of the individual in migrations defined as self-initiated expatriations (Inkson et al. 1997; Suutari and Brewster 2000), an emerging form of migration in the literature, indicating that personal organization of temporary, international migration within skilled occupations may be more widespread than previously acknowledged.

As a consequence of this personal responsibility for organising a temporary migration, the developing role of information and communication technologies in skilled migration was demonstrated (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Thulin and Vilhelmson 2014). The internet, specifically email and social networking websites, such as
Facebook, were cited as tools that were used to make arrangements for migration and to liaise with the host cricket club prior to arrival in Australia. Similarly, once overseas, online communication was widely used by migrants to maintain transnational social networks. Software and websites including Facebook, Twitter and Skype were utilised by migrants and their employers to remain in contact during migration, allowing employers to exercise control throughout. The impacts of other aspects of control and regulations that influence the migration process (Castles 2004) have been highlighted in this study. The multiple scales and sources of regulations, as well as the apparent contradictions between different regulating institutions, demonstrate that it is important to acknowledge the regulations governing temporary migration (Raghuram and Kofman 2002; Gabriel and Pellerin 2008), to realise their potential impact on career progression.

The empirical chapters illuminated motives for skilled migration that highlight the imagined reality that potential migrants believe will be encountered in the course of migration. The findings reflect existing skilled migration scholarship, which is primarily focused upon conceptualisations of the benefits and positive outcomes that result from a temporary adventure to a global city (Khoo et al. 2011). However, it would appear that it is necessary to look more critically at processes of skilled migration. Scholarship that has acknowledged the potential for sacrifices and struggles in the course of migration is limited to studies of low and unskilled migrations (e.g. Pratt 2012, Thomas and Adhikary 2012). Meanwhile, skilled migration has commonly been conceptualised as an activity that is positive, exciting, rewarding and an adventure (Khoo et al. 2011). It may be that skilled migration is, with hindsight, all of these; yet is it too simplistic to understand migration by skilled individuals to be entirely positive and that the reality is as imagined prior to migration?

The evidence from this case study would suggest that it is necessary to deal with adversity, in the form of difficult experiences and sacrifices, in order triumph and succeed. As well as the personal difficulties and struggles that occur in the course of migration, using Bourdieu’s notions of capital, in order to provide a more nuanced understanding of skills, the findings indicate that skills too may be devalued or underutilised whilst overseas. Consequently, existing conceptualisations of skilled
migration that neglect the potential for struggles and failure would appear to be insufficient. In order to realise fully the benefits of temporary migration for individuals and their employers, it is necessary to acknowledge and understand the potential for struggle and skill devaluation and how these can be experienced and negotiated so that migration is, overall, a beneficial and positive undertaking.

When examining the impact and outcomes of migration it is clear that there are benefits to undertaking temporary migration and that there can be both intended and unintended positive outcomes. This finding is in line with other studies of skilled migration, where secondments are understood to be beneficial for both the individual and their employers (Castles and Ozkul 2014). However, the findings from this research suggest that in order to gain these positive impacts it is necessary to experience and overcome the trials and struggles (Scott 2006) that are an important aspect of international migration.

In many cases, following return to the UK, migrants recognised that it was having these experiences and learning how to negotiate and overcome them that was, in the long-term, the most important outcome of their time overseas. Whilst occupationally-specific impacts of migration were widely cited, it was these personal experiences that migrants recognised to be key to them succeeding as a professional. This finding answers Morano-Foadi’s (2005:145) question: “is mobility a criteria that in itself enables progression, ie. Evidence of mobility on the CV or is it impacts of mobility?”; as migrants are suggesting that they feel it is the experiences of migration that are central to them progressing their careers. Furthermore, experiencing such trials and struggles, that result from independent, and frequently individualistic, migratory activity is something that cannot be achieved through immobility, when migrants remain in the home country with their home employer.

Findlay and Gould’s (1989) landmark paper established an agenda for skilled migration research, which provided an important anchor for this thesis. From this starting point, three key research areas have been addressed. First, the thesis has provided an insight of the impacts of returning British skilled migrants in the UK, by investigating the outcomes of migration from the point of view of the migrant, their employer and other intermediaries. Second, this thesis, undertaken twenty-five years after the
publication of Findlay and Gould (1989), has shed light on the influence of telecommunication developments within processes of skilled migration. Crucially, it has been shown that developments to telecommunications have not reduced the need to undertake temporary migration. Yet, it is clear that telecommunications play an important role throughout the migration process, including the organization of a sojourn and the maintenance of transnational family, social and professional networks whilst overseas. Third, Findlay and Gould (1989:8) state: “impact issues as a whole probably form the most important aspect of skilled labour migration demanding attention”. Within this impact framework, three particular areas are identified as requiring further research and the approach adopted in this study enables all three to be addressed. At the individual scale, this study has furthered understandings of the social and psychological impacts that migration can have on the individual and their family. Impacts on employers and institutions have also been explored as well as the social, economic and political impacts on the home and host regions through processes such as skill and knowledge transfer. Therefore, this thesis has provided empirical findings that both supports existing research on skilled migration, as well as providing an original insight into a number of aspects of the migration process. These original insights will be outlined in the following section to demonstrate the key contributions to knowledge made by this thesis.

9.3 Key Contributions to Knowledge

By investigating the importance of temporary, seasonal, international migration on the upward career trajectory of skilled individuals, using a case study of cricket professionals, this thesis has made a contribution in three distinct areas of academic knowledge. First, by considering the apparent changes in normative career trajectories a contribution has been made to understandings of the skilled and highly-skilled in migration research. As highlighted in Chapter 2, prior research on contemporary highly-skilled migration has demonstrated that the internationalization of business practices and the growth of TNCs that operate across numerous countries means, that within many industrial sectors, employees are required to have knowledge, and increasingly, experience of a company’s international operations (Beaverstock 2012; Findlay 2002; Salt and Wood 2012). In order to provide employees with opportunities
to acquire and develop this knowledge and experience many international businesses include overseas secondments in their employee training programmes (Faulconbridge and Hall 2012). The research has examined how skilled individuals are able to express existing skills during overseas migration, as well as acquiring new skills that can only be developed by being mobile.

Within scholarship on career development and progression in skilled occupations there has been an increasing recognition of the significance of the shift away from traditional career constructs (Sullivan et al. 1998). Ayres (2006:17) defines the traditional career path as one that:

“emphasised upward movement in an organisation... centred on the concept of a profession and involved the acceptance of qualifications, regular incremental advancement and a degree of certainty regarding prospects.”

These career paths were stable and linear (Baruch 2006), whereas contemporary constructs are multi-dimensional and develop beyond the boundaries of a single organizational or occupational setting (Collin and Young 2000). These new flexible career structures (McDonald et al. 2004) have emerged alongside increasing opportunities for international mobility (Richardson 2009) which has occurred as a result of changes to “economic, technological, and social aspects affecting organizational and system boundaries” (Weber and Ladkin 2008:451). The other issue that has been highlighted, in light of these industrial changes, is the increasing importance of employee agency in controlling their career progression (McDonald et al. 2004; Ayres 2006). Richardson (2009) indicates that this change is already evident in academic careers and Morano-Foadi (2005) suggests that in scientific research careers, mobility is a necessity rather than a choice given structural constrains on employment opportunities and requirements for career progression.

By drawing on both the literature on skilled migration and career progression, the case study of cricket professionals provides a contribution by demonstrating that normative career trajectories have shifted in-line with these changing business practices. For cricket, the empirical evidence indicates that the career trajectory that enables individuals to reach the top of the professional cricket career hierarchy requires
international experience that can only be gained through temporary, international migration. It is likely that this finding will have salience for the other professions given the similarities between the case study and other skilled occupations.

Second, the use of a case study on a sport-led migration has enhanced the empirical, theoretical and conceptual contributions of this thesis. The case study of cricket professionals was shown to address the need to investigate “Category H – Entertainers, Sportspeople and Artists” of Salt’s (1997) typology of the highly-skilled. In doing so, this study introduced a new occupational sector to geographical research on skilled migration, whilst also informing on temporary migratory activity with a period of three-to-six months being spent overseas.

The case study of a sport-led migration added a further interdisciplinary strand to this research. This reflects the recognition of Elliott and Maguire (2008a) that there is scope for, and important benefits to be gained from, a synthesis between sociological studies of sport and wider research on the skilled and highly-skilled. From a sociological perspective, Elliott and Maguire (2008b) have highlighted the similarities that exist between sports labour migration and migration in other highly-skilled occupations. From a geographical standpoint, this study has corroborated their findings, with similarities identified in migration motives, processes and outcomes. Further, in a recent analysis of sociology of sport publications over the last twenty-five years, Dart (2014) summarises the state of the field as an “open, interdisciplinary field that has sought to incorporate elements from education, philosophy, social psychology, history and economics”. Geography is a surprising omission from this list, as studies such as this thesis have highlighted the potential of engagement with geography in future sociological studies of sport and vice versa. This observation, together the findings from this thesis, and the work of Elliott and Maguire (2008a,b), would suggest that there are theoretical, conceptual and empirical benefits to be gained from further studies via an integration of sociological and geographical knowledge.

Third, using a three phase model to consider contemporary and historical development of migration in cricket has demonstrated how changing processes of professionalization have impacted on migratory activity (see Figure 9.1). Through the addition of the historical-temporal aspect to studying the temporary, seasonal,
international migration of cricket professionals, it can be seen how cricket has changed under conditions of globalization alongside smaller scale developments, initiated by both employers and intermediaries, and the migrant cricketers.

When exploring the motives, processes and outcomes it is evident that the development of temporary migration within cricket is complex. In the pioneering phase of this flow, the Packer Phase, the empirical findings demonstrate that globalization, ease of travel and the increasing international outlook of sport encouraged the recruitment of established UK-based professionals by cricket teams in Australia. The changing nature of cricket as a consequence of the Packer Revolution (Steen 2009) in first phase influenced migratory behaviour during the Proto-Professionalization Phase. The persistence of six month contracts in County Cricket (Stewart 2012a) meant that migration, in order to maintain an income from playing cricket, was an attractive opportunity. Continued development and the introduction of twelve month contracts enabled cricket to become a fully-professionalized occupation during the third, Professionalization, Phase. The extent of this professionalization resulted in changes to the migration processes with increasing levels of regulation and control by employers and intermediaries, and, a decrease in the average age of migrants which, in turn, increases the potential length of time within which returns can be gained from the investment in migration.

All aspects of the temporary, international migration flow studied in this thesis have developed since 1975, and these changes have occurred at multiple spatial scales. Structural changes have occurred in relation to the influence of globalizing processes and these are reflected in the changes that have occurred within cricket as a global sport. Likewise, the agents involved in the migration flow have developed, with employers and intermediaries playing an increasingly important role. Migrant cricketers continue to be active agents and their movement both influences and is influenced by broader structural change.

Whilst the migration flow has developed throughout this period differentiating between the timing of specific changes is difficult. Empirical analysis has been undertaken using three time periods. However, whilst the phasing is theoretically grounded (Castles et al. 2014), the exact dates are illustrative, with changes having
occurred gradually throughout the period 1975 to present. Likewise, identifying the origins of change is problematic, with developments influenced by both structure and individual agents taking place concurrently, leading to the wider change.

The use of a three phase model to investigate such a migratory phenomenon represents an original contribution to literature. The model enables the lens of investigation to be placed on the changes that influence migratory behaviour, and how it has developed in light of globalizing processes. By investigating this style of temporary, seasonal migration, within a skilled occupation it has been possible to reveal how the resulting changes have impacted on motives for migration, the processes that are negotiated and the outcomes of migration, most notably in relation to the migrant’s career trajectory.

Figure 9.1 Three-Phase Model of Temporary, Seasonal Migration of Cricket Professionals

9.3.1 Future Research Possibilities

In order to further advance research on temporary migration in skilled occupations there are a number of possibilities for studies that complement or develop the research that has been presented in this thesis. First, the need to investigate further
the potential to encounter struggles and difficulties during migration has been acknowledged previously in this chapter. Despite only a single incidence emerging from the empirical data it seems fair to suggest that migrations must occur that have a detrimental effect on an individual’s career; migrations that hinder as opposed to enhance the potential for progression. Whilst accessing research participants may be problematic, undertaking such research would provide a further insight into how migration may have social, cultural, economic and familial impacts for an individual. This would then contribute to understandings of how temporary migration can be effectively used as a career progression strategy by individuals and their employers. In doing so, this would assist in moving beyond existing views that skilled migration is a positive activity (Khoo et al. 2011), since, as Bourdieu has recognised, “investments made into... cultural capital, do not guarantee a particular ‘return’” (Holt 2008:232).

Second, the relationship between temporary migration and career progression warrants further research on migrations that are occurring at different stages of an occupational career trajectory. For instance, Salt (1997:7) refers to highly-skilled migrants who include: “those in later career stages whose moves may be seen in the context of “chasing the dollar””. This would suggest that later in the career trajectory of a skilled individual that, using the analytical framework of this study, motives related to the acquisition of economic capital take precedence over embodied cultural and symbolic capital.

Third, the case study of UK-based cricket professionals applied in this research meant that experiences were all obtained from male migrants. However, since commencing this research, women’s cricket in the UK has gained professional status (Wilson 2014), and it would now, therefore, be possible to undertake research examining the role of temporary migration for women’s professional cricket careers. Undertaking such a study would extend this present research and would enable an insight into the wider applicability of the findings as well as the opportunity to identify any gender differences or inequalities that exist.

Finally, further comparative studies could be undertaken to consider how temporary migration impacts on career trajectories in other skilled occupations and other cohorts of skilled individuals. By considering existing scholarship on temporary migration it
becomes apparent that researching the role of international sojourns on careers in academia, for instance, would be a valuable case study. Previous research on academic mobility has highlighted the relationship between career progression and international experience (Ackers 2010). Furthermore, temporary moves may be of a similar duration to the migration studied here, and require a significant level of personal organization by the migrant academic (Thorn 2009). Thus, such a case study would provide a beneficial comparative study to consider the wider applicability of the findings and conclusions of this thesis.

9.4 Conclusion

To conclude, theoretical, conceptual and empirical contributions have been made by investigating the importance of temporary, seasonal, international migration on the upward career trajectories of skilled individuals, using a case study of cricket professionals. The thesis shows that normative career trajectories have been shaped by changes in cricket and skilled occupations in light of globalizing processes. During the period under study (1975-present), temporary migration has become an increasingly common part of a career trajectory. The age at which professionals migrate has decreased and the role of employers and intermediaries in the migration process is increasingly prominent. This may have resonance for a diverse range of skilled professions, most notably, “entertainers... and artists”, who have long been recognised to participate in migration flows resembling the sports-led migration investigated here (Salt 1997:7), yet have been under-researched in geography. Therefore, this thesis has advanced understandings of the importance of skilled, temporary, international migration and career progression, and has demonstrated the potential of sport-led migration as an interface for future geographical studies of population movements, albeit on a temporary, seasonal basis.
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Appendix

1. Summary of Research Participants

2. Migrant Interview Schedule
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Appendix 2

Migrant Interview Schedule

**Biography and Prior to Migration:**
- Background to migration: destination, contacts, processes, regulations.
- Problems, preparedness?

**Motives and Drivers:**
- Why? Commitment and shared view-points
- Weather & climate, experience, skills, fitness, travel
- Money?
- Encouragement by friends? Others away at the same time?
- Highly skilled?

**During Migration = Social:**
- Other migrants or local integration
- Stand out or other acceptance issues
- Opportunities to compare Australia to elsewhere?
- Experience of the wider culture
- Homesickness – friends/family/girlfriend

**During Migration = Cricket:**
- Local expectations, any changes or reforms?
- Acceptance – home and away teams?
- On/Off the field interactions
- Support – injuries/form
- Exploitation
- Local talent opportunities
- Stay in contact and loyalty
- Contact with home coaches
Post-Migration:

- Meet expectations? Any extra achievements?
- Specific areas of improvement?
- Impact on career aspirations
- Repeat migration?
- Right-stage of career?
- Personal consequences – friends/family impacts
- Negative consequences
- Anything you’d change? Wish you’d known beforehand?
- Assessing success

Views and Advice for Contemporary Migration:

- Would you recommend the experience?
- Any specific advice you would give
- Current situation - a good thing for cricket? A good thing for England?
- Something that will continue?
- Impact of IPL and other T20 leagues
- Overseas players in county cricket? What’s their role? A good thing for the game?
- Extra information / other people to speak to?