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THE GAME OF UNITY?:

THE 2007 CRICKET WORLD CUP AS A CATALYST TOWARD

CARIBBEAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

by

PETA-GAYE J. WIGGAN

Under the Direction of Dr. Leonard Teel

ABSTRACT

It was paramount for the English-speaking Caribbean to host a successful 2007 Cricket World Cup and field an outstanding West Indian cricket team for the international sporting mega-event. For CARICOM and the West Indies Cricket Board (WICB), there were two principle goals – first, to exhibit regional Caribbean identity, and second, to be triumphant under the leadership of the West Indian cricket team's captain, Trinidadian Brian Lara. Identities are multifaceted and intricate, negotiated and renegotiated, based on a history of economic, political and cultural forces. This thesis interrogates Caribbean identity through textual analysis of the broadcast of the opening ceremony and regional newspaper coverage of the spectacle as well as ensuing events that were held in eight of the Caribbean countries from 11 March to 28 April 2007. The thesis questions whether this mega-event served as a catalyst toward Caribbean identity construction.

INDEX WORDS: Brian Lara, Caribbean, Cricket, Identity, Mega-event, Opening Ceremony, Spectatorship, Sport, West Indies

THE GAME OF UNITY?:

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by

PETA-GAYE J. WIGGAN

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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Georgia State University

2010

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THE 2007 CRICKET WORLD CUP AS A CATALYST TOWARD CARIBBEAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

by

PETA-GAYE J. WIGGAN

Committee Chair: Leonard Teel

Committee: Kathryn Fuller-Seeley

Ann Williams

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

December 2010

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my thesis to my family, who has supported me during my academic career, and without whom I would not have begun this journey.

To my mother, Nora, who has actively supported me in my attempts to unearth and recognize my potential. Thank you for teaching me that even a colossal commitment can be accomplished one step at a time.

This thesis is also dedicated to loved ones who have passed on but remain primary sources of inspiration: Catherine Shaw, Vera Shaw, and my father, Winston Wiggan.

A special dedication to the late Dr. Mark Alleyne who believed my research would not only be a contribution to academia but also foresaw personal development throughout the research process.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to Sheldon who has been my motivational coach. An infinite number of thank yous for your practical and emotional support.

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I owe my deepest gratitude to my thesis director, Dr. Leonard Teel, whose guidance and support enabled me to put abstract thoughts into concrete words. I would also like to thank my committee members Dr. Kathryn Fuller-Seeley and Dr. Ann Williams, whose support of this project was greatly needed and deeply appreciated.

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Lastly, I offer my regards to those who supported me in any respect during the completion of this project.

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INTRODUCTION

"We will rejoice

And sound our voice

'Cause we are one together

L.O.V.E. and unity,

Forever"

--"The Game of Love and Unity"[1]

"The Game of Love and Unity" was the official song and overarching theme for the ninth edition of the 2007 International Cricket Council Cricket World Cup. The calypso song invited the world to participate in the celebration of cricket, the game that conjures up feelings of peace, love, unity and pride in national and regional identity.[2] Sentiments of the hosts' regional identity through cricket were expressed by lyrics of the song[3] and images in the music video.[4] The collaboration of the three artists who sang and performed the song, Barbadian soca and reggae artist Rupee, Jamaican reggae musician Shaggy and Trinidadian soca performer Fay-Ann Lyons, were at the forefront of promoting regional identity to the world.

Eight countries hosted the English-speaking Caribbean's first World Cup. The eight hosts selected were Antigua, Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts & Nevis, Saint Lucia and Trinidad.[5] It was the only World Cup to bring together sixteen participating teams, and the largest sporting mega-event to be held in the region. To be placed in such a prestigious position was an opportunity to acknowledge the once dominant West Indies team and its historic

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[1] Rupee, featuring Shaggy and Fay-Ann Lyons, "The Game of Love and Unity," VP Music Group (Jamaica: New York, 2006).
[2] Ibid.
[3] See Appendix D.
[4] "The Game of Love and Unity," YouTube video, 4:40, posted by "krishxbinu," March 11, 2007, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UKo4YQLoxyo.
[5] See Appendix A.

contribution to the game that formerly represented British imperialism. Furthermore, the World Cup would challenge the image of the Caribbean as a group of tourist destinations with minimal manufacturing resources, which the British and developed countries often considered "too small, too poor, and too fragmented to be a major player in world of international politics, economic and culture."[6] Through cricket, the English-speaking Caribbean was determined to bolster its profile as a committed and globally relevant unit to the international community.

To comprehend the atmosphere of the contemporary English-speaking Caribbean, it is imperative to briefly refer to its history. Christopher Columbus stumbled upon the Caribbean in 1492 and having believed he reached the Indies (Asia), named the region the West Indies.[7] European arrival and presence in the Caribbean resulted in the genocide of the natives. Carib and Arawak natives who inhabited the Caribbean prior to Columbus' entrance, died from diseases that Europeans brought with them.[8] Enslaved, the natives were also subjected to deplorable conditions, some committed suicide while others died from exhaustion.[9]

When the financial gain of the system of sugar and slavery was realised, Caribs and Arawaks were almost non-existent. The short supply of native labourers provided an opportunity for the Spanish to request African slaves, and by 1502 the Atlantic Slave Trade to the Caribbean set sail.[10] By 1650, the Dutch, English and French followed suit and the demand for African slaves in the Caribbean soared.[11] Between 1502 and 1870, 10 to 12 million slaves were transported to the Americans and the Caribbean through the Atlantic Slave Trade.[12] From this number, 42% or 5 million Africans were transported to the Caribbean.[13]

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[6] Seodial Frank H. Deena, *Situating Caribbean Literature and Criticism in Multicultural and Post Colonial Studies* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 5.
[7] Helen Tiffin, "Cricket, literature and politics of de-colonisation: the case of C.L.R. James," in *Liberation Cricket,* ed. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995), 356.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Deena, 2.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

The system of sugar and African slave trade in the Caribbean thrived for more than three centuries but was eventually threatened by abolition and emancipation acts in the early 1830s.[14] To ensure continued profitability, European colonizers discovered an alternative source of labor from another continent, India. Indian indentured laborers became the new source of labor from 1838-1917.[15] During the indentureship period, Guyana and Trinidad received a large number of East Indian immigrants, which were 239,000 and 144,000 respectively.[16] Smaller numbers of East Indian indentured laborers were also transported to other Caribbean islands. For example, Jamaica received 39,000, Grenada secured 5,000 and Saint Lucia welcomed 2,000 East Indians.[17] For years, a cluster of colonies within and bordering the Caribbean Sea was prime land for the production of sugar to Europe.[18] The economic success of the sugar and slavery trade popularized the term West Indies and indicated the territorial space that Europe owned.[19]

The aftermath of genocide, slavery, indenturedship and colonization is the background against which Caribbean identity is analysed. All countries within the region at some time were, and a few remain, colonies of European countries. These countries tend to be grouped together based on their relationship with past European colonizers, which includes existing similarities in language, historic, cultural and traditional ties to the plantation system. While individual countries attempt to make sense of their history and identity politics, there is a further disconnect within the region where a Dutch West Indies/Dutch Caribbean, British West Indies/English-speaking Caribbean, French West Indies/French Antilles and Spanish West Indies/Spanish Caribbean exist.

The English-speaking Caribbean is a vestige of the British Empire and now exists as a long-standing integration community project. Although a transformed region, challenges to a

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[14] Tiffin, 356.
[15] Deena, 3.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Hilary Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume One, The Age of Nationalism* (Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies; London: Pluto Press, 1998), 15.
[19] Ibid.

collective Caribbean identity are in abundance due to, for example, diversity in ethnic composition, natural resources, international alliances, political and economic structures, media ownership structures, educational development as well as living standards.[20] Regional initiatives as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) - a trade and cooperation organization of fifteen nation-state members,[21] the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) and the University of the West Indies (UWI) with main campuses in Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad, all have considerable potential.

However nowhere, it is argued, has the Caribbean regional integration project been showcased as a unifying force for the English-speaking Caribbean more than in cricket.[22] Through cricket, the English-speaking Caribbean first and foremost is uniquely linked to British Commonwealth nations. The omnipresence of cricket from its importation by the British, the game's pivotal role in Caribbean political economy, and its influence on Caribbean popular culture, puts the sport at the centre of Caribbean history and Caribbean collective identity. It is for this precise reason that the Cricket World Cup seemed to be a candidate for, and the ideal catalyst toward Caribbean identity construction.

On account of a concerted effort by CARICOM and the West Indies Cricket Board (WICB), the dream of hosting the World Cup came to life on 11 March 2007 with the opening ceremony in Trelawny, Jamaica. The ceremony, themed *West Indian Energy*, marked the end of four years of strategizing, collaborating and forecasting by governments, regional cricket boards, tourist boards and local organizing committees. It was time for the Caribbean population to display Caribbean identity to the world and the eight selected hosts were slated to be

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[20] Daniel Erikson and Adam Minson, "The Caribbean: Democracy Adrift?" *Journal of Democracy* 16, no.4 (2005): 159-171.
[21] Ibid,159.
[22] Hilary Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume One;* C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London: Hutchinson, 1963); Stuart Hall and Bill Schwarz, "Breaking Bread with History: C. L. R. James and The Black Jacobins," *History Workshop Journal* no.46 (1998): 17-31; Edward Hirsch and Derek Walcott, "An Interview with Derek Walcott." *Contemporary Literature* 20, no.3 (1979): 279-292.

conveyors. The opening ceremony's spectacle of *West Indian Energy* was performed with few glitches and deemed to be a good indicator of what was to come in the tournament.

The regional integration project that was a dream gradually became a nightmare however, as bizarre and unfortunate occurrences unfolded. Bizarre incidents such as the adventure of six inebriated English cricketers stranded and rescued from of the coast of Saint Lucia, after falling off a paddle boat;[23] or the misfortune of a wife finding her Irish husband and ex-Irish cricket union president, Robert Kerr, dead from a heart attack the morning after he celebrated his team's surprising win against cricket powerhouse South Africa.[24] Other occurrences that significantly dampened the mood of the sporting mega-event was the premature exit of cricket powers India and Pakistan, and the ensuing mysterious death of Pakistan's cricket coach, Bob Woolmer.[25]

The mentioned unavoidable incidents were coupled with a list of disputes throughout the region. Of the disputes, stifling ICC regulations, exorbitant ticket prices, lacklustre Caribbean spectatorship and a questionable dedication of the West Indies team's captain to the region were dominant. These rows intensified daily and reproduced regional tensions and accusations of insularity and divided loyalties. Themes of peace, love, unity and pride in regional identity from the "The Game of Love and Unity" which echoed throughout the region, appeared to be short-lived and quickly forgotten. As problems plagued the English-speaking Caribbean, the concept of a Caribbean collective identity seemed to drift further away.

This study offers insight into how Caribbean identity was framed through media. For CARICOM and the West Indies Cricket Board (WICB), it was paramount for the English-speaking Caribbean region to host a successful 2007 Cricket World Cup and field an outstanding West Indian cricket team for the international sporting mega-event. There were two principle goals - first, to exhibit regional Caribbean identity, and second, to be triumphant under

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[23] "Loose Lips Sink Pedalos?" *The Voice,* March 22, 2007.
[24] "Irishman found dead," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 22, 2007.
[25] Daraine Luton, "Pakistan cricket coach die," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 19, 2007.

the leadership of the West Indian cricket team's captain, Brian Lara of Trinidad. Identities are multifaceted and intricate, negotiated and renegotiated, based on a history of economic, political and cultural forces. This thesis interrogates Caribbean identity through textual analysis of the broadcast of the Opening Ceremony and regional newspaper coverage of the spectacle as well as ensuing events that were held in eight of the Caribbean countries from 11 March to 28 April 2007. The thesis questions whether the mega-event served as a catalyst toward Caribbean identity construction. This study also furthers limited research on the 2007 Cricket World Cup and aids in understanding the complexities of constructing identity through sport.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of identity is used in numerous fields of academia. The most noted field is in the social sciences, where the concept of identity encompasses a person's perception of themselves (individual identity), and his/her relationship to and with others (group/collective identity).[26] The negotiation of identity contains a wide range of processes and given that sports are social activities, social identity is the focus. To emphasize specific analyses about sport and identity, three relevant areas of study will be reviewed: the relationship between sport and social identity; staging of identity in opening ceremonies; and cricket and Caribbean identity.

Sport and social identity

The term *social identity* describes everyday relationships and interactions between individuals and their societies.[27] Elaborated further, individual and collective social identity can be interpreted in terms of relationships of similarity and difference.[28] With the concept of social identity, the terms *identity politics, identity construction and fragmentation* emerge. The mentioned terms are used to investigate socially constructed identities. The term *identity politics* signifies theorizing of shared experiences of injustice of members of social groups based on ethnicity, race, gender, class, sexual preferences and so on.[29] The phrase *identity construction* implies the construction of the self through social processes.[30] And the word *fragmentation* indicates a social process of negotiation and breakdown of the self.[31] Social identity is hence, not exclusively about the self, but about how social processes through communication, construct and negotiate individual and collective identities.

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[26] Andrew Parker and John Harris, *Sport and Social Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 4.
[27] Parker and Harris, 1.
[28] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 2008), 23.
[29] Jennifer Hargreaves, *Heroines of Sport: The Politics of Difference and Identity* (London: New York. Routledge, 2000), 5; Parker and Harris, 3.
[30] Parker and Harris, 3.
[31] Ibid.

As simple as the relationship between sport and social identity appears, myopic investigations have led to limited interpretations over the decades.[32] It has been noticed that there is an abundance of data on the physical body in sports but these studies are not related to social identity.[33] Also considered a trend is analyses of sport and social identities. However the same analyses fail to sufficiently consider the definition of social identity much less examine sport as a driving force in identity construction.[34]

More research on the relationship between sport and social identity indicates investigation into the relationship has escalated, becoming a fairly recent phenomenon. Especially in mediated sport and social identity, discourses on this relationship recur frequently[35] as "a contested terrain."[36] A cultural studies approach to sport and social identity has also been theorized more over the years. Amongst cultural studies themes evident in identity politics, Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony is of great significance to the study of sports.[37] It is within this context that *Heroines of Sport* author Jennifer Hargreaves furthers the relationship between sports and identity by including perspectives on ethnicity, race, class, gender, sexual orientation and disabilities found in sport.

An additional aspect to recent research on sports and social identity is the study of nationalism with reference to international sports. In light of the fact that this study is specific to international sport, investigation into the notion of fluid *national identity* and all associated terms - *nationalism*, *nation-state* and *nation* - is fundamental. *National identity* relates to an individual's sense of belonging to a collective identity[38]; *nationalism* is perceived as a collective philosophy often linked to pride and patriotism within a nation[39]; *nation-state* refers to the political-economy

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[32] Ibid, 2; Jeremy MacClancy, *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford International Publishers, 1996), 1.
[33] MacClancy, 1-2.
[34] Ibid, 2.
[35] Robert Washington and David Karen, "Sport & Society," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27, (2001): 202.
[36] Ibid, 193.
[37] Ibid,198.
[38] Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 26.
[39] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 10.

of an entity built on cultural aspects of the nation[40]; and *nation* lacks political linking to the nation-state and is a cultural approach to define a collective.[41]

Evidence alludes to a number of theories on national identity and while some social scientists are in general agreement, others offer differing perspectives. Benedict Anderson examines the construction of collective identities in *imagined communities, and* recognizes the ambiguity of national identity, arguing that nationalism is a theoretically weak idea.[42] To further Anderson's discourse on *imagined communities*, Smith and Porter expound on Eric Hobsbawm's analysis of the relationship of sport. Hobsbawm's analysis termed *invented tradition*, stipulates that through sport, a past can be invented if it does not exist.[43] Unlike Anderson, Craig Calhoun maintains that national identity is not just a collective identity but is also the reflection and formation of the nation.[44] Patricia Mohammed's summation of the debate on nationalism and national identity allows for more clarity. For Mohammed, to understand the concept of nationalism and national identity, origins of the concepts, their changes over time and their influence must be considered.[45]

Narrating a national identity is iterated and reiterated through time by collective historic circumstances, shared discourse and symbols.[46] As stated by cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall, "They [identities] are subject to a radical historization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation."[47] For Hall, identity proves to be a process that is constantly being negotiated and influenced by historic circumstances. A relevant historic context to this study where *imagined communities* are modified is through hybridity. From an international communication perspective, Marwan Kraidy avers *hybridity* is the result of combining two or more cultural identities. The combination includes the mélange of customs,

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[40] Ulf Hedetoft, *The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
[41] Ibid.
[42] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: New York: Verso, 1983).
[43] Smith and Porter, 4.
[44] Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 28.
[45] Patricia Mohammed, "Taking Possession: Symbols of Empire and Nationhood, Small Axe, 11 (202): 50.
[46] Smith and Porter, 4.
[47] Ibid.

traditions, food, and music at a particular point in time and, is formed by historic, political, economic, and cultural inequalities.[48] Postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha illustrates an example of historically constructed imagined communities. Bhabha's research on the concept of identity concludes that power struggles and interactions between forces and colonized people, through a history of power and oppression, generate mimicry and hybrid identities.[49]

Globalization characterized by the emergence of technologies and mediated sports adds a new dimension to narrating national identity in sport. Studies intimately connected with the relationship between sports and social identities propose globalization and the role of media to be central to narrating a nation. For in-depth analysis on sport, social identity and globalization, a variety of analytical tools, theories and perspectives have been created to explore the role and significance of mediated sports.[50] Researchers have also come to recognize the role of media should not be separated from the study of social identity and sport. MacClancy is one researcher who confirms, "Sports might be spectacles but spectators are now massively outnumbered by their listening and viewing public."[51] Suffice it to say, mediated sport guides and to a degree, directs negotiation of identities, is crucial in some societies and unquestionably central to the globalization of culture.

The globalization of culture lies within extreme interest in the commodification of mediated sports and consumerism. Key decision-makers in public and private sectors are increasingly recognizing the value of sport and identity as profitable entertainment enterprises. As entertainment enterprises, sporting mega-events attempt to neatly package nationalism, heroism, courage, beauty and grace for consumption.[52] Spectators and athletes - some of which

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[48] Marwan Kraidy, "From Culture to Hybridity in International Communication," in *New Frontiers in International Communication Theory,* ed. Mehdi Semati (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 252-4.
[49] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis* 28 (1984): 125-133.
[50] Robert Washington and David Karen, "Sport & Society," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27, (2001): 200.
[51] MacClancy, 13.
[52] Toby Miller et al, "Modifying the Sign: Sport and Globalization," *Social Text* 17, no.3 (1999): 15-33; John Nauright, "Global games: culture, political economy and support in the globalised world of the 21st century," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no.7 (2004): 1325-1336.

have gained celebrity status because of media exposure - seize opportunities for popularity, unrestricted expressions of passion and competitiveness.[53]

Sport tourism has advanced the commodification of mediated sports. Professionals within this rapidly growing sector of tourism, agree that sports tourism for mega-events stimulate economic development while at the same time, promote national identity.[54] Accordingly, in 2003, Jean Holder of the Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO) addressed a group of Caribbean tourism teachers at a forum in Grenada, about the profitability potential of the Cricket World Cup to the region. Holder stated, "Sport presents the Caribbean with an excellent opportunity for developing one of the fastest growing niche markets in the tourism sector…we see therefore the need to diversify our traditional product of sun, sea and sand."[55] The linkage of sport with social identity in sport tourism has become a gold mind, explaining countries' intense bidding competition for the next host slot for upcoming Olympic Games, World Cups and other mega-events.

Research on the relationship between sport and social identity has progressed throughout the years. Through globalizing processes, sport is increasingly envisioned as an agent of exchange among groups that promotes expressions of social identity. As "a site for identity construction,"[56] "a cultural signifier for national identity,"[57] "a means of reflecting society,"[58] and "a mirror that a people hold up to themselves,"[59] the relationship between sport and social identity is therefore apparent.

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[53] Lincoln Allison, *The Global Politics of Sport. The Role of Global Institutions in Sport* (London: New York: Routledge, 2006**).**
[54] Ben Tyson et al, "West Indies World Cup. Cricket: hallmark events as catalysts for community tourism development," *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10, no.4 (2005): 324; Donald Sinclair, "Sports education - a priority for Caribbean sports tourism, *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 17, no.6 (2005): 536-548; Jean Holder, "What is at Stake for the Caribbean Hosting the Cricket World Cup 2007," Paper presented at the *Caribbean Tourism Organization's Teachers Forum*," Grenada, July 2003, 1-9.
[55] Jean Holder, 4.
[56] Parker and Harris, 7.
[57] Jeremy MacClancy, 2.
[58] Ibid, 4.
[59] Smith and Porter, 2.

Staging identity in opening ceremonies

To comprehend how opening ceremonies manage to stage identity, sporting mega-events must be analyzed. Maurice Roche defines mega-events as "specially constructed and staged international cultural and sport events."[60] The dream of hosting an international sporting mega-event, such as the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup and the Cricket World Cup has been an honor for centuries. Images of tone-bodied athletes and intense competition lay against the backdrop of cultural festivity, pageantry and euphoria.[61] It is also the ultimate test by the international community as to whether the host has succeeded at the selected task. The host must prove the city to be a "fantastic city"[62] - a term used to describe a city's capability to hosting mega-events based on four principles: efficiency, calculability, predictability and control.

While decade-old studies fail to analyze sporting mega-events in terms of interconnections with hierarchies of power and identity politics, more recent research compensates.[63] Roche's reasoning for the in-depth analyses is that mediated sports, together with mega-events have materialized over the years as a popular culture associated with nationhood and national awareness, all of which are key social contexts.[64] For instance, Jacquie L'Etang's focus on public relations and promotion of sporting mediated mega-events examines concepts of spectatorship for consumerism.[65] An analysis of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games Opening Ceremony by Mark Falcous and Michael Silk offers a discourse on national pride and cultural politics on the "War on Terror."[66] Drawing from Australia's 2000 Summer Olympic Games Opening Ceremony, Teresa Housel examines discourses of national pride also noting

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[60] Matthew Burbank, Gregory Andranovich and Charles Heying, *Olympic Dreams* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 47.
[61] Ibid.
[62] John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, "An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events." *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review* 54 (2006): 8.
[63] Maurice Roche, "Mega-events and modernity revisited: globalization and the case of the Olympics," *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review* (2006): 27-40.
[64] Ibid, 29.
[65] Jacquie L'Etang, "Public relations and sport in promotional culture." *Public Relations Review* 32 (2006): 386-394.
[66] Mark Falcous and Michael Silk, "Manufacturing consent: mediated sporting spectacle and the cultural politics of the War on Terror", *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 1, no.1 (2005): 59-65.

imbalance in ethnic representation.[67] Developing nation-states are also of increasing interest as they have just recently entered into the business of hosting international sporting mega-events. Identity fragmentation with co-host Zimbabwe during the 2003 Cricket World Cup and the explanations for this fragmentation is the thesis for Justin Van Der Merwe and Janis Van Der Westhuizen.[68] Justin Van Der Werwe analyzes South Africa's hosting of international sports mega-events and the ramifications of being viewed on an international stage.[69] From these examples of social contexts, sporting mega-events evidently serve as catalysts for identity negotiation and construction.

The role of media in sports mega-events is critical and without it, sporting spectacles would not be what they are today.[70] A spectacle as defined by L'Etang, "appears at once as a society itself, as a part of society and as a means of unification."[71] Likewise, when examining the visual spectacles of sporting mega-events as illustrators of global and local identity, Jackie Hogan concludes that cultural, political and economic flows of globalization have affected national identity worldwide. Shifting media representations hence indicate that discourses of national identity are negotiated and renegotiated by the global flows of words, images and ideas.[72] With media accessibility, the trend of increased commodification and consumerism, expansion and growth of sports mega-events as well as strengthened sport-media-business alliances are well understood.

Narratives of national identity are exercised throughout sporting mega-events. As rituals within mega-events, opening ceremonies overshadow closing ceremonies because they set the

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[67] Teresa Housel, "Australian Nationalism and Globalization: Narratives of the Nation in the 2000 Olympics' Opening Ceremony," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24, no.5 (2007): 446-461.
[68] Justin Van Der Merwe and Janis Van Der Westhuizen, "The 2003 Cricket World Cup and its Implications for Identity Formation and Democracy in Zimbabwe" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 45, no. 3, (2007): 345–366.
[69] Justin Van Der Merwe, "Political Analysis of South Africa's Hosting of the Rugby and Cricket World Cups: Lessons for the 2010 Football World Cup and Beyond?" *Politikon* 34, no.1 (2007): 67-81.
[70] John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, "An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events." *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review* 54 (2006): 1-24.
[71] L'Etang, 389.
[72] Hogan, 166.

tone for these narratives.[73] Impressive viewership numbers confirm that opening ceremonies are the highlight of sporting mega-events for sport-media-business alliances and spectators.[74] Opening ceremonies throughout history have been performed with the potential result of legitimacy and a sense of collective history and identity."[75] These elements mirror cultural values and experiences of the host nation, which in turn presents opportunities for social exchange and economic growth.[76] Commercialized narratives of nationhood alongside social exchange therefore indicate that national identity is firmly grounded in consumerism and consumption.[77]

Opening ceremonies stage identity by narrating the nation through performances.[78] An activity as effortless as athletes strutting into the stadium, flexing their muscles, confirms that participants are "overtly creating nationalistic tensions, rivalries and pride."[79] Housel refers to this strutting and exhibition at opening ceremonies, as "narratives of a nation."[80] By Stuart Hall's definition, narratives of a nation are "a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for or represent the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation."[81] Narrating a nation in opening ceremonies therefore implies that the host must ensure that through performances and opening ceremony protocol, national identity is visibly communicated globally.[82]

The components embedded in opening ceremonies invite individuals to witness, participate in, negotiate and renegotiate identity.[83] Based on researchers' case studies on sporting mega-events, opening ceremonies' performances consist of a compulsory-ritualistic

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[73] Bass, 364.
[74] Roche, "Mega-events and modernity revisited: globalization and the case of the Olympics," 33.
[75] Kristine Toohey and A.J. Veal. *The Olympic Games: A Social Science Approach* (New York: Cabi Publishing, 2000): 23.
[76] Daryl Adair and Brent Richie, *Sport tourism: Interrelationships, Impacts and Issues*. (Clevedon: New York: Multilingual Matters, 2004).
[77] Hogan, 96.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Toohey and Veal, 75.
[80] Housel, 453.
[81] Bass, 360.
[82] Roche, "Mega-Events, Time and Modernity: On time structures in global society," 12.
[83] Hogan; Angelini and Billings.

component and a cultural-artistic component. The following are elements in the compulsory-ritualistic component: a parade of athlete participants; speeches and declarations by local and international officials and head(s) of state of the host nation(s); the raising of the international sporting flag from sporting governing bodies to the accompaniment of the international sporting body anthem; the performance of the host nation's national anthem; and oaths taken on behalf of participating athletes and referees, umpires and judges.[84] In the case of co-hosting, the challenge to national identity is in defining national allegiances.[85] Host nations incorporate these compulsory-ritualistic elements into their own narratives of nation saturated with meanings, "refiguring these universalist moments as displays of national character, pride, power and progress."[86] For example, the raising of the host's flag and the singing of the national anthem are not only embedded with symbolism but also act as signs of collective identity and social inclusion in expressive displays of nationalism.[87]

In addition to the compulsory-ritualistic component, opening ceremonies incorporate elements into the cultural-artistic component. Usually interpretive in nature, cultural performances dramatize national myths, experiences, and cultural values with visions of shared histories through symbols, imagery and storytelling. Themes are typically focused on the host's collective history as well as the struggles, triumphs, achievements and character of the population.[88] The intertwining of national and global narratives is more evident in the dramatized cultural-artistic component and has come to be associated with the construction and mediatization of collective memories, managing similarities and differences.[89]

A final element of opening ceremonies recognized is the role of announcers or commentators in narrating the nation. Researchers typically envision sports media telecasts as

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[84] Toohey and Veal; Housel; Bass.
[85] Horne and Manzenreiter.
[86] Hogan, 102.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Falcous and Silk, 59-65; Hogan.
[89] Roche, "Mega-events and modernity revisited: globalization and the case of the Olympics"

being grounded in agenda–setting and framing theories[90] with "mass media messages [that] don't tell people what to think, but what to think about."[91] For example, Arlina Bernstein's analysis of the parade of nations reveals a nationalist interest on the part of the United States, whereby announcers ignore or give limited coverage to certain delegations based on economic and political relationship and history.[92] An analysis of the role of announcers or commentators demonstrates then, that the fundamental feature in the coverage of international sport mega-events is that of national interest. Opening ceremonies then, perhaps above all, have the power to create the time and space to think about how national identity is perceived.[93]

Cricket and Caribbean identity

Trinidadian revolutionary writer C.L.R. James articulates cricket's significance to the English-speaking Caribbean in his account of the social history of the region:

> What do they know of cricket who only cricket know? West Indians crowding to Tests [international cricket matches] bring with them the whole past history and future hopes of the islands. English people have a conception of themselves from birth...underdeveloped countries have to go back centuries to rebuild one. We of the West Indies have none at all. None that we know of. To such people the three W's, Ram and Val wrecking English batting, help to fill a huge gap in their consciousness and in their needs.[94]

Needless to say, cricket has served as a sophisticated lens through which to view the construction and negotiation of Caribbean identity throughout history.

The advent of Caribbean cricket is owed to Victorian England.[95] As far as the English from the early nineteenth-century were concerned, cricket was as an essential and symbolic component of the Imperial order, "laden with coded social messages conducive of Empire

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[90] Angelini and Billings, 95-111.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Bernstein, 363.
[93] Ibid, 367.
[94] James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 225.
[95] Charles Tennyson, "They Taught the World to Play," *Victorian Studies*, 2, no. 3 (1959): 211.

building."[96] Exported to The British West Indies sugar plantations, cricket was officially enforced as a social policy of racial segregation that excluded non-English, non-European, non-White West Indians from joining cricket clubs and participating with the elite in the game.[97] By the time emancipation was prescribed, racial exclusion appeared to be effortless, leaving newly freed slaves disenfranchised.

Almost a hundred years following emancipation, a hegemonic structure was intact. Beyond the cricket boundary, the White, elite, planter-merchant community, fully committed to White supremacy sentiments, enjoyed the pinnacle of a social hierarchy, protected by the British Empire's legitimizing principles.[98] At the same time, the subordinate Black tradition and a fairly new indentured labor population consisting of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent were at the lower tiers of the hierarchy. These groups demonstrated characteristics of an alienated, marginalized group who sought to establish themselves in their limited space.[99] Legitimizing policies of segregation strengthened racial stereotyping and divided West Indian society. These same legitimizing policies of segregation dictated the roles played out on the cricket field. More accurately, roles on the field mirrored the social strata and division of labor along the lines of ethnicity, race and class. Batsmanship was seen as the art of the White player; fast bowlers were seen as if they were laborers and the young Black men would be the fast bowlers and the outfielders.[100] Like other aspects of socio-cultural life, cricket in the West Indies mirrored these existing inequalities and exposed an ethnically and racially fractured region.

Slavery, hardships endured after emancipation, and the struggles of pre- and post-colonialism have created a situation in the Caribbean psyche whereby history is rootless and

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[96] Hilary Beckles, *A Nation Imagined* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003).
[97] Ibid, 9.
[98] Diane Austin, "Culture and ideology in the English-speaking Caribbean: a view from Jamaica," *American Ethnologist*," 10, no.2 (1983): 225.
[99] Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom*: *Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present,* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), 48-53.
[100] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume One,* 3.

like an invisible force.[101] Saint Lucian Literature Nobel Prize winner Derek Walcott states, "West Indians are always seduced by opportunities to be re-imperialized…[likewise] every West Indian has been severed from a continent, whether he is Indian, Chinese, Portuguese, or Black."[102] Given this scenario, identity narratives for the English-speaking Caribbean are multifaceted and complex, not only because of the multiple ethnicities and races existing within the region, but also because of what a history of oppression has invented. Racism, classism, economic and political dependency are syndromes whereby England is defined as the originator and subject, and the Caribbean is the mimic and object.[103]

Beyond the Caribbean's history of rootlessness, the general question examined is: what did the imported and imposed Victorian cricket do to or for the Caribbean psyche?[104] Answers address Imperial cricket imposed by the England,[105] and signify that Blacks, Indians, Chinese and other ethnic groups hybridized or creolized the game.[106] The concept *creolization* specifically refers to "a group of people who have been hybridized by the phenomena of slavery and colonialism…[It is also] understood as a varied, dynamic, on-going and often paradoxical process of renewal and growth."[107] Although Orlando Patterson believes Caribbean cricket to be "an expression of alienation and false consciousness,"[108] more authors examine Caribbean cricket from a Marxist perspective. These authors lean toward creolized Caribbean cricket as being an avenue to exert power and frustration against colonials.[109] For this reason, appointing

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[101] Belinda Edmondson, "Race, Tradition, and the Construction of the Caribbean Aesthetic," *New Literary History* 25, no.1 (1994): 109-120.
[102] Hirsch and Walcott, 285.
[103] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis* 28 (1984): 125-133; Derek Walcott, "The Caribbean: Culture or Mimicry?", *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 16, no.1 (1974): 3-13; Graham Huggan, "A Tale of Two Parrots: Walcott, Rhys, and the Uses of Colonial Mimicry," *Contemporary Literature* 35, no.4 (1994): 643-660.
[104] Lawrence Bamikole, "Creolization and the Search for Identity in Caribbean Philosophy," *Caribbean Quarterly* 53, no.3.
[105] Manthia Diawara,"Englishness and Blackness: Cricket as Discourse on Colonialism," *Callaloo* 13, no.4 (1990): 830-844.
[106] Jason Kaufman and Orlando Patterson, "Cross-National Cultural Diffusion: The Global Spread of Cricket," *American Sociological Review* 70, (2005): 82-110.
[107] Bamikole, 76.
[108] Richard D.E. Burton, "Cricket, carnival and street culture in the Caribbean," in *Liberation Cricket,* ed. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995),104.
[109] James; Michael Manley, *A History of West Indies Cricket* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1988).

cricket heroes was necessary, as they became the voice and a powerful expression of Creolization or West Indianness or Caribbean identity. All three terms are used to illustrate the historic evolution of past and present Caribbean identities.[110]

Cricket in the Caribbean has been part of a struggle for a people to invent a common tradition and express collective identity.[111] The emergence of Caribbean cricket culture is attributed to the masses who are "creators of their own histories."[112] Divided socially by a tumultuous past, Caribbean masses found fulfillment in celebrating cricket victories and historic events with a single voice. The idea of celebrating with a single voice is of great significance, considering that British propaganda report, the Capital Commission Report of 1956, was implemented to create, maintain and intensify inter-island tensions based on jealousy and stereotyping.[113]

As a conveyor of collective identity, Caribbean cricket gradually became a symbolic weapon intertwined in societal issues. Beating England in 1950 at Lord's Cricket Grounds, electing the region's first Black West Indies cricket team captain in 1960 and emerging as the dominant cricketing team for more than a decade, produced from a historically fragmented region, a new phase in the Caribbean as a nation imagined.[114] The selected West Indies team was understood as a symbol of a nation imagined and its members were ambassadors of a national consciousness process.[115] It is for this reason that C.L.R. James argued that West

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[110] Michael Malec and Hilary Beckles, "Robinson and Worrell: Athletes as Agents of Social Change," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 21, no.4 (1996): 412-418.
[111] Keith Sandiford and Brian Stoddart, *The Imperial Game*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Bamikole, Lawrence, "Creolization and the Search for Identity in Caribbean Philosophy," *Caribbean Quarterly* 53, no.3. (2007): 70-82.
[112] Cynthia Hamilton, "A Way of Seeing: Culture of Political Expression in the Works of C.L.R. James," *Journal of Black Studies* 22, no.3 (1992): 430.
[113] David Lowenthal, "The West Indies Chooses a Capital," *Geographical Review* 48, no.3 (1958): 336-364; Elizabeth Wallace, "The West Indies: Improbable Federation?", *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 27, no.4 (1961): 444-459; Alan Burns, "Towards a Caribbean Federation," *Foreign Affairs*, 34, no.1 (1955): 128-140.
[114] Brian Stoddart, "*Caribbean* Cricket: The Role of Sport in Emerging small-nation Politics." *International Journal* 43, no.4 (1998): 618-642.
[115] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume One*.

Indian cricket was a mirror to the history of West Indian identity, and that "there is no need to despair cricket…if and when society regenerates itself, cricket will do the same."[116]

The achievements of Caribbean cricketers, from the moment of creolization, entail analyses because of their incredible contributions to the region. However, Caribbean cricket historians have singled out cricketers who have not only performed well in their career, but who also have exuded leadership qualities and values. These leadership qualities and values have also paralleled pivotal movements within the region. Not surprisingly, Caribbean cricket heroes have been elevated as major contributors to Caribbean cricket and pioneers in the construction of Caribbean identity throughout the decades: Trinidadian Sir Learie Constantine became the *creole cricketer*; Barbadian Sir Frank Worrell who was bestowed the honor of first Black captain in 1960, is the *nationalist cricketer*; Guyanese Clive Lloyd, merited for his disciplinary and professional approach to cricket, is the *independence cricketer*; Antiguan Sir Vivian Richards with his Rastafarian wristband and violent batting strokes is the *Black solidarity cricketer*; and Trinidadian Brian Lara, first West Indies multi-millionaire cricket celebrity is now the *globalized cricketer*.[117] These heroic cricketers were held in the high-esteem on and off the field. With the exception of Brian Lara whose place among historic greats is still to be negotiated, the heroes excelled at cricket not only for personal gain, but also because they understood their role as the voice and pride of Caribbean masses[118] and conveyors of Caribbean identity.

As was revealed earlier, Brian Lara is a cricketer whose place as superb athlete and symbol for a collective Caribbean identity is still being negotiated. Born in Santa Cruz, Trinidad of humble beginnings, Lara's batting skills have left a spectacular mark in international cricket.[119] Synonymously referred to as the Michael Jordan of cricket by President Obama,[120] the cricketer holds several records including the record holder for the highest individual score in

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[116] James, 190.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Manley.
[119] ESPN Cricinfo, "Brian Lara Profile," http://www.espncricinfo.com/westindies/content/player/52337.html (accessed November 18, 2010).
[120] Joan Rampersad, "Thank you, signed Barack Obama," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, May 14, 2009.

a test innings after scoring 400 not out and the only batsman to score a hundred, a double century, a triple century, a quadruple century and a quintuple century in first class cricket matches over the course of his career.[121] In this regard, he shares an experience similar to that of cricket heroes Sir Learie Constantine, Sir Frank Worrell, Clive Lloyd and Sir Vivian Richards. As a symbol for collective Caribbean identity, Lara's financial success as the first multi-millionaire cricketer of the West Indies cricket team and at the same time, recorded characteristics of his individualism and divided loyalties relates to the social and ideological circumstances faced by the region in a global economy.[122]

Hilary Beckles theorized cricket heroes utilizing three paradigm shifts to better understand where they fit into the construction of Caribbean identity.[123] The first paradigm shift, of which Sir Learie Constantine is classified, originated in the interwar period and evolved by the 1950s. This paradigm is characterized by the beginning and continuation of institutional and political empowerment for the disenfranchised that were previously not allowed to participate in cricket.[124] The rigorous campaign for Sir Frank Worrell's captaincy, led by C.L.R. James, articulates the rising of the second paradigm shift. This paradigm shift later revealed nation-building agendas in the late 1950s, which resulted in the birth of independent nation-states.[125] The second paradigm shift, entrenched in nationalist agendas came to an ideological maturity in the Clive Lloyd-Viv Richards era.[126] Beckles states, "The cricket hero…became a demigod, a role model, placed socially above community…[he] was ideologically constructed within a political project, and his public conduct was expected to be supportive of its objectives."[127] The third paradigm shift does not boast a national agenda, nor does it personify empowerment of the disenfranchised. Instead the third paradigm shift, to which Brian Lara belongs, is one of

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[121] ESPN Cricinfo, "Brian Lara Profile," http://www.espncricinfo.com/westindies/content/player/52337.html (accessed November 18, 2010).
[122] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two,* 133-4.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid, 15.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid, 1.
[127] Ibid, 15-16.

fragmentation, failed nationalist projects and self-interest ventures for the global market economy. So fragmented is this once unified Caribbean region in the third paradigm that "it is now commonplace for West Indians to assert that outside of cricket they are not West Indian, and that their investment in the regional project goes no further."[128]

The definition of sporting heroes and sporting stars in Paul Gilchrist's chapter on sporting heroes and global stars is consistent with Hilary Beckles' paradigm theory. Sporting heroes, for Gilchrist, are envisioned as "totemic constructions"[129] that represent, legitimize and express collective identity.[130] However, the omnipresence of mediated sport has invented sport stars as part of the global political economy of sport. The difference between sporting heroes and global stars therefore complicates the relationship of the athlete with his or her community or country since "stardom brings distance and dislocation between the community and its heroes."[131]

Just as West Indies cricketers creolized the sport, Caribbean spectators creolized cricket culture. As far back as Caribbean cricket history is recorded, disenfranchised spectators viewed and scrutinized matches with a creolized sensibility derived from their collective memory of slavery, indentured labor, struggles and ancestral cultural norms.[132] Observers were keen to point out, that even before 1928, "Blacks brought to the game a unique, dynamic, celebratory, theatrical presence." [133] With reference to an earlier period, for example, Algernon Aspinall, historian of the English in the nineteenth century West Indies, commented on the "sheer

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[128] Ibid, 16.
[129] Paul Gilchrist, "Local heroes and global stars," in *The Global Politics of Sport*, ed. Lincoln Allison (London: New York: Routledge, 2006), 119.
[130] Ibid, 120.
[131] Ibid, 129.
[132] Hilary Beckles and Harclyde Walcott, "Redemption sounds: music, literature and the popular ideology of West Indian cricket crowds," in *Liberation Cricket,* eds. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995), 370.
[133] Ibid, 371.

excitement and demonstrative expressions of the black spectator…so noisy and festive was the crowd."[134]

The tradition of language, carnival and sound in Caribbean cricket spectatorship speaks directly to the variety of issues central to an understanding of creolized identity. That the Caribbean voice is distinctly heard in stadiums worldwide should indicate the basic truth of C.L.R. James' assertion that Caribbean spectators take with them through the gates the full weight of their history and visions of the future.[135] Likewise, James recognized that "cricket's value to the spectator is not necessarily by scoring but by the process."[136] The music, dance and overall theatrical and festive performance of Caribbean spectators can then be seen as opportunities to culturally resist imperialist ideology as well as ethnicity, race and class injustices. It is this idea of collective identity and consciousness, which continues to engage Caribbean cricket spectatorship.[137] It is also this sporting activity that has given the region its only spectator heroes such as King Dyal from Barbados and Gravy from Antigua.[138]

Caribbean cricket in the face of globalizing circumstances continues to be that lens through which identity is constructed and negotiated. However, the Caribbean cricket culture witnessed in the twenty-first century bears minimal similarity to that of the past. While there is much to celebrate within the Caribbean cricket legacy, the performances of the West Indies team and Caribbean cricket culture have both been on a decline since the early 1990s.[139] The Caribbean population, C.L.R James predicted, "Had a tumultuous historical experience and would be vulnerable to the tensions, anxieties and stress of globalization."[140] What exists in the English-speaking Caribbean is divided loyalties, economic instability and political as well as

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[134] Ibid.
[135] James, 225.
[136] Ibid, 193.
[137] Beckles and Walcott, 382.
[138] Ibid, 380; See Appendix D.
[139] Beckles *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two;* Manley; Gerald Griggs, "Calypso to Collapso: The Decline of the West Indies as a Cricketing Super Power," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 30, no.3 (2006): 306-314.
[140] James.

social tensions.[141] Against this backdrop of maladies is an extremely insular and diverse region where government structure, natural resources, ethnic composition and socio-economic pursuits vary. Imposed structural adjustments from international financial institutions, namely The World Bank and Inter Monetary Fund (IMF) further divide the region.[142] Although there is a budding interest in sports tourism[143] and investment destination possibilities by CARICOM and influential leaders of the region, an air of pessimism looms over the region. Within such a fragmented region exists a new generation that refuses to accept the most historically significant symbol of nationhood, cricket, as a part of their Caribbean identity and insists on discrediting the "sham of a pretentious Caribbean social harmony"[144]. For Caribbean cricket to be consumed as a mass sport under the influence of global media, Beckles declares a renegotiation of local identity construction that requires successfully fusing it with globalized forces.[145]

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[141] Daniel Erikson and Adam Minson, "The Caribbean: Democracy Adrift?," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no.4 (2005):159-171.
[142] Hopeton Dunn, "Struggle, innovation and cultural resistance," *Intermedia* 32, no.3 (2004): 6-11; Beckles *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two.*
[143] Donald Sinclair, "Sports education – a priority for Caribbean sports tourism," *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 17, no.6 (2005): 536-548; Jean Holder; Ben Tyson et al, "West Indies World Cup Cricket: hallmark events as catalysts for community tourism development," *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10, no.4 (2005): 323-334.
[144] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two*, xviii.
[145] Ibid.

METHODOLOGY

In the communication field, qualitative research and theory combined, develop and elaborate on descriptions of situations, behaviors and texts with implications for society.[146] The focus of this study will be everyday experiences and events of the Cricket World Cup, and the perceptions and meaning attached to those experiences. This investigation uses qualitative textual analysis to examine the debated concept of a collective Caribbean identity throughout the sporting mega-event. To secure a thorough understanding of the frames applied by online and broadcast media, this study uses grounded and narrative theories through critical analysis. For this reason, the following three research questions are designed to expose specific media frames of Caribbean identity:

(1) To what extent did the Cricket World Cup's opening ceremony themed *West Indian Energy* achieve its goal to exhibit a Caribbean identity?

(2) To what extent does Brian Lara symbolically represent a Caribbean collective identity?

(3) To what extent did the issue of a compromised Caribbean cricket spectatorship confound planners' promotion of a Caribbean identity?

Qualitative research is the best-suited research method to extract meaning from collected information, identifying recurrent themes and patterns as the next step.[147] For this reason, textual analysis is performed by first using grounded theory. Developed by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss, grounded theory is most accurately described as a method that generates theory from data.[148] As a research methods tool, grounded theory uses data collection and analysis as a foundation for the creation of themes and formation of new theories, with procedures aimed to reduce or at best, eliminate researcher bias.

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[146] Jack Rosenberry and Lauren A. Wicker, *Applied Mass Communication Theory: A Guide for Media Practitioners* (Boston: Pearson Education, 2008).
[147] Susanna Hornig Priest, *Doing Media Research*: An introduction (Thousand Oaks: Sage 1996), 187.
[148] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967).

Glaser's comparative approach to grounded theory, characterized by theoretical sensitivity, induction and emergence, will be applied because it deviates from Strauss' scientifically and systematically based processes of validation. No hypothesis is attempted for this type of inquiry. Instead, the content will be surveyed for better understanding of the meanings in context. The process involves methodological procedures, which includes a great deal of reading, meticulous note-taking and sorting through categories, keywords and concepts with an emphasis on unfolding emerging definitions, meanings, and themes.

To illustrate emergent themes, narrative theory is most appropriate. In this way, a thorough interpretation of the 'stories' created and written from the mentioned regional media references is revealed. From Aristotle's writings to Walter Fisher's works on narratology, documented communication has acknowledged storytelling as a universal form of communication. Individuals experience their world with a narrative approach, choosing to live within a narrative framework.[149] For Walter Fisher, narration is a metaphor for humans to recount human decisions and actions.[150] Additionally, Fisher's narrative theory declares that categories of communication, for instance written works, create stories about our world.[151] Therefore, the analyzed texts are studied as stories constructed by tradition, culture, and history and these 'stories' or narratives propose conclusions about society.

In the case of the World Cup, the narratives expose storylines outlining a variety of identity issues such as ethnicity, race, class, gender roles and nationhood. Media tend to favor the current dominant ideology and any emphasis found within media texts is most likely a reflection of that dominant ideology. For although polysemic texts are evident, usually there is a dominant reading that the target demographic is meant to receive.

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[149] Walter Fisher, "Narration, Knowledge, and the Possibility of Wisdom," in *Rethinking Knowledge: Reflections Across the Disciplines*, eds. Walter Fisher and Robert F. Goodman (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 169-192.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

The mentioned texts to be analyzed are within a framework of socially structured and historical occurrences. The main reason for such a framework is to better deduce specific evidence in sport identity in relation to cultural, economic and political ideological patterns. Evidently, this approach unveils the dualism between agency and structure, which calls for a cultural studies perspective.[152] Often from a Marxist, neo-Marxist and Gramscian standpoint, cultural studies interrogates representation and meaning from metaphors and symbols of language and textuality within culture. This includes theories about power versus disenfranchisement as is seen in historic as well as political and economic circumstances.[153] By recognizing these research foci, the World Cup allows for an analysis on sport and identity and will add to research involving how sport negotiates and renegotiates identity.

Hosts' online newspaper coverage

Written documents with meanings and contexts are rich sources for qualitative research. David Altheide describes document analysis as "a process of locating, identifying, retrieving and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance and meaning."[154] The eight Caribbean hosts for the Cricket World Cup were Antigua, Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts & Nevis, Saint Lucia and Trinidad. Regionally recognized Caribbean online newspapers with high circulation and popularity were chosen from each country: *The Antigua Observer, Nation News* of Barbados*, Grenada Today, The Guyana Chronicle, The Jamaica Gleaner, The Leeward Times* from Saint Kitts & Nevis*, The Voice* from Saint Lucia*, and Trinidad &Tobago's Newsd@y*.[155] The date range used was from 11 March to 29 April 2007. Preliminary research revealed media sources from Antigua, Grenada and Saint Kitts & Nevis failed to sufficiently archive online information for the year 2007. For this reason, as a supplement, articles from

[152] Stuart Hall, *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
[153] Ibid.
[154] David Altheide, *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), 2.
[155] See Appendix C.

regional online newspaper sources pertaining to these three islands were used. Also employed as a supplement was online news from The *Caribbean Media Corporation* (CMC) - the English-Speaking Caribbean region's leading media source.

The online archived newspaper articles were categorized using key phrases. The two key phrases, "2007 Cricket World Cup" and "Cricket World Cup" separated general news from events related to or affected by the sporting mega-event. Within the categorized articles, keywords "spectacle" and "opening ceremony" were used to examine the opening ceremony. The keywords "Brian Lara", "Lara", "hero", "star", "celebrity" and "captain" were applied for the analysis on Brian Lara. In addition, "spectator", "spectators", "fans", "locals" and "West Indians" were keywords used to investigate Caribbean spectatorship. During the time period under analysis, a number of articles written in regards to the Cricket World Cup were duplicated by the *Caribbean Media Corporation* (CMC). Therefore, after gathering the articles, duplicates were discarded. The remaining articles were categorically and chronologically organized, reviewed repeatedly and then sorted by relevance. Taken together, these eight online newspapers and CMC supplements provide a representative sample perspective of newspaper frames of sports and Caribbean identity.

Each newspaper sample was analyzed using the grounded theory approach discussed earlier to construct individual themes. These themes were compared to themes and data of other newspapers for a conclusion to emerge from the compilation of sources and data. It is important to not only note consistencies, but to also observe disparities. It would be of significance to the communication field if there were a shift from one perspective to another, indicating a change in ideological perspectives on Caribbean identity.

Video recording of the opening ceremony

In another chapter, this study analyzes the Cricket World Cup's opening ceremony, based on a textual analysis approach by Teresa Heinz Housel. Housel examined Australia's 2000 Summer Olympic Games broadcasting of the opening ceremony and demonstrated the problematics of narrating a nation.[156]

Live coverage of the opening ceremony by the *Television Jamaica* (TVJ) was chosen for analysis for two reasons. First, the opening ceremony is an important point of reference for staging identity. This point of reference also provided a forum for contesting, negotiating and renegotiating Caribbean identity. Second, international media such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had access to live feeds from the host city. Performances were therefore choreographed for an international audience and the staging of Caribbean identity was to be witnessed by the world.

The televised opening ceremony was obtained in digital format and analyzed for overarching themes relating to the research questions. A total of 180 minutes of the ceremony was videotaped for this analysis. The 180 minutes represents 100 percent of TVJ's coverage on 11 March. The video recorded opening ceremony was transcribed verbatim. To preserve the advantages of qualitative textual analysis, this investigation was sorted by themes and categorized by arguments related to unearthed themes in regional newspapers.

[156] Housel.

CHAPTER 1:

STAGING CARIBBEAN IDENTITY AT THE OPENING CEREMONY

Television Jamaica live broadcast

Television Jamaica (TVJ) broadcast the 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony live from the Greenfield Stadium in Trelawny, Jamaica on March 11. The opening ceremony entitled *West Indian Energy* conformed to the structure of sporting mega-events' opening ceremonies. That is to say, there was a compulsory ritualistic as well as a cultural-artistic component, both of which were translated to the television audience by interacting commentators. With theatre, music and dance combined with symbols of Caribbean identity against the backdrop of the Caribbean Sea, the mediated opening ceremony was set out to narrate a nation. The fact that journalists from the region contested this narrative in their coverage suggests competing narratives of what constitutes Caribbean identity and whether a West Indian identity still exists or is it a nostalgic collective identity. Textual analysis of TVJ's broadcast and regional coverage from the opening ceremony reveal and interrogate the ceremony's narrative of a Caribbean identity.

The opening ceremony began at 5:15 p.m. local time with uniformed members of the Jamaica Military Band. The band played Jamaican folksong *Sammy Dead Oh* and Antiguan soca hit song *Swing Your Engine*, while marching into several formations, one of which was the formation of the letters CWC and the numbers '07. After the Band exited the field, TVJ commentators, Paula-Ann Porter-Jones of Jamaica and Paul Keens Douglas of Trinidad, introduced themselves from the media box. Both commentators gave a synopsis of upcoming events and expressed what a historical achievement and honor it was for the English-speaking Caribbean to host the 2007 Cricket World Cup, "one of the most prestigious events on the

international sporting calendar."[157] Aspects of the performances in both the compulsory-ritualistic and the cultural-artistic component will be discussed in detail below.

Compulsory-ritualistic component

With the exception of the lighting of the Olympic cauldron, The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony was comprised of symbols and elements of national identity consistent not only with the International Olympic Committee decree, but also with sporting mega-events' protocol.[158] Symbols and elements included the singing of the host country's national anthem ("Jamaica, Land We Love" was performed by Jamaican singer Sanchez); the raising of the international sporting flag from sporting governing bodies to the accompaniment of the international sporting body anthem (no flag was raised for the International Cricket Council but the official 2007 Cricket World Cup song entitled "The Game of Love and Unity" was performed); speeches by local and international sporting officials and the head of state of the host nation (speech presentations came from the International Cricket Council officials as well as from Caribbean regional dignitaries); the parade of nations/teams (the sixteen participating teams marched out with the host team as the last to enter on the field); oaths taken on behalf of participating athletes and officials (the Cricketers Declarations was delivered by West Indies captain Brian Lara and the Umpires and Officials Declaration was recited by Jamaican umpire Steve Buckner); and the declaration that the sporting mega-event has officially begun (Cricket legend Sir Garfield Sobers from Barbados was given this honor).[159]

Hosts tend to incorporate compulsory-ritualistic components of the opening ceremony within their narratives of identity, as Hogan states, by "displaying of national identity, character, pride, power and progress."[160] Furthermore, Hogan understands such narratives to be a

[157] Paula-Ann Porter-Jones, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage," Performed March 11, 2007. DVD Recording.
[158] Hogan, 100.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid, 102.

reminder that certain discourses of national identity are “firmly grounded in material relations.”[161] Music has been a dependable source of currency for the Caribbean region, which boasts a plethora of musicians. With the exception of a limited number of presentations from Ireland and South Africa, musical selections from Caribbean artists were in abundance: Kevin Lyttle (Saint Vincent & the Grenadines), Allyson Hinds (Barbados), Machel Montano (Trinidad), Arrow (Montserrat), Len 'Boogsie' Sharpe (Trinidad), Mungal Patasar (Trinidad), Luther François (Saint Lucian), Peter Ashburn (Jamaica), Jesse Jones (Jamaica), Sean Paul (Jamaica), Sly and Robbie (Jamaica), Beres Hammond (Jamaica), Buju Banton (Jamaica), Gregory Isaacs (Jamaica), Half Pint (Jamaica) and Third World (Jamaica).

From the selection of Caribbean artists, a majority were Rastafarians. In this case, Hogan’s statement would explain the abundance of musical selections in the compulsory-ritualistic segment. On the one hand, the musical selections serve as tourism promotion, perpetuating the stereotype of a laid-back music-loving region, consisting of mostly Rastafarians. On the other hand, the musical selections exhibited a sense of identity, character and pride as songs and artists are well known internationally. Other selections displayed musical power and progress by fusing instruments such as the sitar and the steel pan, - a Trinidadian musical invention created from oil drums - to create innovative music unique to the Caribbean region.

The final compulsory-ritualistic component for analysis is the speech presentations by four local officials and head of state. The presentations clearly promoted the region as a tourism and investment destination. Most importantly, the discourse of a unified identity was amplified with interchanging references to a West Indian identity and a Caribbean identity. First, local official Chris Dehring, Chief Executive Officer of Cricket World Cup West Indies delivered a themed speech on West Indian pride. Dehring stated he had “pride in our West Indian

[161] Ibid, 96.

people."[162] Dehring also referred to himself as a proud West Indian and that the West Indies is "the most blessed place on Earth…[where cricket is] "inspired by the rhythm and soul of the West Indies." In closing, he emphasized the hosting responsibility of the West Indies to showcase "our incredible culture…[this] "one place called the West Indies."[163]

Second, Dr. Keith Mitchell, Chairman of CARICOM, Prime Minister of Grenada and Managing Director and CEO of Cricket addressed the beauty of the region and the significance of cricket in his speech. Like Dehring, Prime Minister Mitchell referred to the West Indies as an entity and spoke of the region as a nation. Dr. Mitchell declared, "Some might tell you that for [West Indians] cricket is more than a game and that is an important part of our national pride and national psyche."[164]

Third, Portia Simpson-Miller, Acting Prime Minister of Jamaica unquestionably promoted Jamaica rather than a unified Caribbean in her speech. Simpson-Miller in her closing remarks, urged spectators and media audiences to "feel the powerful and positive Caribbean vibrations,"[165] and "rally around the West Indies."[166]

The final speech from local official, Ernest Valentine Banks, President of the West Indies Cricket Board (WICB), listed benefits of hosting the CWC and thanked those who were instrumental in planning and executing the mega-event. To Valentine, hosting the Cricket World Cup was "a defining moment in Caribbean history…the most ambitious event undertaken by the collective Caribbean."[167]

Cultural-artistic component

The cultural-artistic component of the opening ceremony attempted to communicate narratives of a Caribbean nation to its audience and spectators. Homi Bhabha's analysis of the

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[162] Chris Dehring, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[163] Ibid.
[164] Prime Minister Dr. Keith Mitchell, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[165] Acting Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ernest Valentine Banks, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"

nation as a narrative indicates there is the nation's 'birth' then its 'coming of age,' and finally its 'maturity'.[168] The narrative should provide coherence, and continuity to historical events. In accordance with Bhabha's assertion of narrating a nation, the cultural-artistic component began with the birth of the Caribbean, performed "with the lights and the flashing colors [representing] the volcanic birth of the West Indies as the players flow down from the stage like lava."[169] With an upbeat and festive air, the selection depicted a region birthed by Africa. The red, gold and green costumed dancers and drummers flanked with flags representing countries in the Caribbean, played traditional African drums, the "junjun and djembe"[170] and blew the *abeng* - an instrumental-like shell that "was used to summon slaves to the sugar fields."[171] The performances privileged the narrative of traditional African ethnic identity in a region dominated by a Black majority. For although there is an overwhelming number of descendants of Africa representing the Caribbean due to the slave trade, to disregard the existence of indigenous Caribs and Arawaks pre-Christopher Columbus and pre-slavery is to not only overtly ignore the accurate beginning of Caribbean history but also to assume all Caribbean descendants solely originated from Africa.

What Bhabha refers to as a narrative's middle and end is unclear when analyzing the cultural-interpretive segment of the opening ceremony. The following four examples illustrate a series of shifting illusions with no historic continuity, no order of meaning with what preceded or followed and no coming of age or maturity. First, scantily clad dancers dressed in cricket gear were juxtaposed against a choir singing Jamaican song, "Strive". Soon to follow was Trinidad's Calypsonian David Rudder who sang "High Mas", a song about praising God for his givings and guidance for the bacchanal season. While the two mentioned performances displayed elements

[168] Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).
[169] Porter-Jones, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

of religion and sport in Caribbean society, the fact that these performances followed the symbolic birth of the Caribbean, reveals gaps and randomness in the narration.

Second, colorful winged runners or papillions that "represent[ed] the agriculture, the sea…[and the] beautiful flora and fauna"[172] ran on the field with "two thousand yards of fabric on the field [which represented] the rays of the sun."[173] These performances were injected into the program as symbolic representations of the region's ever-present physical attributes and thus, did not provide a middle or end to the narrative.

Third, traditional elements seemingly embedded in Caribbean culture - stilt walking, bamboo dancing and flambo bottle torch blowing - were reenacted by an all-Black group. In this case, although the reenactment alludes to traditional elements originating in Africa, reinforcing the narrative from a Black perspective as the only narrative resulted in a fixed sense of time and space within the narrative.

The fourth and final example is the Bob Marley reggae tribute, performed by the I-Threes. In the background was a videotron of Jamaican legend and icon Bob Marley, as the I-Threes sang four of his popular songs – "Old Pirates", "Three Little Birds", "Buffalo Soldier", and "One Love". To have a sporting mega-event of this magnitude in the Caribbean region and not include a Bob Marley Tribute would be ludicrous, since Jamaica was the host of the opening ceremony and Jamaica is Marley's homeland. However, two of the four songs (Old Pirates and Buffalo Soldier), conveyed messages of injustices of the slave trade, reconciling with a humiliating past and Rastafarianism which bolstered a fixed narrative of a Caribbean identity rooted in Africa traditions and customs, with no room for a multiethnic narrative.

Although the mentioned performances failed to articulate a multiethnic narrative and provide points of reference in Caribbean history of which the population identifies, there were four instances where performances succeeded in accomplishing either one or both tasks. The

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

performance of the song "Cricket Lovely Cricket" also known as becoming "the Caribbean anthem,"[174] presented a specific time of momentous achievement in Caribbean history. On June 29th 1950, a vocal crowd largely composed of Caribbean immigrants witnessed the West Indies cricket team - the only existing multi-ethnic team at that time - defeat England for the first time on England's Lord's Cricket Ground.[175] At that moment, Trinidad's Calypsonians Lord Beginner and Lord Kitchner who were present at Lord's, created the song "Cricket, Lovely Cricket", recounting the heroic display of cricket by the West Indian team, and other West Indian spectators joined in dancing on the field and around Lord's. According to Hilary Beckles, "The Lord's Test was the scene of the first 'cricket carnival' in England…For West Indians…this was their redemption song."[176]

Second of the four performances was the Indian traditional dance which lasted approximately two minutes. A glimpse of ethnic diversity surfaced when fifteen female dancers performed, adorned in gold and dressed in colorful traditional garb. Comments from Paul Keens-Douglas emphasized not only the significant presence of descendants from the Indian Subcontinent but also their contributions to the Caribbean culture and lifestyle. The most noted contribution is soca chutney, "the calypso music with the Indian feel."[177] Paula Ann Porter-Jones also made reference to the presence of Indians by saying, "The Indian culture is so much a part of West Indies culture. It's interesting that we're actually going to be competing with India."[178] Also interesting was that although a significant number of Indians exist throughout the region, especially in Guyana and Trinidad, a majority of the female performers were phenotypically Black.

The third routine, performed by Black women, depicted plantation girls in white dressed with parasols. According to announcer Paul Keens-Douglas, all performers were "represent[ing]

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[174] Ibid.
[175] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume One*, 109-110.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Paul Keens Douglas, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[178] Porter-Jones, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"

the elegance of the plantation mistresses in the slave era…most times the slaves would mock the upper classes by dressing like them and pretending to have all the airs."[179] In this case, there is again a point of reference for Caribbean history. As subtle as this performance may have been, the third routine illustrated times of slavery but instead of using White women to portray the mistresses of plantation slave owners, the planners skillfully opted out and instead presented a mimicking rendition, a mimicking of identity, which was characteristic of slaves on the plantation.

The final performance was a lengthy mock carnival. Hilary Beckles and Harclyde Walcott are two historians who have analyzed cricket, its meaning to the Caribbean and the carnival aura that goes with the sport culture.[180] Red, green, yellow and blue pitchy patchy and sensei dancers, calypso revelers vibrantly dancing, a mélange of colorful carnival costumes displayed from the host countries, and a conga line around the field led by Jamaican singjay Lovindeer, exhibited how spectators played an active celebratory role in cricket.[181] The mock carnival is also reminiscent of June 29, 1950 at Lord's Cricket Ground as well as at cricket matches where a Caribbean crowd is present. As Paul Keens-Douglas stated, "Yes, that's carnival…brings us all together. Like cricket, carnival is one thing in the Caribbean that brings everybody together."[182]

At the same token, the sequence at the end of the opening ceremony offered a narrative of unity. The universalist values, which tend to also be present in sporting mega-events was reworked through the application of specific performances. Following Bob Marley's song, "One Love," which speaks of love for humanity, Jamaican reggae artists Jimmy Cliff, Dwight Richards and Tony Rebel sang "Let's Stick Together." While the three Jamaican artists sang about regional unity and power in unity, oversized flags representative of the Caribbean hosts -

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[179] Keens Douglas, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[180] Beckles and Walcott, 370-383.
[181] Keens Douglas, "The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage"
[182] Ibid.

excluding the West Indian cricket flag that is often said to symbolize Caribbean unity through sport - were revealed on the field and carried by children. “Wonderful World, Beautiful People” sang by Jimmy Cliff was the final song which indicated global unity. As Jimmy Cliff sang the song, the fireworks began and the entire cast of volunteers formed circles. An aerial view revealed a field of color, signifying energy, diversity and unity within the Caribbean.

The Broadcast Commentary

The broadcasting of sport is central to the imagining of communities and has historically provided opportunities for identity expression as well as defined boundaries.[183] In fact, the use of spectacle to represent unified nationhood was central to the Cup’s opening ceremony’s performance. The theme *West Indian Energy* implied a single entity, a nation with the same collective identity, culture, traditions and values. These national traditions and values were overtly reiterated throughout the program. Just as James Angelini’s and Andrew Billings’ analysis of the 2004 Summer Olympic Games telecast questioned the accuracy of NBC’s coverage and expressed that “the conceptual frames adopted by announcers could be transferred to Olympic viewers,”[184] the framing of identity presented by Paula-Ann Porter-Jones and Paul Keens Douglas must also be analyzed.

Sports media telecasts are “grounded in agenda-setting and framing theories [and] mass media messages don’t tell people what to think, but what to think about.”[185] Likewise, television announcers have the power to select, emphasize and exclude content from opening ceremonies.[186] The interaction between announcers Paula-Ann Porter-Jones and Paul Keens Douglas lacked synergy and can be defined as ineffective agenda-setting and identity framing. Most noticeable was rhetoric of the Caribbean as a society with one national identity and one

[183] MacClancy, 7.
[184] Angelini and Billings. 107.
[185] Ibid, 96.
[186] Ibid, 97.

culture versus the Caribbean as a collectivity of countries with similar identities and pockets of differences: The contradicting frames of identity complicate the overarching theme of a unified Caribbean identity. As Angelini states, framing of any form of identity is of particular importance when broadcasting locally and globally since "the human mind builds frames that define perceptions and definitions of reality.[187] Further analysis of the announcers' interaction reveals an additional complication in exhibiting Caribbean identity. Porter-Jones on a few occasions was clueless as to the background of a number of traditional elements within non-Jamaican performances:

> Porter-Jones: What's a Moko Jumbie? Come explain that?
>
> Porter-Jones: Earlier on we had the sensei dancers and the shaggy bear dancers. You're saying they're all part of the same?

Although traditions throughout the English-speaking Caribbean co-exist, Paula-Ann Porter Jones' lack of knowledge of these non-Jamaican traditional elements reveals an existing exclusion and isolation, opposing the framing of a *West Indian Energy*. Porter-Jones' displayed ignorance of the history and diverse cultural and traditional elements of non-Jamaican hosts was further reinforced by not identifying the presence of political leaders when the camera focused on the dignitary box. Other than Jamaica's own acting prime minister, Portia Simpson-Miller, and Chris Dehring, not one prime minister or influential Caribbean leader was mentioned.

Overall, local organizers hoped that viewers of the Cricket World Cup would later visit the Caribbean region as tourists and investors. The ceremony was therefore choreographed to create community, entertainment, and good television. In this regard, the opening ceremony's theme of national unity portrayed a favorable image of the Caribbean to global audiences. Also noted is that difference was managed in the opening ceremony and although many stories can be told about a Caribbean identity, the ceremony privileged a Black perspective. Despite Paul Keens-Douglas reference to the Caribbean as a *melting pot* within the ceremony's spectacle of

[187] Ibid, 96-97.

West Indian Energy, Caribbean history was reduced to a series of shifting illusions, marginalizing ethnic minorities, disregarding a White presence and celebrating the dominant culture. Neither the broadcast commentary nor performances referred to the region's past history of indigenous Indians and the sugar and slavery trade. The Cricket World Cup planners avoided a negatively perceived opening ceremony by narrating the nation in random format, excluding references to genocide and the slave trade.

Online newspaper coverage

Since Jamaica was the host of the opening ceremony entitled *West Indian Energy*, it is of no surprise that the *Jamaica Gleaner* produced extensive media coverage of the spectacle. While reports existed of pre-performance hiccups, all post-performance reports echoed sentiments of pride and accomplishment for Jamaica and to a lesser extent, the English-Speaking Caribbean. Most delighted of the *Jamaica Gleaner's* writers was Tony Becca, who wrote the day after the event that "The 2007 Cricket World Cup opened in style, class and elegance…The opening ceremony was a moving and touching affair which paraded the talent of the West Indian[s]."[188] In another article, Becca declared the ceremony to not only be "the best ever opening ceremony in the history of the Cup," but also "the grandeur of the event… the colour and the scenes depicting the culture of the region…were all so magnificent that I felt like I was 10 feet tall."[189] Educators Robert Buddan and Rex Nettleford also shared the idea that the opening ceremony succeeded in representing the essence of Caribbean identity. To Budden, Jamaica "hosted a world-class opening ceremony."[190] Similarly, Nettleford expressed how pleased Jamaica and the region should be in hosting the games and those who participated and they "deserved the region's commendation and gratitude."[191]

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[188] Tony Becca, "Let the games begin," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 12, 2007.
[189] Tony Becca, "The wonderful day I felt 10 feet tall," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 16, 2007.
[190] Robert Budden, "Mixing sports and politics," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 18, 2007.
[191] Rex Nettleford, "Letter Of The Day - CWC opening 'world-class creative output'," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 13, 2007.

In addition to laudatory and self-promoting articles by the *Jamaica Gleaner,* there existed articles disregarding the objective of the theme *West Indian Energy*. News Editor Adrian Frater in his article recapped the entire spectacle but subtlety excluded the Indian traditional dance as well as the lengthy display of a mock carnival before the curtains closed. For although Frater claimed that the "Caribbean culture became the centre of the universe," Frater failed to add the word *carnival* - a tradition embedded in Caribbean cricket[192] - in his 692 word article. Dr. Orville Taylor overtly disregarded regional unity with a tirade about Antiguans' dissatisfaction with the opening ceremony. Taylor remarked, "The opening ceremony was a boss of a show. True, a few detractors such as some xenophobic Antiguans, who dislike Jamaicans and never feel we do anything right, found issue with the line-up of performers." He continued, "Bully for them. If we spent more than nine billion Jamaican dollars and we have more international stars, why shouldn't Jamaicans dominate the cast?"[193]

Although attempts were made to manage the tone of online article content on the Caribbean Media Corporation (CMC), tensions among the English-speaking islands surfaced in the regional newspapers. The result was contradicting discourses of the staging of Caribbean identity in the opening ceremony. As was earlier proven, the opening ceremony was largely impressive to the island of Jamaica. The coverage of the hosts' newspapers however, revealed limited positive coverage and/or brief praise to the island. Newspapers from Saint Kitts & Nevis, Barbados and Saint Lucia are such examples. Also apparent was the individual hosts' self-promoting the spectacle: *The Voice* featured Saint Lucian saxophonist Luther François and the costumes of Adrian Augier; Barbados' *Nation News* highlighted soca queen Alison Hinds and Rupee's performance; and *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y* praised the performances of Machel Montano, David Rudder, Machel Montano, Len "Boogsie" Sharpe and Mungal Patasar.

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[192] Adrian Frater, "Absolutely Fantastic! Mind-blowing CWC opening ceremony ," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 13, 2007.
[193] Dr. Orville Taylor, "CWC again," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 18, 2007.

The limited positive coverage and brief praise to Jamaica's hosting of the opening ceremony was no match for the abundance of criticisms directed to Jamaica, mostly from two hosts, Barbados and Trinidad. *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y* journalists believed the opening ceremony to be Jamaica-centered and not representative of the theme *West Indian Energy*. Von Dufont's article entitled, "A Jamaican 'World Cup', began by comparing Jamaica's 'failure' to exhibit the integrated shared values and culture that exemplify Caribbean identity to Jamaica's tendency to focus on self-interest, which to him caused the failure of the West Indies Federation fifty years ago.[194] An analysis of Acting Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller's speech presentation supported his argument. It was agreed that hosting the Cricket World Cup would be a concerted effort and that all countries would be represented under the umbrella of a Caribbean identity. It was therefore shocking for Dufont when he listened to Simpson "give the acid impression that it was Jamaica and not the combined West Indies that was representing the region in the World Cup Championship Competition."[195] Dufont went so far as to offer a suggestion as to how Simpson-Miller could have reworked her speech to rightfully laud the West Indies. Dufont stated, "[She] even went further to add insult to injury by describing Jamaica as the most beautiful of all the other West Indian islands instead of describing the entire Caribbean chain of islands as gems of paradise decorating the Caribbean."[196] In closing, Dufont remarked bluntly on the entire opening ceremony by saying "it turned out to be an overdose of Jamaican dancehall monotony believing the fact that it is/was a collaborative West Indian effort."

For *The Nation News'* Wayne Smith, the opening ceremony lacked a Barbadian presence and was nothing short of a variety show"[197] [with] "fleeting supporting acts…from other Caribbean artistes."[198] To Smith, "The opportunity to showcase the creative talents of the region was lost. There was no story unfolding. There was no Minshall-like magic on the field or

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[194] Von Dufont, "A Jamaican 'World Cup," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 20, 2007.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Wayne Smith, "Opening ceremony was a variety concert," *Nation News*, March 21, 2007.
[198] Ibid.

onstage."[199] Articles written by other *Nation News* contributors about Barbados' plans to host the closing ceremony on April 28 further degraded Jamaica's opening ceremony. One journalist expressed disappointment in what others have called Jamaica's variety concert "with soca artistes making cameo performances."[200] Instead "the grand finale [closing ceremony] should be a magnificent spectacle - one that all Caribbean people can be proud of…not be tainted by divisive insularity."[201] Finally from the *Nation News*, an interview by Amanda Lynch-Foster revealed that while some spectators were satisfied with the spectacle, others found the performances to be bland.[202] When Lynch-Foster interviewed Trinidadian Avalon Kelly, she said, "I wasn't blown away. I thought the performances were very short. The big acts like Alison and Machel, it was good to have them as representatives of soca and the Eastern Caribbean, but they were very short."[203]

Tensions had reached its peak with newspaper articles from *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y* and *The Guyana Chronicle.* Articles addressed the explicit exclusion of East Indian representation. Indeed, one Trinidadian article suggested that, "the few segments of East Indian culture displayed were like flakes of crumbs falling off the dining table."[204] A Guyanese writer declared, "The East Indians were marginalized with some token performances."[205] He went on to further separate Guyana from Jamaica by saying, "There were no Chutney performers! Perhaps the US$50,000 that Guyana gave to Jamaica to assist in hosting this apparent all-Jamaican affair would have been better spent."[206] The following day, Vishnu Bisram wrote a lengthy tirade on the exclusion of East Indians in the opening ceremony.[207] Listing statistics, he stated, "Indians make up nearly a quarter of the population of the English- speaking Caribbean

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[199] Ibid.
[200] "People & Things - World Cup twist," *Nation News*, April 4, 2007.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Amanda Lynch-Foster "Much pride in Caribbean spectacle," *Nation News,* March 13, 2007.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Von Dufont, "A Jamaican World Cup," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 20, 2007.
[205] "CWC opening ceremony marginalized some cultures, "*Guyana Chronicle,* March 14, 2007.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Vishnu Bisram, "Disappointed with CWC opening ceremony," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 15, 2007.

with their own unique distinct culture…[yet] chutney, tassa, dholak, yable, and Indian artistry were nowhere to be found."[208] Of great significance to Bisram were also the exclusion West Indies cricket greats of East Indian descent, Rohan Kanhai and Alvin Kalicharran.[209] In concluding, Bisram quoted Chris Dehring's themed speech of West Indian pride and asked "how do you sell that message to Indians who felt hurt at being ignored?"[210]

Concluding remarks

The *West Indian Energy* themed opening ceremony broadcasted by TVJ and ensuing regional newspaper articles pinpointed multiple narratives. The ceremony indicated how Jamaica's interpretation of a collective Caribbean identity was an opposing narrative to that of its co-hosts. More importantly, the newspapers contained differing discourses of Caribbean identity and reaffirmed the fragmented nature of Caribbean identity in the region. The mentioned newspaper articles not only prompted discussions about what constitutes Caribbean identity, but such debates were also intensified by Caribbean descendants of East Indian origin as the dominant Black perspective and the East Indian narrative were two points of contention.

While it is agreed that the overall choreography and performances of the ceremony were created for entertainment purposes, the opening ceremony's position was undeniably a contested site. The spectacle interrogated identity and *imagined community* and mirrored complexities of Caribbean identity in a globalized world. As was earlier mentioned, most noticeable at the spectacle's finale was the absence of the West Indian cricket flag when all Caribbean hosts' flags were on display. The opportunity to exhibit Caribbean identity as unified and central was lost as one of the most symbolic representations of identity and pride, the flag, was absent. From this textual analysis, it can be inferred that the meaning of *West Indian Energy* was convoluted, as is the use of the term *West Indies* to address contemporary

[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.

Caribbean identity. To present eight countries with separate agendas as an entity, a nation and as the nostalgic West Indies is complex. The narrative of a nation was shifting in meaning with phrases such as ‘ethnic,’ ‘national,’ ‘multicultural,’ and ultimately the category of ‘West Indian’ versus Caribbean. The contrasting interpretations of narrating ultimately enabled organizers of the opening ceremony to manage difference and privilege one country over another, likewise, one ethnicity over another.

CHAPTER 2:

BRIAN LARA: A SYMBOL FOR CARIBBEAN COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Trinidadian cricketer and captain of the West Indies cricket team Brian Lara led his team onto the field as participating team and host at the Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony. When Lara entered on stage to deliver the Cricketers' Declaration, his presence launched an energetic atmosphere, by way of a standing ovation, spectators' deafening applause and timely fireworks.[211] This chapter analyzes Lara as a symbolic representative of Caribbean collective identity. To do so the captain's complex role as local sport hero and global sport star will be examined. Hilary Beckles' argument that Brian Lara is the rising of the third paradigm in Caribbean cricket culture will also further analyses of Lara's symbolic representation. I argue that the same globalizing forces that made Brian Lara a multimillionaire celebrity athlete are the same forces that have disturbed the region's passionate commitment to Brian Lara, Caribbean cricket culture and ultimately to Caribbean identity.

Local sport hero and global sport star

To recognize the distinction between a local sport hero and a global sport star, Paul Gilchrist recorded a number of characteristics of a sports star, of which four are evident in articles describing Brian Lara. First, a global sport star must possess a celebrity personality for consumerism, which includes "a bewitching and magical presence…glamour…an attractiveness too powerful to be real;[212] [and they] "need to be entertainers, they need to possess actor's skills of presenting a colourful self, to maintain allure, fascination and mystery.[213] For Barbadian sports journalist Tony Cozier, Lara was magical, "the ultimate entertainer," [who always

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[211] "*The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony Live Coverage*"
[212] Hilary Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two,* 92-3.
[212] Gilchrist, 123.
[213] Ibid, 124.

displayed] "a sparkle, always a sense of enjoyment."[214] Also from *Nation News*, Haydn Gill wrote a tribute to Lara on the day of his retirement, "Brian Lara, the most celebrated, charismatic and controversial contemporary West Indian cricketer, is about to grace the field as an international player for the final time."[215] In the *Jamaica Gleaner*, an unknown author said of Lara, "There is no gainsaying that Brian Charles Lara is a great cricketer, whose batting for the West Indies has been majestic."[216]

Second, a global sport star is a media iconic with "'godlike' achievements,"[217] an icon that is "exclusive and a wonder to behold."[218] Cozier stated, "No one has served three times as captains…His statistics, of course, are incredible. He leaves with most of the game's batting records - the highest first-class score, the highest Test score, the most Test runs, the most three-figure innings by a West Indian, the most runs off an over in Tests."[219] A Reuters article which appeared in the *Guyana Chronicle* professed Lara's godlike achievements: "Now in the twilight of a career which has gathered him more Test runs than any other batsman as well as the highest Test and first-class individual scores, remains the batsman the opposition fears most."[220] In the *Jamaica Gleaner*, Daraine Luton witnessed spectators chanting, "There is only one Brian Lara and none other."[221] As an addition to the last statement regarding the chanting of spectators, consumer and media culture also transform the media icon's "hermeneutic codes of sport into 'saleable narratives'."[222] Brian Lara's sporting achievements coupled with his

[214] Tony Cozier, "Cozier on Cricket: End of a glorious era," *Nation News*. April 22, 2007.
[215] Haydn Gill, "All eyes on Kensington," *Nation News*. April 21, 2007.
[216] "A flawed genius moves on," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 21, 2007.
[217] Gilchrist, 123.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Tony Cozier, "Cozier on Cricket: End of a glorious era," *Nation News*. April 22, 2007.
[220] John Mehaffey, "Lara calls on all the weapons against champions Australia," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 27, 2007.
[221] Daraine Luton, "Windies through - Team qualifies for Super Eight round of Cricket World Cup," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 20, 2007.
[222] Gilchrist, 124.

personality therefore gained him the narrative of “Prince Lara”[223],"The shining "Black Prince"[224] and “King Lara.”[225]

The third and most well known characteristic of a global sport star is his or her celebrity status, the glitz and glamour in addition to the theatrical and dazzling importance of athletes. It is this very celebrity culture that is economically viable for corporate and media interests implicated in sporting global economy.[226] A global sport hero, “the individual who serves as a role model and exhibits moral leadership”[227] is therefore traded for what Gilchrist calls “a transient celebrity.”[228] A perfect example of Brian Lara’s sport star celebrity status is the details of his farewell celebration announced the day of Lara’s retirement. In the article, “Party with Brian!” Lara is quoted saying he would be holding a party to honor his career as well as celebrate his thirty-eight birthday, which was 2 May.[229] Lara declared, “Everyone is invited…I'll give you someone to talk to who is organising it." Further in the article, Lara’s spokesperson expressed that the party of which everyone is invited would cost US$125 (BDS$250), and the venue would be the Ebworth House, an eighteen thousand square foot plantation house in St Peter.[230] Considering the average income for Caribbean people would not allow for an attendance by everybody, the price selected a caliber of well-to-do attendees. The exorbitant price clearly excluded the Caribbean masses, “the real owners of West Indies cricket”[231] who have celebrated Lara as Prince, King and symbol of Caribbean identity.

The fourth and final characteristic of a sport star, listed by Gilchrist is the necessity to stand out regardless of whether the athlete is part of a team or not. Sport stars are to don an individual style, since they are at the end of the day, commodities, products and brands of their

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[223] Tony Becca, “Thank you very, very much Brian,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 22, 2007.
[224] Philip Spooner, “Party with Brian,” *Nation News*. April 21, 2007.
[225] Daraine Luton, “Windies through - Team qualifies for Super Eight round of Cricket World Cup,” *Jamaica Gleaner,* March 20, 2007.
[226] Gilchrist, 126.
[227] Gilchrist, 123.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Philip Spooner, “Party with Brian,” *Nation News*. April 21, 2007.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Rickey Singh, “Iron-clad World Cup demands - What next after Lara's ‘sorry’?” *Guyana Chronicle*, April 14, 2007.

corporate sponsors and to present themselves as attractive to a worldwide market is paramount.[232] Brain Lara's individualistic characteristic was observed and commented on throughout the tournament. A number of Caribbean journalists concluded that Brian Lara was an excellent player but failed as a captain, leader and team player. To understand the consensus of the definition of leadership, Prime Minister of St Vincent and the Grenadines, Dr Ralph Gonsalves' definition will be used. Gonsalves stated, "Leadership must not only inspire but leadership has to draw out of those being led, that which is good in them, that which is noble in them and to draw out of them sometimes that which they do not know they possess."[233] Dwain Carter of *Nation News* concluded Lara "has failed miserably as captain. His inadequacy, time and again, makes me wonder what is the criteria for choosing a captain."[234] The *Guyana Chronicle* summarized Lara's display of individualism by saying, "Interview after interview he talks about "the guys this…and the guys that". Infuriatingly, he takes no responsibility for the failings of the team. He tends to hold himself apart from rather than regard himself as a part of the team when it under-performs."[235] Speaking of the sport star's fame and how it has affected his role as captain, *The Voice's* Michael Castanet declared, "Lara's popularity and fame completely distorted his sense of direction as far as his captaincy was concerned and so the West Indies team remained on autopilot."[236] The *Jamaica Gleaner* also indicated Lara's sport star status as the problem for his failed leadership. The author wrote, "Unfortunately, Lara's genius with the bat did not translate into his captaincy, either on or off the field…willful and self-absorbed, he lacked the skill to mold the replacement into a disciplined, coherent unit."[237]

Brian Lara's sense of individualism described by journalists is noted in the captain's comments on his own capabilities and the West Indies team's performance. Ezra Stuart and Wade Gibbons of the *Nation News* quoted Brian Lara saying, "A captain is only as good as his

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[232] Gilchrist, 124.
[233] Wade Gibbons and Ezra Stuart, "Cold, cold Cup," *Nation News*. April 7, 2007.
[234] Dwain Carter, "Folly to recycle failures," *Nation News*. April 3, 2007.
[235] Sean Aaron, "Failure of leadership," *Guyana Chronicle*, April 16, 2007.
[236] Michael Castanet, "Brian Charles Lara 1990 – 2007: From fame to blame," *The Voice*, April 24, 2007.
[237] "A flawed genius moves on," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 21, 2007.

team. If you get a team that will work hard and play good cricket, then things go well."[238] An article in the *Guyana Chronicle* directly examining Lara's role as captain quoted Lara endorsing his talent and skills instead of promoting the skills of the West Indies cricket team. The captain said, "The opposition is going to come after the so-called key player. That's the thing that's going to bring a positive response from somebody like me."[239] A final assertion of Brian Lara's individualism was his use of the words "they", instead of "we" and "their" instead of "us" when referring to the West Indies cricket team. In describing the team's strategy for upcoming Test matches, Lara claimed, "It's not going to be dependent on one person. Everyone has got to pick their game up and perform…"We know that they can perform. That's why they are here. It has just not come to fruition at the moment."[240] This fourth and final characteristic of a global sport star, more than the others mentioned, directly explains why Brian Lara was lauded as an extraordinary athlete but criticized a as captain.

With newspaper articles and interviews, past West Indies cricketers also contributed to the debate on Brian Lara's performance as captain and member of the West Indies team. The cricket legends confirmed their verdict on whether Brian Lara was a local hero who symbolically represented a collective Caribbean identity or a cricketer who exhibited characteristics indicative of a global sport star. Of the four past cricketers, only one, Barbadian cricketer Sir Gary Sobers still envisioned Brian Lara as a local hero and blamed Brian Lara's shortcomings as captain not on Lara but on the fragile and fragmented structure of the administration. Quotations from a BBC Sports article which appeared in the *Guyana Chronicle,* revealed Sir Sobers saying, *"*There were fundamental reasons for the decline that had nothing to do with Lara. One, the board didn't have enough money to have enough camps [and] two, there were always problems with not being able to field a strong West Indies team."[241] To conclude, Sobers declared, "To build a

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[238] Wade Gibbons and Ezra Stuart, "Cold, cold Cup," *Nation News*, April 7, 2007.
[239] John Mehaffey, "Lara calls on all the weapons against champions Australia," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 27, 2007.
[240] Haydn Gill, "Backs to the wall," *Nation News*, March 31, 2007.
[241] "Who's to blame for Windies slump?", *Guyana Chronicle*, April 13, 2007.

house, if you don't have a solid foundation and you build a house, you are going to have problems later on."[242]

The remaining three critics of Brian Lara - Barbadian Joel Garner, Jamaican Michael Holding and Guyanese Colin Croft, all representative of Hilary Beckles' second paradigm – were not shy in denouncing Brian Lara as cricket local hero. Former West Indies fast bowler Joel Garner insisted that Brian Lara step down as captain. In a *Guyana Chronicle* interview, Garner stated, "He (Lara) is not doing the job and has to be replaced, there is no doubt about that. "He had the job as captain twice before and could not produce a string of successes for us. We simply need to find a new captain. We have many problems and he is not the solution."[243] Also critical of Brian Lara's failed performance as captain was Jamaican Michael Holding. Now turned television analyst, Holding made no reservations about his disapproval of Brian Lara as captain and professed, "Everyone knows he's a great batsman, but that's not what it takes to lead a team. I can't even say he is a good captain tactically."[244] The most acerbic criticism of Brian Lara however appeared in articles written by Colin Croft in the *Guyana Chronicle*. Before Brian Lara's announcement of his retirement, Croft wrote "As we now wait for Brian Lara to play his last two one-day games, so he says, in a glittering career of personal achievements, but massive collective failure, the West Indies long being left behind in the CWC 2007 stakes, I wonder where that touted leadership has gone to? It has never been evident in the first place, except in a few minds."[245]

Notably and unsurprisingly, *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y* was the least critical of Brian Lara and perceived him as local hero, in the sense of a Trinidadian rather than a West Indian sport hero. One journalist blatantly stated, "It is Brian Lara who is getting most of the blame, and that blame is coming from other islands, not from Trinidad and Tobago…They (the West Indies

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[242] Ibid.
[243] "Garner calls for Lara to step down as captain," *Guyana Chronicle,* April 4, 2007.
[244] Ezra Stuart, "Lara should go!", *Nation News*, April 4, 2007.
[245] Colin Croft, "Excuses, Excuses, Excuses! All stupid and a waste of time!", *Guyana Chronicle*, April 15, 2007.

cricket team) looked weak, pathetic and unmotivated, but the coach still has his job, and it's Lara's head for which they are calling."[246] An abundance of letters from Trinidadian fans also flooded the newspaper after the announcement of Lara's retirement. Additionally, there was an outpouring of dismay and disapproval from Trinidad & Tobago organizations. Chief Executive Officer of the Trinidad and Tobago Cricket Board, Forbes Persaud, stated, "He was both surprised and disappointed at the news."[247] The Trinidad and Tobago Olympic Committee (TTOC) President Larry Romany declared the retirement of Brian Lara as "a sad moment."[248] The Artist Coalition of Trinidad and Tobago (ACTT) "expressed great disappointment and sadness on the news of Brian Lara's retirement from international cricket."[249] In addition, The Trinidad and Tobago Sport and Youth Affairs Minister Roger Boynes publicly pleaded with Brian Lara to "reconsider his decision to quit international cricket."[250]

The third rising

In *The Development of West Indies Cricket, Volume Two*, Hilary Beckles theorized Brian Lara as the rising of the third paradigm. A cricket hero within this paradigm is apolitical, a transnational global professional who is motivated by financial gain and economic stability and is skeptical of and lacks accountability for nationalist pride and regional integration.[251] Unlike his predecessors in Beckles' paradigms one and two, Lara has managed to benefit a great deal financially, becoming the first multi-millionaire cricketer.

While globalization has financially benefitted Brian Lara, the region has been struggling with its forces for years. Beckles composed a list of globalization maladies congruent with reports in the regional newspapers.[252] On Beckles' list is the existence of political tensions by

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[246] "Is it the end of the Windies?", *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, April 15, 2007.
[247] "Lara leaves void in WI team," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, April 20, 2007.
[248] "Sad moment' says Romany," *Trinidad & Tobago's* Newsd@y, April 21, 2007.
[249] "Artists want Lara to stay," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y,* April 28, 2007.
[250] "Boynes begs Lara: Don't go," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, April 23, 2007.
[251] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two.*
[252] Ibid.

leaders who have yet to understand their role in the globalist era. During the World Cup, of the eight hosts, Barbados and Jamaica were on the verge of election, former Trinidadian Prime Minister Panday was on trial for corruption and the Saint Lucian government was torn between cutting long-standing economic ties with Taiwan in favor of newcomer China. Public embittered battles of political scandals and divided loyalties frequented newspaper coverage.

Similarly exposed by regional newspapers and on Beckles' list were reports on social conditions. For instance, reports revealed an increase in unemployment and subsequent strikes; criminal activity in schools, drug trafficking and kidnapping as well as Saint Lucia's unique case of a student exposed on the Internet doing sexual acts. Whereas Caribbean cricket culture was a "binding force of a collective regional social identity"[253] in the past, it has fallen victim to this globalizing atmosphere.[254] The sport has not been able to withstand the abandonment of nationalist sensibility, conflict of values and interests, pessimistic mentalities and cynicism presently felt by the region's population.

When consideration is given to Brian Lara, a similar ambivalence arises. Although sport generates immense wealth to global sport stars, it also raises questions about Lara's complex relationship, on the local level, with the people he represented as captain of the West Indies cricket team. While media have the power to shape the image of the sport and its sport star for global consumption, what cannot be controlled is how the Caribbean population will cognitively interpret Lara's identity as local sport hero, symbolic representation of a Caribbean identity as well as global sport star.

Paul Gilchrist posits that global sports as part of a national and cultural model are organized to be represented by athletes who symbolize the identity of their respective homelands.[255] In keeping with Gilchrist's statement, regional journalists reiterated the historical significance of cricket as a binding and unifying force in the English-speaking Caribbean and a

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[253] Ibid 92-3.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Gilchrist, 121.

hope for a reinforced Caribbean identity through the performance of Brian Lara and his team. Journalists were quoted declaring, “West Indian people have, for the most part, accepted this burden [of hosting the Cricket World Cup], because of the context they ascribe to cricket: its central and liberating role in the emergence of a Caribbean civilisation, that remains a work in progress…Lara and his men should remind themselves that in these isles, cricket is more than details, it encompasses our lives”;[256] “Yet perhaps it's not merely cricket on trial, but the entire idea of regional identity. Not only is there nothing more West Indian than cricket, it may be the only truly West Indian thing left…Maybe cricket lovers exaggerate the importance of this 'West Indian' identity. We're only talking about 5 million people in total after all. But must be something noble and good in anything that peacefully binds together otherwise disparate nations for so long over such far distances;”[257] “This West Indies win has surely rejuvenated the country's passion for cricket…maybe the love never went away;”[258] “Many Jamaicans can't abide Brian Lara, mainly because it's a Trini and not a Yardie who has set so many world marks. Yet they are proud it's a West Indian who has those records, and cheer him wildly at Sabina Park. The shifting mindsets of this unique dynamic must fascinate any student of nationalism;”[259] “They do not see…any connection between the Caribbean's hosting of the World Cup and this year's celebration of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. Or they care not nor understand their roles as inheritors of the legacy of Constantine and Headley and Worrell; of Lord's 1950 and Australia 1960.”[260] Sport and revered athletes are in this case therefore a necessary symbol to represent the image and identity of a nation to the rest of the world.

From his predecessors, Sir Learie Constantine, Sir Frank Worrell, Clive Lloyd and Sir Viv Richards, Captain Brian Lara inherited the role of cricket hero. This role was to primarily serve

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[256] “Betrayal of a legacy,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 11, 2007.
[257] Kevin O’Brien Chang, “A passion for West Indies cricket,” Jamaica *Gleaner*, March 11, 2007
[258] Kevin O’Brien Chang, “Cricket sweet can't done! What a match!”, *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 18, 2007.
[259] Ibid.
[260] “Hard decisions needed on Windies cricket,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 12, 2007.

as a symbol of a collective Caribbean identity. Lara understood his task as is stated in his remarks to newspapers after the first win against Pakistan: "It was tremendous. The people of Jamaica and others around the Caribbean showed their patriotism. It was a high point for us;"[261] “We know the whole West Indian experience is very unique;” "It all boils down to the fact that everyone has West Indies cricket at heart; we've got to go out there and fight for our country;"[262] “It is really a state of shock to be here and be unable to fulfill, not just our dreams but the dreams of the people of the Caribbean."[263]

As early as the preliminary round however, and for the remainder of the Cup, there appeared to be an increased number of skeptics about Brian Lara. The captain’s role as cricket hero, continuing a legacy of pride and representing Caribbean identity was questioned: “So how much of a chance does Brian Lara and his men have at restoring West Indian pride? The truth is, it would be somewhat surprising if they reach the semi-finals;”[264] “It would have been as painful for Brian Lara to publicly offer his mea culpa for the humiliating let down by the West Indies team in this Cricket World Cup tournament, as it must be for the West Indian people across our region and the Diaspora to accept his plea for forgiveness.”[265]

Colin Croft wrote a lengthy article after Brian Lara retired from international cricket and in this article are statements that recap Brian Lara’s complex negotiation of local sport hero and global sport star. Additionally, the article ties in with Hilary Beckles’ certainty that Brian Lara is the third rising paradigm in Caribbean cricket culture. Firstly, as a captain, Brian Lara failed because “whatever he did individually never managed to inspire the collective.”[266] Secondly, as a sportsman, Lara “must always want to do well for his team, along with doing well for himself.”[267] Further in his article, Croft equated Brian Lara’s track record of failures before and

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[261] Haydn Gill, “Sweet One!” *Nation News*, March 14, 2007.
[262] Philip Spooner, “Quick pick!”, *Nation News*, March 11, 2007.
[263] Ezra Stuart, “So sorry, says Lara,” *Nation News*, April 11, 2007.
[264] “Not the best of times for West Indies,” *Nation News*, March 12, 2007.
[265] Rickey Singh, “Our Caribbean: Will WICB, govts also say 'sorry,'” *Nation News*, April 13, 2007.
[266] Colin Croft, “Brian Charles Lara - ‘The end brings new beginnings’,” *Guyana Chronicle*, April 23, 2007.
[267] Ibid.

during the Cricket World Cup to distrusted political leaders of the Caribbean saying, "I would allow that Brian Lara has probably been the best politician that the Caribbean has ever produced. After all, it is not a normal being who could manage such leadership failures; three times; managing to convince some supposed very learned and experienced people that his leadership was so good that it was what everyone needed; thrice!"[268]

Despite outcries from the Caribbean public about their discontent with Brian Lara's inconsistency in play, there was an outpouring of sympathy for the captain when he announced his retirement on 19 April. The last appearance for the captain and batsman was to be played on 21 April against England. Criticism of Lara's ill-conceived decisions as captain and the weak and embarrassing performance of West Indies cricket were no longer a priority. After Lara's announcement, articles from sports journalists Tony Cozier and Rickey Singh advanced an analysis on the symbolic representation of Brian Lara to Caribbean psyche and identity: "He [Brian Lara] has been, in many respects, for better or for worse, West Indies cricket. No one has served three times as captain, each stint a tough trial compounded by the many shortcomings of an inept and divided administration and his own impatience and indiscretions;"[269] "Because he had come to embody so much of our West Indian pride as he dazzled the world of cricket with his genius as a batting sensation, we kept expecting too much too often from him and, finding it too difficult to conceal our disappointments when expectations were unfulfilled, there flowed the emotional criticisms, some quite unkind at times."[270] It can be inferred from the former statement that Cozier's analysis on Brian Lara's overall inconsistency in performance as well as his uncertainty in decisions are congruent with the ambivalence and fragmentation existent in the Caribbean region. The latter statement by Singh illustrated the complex negotiation of a sport hero, a role Lara inherited from the Caribbean and global superstar, a role principally achieved through mediated global forces. For Singh, Brian Lara's loyalties were divided and this division

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[268] Ibid.
[269] Tony Cozier, "Cozier on Cricket: End of a glorious era," *Nation News*, April 22, 2007.
[270] Rickey Singh, "Farewell Prince Lara," *Guyana Chronicle*, April 22, 2007.

was misunderstood by his Caribbean fans, which ultimately resulted in Lara surrendering his role.

Concluding remarks

Following Hilary Beckles' conviction that a cricket hero is representative of the Caribbean region, Brian Lara represents individualism with his lack of concern for teamwork and integration. As well, Lara's fragility, inconsistency and uncertainty displayed by his actions on and off the field, mirror characteristics evident in the contemporary English-speaking Caribbean. Whilst the region is coming to terms with globalizing forces, so too was Lara negotiating his identity as both local hero and global sport star.

Articulation of Brian Lara's identity as sport hero and global hero is not as one dimensional as cricket heroes in Beckles' previous paradigms. Instead Brian Lara's identity as sport hero and global hero is a multifaceted rising of the third paradigm. For, despite the tirades by Caribbean journalists, past cricket greats and the Caribbean spectators, Brian Lara's final appearance as sport hero, sport star, captain and batsman and symbol of the English-speaking Caribbean attracted praises and tributes in newspaper articles. As well, a record number of spectators attended Lara's final performance on 21 April against England with heavy hearts and eyes filled with tears for "Prince Lara".

CHAPTER 3:

CARIBBEAN CRICKET SPECTATORSHIP

Cricket enthusiasts declare Caribbean cricket spectatorship differs vastly from that of the rest of the cricket world.[271] The opening ceremony's mock carnival routine with vibrant color, along with the interaction among cricketers and the crowd with the presence of music and musical instruments, is a glimpse of Caribbean cricket spectatorship. Attempts to exploit this unique character of carnival spectatorship in the name of sports tourism were made by organizers of the Cricket World Cup. However, instead of honoring and relying on its most valuable resource, the Caribbean spectators, local organizing committees opted to place foreigners as priority and entertain them with professional performers and organized entertainment. This chapter is dedicated to Caribbean cricket spectatorship and examines reasons why Caribbean spectatorship was compromised at the mega-event. Additionally, how compromising Caribbean spectatorship affected the notion of a collective Caribbean identity will be discussed. The three stages of the game - preliminary round, Super 8 matches and semi-finals and finals - will be points of references for this analysis. On doing so, not only is there a chronological order to events related to spectatorship but also, the level of intensity on the subject of compromised carnival spectatorship will be clearly illustrated.

Preliminary Round: March 13-25

Two days after the opening ceremony, the first ball was bowled at Sabina Park in Kingston, where the West Indies cricket team played against cricket powerhouse Pakistan. For the remainder of Jamaica's hosting of Group A teams - Ireland, Pakistan, West Indies and Zimbabwe, a plethora of articles on euphoric fans were evident throughout the *Jamaica Gleaner*. In the article "Cricket sweet can't done! What a match!" Kevin O'Brien Chang's stated,

[271] Burton, 91.

"the crowd fervently cheered Smith…Ramdin threw the ball in the air and the umpire's finger went up and Sabina erupted as one. The match was ours."[272] He continued by saying, "While clapping and chanting Smith up to the stumps, you felt like part of one huge united force. When the crowd rose and roared for the wicket it felt simply magical. This is what West Indian cricket and unity are all about."[273] Chang's commentary on the interplay of the crowd with cricketers buttresses Richard D.E. Burton's assertion that "The [Caribbean] spectators are…just as much participants as the players themselves, so that the frontier between players and spectators…is continually being breached by members of the crowd to field the ball, to congratulate successful batsmen and bowlers."[274] Within the preliminary round, newspaper articles from the *Jamaica Gleaner* reflected Jamaica's delight with the record number of spectators flocking the stands,[275] partying in the Red Stripe mound, "many dressed in the colours of the Jamaican flag,"[276] some donned fake dreadlocks hats, doing the Mexican wave and "dancing and screaming at the top of their lungs, the fans…were a huge part of the experience."[277] The presence of cricket visitors was apparent as they basked in the sun, consumed Jamaican souvenirs and partied on the Red Stripe Mound stand. The Caribbean local cricket flavor, the West Indian energy performed by Caribbean spectators as was depicted in the opening ceremony, was however minimal.

Whereas the *Jamaica Gleaner* described the country's first two weeks of hosting fans as an overall exhilarating experience with record numbers in ticket sales, Saint Lucia's hosting of Group C – Canada, England, Kenya, New Zealand – included the experience of Caribbean locals, which provided a different account. As early as the first day after Group C's first match at the Beausejour Stadium, there were incidents of Saint Lucians being turned away because they were carrying restricted items listed by the International Cricket Council (ICC). There was a report, for example, of a Saint Lucia woman who was turned away because, as is customary for

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[272] Kevin O'Brien Chang, "Cricket sweet can't done! What a match!", *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 18, 2007.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Shelly-Ann Thompson, "Plenty of rallying today at Sabina," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 23, 2007.
[276] "All hail the fans," *Jamaica Gleaner*, March 20, 2007.
[277] Ibid.

Caribbean spectators to bring food to daylong Test matches, she was carrying a Pyrex dish into the stadium, which for the Cricket World Cup was a prohibited item.[278] Two days later, the ban on taking bottled water into stadia was lifted. However bottle caps had to be removed before entering the stadium much to the chagrin of health specialists. One infuriated health specialist declared, "It is unhealthy for the caps to be removed; in fact in situations where there is mass crowd participation, all foods and drinks should be kept covered as much as possible."[279] Despite public outcry, Dr. Marion Bullock DuCasse, Chair of CWC's Medical, Health & Anti-Doping Directorate, was not in agreement with Saint Lucia's health specialists, and the bizarre request was strictly enforced. One Saint Lucian was quoted saying, "What sense does it make for me to go to watch the cricket?"[280]

Local protest in Saint Lucia was ignited from the ICC's restrictions with the high cost to attend.[281] As a desperate attempt to fill the embarrassing number of empty seats for the two remaining test matches, the Saint Lucian government, the Local Organising Committee and the Saint Lucia Tourist Board offered bargain prices to Saint Lucians and free tickets to school children.[282] The lackluster atmosphere was reported by Robertson Henry, who thanked a group of high school students from St. Joseph's Convent for providing a spurt of entertainment and gave visitors "a taste of what it could be."[283] On the final preliminary Test match day hosted by Saint Lucia, an article appeared in *The Voice*, which proposed reasons for the low attendance numbers were the Government's preoccupation with profit; and even with 10,000 tickets bought by government officials to distribute throughout the island, "restrictions and the high price of food and beverage prevented many from using the free tickets."[284] Disapproval of the ICC's

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[278] "No CWC Hiccups," *The Voice*, March 15, 2007.
[279] "ICC orders bottle caps taken: Patrons unhappy over health risk," *The Voice*, March 17, 2007.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Maria Fontenelle, "SLTB capitalizing on CWC," *The Voice*, March 22, 2007; "CWC a success by any Measure," *The Voice*, March 24, 2007.
[283] Robertson Henry, "SJC girls bring Beausejour alive," *The Voice*, March 22, 2007.
[284] "CWC A success by any Measure," *The Voice*, March 24, 2007.

restrictions on items allowed in the Beausejour Stadium, as well as financial constraints, prevented Saint Lucian cricket spectators from exhibiting carnival cricket in mass numbers.

Although Saint Kitts & Nevis *Leeward Times* did not provide sufficient information on the Cricket World Cup's spectator numbers, an article in Barbados' *Nation News*, provides a glimpse into the atmosphere of Saint Kitts & Nevis hosting of Group A - Australia, Netherlands, Scotland and South Africa.[285] Dr. Denzil Douglas, Saint Kitts & Nevis Prime Minister, commented on the spectator attendance and "acknowledged that while large crowds attended the World Cup matches in his country, the overall attendance fell short of expectations."[286] Additionally, Prime Minister Douglas confirmed, "This is what I am hearing in some of the other countries, especially when you consider that one of the teams which has the largest following, the Indian side, has been knocked out early. It is definitely going to affect the influx of visitors into the region for the World Cup."[287] The prime minister's analysis on the reasons for low attendance numbers though accurate for tourism, neglected to include spectatorship numbers from local or regional attendees and reasons for their low attendance numbers.

Trinidad's hosting of Group B - Bermuda, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka - exposed an intensity in frustrations due to limitations imposed by the International Cricket Council on the local population as well, the financial constraints that excluded the masses from enjoying cricket. Before the first Test match was played in Trinidad, an article in the *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y* publicized the protocol for carrying instruments into the Queen's Park Oval and thus, set the tone for the discontent by local spectators.[288] The protocol for taking instruments into the Oval included a written request for approval to the Local Organising Committee (LOC) that would then be forwarded to the Security Working Group for final approval.[289] Otherwise, "conch

[285] "Crowd shortfall," *Nation News*, March 28, 2007.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Walter Alibey, "Media impressed with Oval," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y,* March 13, 2007.
[289] Ibid.

shells and all musical instruments [were] prohibited from use during the competition."[290] This of course was frowned upon by Caribbean spectators who have traditionally carried with them "conch shells, kettle drums, flutes, fifes,"[291] to celebrate in theatrical performance, that which is Caribbean cricket culture.[292]

As was the case in Jamaica, reports of cricket lovers enjoying the World Cup experience tended to refer to tourists and visitors. Professional entertainment organized by the Local Organising Committee, came in the form of traditional carnival characters, Dame Lorraines, moko jumbies and steel pan players.[293] Also included in entertainment for the fans was "spectators in mime," where pretend spectators were frozen in a seated position in the street. To assume that Caribbean spectatorship was completely ignored, is therefore erroneous. However, to conclude that Caribbean spectatorship was misrepresented when acknowledged is accurate. When the last World Cup match was played in Trinidad, empty seats and poor attendance were reported. This trend "had become a norm throughout the Group B phase, overshadowed the historic magnitude of having the world's third largest sporting event being played on [Trinidad's] shores."[294] *Trinidad and Tobago Newsd@y's* Kern Ramlochan maintained low attendance had little to do with the inclement weather and more to do with "the views of the public towards the brown package;"[295] "the inability of Minister of Sport Roger Boynes to bring the West Indies team or the finals of the tournament to Trinidad and Tobago;"[296] and the fact that fans were already angered throughout the tournament by high prices, food restrictions, clothing restrictions and other numerous restrictions levied on them by the ICC."[297]

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[290] Ibid.
[291] Beckles and Walcott, 379.
[292] Ibid; Burton.
[293] Melissa Lara, "Bermudans do jumbie dance," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 16, 2007; "India vs. Sri Lanka - a drawing card for fans," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 24, 2007.
[294] Kern Ramlochan, "Rain on TT's parade," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 26, 2007.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.

Super Eight matches: March 27-April 21

As early as the first week of the World Cup, Guyana's concerns for the high ticket prices forecasted what was to come. On 13 March, Guyanese member of the Local Organising Committee, Karran Singh blamed the Guyanese 'cultural mentality' of purchasing tickets last minute for the low ticket sales.[298] A response to Karran Singh's assertion the next day read, "While the 'cultural mentality' of Guyanese may be a factor in the lack of sales of the cheaper tickets, the socioeconomic reality of Guyana - where the cheapest ticket represents a decent chunk or all of the average monthly paycheque - can also be a likely factor as well."[299] On March 23, reports of locals within the region unfamiliar with electronic turnstiles being turned away was also cause for concern because patrons were used to entering and re-entering freely the stadium during matches, of which this technology prohibited.[300]

Expectedly within the two weeks of hosting, frustrations from the Caribbean population in Guyana had peaked. In Guyana, there was an initial air of optimism campaigned by the chairman of Guyana's Local Organising Committee, Dr. Frank Anthony, who was adamant about hosting a successful Cricket World Cup much to the chagrin of naysayers who questioned Guyana's preparedness. [301] Despite reports of low attendance regionally, Anthony expected sixty percent of the stadium's capacity to be sold for the first match to be played the next day, Sri Lanka versus South Africa.[302] The air of optimism was thinned after the first match and what was communicated in the *Guyana Chronicle* was mixed messages of successful matches, yet low attendance from locals. For although *Guyana Chronicle's* Neil Marks reported the first match at the Providence Stadium was an overall success and was given the nod of approval by Guyana's President Jagdeo as well as the ICC's Malcolm Speed; Marks also reported that "The modest crowd at Providence, just over 5, 000, was synonymous with the less than capacity filled

[298] Neil Marks, "Guyana last lap for CWC," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 13, 2007.
[299] "CWC Minority Report," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 14, 2007.
[300] "New 'Stile' of entering for ICC CWC 2007 matches," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 23, 2007.
[301] Neil Marks, "Is we time! - Anthony promises world class event, no chaos," *Guyana Chronicle*, March 27, 2007.
[302] Ibid.

stadiums in the rest of the Caribbean." In addition to the low attendance numbers, Marks also described similar instances reported throughout the region where Guyanese patrons were confused about ICC regulations; as well, electronic turnstile prohibited Guyanese patrons to re-enter.[303]

The poor attendance by Caribbean spectators and the absence of the unique and traditional Caribbean cricket culture could no longer go unnoticed. On 30 March, ICC Chief Executive Malcolm Speed made a public plea in Guyana to Caribbean spectators, which appeared in all regional newspapers.[304] The plea was to encourage Caribbean spectators, musicians, and entertainers, with permission from the Local Organising Committee, to 'bring in the noise' to the cricket matches - the flutes, drums, conch shells and shake shakes.[305] Speed was quoted saying, "We don't seek to take the West Indian flavour out of it. We want to hear that noise. We want to hear that enthusiasm."[306]

Whether it was the performance of the West Indies cricket team on 1 April that was a disappointment to local fans, turning them off the tournament, or the built up frustrations of Caribbean spectators with the ICC regulations, or the high prices, or a combination of all three, the West Indian flavor Malcolm Speed was hoping for, made scanty guest appearances but never truly surfaced. For while a small group of drummers were present at the 8 April match, *Nation News* reported, "instruments like conch shells, horns, shak shaks, drums and trumpets, were noticeably absent…Whereas the cricket on the field has been mostly compelling, cultural entertainment has been sadly lacking."[307]

At this point in the Cricket World Cup, Caribbean spectators' frustrations had peaked in Antigua. 27 March marked the 26th anniversary of the first Test match played in Antigua and the first One-Day International at the Sir Vivian Richards Cricket Ground. The West Indies versus

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[303] Ibid.
[304] "Roll up de tassa! Way to go!" *Guyana Chronicle*, March 31, 2007.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ezra Stuart, "Cricket straight up - for Guyana fans," *Nation News*, April 8, 2007.

Australia match was therefore a momentous occasion and was marked as a Public Holiday by the Antiguan government. Despite Antigua's Local Organsing Committee member, John Maginley's satisfaction with spectator attendance, reports the next day described what had become a trend throughout the region: "the high costs of tickets together with stringent restrictive arrangements in place, deter[red] some fans from flocking to the stadia."[308] The result of the local protest was an embarrassing number of empty seats at Sir Viv Richards Cricket Ground and the absence of Caribbean spectatorship."[309] Throughout the Antiguan tourney, there were additional complaints from visitors as well as from international media. Former England captain Michael Atherton noted, "So far it has been lacking in any kind of spontaneity, or Caribbean flavour, and has been dismally supported."[310] Scyld Berry of England's *Telegraph* also weighed in on the lack of local flavor and observed that the Cricket World Cup had been "devoid of vitality or colour.[311] One spectator from England lamented, "The cricket is okay, but the cricket is only one of the aspects. I feel I could be anywhere in the world and not in the Caribbean."[312] Another cricket fan from Manchester, Dougie Nattan declared, "The true Caribbean spirit is not coming through. It's been so sanitized."[313] Even namesake Sir Viv Richards laid into the argument stating, "Caribbean people have been held by the throat [by the ICC regulations]."[314]

Antigua is an island that boasts avid cricket loving citizens and colorful mass heroes.[315] A public uproar that the ICC never envisioned happened on 1 April, when the ICC shut down the music of Antiguan icon and mass hero, DJ Chickie.[316] Comments from cricketers as well as angered Antiguans echoed sentiments of disappointment and anger: "The ICC should have

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[308] "Crowd shortfall," *Nation News*, March 28, 2007.
[309] Zaid Mohammed, "Muted start to Antigua Super 8s," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 28 2007.
[310] Amanda Lynch-Foster, "No Calypso Cricket," *Nation News*, April 2, 2007.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Hadyn Gill, "Cricket, but no Caribbean," *Nation News*, April 5, 2007.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Haydn Gill, "Sir Viv: Too many rules," *Nation News*. April 7, 2007.
[315] Beckles and Walcott, 380; See Appendix D.
[316] Zaid Mohammed, "ICC pulls plug on DJ Chickie," *Trinidad & Tobago's Newsd@y*, March 30 2007.

made certain concessions to the Local Organising Committees (LOCs) to preserve the distinct character of Caribbean cricket grounds;"[317] "The grounds in the Caribbean have a different atmosphere and are all unique;"[318] "The ICC has failed to understand the cricket culture that exists in the Caribbean which is different to anywhere else in the world;"[319] "the unique Caribbean atmosphere has been diminished by the ICC's enforcement of their rules and regulations."[320] In an article, "No Carnival cricket" Amanda Lynch-Foster described the atmosphere of a typical Test match in Antigua and how very different the atmosphere was the Cricket World Cup. "It was surprising to see the Vivian Richards Cricket Ground half-empty last Tuesday. Antiguans originated the party stand concept and gave the world the most entertaining and exciting cricket characters of all."[321]

Mass heroes of Caribbean spectatorship, an element that was absent from reports of the other countries' experiences, was significantly reported in Antigua. The prominence of these mass heroes drew so much attention that Soni Paresh of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Amanda Lynch-Foster of *Nation News*, featured Antigua's mass heroes and icons: DJ Chickie, Gravy, Mayfield and Pappi the Bugler.[322] Both articles acknowledged the rich history of Antiguan spectators turn mass heroes and recounted the emergence of DJ Chickie in 1986 and Gravy in 1988."[323] Moreover, while DJ Chickie restricted his comments on the absence of local support because of his contract with the ICC, mass hero Gravy was more forthcoming in his remarks: "It's not the same feeling here with all the ICC regulations and security. We have a Caribbean way of doing things and if you take that away from us you're left with nothing. I will

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[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Amanda Lynch-Foster, "No Calypso Cricket," *Nation News*, April 2, 2007.
[322] Soni Paresh, "Antigua's colourful cricket fans," *Guyana Chronicle*, April 3, 2007; Amanda Lynch-Foster, "No Calypso Cricket," *Nation News*, April 2, 2007; See Appendix D.
[323] Soni Paresh, "Antigua's colourful cricket fans," *Guyana Chronicle*, April 3, 2007.

still do what I want to do and I say to the ICC let the police officers decide whether there's anything wrong."[324]

Antigua's discontent with the ICC could no longer go unnoticed. It is within this context that cricket officials Chris Dehring and ICC's Malcolm Speed made public statements before the second wave of the Super 8 matches was to be hosted in Grenada and Barbados. A marketing campaign called "Ram-de-Dance" was launched one day before Antigua's last host match, and stipulated that musical instruments were now allowed in stadia, without permission from local organizing committees and food was also permitted. Furthermore, Dehring admitted to his organization's lack of communication to the Caribbean population and encouraged the Caribbean region to bring the traditional local carnival flavor back into cricket to fill stadiums for the remaining twelve Super Eight matches in Grenada and Barbados, the semi-finals and the final.[325] Prime Minister and CARICOM Chairman Dr. Keith Mitchell also accepted blame for ignoring the Caribbean masses and was quoted saying " The region's culture, particularly the food and musical aspects, "two critical factors", should have been given more importance during negotiations to hosting this event."[326]

The second wave of the Super Eight matches appeared less contentious than that of the previous wave. The launch of "Ram-de-Dance" as well as efforts from local governments, tourist and media organizations of both Barbados and Grenada proved to be the first instance where a strategic plan was in motion to primarily cater to Caribbean local spectators, even if the plan was the final resort to resurrect the otherwise dead atmosphere of the Cricket World Cup. Troy Garvey, Grenada's LOC communication manager, promoted the new "Ram-de-Dance" marketing campaign days before the first match in Grenada.[327] The Barbados Tourist Board and the Grenada Tourist Board collaborated, slashed cruise ship prices and made trips between

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[324] Ibid.
[325] "Dehring dispels World Cup 'myths'," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 10, 2007.
[326] "Mitchell: Some mix-ups in agreements," *Nation News*, April 10, 2007.
[327] Kevin Pile, "Grenada poised to host first-ever World Cup match," *Guyana Chronicle*, April 10, 2007.

both islands affordable for islanders who would have otherwise not been able to travel.[328] Although spectatorship itself was not found in regional newspapers, the *Nation News* reported that Prime Minister Keith Mitchell was pleased with the outcome and that three of the four matches held in Grenada boasted 10,000 fans.[329]

The host credited for remaining loyal to the Caribbean cricket culture and its local spectators would be Barbados. *Nation News* reminded readers of the uniqueness of Caribbean cricket, its historical significance and the need to celebrate Caribbean "calypso cricket"[330], not just for the region but also to the world. As early as 19 March, weeks before the island was positioned to host the Cup, the Local Organising Committee's chief executive officer Stephen Alleyne thoroughly explained ICC regulations as well as the protocol on carrying instruments into the Kensington Oval, at the same time reiterated the significance of creating a "cultural atmosphere."[331]

Barbados had the advantage of learning from the mistakes of others as final host. Regional newspaper articles highlighted the negatives but offered solutions, which would prove beneficial to Barbados. For instance, Tony Cozier commented 1 April and 2 April, on the lackluster atmosphere in the region due to high ticket prices and stifling ICC regulations, especially in Antigua and Guyana and urged cricket officials to make arrangements to pacify Caribbean spectators for the remainder of the Cup.[332] Also recorded by the *Nation News* was the optimistic marketing campaign launch of "Ram-de-Dance"[333] and the ICC's decision to remove the no re-entry policy at stadia.[334]

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[328] Ezra Stuart, "Bajans enjoy cricket," *Nation News*, April 15, 2007
[329] Ezra Stuart, "Grenada bounces back from storm," *Nation News*, April 20, 2007.
[330] Mike King, "CWC 'never about fans'," *Nation News*. April 11, 2007.
[331] Tracy Moore, "Fans told: Make noise for CWC," *Nation News*. March 19, 2007.
[332] "For Cup's sake!" *Nation News*, April 1, 2007; Tony Cozier, "Wild, wild West Indies," *Nation News*, April 2, 2007.
[333] Let the party begin," *Nation News*, April 7, 2007.
[334] Ezra Stuart, "CWC eases squeeze," *Nation News*, April 8, 2007.

The rigorous campaign to ensure Caribbean cricket fans included the distribution of free tickets to many residents.[335] And so, despite an economic loss by the Barbadian government, the Kensington Oval was packed for all remaining matches and the Caribbean flavor, so much needed previously with conch shells and drums, with mass hero Gravy and friends, finally appeared in Barbados.[336] Vaneisa Baksh of *Nation News* was pleased with Caribbean fans who she believed exhibited "People Power," in protesting their disappointment in arrangements made for the Cricket World Cup.[337] The power in numbers exhibited a unity she hoped to transcend in other aspects of Caribbean life.[338]

Semis and Final matches: April 24, 25 and 28

On the last three days of the tournament, the shift from tourist to local spectatorship was apparent for the semi-finals, Saint Lucia and Jamaica, and final host Barbados. Compared to the Preliminary Round and the Super 8 matches, local spectator attendance has increased. According to *The Voice* the drastic change in spectator attendance on the declared public holiday, 24 April, was the doing of the ICC and its decision to relax restrictions on instruments, food and beverage.[339] The *Jamaica Gleaner* also described Sabina Park as a mass party, filled with festive patrons and Caribbean flavor. [340]

Barbados was the country to host the final match between Australia and Sri Lanka, as well the country that hosted the closing ceremony on 28 April. Of a capacity of 28,000, the Kensington Oval recorded 25,000 cricket fans on the day of the final.[341] Caribbean locals in Barbados had the opportunity many other fans in other host countries were denied. That is, a relaxed and almost non-existent policy on re-entry, food, beverage and musical instruments.

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[335] Amanda Lynch-Foster, "9000 tickets for the taking," *Nation News*, April 8, 2007.
[336] Philip Spooner, "We love it," *Nation News*, April 16, 2007; "Ticket rush," *Nation News*, April 16, 2007.
[337] Vaneisa Baksh, "Firefly: 10 things to love," *Nation News*, April 16, 2007.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Maria Fontenelle, "Thousands for Semis," *The Voice*, April 24, 2007.
[340] "Creating a fresh start for WICB," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 25, 2007.
[341] "Rain puts damper on final*," Nation News*. April 29, 2007.

Additionally, quite a number of local fans were awarded free tickets to watch the final match and closing ceremony. It was indeed the ideal atmosphere to exhibit the Caribbean flavor that so many visitors yearned for from local spectators. It seems as if Barbados' marketing strategy worked as one visitor from India said, "I want to say that Barbados was the greatest experience."[342]

Caribbean cricket and collective identity

Since the emergence of cricket in the English-speaking Caribbean, the sport that was initially a hegemonic force by the British Empire became a symbol of liberation and nationalism. The symbolism of liberation and nationalism was fought for and created by a proletariat class, and throughout the years, maintained by a rising bourgeois class. It is within this context that cricket became for a symbol for a collective Caribbean identity.[343] The importance of cricket to the Caribbean population was expressed throughout the tournament by letters to the newspaper, and articles from individuals of all walks of life. A letter from a Barbadian woman living in Tacoma, Washington said of the poor state of Caribbean, "Regional identity is at stake in West Indies cricket…Win, lose or draw, West Indies cricket invades the souls of West Indians."[344] On a popular radio call-in program "Down To Brass Tacks," a flood of callers condemned the Cricket World Cup. One caller from London remarked, "The worst thing about this World Cup was that Caribbean people had been priced out of watching a sport they loved, and one which had united them as a people over the last 60 years…the mistake had been made before a ball was bowled, when regional officials who went to the negotiation table with the International Cricket Council (ICC), didn't do their homework properly regarding exactly what part Caribbean fans could play in making the tournament a success."[345] Dr Isaac Newton, an

[342] Tracy Moore, "Cup of highs, lows," *Nation News*, April 29, 2007.
[343] Orlando Patterson, "The ritual of cricket," in *Liberation Cricket*, ed. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995), 141.
[344] "Letter of the Day - WI cricket failure means loss of regional identity," *Jamaica Gleaner*, April 25, 2007.
[345] "Clean bowled by CWC," *Nation News*, April 12, 2007.

international leadership and change management consultant and political adviser pronounced, “Planning for the CWC was as much about our embodied identity as it was about hosting a first time event. To glorify our improved infrastructure but not personify the Caribbean spirit, with the rare exception of the opening ceremony, was an unsettling revelation.”[346]

Cricket is one significant component of life in the English-speaking Caribbean where even those of the lower class have, through spectatorship, been historically afforded the opportunity of making an enduring input into the society.[347] It is the collective memory, the romanticized days of cricket that, in essence drives Caribbean cricket spectatorship. Likewise, the ovals, cricket grounds and stadia have all been arenas where the masses through music, theatrical and dramatic performances, especially performances by their mass heroes, have passionately expressed societal tensions and conflicts. [348] However, when the tension has escalated to unbearable levels and Caribbean spectators feel their power has been compromised whether as spectators or as citizens, there has been retaliation: The Bourda Ground riots of 1953-54 (Guyana); the Queens Park Oval riots of 1959-1960 (Trinidad); The Sabina Park riot of 12 February 1968 (Jamaica).

Frustrations and rage by Caribbean cricket fans were commonplace at the Cricket World Cup. Throughout the islands, discontent with ticket prices, the ICC’s strict regulations and the West Indies cricket team, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, Caribbean cricket fans retaliated by not attending the matches. Vaneisa Baksh wrote in the *Nation News*:

> People Power: Fans demonstrated clearly that even if others would not stand up to International Cricket Council restrictions, they would. Staying away as fearsomely as they did worked

[346] Issaac Newton, “Grand illusion, bad planning,” *Nation News*, April 22, 2007.
[347] June Sommer, "Cricket and the politics of West Indies integration," in *Liberation Cricket*, ed. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995), 261.
[348] Maurice St. Pierre, "The ritual of cricket," in *Liberation Cricket*, ed. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995).

> powerfully to amend clauses that seemed etched in stone. Now if only we understood the significance of wielding that power in daily living, we could change a lot more around here.[349]

Based on actions by spectators and the wealth of comments from the public to media outlets, the supremacy of cricket in the Caribbean psyche remains a source of inspiration. Baksh's article is demonstrative of the fact that Caribbean cricket still dwells in the region to an extent, as a unifying force and as a symbol for collective Caribbean identity.

Concluding remarks

In Hilary Beckles' conclusion of *The Development of West Indies Cricket, Volume Two*, he optimistically commented, "Citizens show no intention of delinking identity discourse from popular culture – in which cricket wears the crown."[350] Beckles continued by declaring, "The protection and promotion of the game will be essentially part of a strategy of self-empowerment and self-definition."[351] Caribbean cricket has had challenges in the past and yet throughout history, the goal of decolonization and nationalism created a united spirit across the Caribbean.[352]

With present-day globalizing forces, Caribbean cricket was challenged again. As is evident, Caribbean cricket spectatorship was compromised for the World Cup. Norman Girvan, contributor of the *Jamaica Gleaner*, identified reasons why spectatorship numbers were low and six lessons to be learned from these mistakes. Respect to local spectators was slated as lesson number four and one that was obviously overlooked.

Other than staged displays of Caribbean identity as was exhibited in the opening ceremony's mock carnival, local and traditional components were initially irrelevant. By focusing on global sports tourism minus the local flare as the source of revenue, local officials failed to

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[349] Vaneisa Baksh, "Firefly: 10 things to love," *Nation News*, April 16, 2007.
[350] Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Volume Two,* 142.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Brian Stoddart, "Caribbean cricket: the role of sport in emerging small-nation politics," in *Liberation Cricket*, ed. Hilary Beckles and Brian Stoddart (London: Manchester University Press; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995), 239.

acknowledge and honor the people who made Caribbean cricket spectatorship a global phenomenon. Accordingly, because local cricket officials chose a strictly global approach to the planning and execution of the tournament, and overlooked the region's primary resource, local spectators, the promotion of a Caribbean identity failed miserably.

Had cricket giants, India and Pakistan not left prematurely; had Pakistan coach Bob Woolmer not died mysteriously, the problem of promoting Caribbean identity and the question of the local population's relevance to the tournament probably would not have surfaced to the degree it did, if at all. However, there is a positive outcome that cannot be ignored, one that overshadows inter-island rivalries and a poor cricket performance by the West Indies team. That is, the retaliation by locals by not attending matches implies the population still holds Caribbean cricket culture as a part of a collective identity.

CONCLUSION

The 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony officially welcomed the world with performances and speeches that were to mirror a festive Caribbean collective identity rooted in a Caribbean cricket culture. Expectations were high and as events unfolded throughout the forty-seven days that followed, the region was forced to reflect on the legacy and future of Caribbean cricket. The result was a plethora of newspaper articles throughout the tournament generating a discourse on Caribbean identity. In order to gain a perspective of how the Caribbean population negotiated Caribbean collective identity, regional newspapers and the live coverage of the 2007 Cricket World Cup Opening Ceremony were analyzed to answer the following research questions:

(1) To what extent did the Cricket World Cup's opening ceremony themed *West Indian Energy* achieve its goal to exhibit a Caribbean identity?

(2) To what extent does Brian Lara symbolically represent a Caribbean collective identity?

(3) To what extent did the issue of a compromised Caribbean cricket spectatorship confound planners' promotion of a Caribbean identity?

Assigning a segment of the analysis to the opening ceremony was significant because it is within this public sphere that identity is overtly displayed to an international audience at sporting mega-events. Analysis of the live coverage as well as reports from regional newspapers suggests three conclusions. First, it is a challenge for the English-speaking Caribbean to reach a consensus on what currently constitutes Caribbean identity. The confusion between the two commentators, Paula-Ann Porter-Jones and Paul Keens Douglas, on the subject of ethnic identities as well as the meaning of terms specific to one country but not to another, indicates a disconnect in what was to be promoted as a common collective Caribbean identity. Second, the constant shift from the term "West Indian" to "Caribbean" in the opening ceremony's speeches puts the region's cricket in an ambivalent place where inconsistency in

these terms perplexes identity negotiation. Third, Caribbean identity exhibited at the opening ceremony was representative of a Black narrative which disregarded a number of ethnic groups. Also, the composition of the English-Speaking Caribbean was misrepresented in the ceremony by the minimal participating roles allotted to performers from the Eastern Caribbean.

Analysis of regional newspaper articles on Brian Lara corresponds with theories of cricket heroes symbolically representing a collective Caribbean identity. Brian Lara is undeniably the globalized cricketer. Through his role as captain, hero and sport star, Lara has exhibited an air of individualism where financial interests take precedence over Caribbean cricket legacy and Caribbean cricket culture. Lara's experiences of uncertainty and mistrust and divided loyalties mirror the Caribbean's place in this global economy.

The state of Caribbean cricket culture and its relationship with the region gave way to the likes of sport tourism. The promotion of combined traditional and stereotypical components of Caribbean identity was intended solely for an international audience. However, limited presence of international spectators afforded for Caribbean spectators across the region to publicly denounce the Cup and condemn their invisibility. Through spectatorship, Caribbean masses voted with their feet. The findings therefore indicate that the Cricket World Cup planners failed at successfully promoting a collective and unified Caribbean identity to the world.

Most noted of the 2007 Cricket World Cup architects is CARICOM. Newspaper reports also indicate that CARICOM struggled with defining and promoting Caribbean identity. The CARICOM's strategy to take a strictly post-colonial concept of identity and apply it to a quasi-political and social ideology through a global sporting mega-event proved to be unsuccessful. The messages of Caribbean identity of which CARICOM alongside the WICB promoted were flawed from conception and continued through delivery and execution. By and large, the promotion of identity by CARICOM subsumed the romanticized historic West Indies into the contemporary English-speaking Caribbean.

Currently, no other research exists to offer hard evidence of the 2007 Cricket World Cup as a catalyst toward Caribbean identity construction. The World Cup provides an ideal case study of how identity can be vulnerable to globalizing forces. The commercialization of the game and its commodification through ICC's legal regulations were principle threats. Whereas traditional cricket had allowed a common liberating goal of decolonization and independence, the commodified version of the game presents a clash between local and global aspirations. Moreover, instead of dealing with existing tensions on a local level prior to the Cricket World Cup, issues were set aside and unresolved in the name of financial gain from a global sporting mega-event. As a strategy to confront regional tensions for example, agenda-setting by streamlining all broadcast, online and print media sources within the region may have posited more positive and/or neutral news reports as crises unfolded.

The study expounds on discourses on sport, society and identity politics. Specific to the English-speaking Caribbean, this investigation adds to fairly recent studies on sport tourism and hosting sporting mega-events in developing countries. As a continuation from the works of C.L.R. James and Hilary Beckles, this thesis contributes to the area of Caribbean cricket spectatorship and identity theory. A noted obstacle to the Caribbeanization of the region, namely emerging nationalism from vestiges of a former identity, reveals the multifaceted and intricate nature of Caribbean identity construction.

As with any study, there were limitations to this investigation. First, this analysis did not take into account all newspaper coverage. Broken links and unavailable online archives limited perspectives on identity construction and fragmentation from the *Antigua Observer, Grenada Today* and the *Leeward Times*. Therefore, a complete analysis should be done which would include these texts to better understand the various perspectives of the Cricket World Cup. Second, the analysis did not examine coverage of international media. For future research, an outlook on how other cricket playing countries also of the British Commonwealth, view the Caribbean region and what they believe constitutes Caribbean identity would be productive.

However, those details were not within the scope of this project. Also, in the future, it would be interesting to further the discourse on identity politics by exploring the role Caribbean citizens of East Indian origins as well as the role women play in Caribbean cricket and how those roles furthered the discourse of Caribbean identity during the World Cup.

The mishaps of the 2007 Cricket World Cup evidently provided an opportunity to negotiate Caribbean identity. In the words of C.L.R. James, "There is no need to despair cricket...If and when society regenerates itself, cricket will do the same."[353] Whilst there was retaliation exhibited by Caribbean spectators, the small nation-states that comprise the English-speaking Caribbean can accomplish far more as a unified force than separate entities. In an unsuspecting way then, the Cricket World Cup planted a seed in the Caribbean psyche. That is, the Cup unleashed the realization for a Caribbean population to rediscover themselves and renegotiate Caribbean identity using cricket, the game of unity, as a catalyst.

[353] James, 190.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Map of the Eight Caribbean Hosts of the 2007 Cricket World Cup

Appendix B: ICC Cricket World Cup Hosts and Winners

Year	Hosts	Winner
1975	England	West Indies
1979	England	West Indies
1983	England	India
1987	India, Pakistan	Australia
1992	Australia, New Zealand	Pakistan
1996	India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka
1999	England, Ireland, Netherlands, Scotland	Australia
2003	Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe	Australia
2007	West Indies	Australia
2011	Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka	TBD
2015	Australia, New Zealand	TBD
2019	England	TBD

Appendix C: Caribbean Hosts' Regional Newspapers

ISLAND	NEWSPAPER	WEBSITE
The Big Four		
Barbados	*Nation News*	http://www.nationnews.com
Guyana	*Guyana Chronicle*	http://www.guyanachronicle.com
Jamaica	*Jamaica Gleaner*	http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com
Trinidad	*Trinidad &Tobago's Newsd@y*	http://www.newsday.co.tt
Leeward Islands	*Leeward Times*	http://www.leewardstimes.com
Antigua	*Antigua Observer*	http://www.antiguaobserver.com
Saint Kitts & Nevis	*Leeward Times*	http://www.leewardstimes.com
Windward Islands		
Grenada	*Grenada Today*	http://www.spicegrenada.com
Saint Lucia	*The Voice*	http://www.thevoiceslu.com

Appendix D: Lyrics to The Game of Love and Unity[354]

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Remain the same
It's the game of love unity

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Will never change
It's the game of love unity

Sending out invitations
All over the world
Every race, every class,
Every man, every girl
Whether near, whether far
Come and join in the fun
(Oh na na na)

This is it, one big game that you cannot miss
No matter who you are - everyone's on the list
This is the game of life and we all are one
(So come along)

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Remain the same
It's the game of love unity

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Will never change
It's the game of love unity

Dancehall breakaway[x2]

We run the place
We set the pace
We lead the chase
Everybody participate and…

No time to waste
Lift up the pace and celebrate
It's our obligation

[354] "2007 Cricket World Cup Highlights," YouTube video, 3:26, posted by Peta-Gaye Wiggan, November 14, 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jiP3S0VrQz8.

We fascinate, we captivate
Your mind, your heart, soul and
Rhythm of the nation
We play, we play
We feel the game
Come on, come on
Let me see you gyrate

Bring along all your friends
And tell them join in
Cause this game never ends
Once it begins
We will spread peace and love
For eternity

All your worries and stress
Let them all go
We won't settle for less
Cause we're all MELLO
Bring your heart and your soul and set your mind free

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Remain the same
It's the game of love unity

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Will never change
It's the game of love unity

We will rejoice
And sound our voice
Cause we are one together
L.O.V.E. and unity,
Forever

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Remain the same
It's the game of love unity

Play, in this beautiful game
Where the rules and aim
Will never change
It's the game of love unity

Appendix E: Caribbean Cricket Mass Heroes

Monday, 2 April 2007, 07:20 GMT 08:20 UK

Antigua's colourful fans
By Paresh Soni
BBC Sport in Antigua

Antigua has produced some of the greatest cricketers to grace the sport, such as Viv Richards and Andy Roberts.

It has also spawned a host of characters who have livened up international matches in this part of the world.

Debate has raged here about the lack of atmosphere at World Cup matches at the new Sir Vivian Richards Stadium, with many blaming ticket prices and strict regulations for the lack of traditional Caribbean exuberance.

Gravy brought his own World Cup to the party in Antigua

But it was rarely like that at the old Antigua Recreation Ground (ARG).

Arguably the biggest name in cricket on this island has to be Labon Kenneth Blackburn Leeweltine Buckonon Benjamin, better known as Gravy.

Given the nickname by his mother following a meal-time request, Gravy runs a store selling "various goods" on Market Street in St John's and has his own taxi stand.

Between 1988 and 2000 he often stole the limelight at the ARG with his outlandish outfits and even more outrageous dancing escapades.

"I came back from New York to watch a Test match, and at the end of the game it started raining and everyone had to leave," he recalls.

"At that point I said to myself 'Gravy this is your chance'. I went down on to the podium and I started dancing upside down on my head."

I wanted to step out in style and there is nothing more stylish than a wedding gown

Gravy on his retirement outfit

During the 1990 England tour of the Caribbean, he enthralled Antiguans and TV viewers around the world with some audacious

head spins.

He maintains that talent has not waned, insisting: "Of course I can still do it - I've got better with age."

Gravy retired in 2000, marking the occasion by wearing a bridal dress - "I wanted to step out in style and there is nothing more stylish than a wedding gown" - but his legend lives on.

At the new Sir Vivian Richards Stadium he has been sporting immaculately cut suits for the West Indies' games against Australia and New Zealand.

His trademark high-heeled boots are still there along with another accessory - a big globe-shaped cup.

Pappie the bugler has watched cricket in Antigua for over 40 years

"This is the World Cup so I thought I would bring my own cup of the world. But it's an upside down world."

At the opposite end of the ARG used to stand comedian Mayfield - real name Ronald Hosier - who would try to outdo Gravy with his own dancing.

Sadly, he has not been as visible, Gravy says, because of the killjoy attitude of officials.

When Brian Lara broke the record for an individual score in Tests in 1994 against England, Mayfield ran on to the field and smashed a pile of old vinyl records to honour the great Trinidadian batsman.

The rivalry between Gravy and Mayfield often became intense and the pair were once due to slug it out in a boxing ring in St John's to settle the score.

In their pomp, both claimed the other had not turned up but a mellower Gravy now merely says: "The gloves were bigger than we were!"

Another visually striking image to garnish Antiguan cricket has been Pappie the bugler, who has been watching games for 40 years.

Pappie - real name Rupert Mussington - used to play in a steel band called Hell's Gates from 1956-78 but it was at the Recreation Ground where he really made his name.

It's not the same feeling here with all the ICC regulations and security

Gravy laments the new atmosphere

Boundaries and wickets would be marked with a real flourish and he

returned briefly in the Australia-Windies clash this week to give us a few blasts.

"They named the Rude Boy Stand at the Recreation Ground after me," he said proudly.

"I was the first non-player in the Caribbean to have a stand named after me 35 years ago."

Conducting proceedings for Gravy, Mayfield and Pappie at the ARG was resident DJ Chickie, who now has a modern booth at the Sir Vivian Richards Stadium.

His rise coincided with the exploits of Richards. "The only thing missing was music and I was the man to provide it," he explained.

"I was the first man to start a Party Stand anywhere in the world."

Chickie - real name Nigel Baptiste - says he was also the first non-cricketer to win a man of the match award in 1997 when rain ruined a Test against India.

DJ Chickie's Disco has provided the soundtrack to the cricket for over 20 years

But the moment he really became a household name almost never happened in 1986.

He was not at the ground when Richards started tearing into the England bowlers in 1986 en route to a Test century off 56 balls - still the fastest in history.

But as soon as he heard news of the dramatic innings developing he packed his system and dashed to the ground.

When he got there he played Captain, the Ship is Sinking, triggering tumultuous applause and uproarious laughter all round from the English and West Indians.

"I broke all the rules of road traffic and got there just in time to see him go from 95 to 100," Chickie recalls.

"Instinctively I knew which song to play. These things are in your blood. It's probably still the biggest reaction I've had to anything I've played."

It will truly be a loss if the game's more colourful characters are subdued by rules and regulations

In the clean, shiny new Richards stadium, there has been nowhere near as much commotion.

Chickie's contract prevents him from speaking too openly about anything other than his own role and all he would say is: "We're still

feeling our way a bit and trying to create a unique atmosphere."

Gravy was more scathing, however, lamenting: "It's not the same feeling here with all the ICC regulations and security.

"We have a Caribbean way of doing things and if you take that away from us you're left with nothing.

"I will still do what I want to do and I say to the ICC let the police officers decide whether there's anything wrong."