



**CROWD VIOLENCE  
AT  
AUSTRALIAN SPORT**

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**ASSH STUDIES IN SPORTS HISTORY NO. 7**

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## **EDITORS NOTE**

The ASSH Studies in Sports History series is designed to provide ASSH members and other readers with collections of articles on particular themes. The volumes should serve as handy reference works on those topics. This volume brings together the work of some of Australia's most eminent scholars on the topic of crowd violence. Together they provide an historical context to the modern phenomenon and examine the contemporary problems from a range of perspectives.

Dr Richard Cashman is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of New South Wales. Rob Lynch is Head of the School of Leisure and Tourism Studies, at the University of Technology, Sydney, Dr Arthur Veno is a Senior Lecturer in Psychology and Elizabeth Veno is the Manager, Operations, Distance Education Resource Centre at Monash University College Gippsland and Associate Professor Wray Vamplew is an economic historian and Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Flinders University of South Australia. Between them the contributors bring a diverse range of academic disciplines and considerable research expertise to bear on an issue of contemporary concern.

This volume also begins a new style of presentation to the ASSH Studies series, intended to make the volumes more accessible to general readers.

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Editor

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<b>Violence in Sport in Sydney Before 1850</b>	
Richard Cashman.....	1
<b>A Symbolic Patch of Grass: Crowd Disorder and Regulation on the Sydney Cricket Ground Hill</b>	
Rob Lynch.....	10
<b>Managing Public Order at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix</b>	
Arthur Veno and Elizabeth Veno .....	49
<b>Sports Crowd Disorder: An Australian Survey</b>	
Wray Vamplew .....	79

# VIOLENCE IN SPORT IN SYDNEY PRIOR TO 1850

**Richard Cashman**

Violence was very much part and parcel of sport in Sydney prior to 1850. All forms of sport, both informal and formal, were characterised by various types of violence: disputes, unruly behaviour, cheating, and cruelty to animals and other humans. Players and spectators were equally involved in this behaviour.

Although this essay examines a comparatively small number of violent occurrences, the extent and variety of violence in a lowly-populated society (Sydney's population in 1850 was only 45,000) adds weight to the argument propounded by Guttman<sup>1</sup>, and supported more recently by Vamplew<sup>2</sup>, that sport prior to 1850 (and preindustrial sport in general) was less civilised than it later became. Formally organised sport, as we know it, which emerged from the 1850s represented a 'taming' of the worst excesses of preindustrial sport. Given the limited amount of organised sport which took place in Sydney in the 1830s and 1840s there was a surprising amount of violence.

Violence occurred in Sydney in the 1830s and 1840s, in part, because of the prominence of many informal sports in Sydney which drew on preindustrial practice. Cumes and others have documented the prevalence of 'sports' involving animal cruelty - ratting, cock-lighting, various forms of animal baiting and blood sports along with sports such as bareknuckle boxing. Cumes suggested that one of the first pugilistic encounters reported in the *Sydney Gazette* - 'a DESPERATE conflict' between a butcher and a blacksmith - may have represented not much more than an unscheduled brawl. It was sport at the lowest level of organisation. The contest ended with the butcher in poor shape: 'his [the butcher's] ridiculous hardihood at length obliged the Vulcan to decline any further hostility, from motives of compassion'.<sup>3</sup>

Such informal sports flourished in Sydney because the colonial elite, as O'Hara has suggested, were relatively tolerant of these plebeian

pastimes.<sup>4</sup> The colonial authorities identified more with the conservative vision of English landed gentry who saw such sports as a relatively harmless diversion. Informal sport continued unchecked in Sydney much because of the relative weakness, if not virtual absence, of a reforming bourgeoisie which was challenging such activities in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s.

The strong nexus between informal sport and violence existed for obvious reasons and is hardly surprising. Colonial society was tough and cruel. The demands of work were heavy and there were few outlets for leisure. The society which laboured long and hard also drank, gambled and played hard and there were few holds barred. What is rather more intriguing, and has not yet been noticed, is that organised sport, which was emerging in the 1830s and 1840s, was also characterised by violence.

The extent of violence in organised sport is rather surprising because there was not a great deal of it in Sydney in the 1830s and 1840s. Contrary to what general histories of Australian sport seem to imply - that Australians were besotted with sport from the First Fleet<sup>5</sup> - more formally organised sport developed gradually, certainly far more slowly than in Britain and North America. Clubs and associations did not emerge until the period from 1825. Inter-club competition, rule-bound sport and substantial media coverage of sport dated from the 1830s. Sporting venues and facilities, which were primitive prior to the 1830s, began to improve in this decade.

The reasons were obvious. While most of the population may have been interested and even enthusiastic about the pursuit of sport the wherewithal for organised sport - the ovals, the courses, the equipment, the press and the money to consume on sport - were all in short supply. Australia in particular lacked leisure providers, the aristocratic patrons of Britain and the middle-class entrepreneurs of Britain and North America, who were prepared to invest in sporting facilities and to encourage sporting endeavour.

It is not difficult to document this notion that formally organised sport was relatively 'backward' in Sydney in the 1830s and 1840s. The

number of club cricket games were comparatively few. In some seasons there were no club games at all (1838-39 and 1846-47) and in quite a few others there were only two or three. Seasons with ten or more games (1843-22, 1844-45) were the exception.<sup>6</sup> Most of the games were played at one ground, Hyde Park, which was unenclosed and was frequently criticised for its inadequate surface. Crowds were not large - the largest recorded in Sydney in this era was around 2,000. It was not until intercolonial matches began to be played in the 1850s that crowds of 10,000 and even 15,000 were recorded.

A similar pattern emerges in regard to horseracing. Andrew Lemon has catalogued the long search for a suitable home for Sydney racing from 1810 to 1860.<sup>7</sup> There were, in some seasons such as 1839 and 1840, no Sydney races at all though races were recorded further afield, virtually in the 'country', at Campbelltown and Hawkesbury. There was an improved racing programme in 1841 when one or two major carnivals were held at the Homebush course and there were annual post-Christmas carnivals at Petersham from 1845 to 1849. The largest Sydney sporting crowds were recorded in this era: 8-9,000 attended Homebush in 1841 and 10,000 - more than one fifth of the city population - were reported at Petersham in the mid - 1840s. However, the courses were far from ideal: the Petersham course was small and had some tight bends.

Given the infrequent and intermittent character of Sydney sport and the relatively small numbers of players and spectators involved there was a surprising amount of violence in the 1830s and 1840s. Violence, ill-feeling between sides, churlish behaviour and cheating were reasonably common in Sydney cricket in this era and there are a number of examples quoted in the recently-published Jas Scott manuscript.

There was a disturbance in a match between the Amateur and Australian clubs on 15 October 1832 - in one of the first fully recorded matches. The match was almost suspended at one point when there was a dispute over whether the ball had been caught and 'one of the Amateurs challenged to fight for it, and this created a disturbance which

well nigh terminated the game altogether'. Scott noted that the Australians continued but that their heart was no longer in the match and they were easily defeated.<sup>8</sup>

There was also considerable bad blood between the Victoria and Yass clubs in a game played on Easter Monday, 5 April 1847. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that:

Towards the close [of the match] a great quibble was made by the Victorias, most of their players leaving the ground. The umpire of the Yass Club called play three times, and none of the players attending it was finally agreed to see the game out. The skirmish was evidently got up to annoy their opponents, which was no doubt the cause of their losing the game at the end of play. The Yass Club lost the game by 5 runs.

There were even more serious disturbances when spectators became involved. There was what Scott refers to as 'something of the nature of a riot' on New Year's Day, 1844, when the Victoria and Military clubs met, which was described by Scott:

The Victorias batted first and scored 81, to which the Military replied with 41. It was then about 3 o'clock and the players adjourned to take some refreshment. While the game was suspended, some constables arrested a few drunken men who had been causing annoyance. 'A crowd of blackguards', however, rushed the escort and liberated the prisoners. Stones were thrown, and a general row began. The mounted police were sent for, but before they arrived things had quietened a little, and the match was resumed. The Victoria Club made a splendid start in the second innings, the first three wickets putting on 120 runs. The crowd then became restless again, and it was found impossible to keep the ground clear, the match was adjourned. One man was seriously injured through being tripped while running across the ground. The cessation of play was the signal for further unrest, and something in the nature of a riot took place, but order was eventually restored by the mounted police?

Riots, or near riots, were not confined to cricket matches. Less than two years later there was a sizeable disturbance at the Petersham

racecourse at the 1845 annual post-Christmas carnival, which sometimes attracted crowds as large as 10 000. *Bell's Life in Sydney* reported on 27 December 1845 that:

The crowd upon the Course far excelled anything of the kind we have ever witnessed at a Colonial meeting, though notwithstanding the density of the throng order was for some time kept by the Police Force. The whiskey, however at the close of the day overcame rayson, and to work they went. Stones were picked up fences broken down, and points of honour [sic] decided in the approved Tipperary style, till...well-appointed men dispersed the rabble.

There are a number of ingredients to sporting violence in the 1830s and 1840s. Virtually all sport in this era was drink and gambling-based and organised by publican promoters.<sup>10</sup> The Petersham races were organised by Thomas Shaw, proprietor of the Woolpack Inn on Parramatta Road. The course was established on paddocks adjoining his inn and leased by him and the entry gate was located opposite his establishment. During the three days of the carnival Shaw must have done a roaring trade. He was probably rather more concerned with the promotion of liquor sales than the occasional public drink-related disorder.

There are a number of other possible explanations for violence in organised sport of this era. Gambling was the central element of all organised sport in that all sport was played for a stake. Given that some of the rules for various sports were still evolving and that the administration and adjudication of sport was still fairly primitive, disputes were frequent. Techniques of crowd control were also primitive in that the occasions when large numbers of spectators gathered were comparatively rare - there were probably only a few occasions in the 1830s when there was a sizable crowd (of 2000) at cricket. During the 1830s and 1840s there was in fact no designated boundary in cricket matches played at Hyde Park (which was a huge

expanse) and there was a frequent problem of potential injury in that spectators crowded rather too closely to players.

The great sporting ideologies of fair play, amateurism and athleticism, were yet to be fully articulated though Scott suggests that the press was beginning to promote sporting ideologies in the 1830s.<sup>11</sup> The lack of definition as to what constituted fair play and proper behaviour led to many disputes - all of which had the potential to end in violence.

Umpires were at the centre of a dispute between the Liverpool and Parramatta clubs in 1843 when the former team complained of 'unfair play' of their opponents who acted in opposition to the decisions of their own chosen umpire'. The problem was acknowledged by the authorities who stated that for the return match 'competent umpires, who would not allow their decisions to be revoked by the players, would be secured'.<sup>12</sup>

Churlish behaviour and cheating were all part of early cricket in Sydney. 'STUMPS', a self-appointed critic, offered a few stern words after a match between the Currency and Victoria clubs in March 1847:

As an old cricketer I would give a word of advice to some of the players in each eleven, and this is to put up with the loss of their wicket with good temper; casualties will happen to the best players, and to hurl the bat on the ground, or to smash the wicket in a perfect frenzy, exhibiting anything but the deportment of a cricketer which should be cool and unruffled under every emergency.<sup>13</sup>

Two seasons before this a complaint had been registered against the Cumberland Club when it was discovered that they were using a painted ball 'which had been soaked in oil to such an extent that it was completely non-elastic'.<sup>14</sup>

However, the most likely explanation for the violence in sport in the 1830s and 1840s - which draws on most of the above explanations - was that organised sport at this time was in a transitional phase, it was in the process of establishing itself. The institutions and rules of sport,

and the bureaucracies which were to implement and enforce them, were only starting to emerge. Organised sport before 1850 was a curious amalgam between the looser, more informal and more violent preindustrial sport and the more commercialised and bureaucratic post-1850 sport.

There is no better illustration of the transitional character of Sydney sport in the 1830s and 1840s than an informal race meeting-cum-sports day at the Petersham course on 17 January 1846 which was reported in *Bell's Life in Sydney* on 25 January. The report of this minor meeting hinted that races were organised by owners and punters on the spot. The programme began with two horse races, each involving just two starters. After Mr Aiton's pony Tommy raced George Evan's Skewbald for £20 Mr King's Rob Roy raced J Little's Alderman for £3.

Possibly in the absence of more equine contests there was a foot race for a small stake between N Dillon and an unnamed 'native boy' over one mile with the latter receiving a start of twenty yards:

They went off at a good pace, the style of running being excellent. Dillon, however, who had been rather deeply quaffing at 'the flowing bowl' during the morning, soon became overpowered, and after rolling to and fro for several yards, fell severely into the small drain which marks the boundary. The native, who had still kept his head, finished the race at almost the same pace he took up at starting.

After that there were 'jumping in sacks, and other amusements' which *Bell's Life in Sydney* noted were 'scarcely admissible into the columns of a sporting periodical'. Organised sport, in the opinion of this journalist, had degenerated into a local carnival. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, which was Sydney's first sporting newspaper had only just begun and was conscious of the transitional and mixed character of Sydney sport at this time.<sup>15</sup>

Even this cursory examination of some instances of sporting violence prior to 1850 point to the validity of the position of Guttman

and Vamplew that sport was more violent in the era before 1850. This was in part because of the mixed character of sport in this era but also because violence in sport was far more accepted than it now is. Sport reflected the values of a violent colonial society. The occasional debate on sporting violence was mostly confined to the excesses of the fringe sports such as boxing and cockfighting.<sup>16</sup> Otherwise sporting violence was not a great issue of concern in colonial society. The debate did not really begin until after 1850 when middle-class authorities began to promote the value of a more 'non-violent' sport through athleticism and amateurism.

Although violence, along with drinking and gambling, were all woven into the fabric of pre-1850 sport in Sydney, they did not represent a continuing problem for sporting authorities simply because of the small scale of sport prior to 1850. With the rapid expansion of organised sport in the 1850s - with the population influx, the greater amount of money to be spent on sport, and the spurt in urban growth and the development of a colonial bourgeoisie - the question of orderly sport became a more pressing issue. Bigger stakes, larger races, wider competition and greater crowds - (Flemington reported a crowd of 40,000 by 1859) - all required more sporting bureaucracies and greater organisation of sport after 1850. Sport became too important and too prestigious a business to tolerate player and spectator violence. There was less of a role for, and less acceptance of, violence in a more commercial and professional sport after 1850.

#### NOTES

1. Allen Guttman, *Sports Spectators*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 81-82, 168-72.
2. Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*, (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 44.
3. J.W.C Cumes, *Their Chastity was not too Ridgid: Lesiure Times in Early Australia* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1979), p. 42.
4. John O'Hara, *A Mug's Game: A History of Gaming and Betting in Australia*, (Kensington: NSW University Press, 1988), p. 46.
5. See, for instance, Keith Dunstan, *Sports*, (North Melbourne: Cassell, 1973).
6. Jas Scott, *Early Cricket in Sydney 1803 to 1856*, edited by R Cashman and S Gibbs, (Kensington: NSWCA, 1991), pp. 229-32.

7. Andrew Lemon, *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing*, Vol. 1, *The Beginnings— to the First Melbourne Cup*, (Melbourne : Classic Reproductions, 1987).
8. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
9. *ibid*, p. 32.
10. Scott fits the very substantial number of cricket publican- patrons in this era, *ibid.*, p. 32.
11. Scott noted that the press frequently used the following adjectives in reference to cricket: healthy, prime, noble, manly, innocent, scientific and athletic. *ibid.*, p. 80. The press, however, accepted that gambling was a part of cricket as well and the stakes and the odds were usually referred to.
12. *ibid.*, p. 101.
13. *ibid*, p. xv.
14. *ibid.*, p, 117.
15. R Cashman, 'Horse Racing in Mid-19th Century Marrickville: Petersham Racecourse, newtown Steeplechase and Barwon Park Turf Club', *Heritage*, no. 5, 1989, pp. 29-33.
16. The *Sydney Gazette*, for instance, frequently criticised these sports.

# **A SYMBOLIC PATCH OF GRASS: CROWD DISORDER AND REGULATION ON THE SYDNEY CRICKET GROUND HILL\***

**Rob Lynch**

## **I**

Crowd disorder on what is known as The Hill at the Sydney Cricket Ground (SCG) is not a new phenomenon and Richard Cashman's rich history of Australian cricket crowds establishes the existence on The Hill of a century old tradition of unruly behaviour, rowdiness, riots, partisan barracking, wit, humour, playfulness and working-class masculinity.<sup>1</sup> After 1977 however, the frequency and nature of crowd disorder on The Hill changed, as it will be argued here, following the introduction of World Series Cricket in Australia - a new commercial, mass-entertainment face for cricket. This paper inquires into the disorder and crowd regulation that have occurred at this site.

There is an extensive literature inquiring into crowd disorder and it is an issue of much more than academic concern given disasters which have occurred. Various commentators see sports crowd disorder as: resting in a particular malaise of the wider class system of the society,<sup>2</sup> a resistance to dominating ideologies;<sup>3</sup> a result of professionalisation of soccer which severed the socially controlling ties between home crowd and working-class club;<sup>4</sup> influenced by media exaggeration;<sup>5</sup> arising from TV provocation;<sup>6</sup> being an outlet for male aggression;<sup>7</sup> alcohol induced (a common explanation preferred by administrators, police, and media); a reaction against poor facilities;<sup>8</sup> a reflection of the social and economic conditions of the times;<sup>9</sup> a reaction to on-field incidents;<sup>10</sup> and a dynamic interaction of a variety of social processes.<sup>11</sup> The work of several of these theorists is addressed along the way.

## **Existing Explanations of Disorder on The Hill**

Two categories of explanation exist for disorder on The Hill. The first contains the propositions derived in the main from historical research and published in book form. Richard Cashman's work offers the major explanations in this category and his work applies more generally to disorder among cricket crowds across Australia. The second contains the interpretations and propositions put forward in the press by journalists, police, sports administrators, present and former players of cricket, football and other codes. The explanations in the latter category are for the most part based on experience at particular matches where disorder has occurred and in some instances, this experience is considerable.

In the first category, the historical research of Cashman and Derriman establishes a tradition of disorder dating back to the 1860s and '70s so that the current disorder can be seen as a continuation of that tradition.<sup>12</sup> Throughout its history The Hill, as the least expensive spectator site in the SCG, has attracted a male, largely working-class patronage. Rowdy, collective behaviour and the use of alcohol have been part of the history of The Hill, as they have been part of working class leisure traditions outside the sports arena.

In a paper focussed on the general concept of sports violence, Vamplew proposes that those responsible for crowd disorder come mainly from 'a subculture which admires violence and heavy drinking, mainly young working-class males.'<sup>13</sup> These men who come unaccompanied to sport appear to be the main source of trouble world-wide while ethnic rivalry was also seen as a factor contributing to some disturbances.<sup>14</sup> Vamplew also implies that poor spectating conditions contribute to disorder in suggesting that better seating could reduce the scope for territorial disputes. Cashman argues similarly that some of the crowd unrest can be put down to poor facilities as 'spectators with a reserved seat, which provides an adequate view of the game and reasonable access to food and toilet facilities are less likely to indulge in

anti social behaviour'.<sup>15</sup> In arguing for better facilities, Cashman proposes that problems of crowd behaviour have been exacerbated by an inability on the part of the authorities to analyse the problem and devise appropriate techniques of crowd control.<sup>16</sup>

Technological changes in television presentation influenced the way cricket was watched and played, leading to increased gamesmanship in the 1970s. Cashman argues that after this period, the 'largely good natured barracking was replaced with more concentrated and less humorous sledging'.<sup>17</sup> He also reports that the introduction of television coverage of cricket was an impetus to a performance orientation on The Hill.<sup>18</sup> That is, spectators were more interested in performing for TV and the crowd than they were in watching sport. However later in his history, Cashman argues that television should not be blamed for crowd violence at cricket, this being an all too simple explanation propagated by those hostile to the game and one day cricket.<sup>19</sup> In arguing this way he rejects the proposition that TV watching leads to violence.

The introduction of World Series Cricket is given attention and the argument is advanced that by 'encouraging children and young people to attend cricket and by generating an atmosphere of excitement, World Series Cricket undoubtedly added to cricket's existing problem of unruly crowds'. There is also reference to cricket crowds becoming more imitative of unruly sports crowds overseas.<sup>20</sup>

'The most popular explanation' according to Cashman 'is that cricket crowd unrest is merely a reflection of a larger social malaise, a decline in social standards and accepted conventions'.<sup>21</sup> In support of this argument Cashman proposes that a re-emergence of hooliganism in the late '60s coincided with the anti Vietnam War movement among other 'unrests'. He concludes that the 'reflection of social malaise explanation is plausible in some respects. This explanation is picked up again to account for the unrest of the 1980s on the SCG Hill and elsewhere. The hard economic times of the early 1980s increasing lawlessness, anarchy and crime, soaring unemployment, widening social rifts and lack of social consensus were in Cashman's view the more basic

reasons for the crowd unrest. This explanation is supported by Vamplew.<sup>22</sup>

It is debatable whether there were increases in crime, lawlessness, anarchy and social rifts in this period which were greater than corresponding increases in earlier periods when there were not any parallel escalations in crowd unrest. For example the 1930s depression era, with the exception of the 1932-33 Bodyline series, is reported by Cashman as being a relatively quiet era on the terraces. Data relevant to this issue have been gathered by Holton and Fletcher who have used reports in the Melbourne Age to study public disorder in Australia. These researchers tested the hypothesis that the number of reported incidents of disorder (including those reported at sport and leisure events) varies according to the level of unemployment. The hypothesis was not confirmed, there being no statistically significant relationship between the number of reported incidents and the unemployment rate.<sup>23</sup> The argument of this paper steps away from seeing disorder on The Hill as being a reflection of a wider social malaise and offers an explanation centred around the interaction of: the changing nature of sport and sporting crowds; the working-class culture of license that has evolved on The Hill; the architectural changes and reductions in space that have occurred on The Hill since the late 1970s; and the regulatory measures introduced in this period.

The second category of explanations, those offered by journalists, police and sportsmen, focus heavily on alcohol as a primary cause and one commentator reported in Cashman notes a rate of 250 cans (of beer drunk) per run on a slow day.<sup>24</sup> Almost every press report of disorder since 1970 contains some reference to excessive amounts of alcohol being drunk on The Hill. Other press reports put the violence down to visiting (English) hooligans.<sup>25</sup> On the hooligan/alcohol explanation, Lloyd Taylor of the NSW Police Association is reported as saying:

It's a bit like Bathurst at bike-race time. Some of these fellows think its a battleground for them against the police. They just go there to misbehave. We are terribly

concerned that its an ever present problem. Build a proper stand and forget tradition and the financial gains if that's what it takes to make the place safe. Abolishing the sale of alcohol on The Hill, even as a trial, is the big step towards stopping the violence.<sup>26</sup>

Hooligans and excessive alcohol are the dominant explanations appearing in the press since 1970.

Former English cricket batsman, Tom Graveney, is reported as saying that 'a decline in player behaviour over recent years had encouraged loutish behaviour'. Graveney is also reported as saying that some TV advertisements for cricket were provocative and created a combative atmosphere for the 1982/83 England-Australia test series.<sup>27</sup> Another cricket commentator, John Arlott, argued that hooliganism at cricket was a predictable consequence of one day cricket.<sup>28</sup>

In the present paper, a history of disorder on The Hill is presented with a particular focus on the period since 1977 and I will argue that in this period, crowd disorder took on a new face characterised by greater frequency of occurrence, increased arrests and an increase in reportage of brawling and drunkenness. The explanation for this new era of disorderly behaviour, it will be argued, arises from the intersection of several processes. First, the historical tradition of crowd disorder on The Hill. Second, the emergence of cricket and other sports at the SCG as popular forms of mass entertainment, commercially packaged and promoted. Third, the entry of new kinds of spectators onto The Hill, attracted by the new form of entertainment. Finally, a resistance to and reaction against the 'whittling away' of The Hill and the move towards individualised seating and a more sanitised environment. Other factors, such as alcohol overuse and reaction to on-field aggression have a minor influence in relation to the above processes, or so it will be argued here.

On the other side of the disorder are attempts that have been made to secure control and regulate the crowd on The Hill. To explain the regulatory responses that have occurred, I argue that these are

contained in two competing ideologies: the first relates to the SCG Trust which appears to have wanted the continuation of The Hill and alcohol sales there, in order to maintain tradition, but also to maintain crowds;<sup>29</sup> the second is that espoused by police and a variety of media commentators, sportsmen and administrators. This latter ideology of control brands people on The Hill as hooligans and calls for stiff penalties, no alcohol and individualised seating. An ongoing tension exists between the two ideologies.

## II

### A HISTORY OF DISORDER AND REGULATION ON THE HILL

The Hill is situated at the south eastern end of the Sydney Cricket Ground, a playing field that was apparently laid out in the early 1850s by British soldiers garrisoned at the nearby Victoria Barracks. For twenty years it was a remote and little known ground, maintained by the soldiers for their own amusement. 'Then, when Sydney began to sprawl beyond it, it was taken away from the military and turned into Sydney's principal sports ground, first under the name Association Ground and later (1894) as The Sydney Cricket Ground'.<sup>30</sup>

The SCG, as it is known, rapidly came to occupy a central place in European-Australia's cultural history as the home of sport and leisure drama in the form of cricket and football internationals, bicycle racing, fairs, carnivals, the 1901 Commonwealth celebrations and athletics. Under the terms of the original nineteenth century land grant the SCG was also to be used:

. . . for any other public amusement or purpose which the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, may from time to time declare to be a public amusement.<sup>31</sup>

The cultural stature of the SCG is captured in the title of Phillip Derriman's history, 'The Grand Old Ground'. In his reflections on the ground, Australian cricketer, Bill O'Reilly was moved to write:

Thomas Moore, the doyen of Irish poets comes to mind when I look out across the Sydney Cricket Ground, a famous piece of turf round which so many of my own precious memories are so indelibly entwined... No matter what happens at the SCG - even if the vandals take complete charge - I can assure you (writes O'Reilly) the final word of my respected friend Tom Moore: 'Let thy loveliness fade as it will. But around the dear ruins the deep wish of my heart entwines itself verdantly still'.<sup>32</sup>

The Hill, as part of the sacred turf of the SCG has forged a place of cultural endearment in Australia's popular imagination, albeit a place of considerable notoriety. While the SCG is the grand old lady of Australian sports stadia, The Hill is her larrikin son, prone to stray into the seamier side of life, to push the collective to its limits, to imbibe, to carouse and transgress.

According to one historian The Hill area dates back to the 1850s and in the 1870s 'there was some kind of a Hill on the eastern side of the ground capable of accommodating 1,790 persons'.<sup>33</sup> The slope and seats at its bottom were known for many years as 'the terrace'. The Hill as it is now known, was established in the 1880s when a mound of dirt was raised to its current sloped 'hill' level (see Figure 1). The advantage of The Hill was that it both improved the view of the ordinary spectator and expanded the ground's capacity.<sup>34</sup> The Australian cricket test captain in 1898 wrote about The Hill as follows:

The ordinary being, who is satisfied with his 'bob's' worth, is provided with the grass-covered embankment, while there is one covered stand (the Bob stand) for admission to which no extra charge is made. Fancy that! A covered seat at a Test match for a shilling.<sup>35</sup>

M A Noble, a member of the SCG Trust and sportsman himself, wrote in the 1930s:

Some time ago it was suggested that The Hill should be transformed into concrete terraces. To me this would

be almost sacrilege, for is not The Hill proclaimed everywhere as the finest feature of the Sydney Cricket Ground, and the envy and admiration of every club and controlling organisation of all other similar areas? Take that Hill away, and it would not be the Sydney Cricket Ground, would it? It would be but the skeleton minus the comfort, beauty and finish of Nature's covering.<sup>36</sup>

Because it has always been the least expensive spectator vantage point inside the Cricket Ground, The Hill not surprisingly has attracted a working-class patronage and the culture of The Hill which has emerged over the last century seems clearly rooted in this class tradition. According to Derriman, 'Newspaper reports of matches in the 1850s contain frequent references to 'hooting' and 'groaning' by spectators. There were (then) Hillites long before there was a Hill'.<sup>37</sup>

### **The Rowdy History of The Hill**

Richard Cashman's detailed research into the history of Australian cricket crowds provides a clear account of the emerging culture of The Hill. Disorder at Sydney sporting events was recognised as a problem in the 1860s as the following newspaper report indicates:

For the preservation of order (the Domain) will be protected by the committee, assisted by the police. Any person drunk or disorderly, or otherwise breaking through any of the above regulations will be removed from the ground.<sup>38</sup>

Unrest among cricket crowds was rather common prior to the 1860s and according to Cashman intercolonial rivalry was a critical factor. Other instances of unrest and near 'riot' at cricket matches in the 1860s and 1870s appeared to be related to on-field incidents such as wrongful dismissals or episodes of apparent unfair play.<sup>39</sup>

A tradition of unruly crowds was carried on and Cashman reports the following incident in the historical record:

The Sydney Cricket Ground riot began when the Australian batsman was adjudged run out. As he returned reluctantly to the pavilion, there was suddenly an uproar among the members who jumped to their feet and started shouting 'not out' and 'go back'. Within seconds the anger had spread to all parts of the ground.

Moments later some 2,000 spectators had leapt the fences, invaded the pitch and mobbed the umpires. The visiting players, unable to flee the pitch, were struck with sticks and one at least had his shirt almost ripped from his back. Others complained later that they thought they were about to be murdered. Play was abandoned for the day, as a handful of police proved unable to disperse a mob which continued to occupy the field for more than 90 minutes.<sup>40</sup>

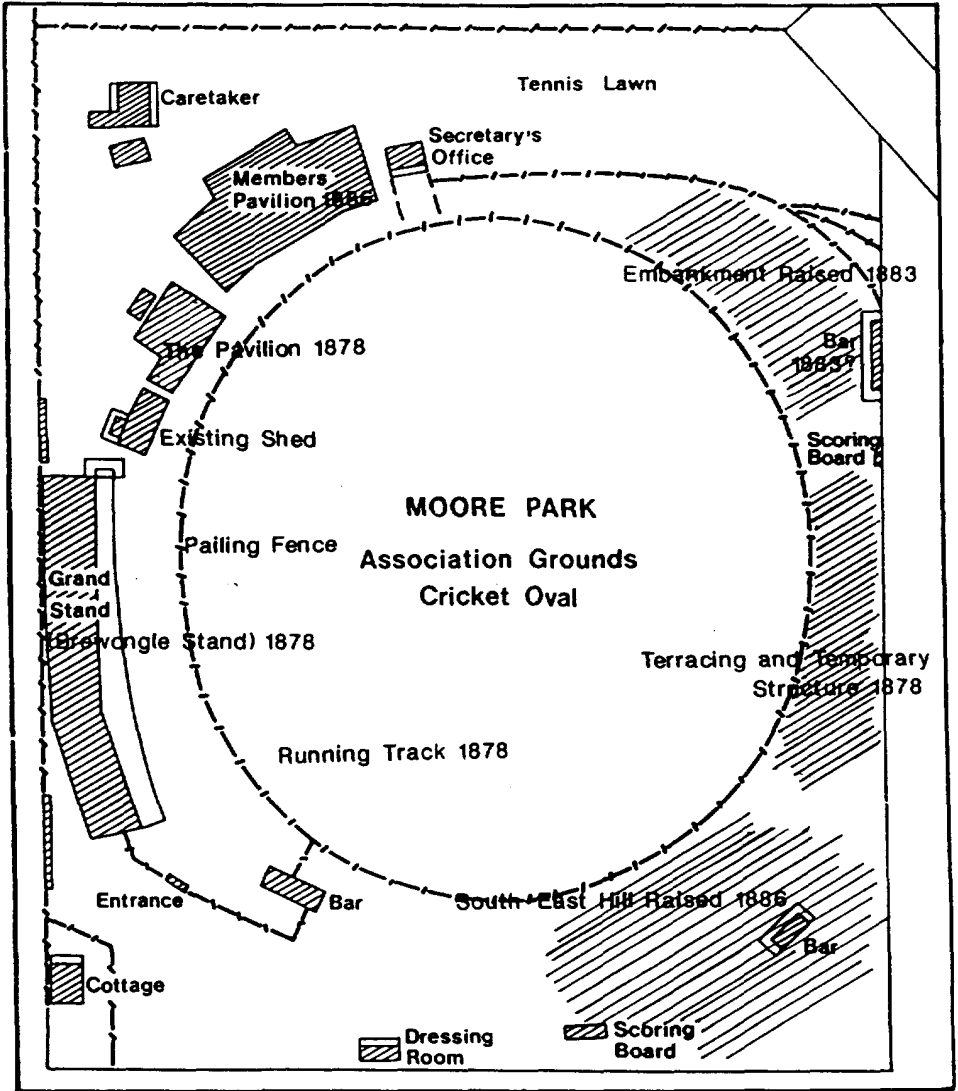
It was the SCG's . . . blackest day, a 'national humiliation' according to a number of commentators.

The date of this incident was Friday, 7 February, 1879. Other incidents of unrest also occurred in the late nineteenth century and according to Cashman were related to on-field incidents, gambling, overuse of alcohol, and the attraction of some larrikins to sport.<sup>41</sup>

In the two decades which followed the formation of the Moore Park Association Ground in 1876, substantial architectural and spectator facility development was undertaken. The Paddington Hill was raised to an embankment in 1883 and the South East Hill (the current remnant of The Hill) was raised in 1886 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

# ASSOCIATION CRICKET GROUND 1876-1894



BASED ON SURVEY INFORMATION 1887

(Adapted from Derriman, 1981, p.22  
by J. Eglington, 1990)

The 1890s saw hard economic times in Australia and a corresponding increase in sporting crowds and Cashman notes that the plebeian presence became so numerous at cricket games in the 1890s that it came to dominate a large part of the game.<sup>42</sup> During this time, Australian cricket crowds became much less English in their behaviour and 'The Hill rather than the Members enclosure, became the dominant feature of the Australian crowd'.<sup>43</sup> This plebeian tradition was 'more boisterous, sometimes even violent, less imitative and more indigenous, and more in tune with working-class rather than elite values'.<sup>44</sup> A much more aggressive and partisan barracker emerged from The Hill and other spectator sites in this period of Australia's history.

The second Test against England in 1892 at the SCG was interrupted by rain and as players left the ground for the second break 'several rough looking characters jumped over the fence but left the ground quickly when the police arrived'.<sup>45</sup> In 1904, during the fourth Test at the SCG rain interrupted play, and a series of incidents occurred which provide some insight into the playful nature of the crowd on The Hill.

During the second break, spectators threw watermelon skins and bottles, and some of the latter smashed on the asphalt cycle track which at that time circled the SCG perimeter. It started as a humorous diversion according to Sir William McKell, a regular Hill spectator from his youth and occasionally in his maturity, when one spectator rolled a bottle down the bicycle track and some time after it was removed by an attendant. Shortly after another bottle was rolled down the track and, after it too was removed, the crowd sensed that it could make some fun out of the situation and the trickle became a torrent. The ground staff continued to remove the debris but as their actions only created more rubbish, they wisely retreated.<sup>46</sup>

The crowd conditions on The Hill were also a factor contributing to the unrest on this site. In the second Test between England and

Australia at the SCG in 1928, a record crowd attended on one of the later days. There was considerable violence on The Hill,

. . . arising for the most part from the cramped and uncomfortable conditions. People who arrived at 10am to secure the few seats along the fence were pelted by jealous spectators behind them who threw fag ends of ice cream bars, apples and soggy plums. And when seat dwellers stood up for some relief from the hard benches the crowd behind 'screamed horribly' and showered them with bags of dirt, fruit skins, pies, bottles, sandwiches, an old boot, peach stones and tins! Liquor too flowed freely on The Hill.<sup>47</sup>

The 'colour' of The Hill was matched by its characters, the most famous of whom was named Yabba - Stephen Harold Gascoigne. Yabba reigned supreme on The Hill in the 1920s and 1930s and with his megaphone-style voice he became famous for his witty comments. These were such as 'Your bowl length's lousy but you've got a good width mate', to a bowler having difficulty or, 'Put a penny in his metre George, he's stopped registering', to a slow batsman. The timing of Yabba's remarks was appreciated by the crowd as they enlivened dull passages of play.<sup>48</sup>

During the 1932-33 cricket season, the so-called Bodyline series brought the question of Australian (and English) crowd barracking to the fore. Bodyline was conceived by the English cricket team as the most effective way of dealing with the prolific run scoring of Australian batsman, Don Bradman. The reasoning behind the Bodyline idea was that 'a series of fast deliveries aimed directly at the batsman's body would unsettle him and make uppermost in his thoughts the physical protection of his own body'.<sup>49</sup> Judiciously placed fielders on the leg side also increased the possibility of dismissal and decreased the likelihood of scoring runs.

The Australian cricket crowds saw these English tactics as being 'just not cricket' even though the Australian cricketers had in the past, and since then, engaged in more than a little unfair play themselves. But

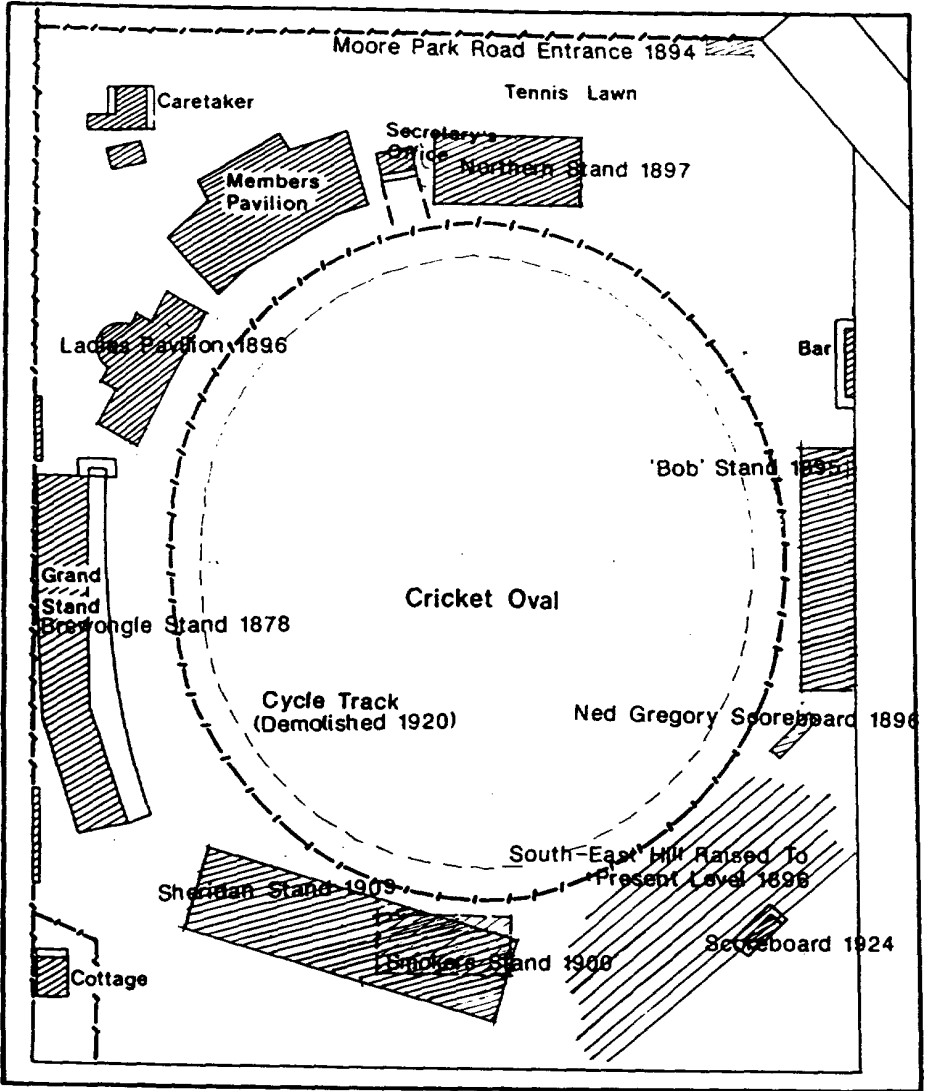
at this time the depression was at its height in Australia and there were volatile crowd displays, particularly at Adelaide and Melbourne. When the final Bodyline test came to the SCG the crowd reaction was reportedly high spirited, but did not transgress the bounds of a conventional order. The Hillites surprisingly showed some constraint, a constraint in line with the general orderliness of Australian crowds between the wars.<sup>50</sup>

From the date of the naming of The Sydney Cricket Ground in 1894 through until the mid 1930s, further architectural work was carried out on behalf of the spectators. The developments which had an effect on The Hill were the construction of The Smokers Stand in 1900 and then The Sheridan Stand in 1909. These developments had the effect of contracting the area of the south east corner of The Hill. Earlier in 1895, a stand popularly known as the 'Bob Stand' (the entrance fee was one shilling or a 'bob', now 10 cents) was constructed on the eastern side of the SCG. The Bob Stand provided inexpensive cover from the sun, but it effectively split The Hill in two. The South East Hill was raised once more in 1896 to its present level (see Figure 2).

After the Second World War cricket in Australia underwent a short boom before entering a decline in test performance and crowd attendance in the 1950s. This era of the '50s was also one in which Australian sport went through a crisis of professionalism as large amounts of money were poured into tennis and golf. Television coverage of sport in the late 1950s also foreshadowed something of a revolution to come.<sup>51</sup>

Figure 2

# SYDNEY CRICKET GROUND 1894-1935



During the 1950s and into the mid 1960s, all was apparently ‘quiet on the south-eastern front’ of the SCG Hill with a tolerable amount of raucous, rowdy behaviour apparently remaining within the bounds of official acceptability. However during this era three changes occurred which were to impact on later crowd behaviour. The first was the introduction of transistor radios in the early 1950s with the first ‘transistor test’ being played in 1954 in Sydney. The second was the introduction of television in 1958 and a limited televised coverage of test matches. This coverage increased to full series telecasts in the 1970-71 season.<sup>52</sup> These new developments had the effect, among other things, of significantly changing the size and nature of the cricket audience. The third innovation of the 1950-60 era was that of the tin beer can (the tinnie) and the first ‘beer can test series’ was in 1962-63 between England and Australia. The invention of the beer can and its trusty companion, the portable cooler, meant that the crowd on The Hill (and in other places) had a cool supply of beer for the entire day. An early Australian report of an additional use of the can as missile comes in 1964-65 when a player ‘was pelted with cans after he dropped a catch in front of a group of patrons who were swilling beer’.<sup>53</sup> An editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* also notes the impact of the new beer technology. The editor writes that ‘wide popularity of the beer can and the portable cooler . . . has added to the crowds irascibility, which becomes evident by mid-afternoon, especially on a hot day when the play is rather slow’.<sup>54</sup>

Cashman reports that it took officials a long time to evolve better techniques of crowd management and during this period of the late 1960s, spectating on The Hill became even more hazardous.<sup>55</sup> One letter writer to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, after complaining to the SCG Trust with little success about the unruly behaviour of the crowd on The Hill, wrote:

Certainly the rarefied air of the Members Stand is some distance from the battleground. Nevertheless I find it hard to believe that the austere members of the Trust have not heard snatches of the screams of the mob, or

seen the sun flashing on flying beer cans and the gay  
whirl of colour in the vortex of a brawl.<sup>56</sup>

This era of the late '60s also saw pitch invasions by members of the crowd at the SCG and other sports arenas in Australia.

By the late 1960s The Hill on the SCG had evolved its own unique, century old culture. This was one of loose, rowdy, raucous, collective action which on occasions transgressed the conventions of acceptable cricket and football spectating morality. The Hill was a place to go to rub shoulders with the mob, to live and feel the roar of the crowd, to move with it, and rise and fall in its collective upheavals. Humour, wit and playfulness were present next to coarse vulgarity and profanity and it would I think be fair to say that The Hill occupied a favourite place in popular culture of Sydney, if not Australia.

The late 1960s saw the beginnings of a transformation of that culture. One writer to the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1967 reports that matches were 'marred by disgusting displays of loutishness and hooliganism on The Hill . . . (and) spectators who had come to enjoy the game were showered in beer cans and ice and almost deafened by the drunken abuse hurled at the players'.<sup>57</sup> The President of the SCG Trust promised an investigation into hooliganism on The Hill and explained it by arguing that the 'huge volume of alcohol that flowed at the ground had transformed what could have been gentlemanly wit into gutter vulgarity, and a cricket loving crowd into a pack of abusive savages'.<sup>58</sup>

These are strong words but at this point I wish to argue against alcohol being invoked as a primary cause of the disorder on The Hill. Certainly it was present and flowed freely as the commentators note but, following later bans on bringing alcohol into the SCG (also plastic cups were introduced in the 1982-83 season) disturbances on The Hill have continued to occur on a similar and increased scale to the late 1960s and early 1970s. Cricket enthusiasts in Sydney will be quick to point out that there are a number of 'watering holes' near to the Sydney Cricket Ground and so after the imposition of alcohol restrictions, patrons

would fill up with beer, so to speak, prior to the game and arrive on The Hill, already 'well primed'. Vamplew is of the view that 'the evidence is overwhelming that alcohol is a major contributing factor to crowd disturbances'.<sup>59</sup> While acknowledging that alcohol is present in many instances of crowd disorder, I wish to maintain the view that it should not be invoked as a primary cause of the disorder on The Hill. Much alcohol is also drunk at other places, such as Sydney's Returned Services League Clubs, Hotels, Registered Clubs, Race Tracks, private parties or the Gay Mardi Gras, however these sites are not usually ones of collective disorder. Dunning, Murphy and Williams in their research into soccer hooliganism in England note the presence of alcohol in soccer crowd disturbances but argue that alcohol should be seen only as a superficial, rather than root cause of crowd disorder.<sup>60</sup> In their view, if attention was focussed on alcohol, then the roots of the disorder in contexts outside the sporting arena were overlooked. Cunneen, Findlay, Lynch and Tupper arrived at the same conclusion in their research into riots at the Bathurst 'bike races. The riots were stopped (along with the races themselves in 1989) through the use of alcohol restrictions, bans, searches and the increased use of police force, but the wider processes underlying the riots were not addressed.<sup>61</sup> Arguably, this conclusion with regard to alcohol being a superficial explanation also applies to The Hill at the SCG. This being the case, alcohol and alcohol bans are neither a solution to nor adequate explanation of the collective disorder at this site.

The year 1971 saw a relatively new kind of disorder on The Hill, and elsewhere in Australia, as protestors came out en masse to act out their anti-apartheid opposition to the tour of the South African rugby team. Police arrested 55 people at the SCG Test, most of them from The Hill where the demonstrators were concentrated. The demonstrators threw missiles, fire crackers, flares and smoke bombs. They blew whistles and chanted and, according to the *Herald*, some also threw tacks and glass. The SCG was reminiscent of a state of military repression with 300 police ringing the field inside the ten feet high fence

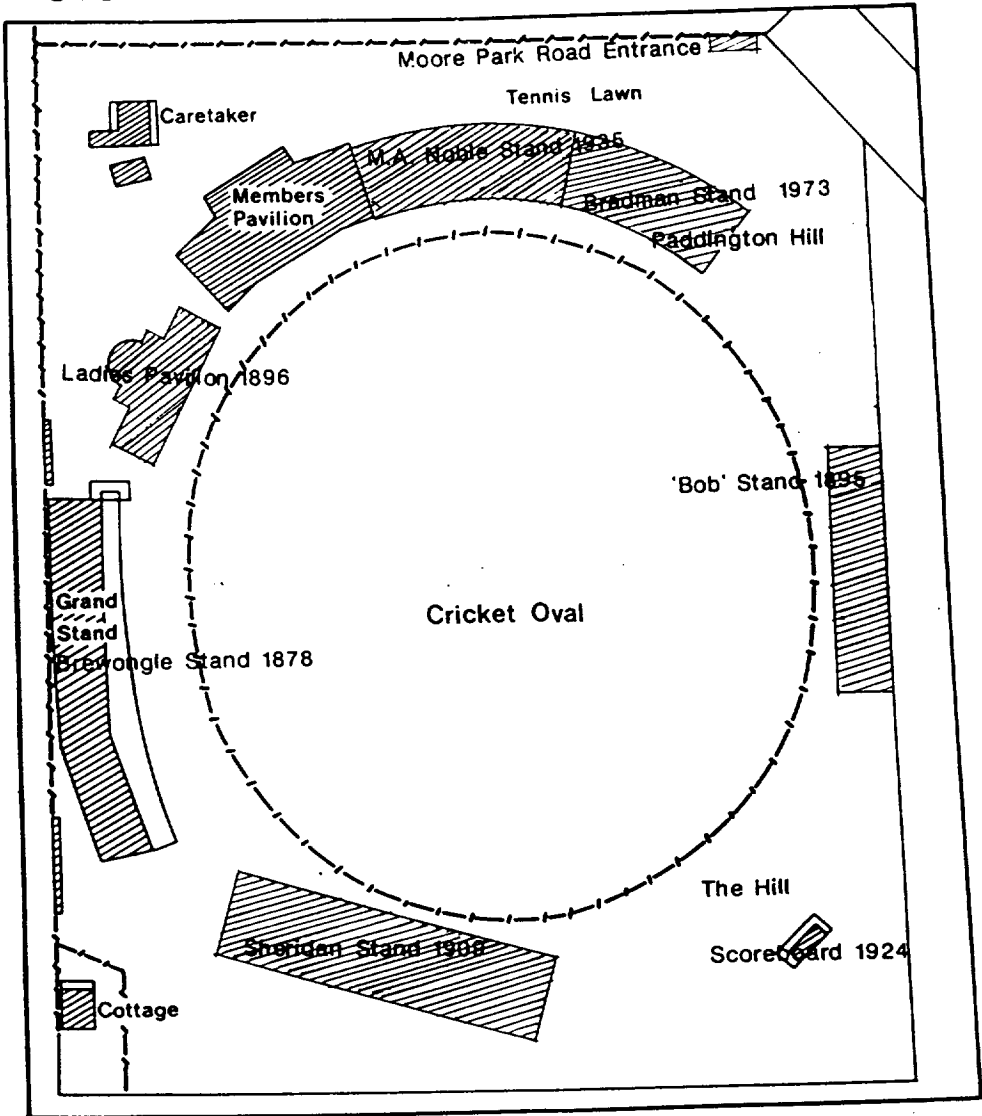
which included three strands of barbed wire in front of The Hill and other public areas. The police 'lined up two and three deep, facing the crowd in front of The Hill under the scoreboard'.<sup>62</sup> The cultural conventions of licence and transgression, built up on The Hill over a century, proved in this case adaptable to the political protests surrounding this South African tour. While the composition of the crowd most likely changed during the anti-apartheid protest, the culture of license present on The Hill was able to be transported readily from one form of transgression to another. It is also significant to note that during the 1971 South Africa - Australia game, it was The Hill that was swamped with police and penned off with barbed wire, not The Members Stand. This suggests an official recognition of a more serious political purpose lying under the outer veneer of the rowdy culture of The Hill.

It was also in 1971 that an instance of crowd violence, directed against fast bowler John Snow, led the English captain, Ray Illingworth to take his team from the field at the SCG. *Age* writer, Peter McFarlane saw the cans and bottles hurled at Snow after he had felled and cut Australian batsman/bowler, Jenner. Snow was grabbed by the shirt by an inebriated spectator and McFarlane writes that the incident made him ashamed to be an Australian.<sup>63</sup>

Architecturally, the major developments at the SCG in the four decades from 1935-1977, were the construction of the new MA Noble Stand in 1935 and the Bradman Stand in 1973. The Hill, divided from The Paddington Hill by The Bob Stand remained basically the same since the construction of The Sheridan Stand in 1909 (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

# SYDNEY CRICKET GROUND 1935-1977



Following the Snow incident and the protests of the 1971 Springbok tour, the next press reports of disorder on The Hill appeared in 1974. The New Zealand cricket captain, Bevan Congdon, in a subtle piece of understatement, is reported as expressing 'mild surprise' about the behaviour of the crowd at the SCG. Cashman reports several incidents of beer can throwing from The Hill and other areas in the 1974-75 season in addition to many pitch invasions by spectators during the 1970s.<sup>64</sup> One writer to the *Herald* notes a 'slow but perceptible change' in the crowd and especially its behaviour. He suggests that the crowd is now composed of much younger people who are ill informed about the basics of the game and are less interested in what is happening than in playing the role of spectator as if they were actors and actresses.<sup>65</sup>

This commentator foreshadowed a trend which was, after 1978, to further transform the nature of the crowd at the SCG and elsewhere, and also lead to a new era of collective disorder on The Hill. To reiterate a point already noted, the 1970s were relatively quiet years on The Hill, at least as the record is reported in the press. The political protests against the Springboks in 1971, the John Snow incident, the partisan behaviour of 1974 and the beer can throwing of the mid 1970s, appear to be all that is reported. However, the introduction of World Series Cricket (note the similarity of the name with World Series Baseball in the USA) in 1977 represents a significant change and a historical moment in the history of cricket, Australian sport and the culture of The Hill.

In that year, Australian entrepreneur, Kerry Packer, marketed a series of international matches which competed with the previous suppliers of such matches (the International Cricket Conference and the Australian Cricket Board). World Series Cricket (WSC), as the organisation and new one day matches were known, was something of a revolution in the cricket world and created schisms between players, spectators, administrators and just about everyone. WSC saw Kerry Packer, aggressive Australian media magnate, tampering with the revered and hallowed conventions of the ancient game of cricket. He

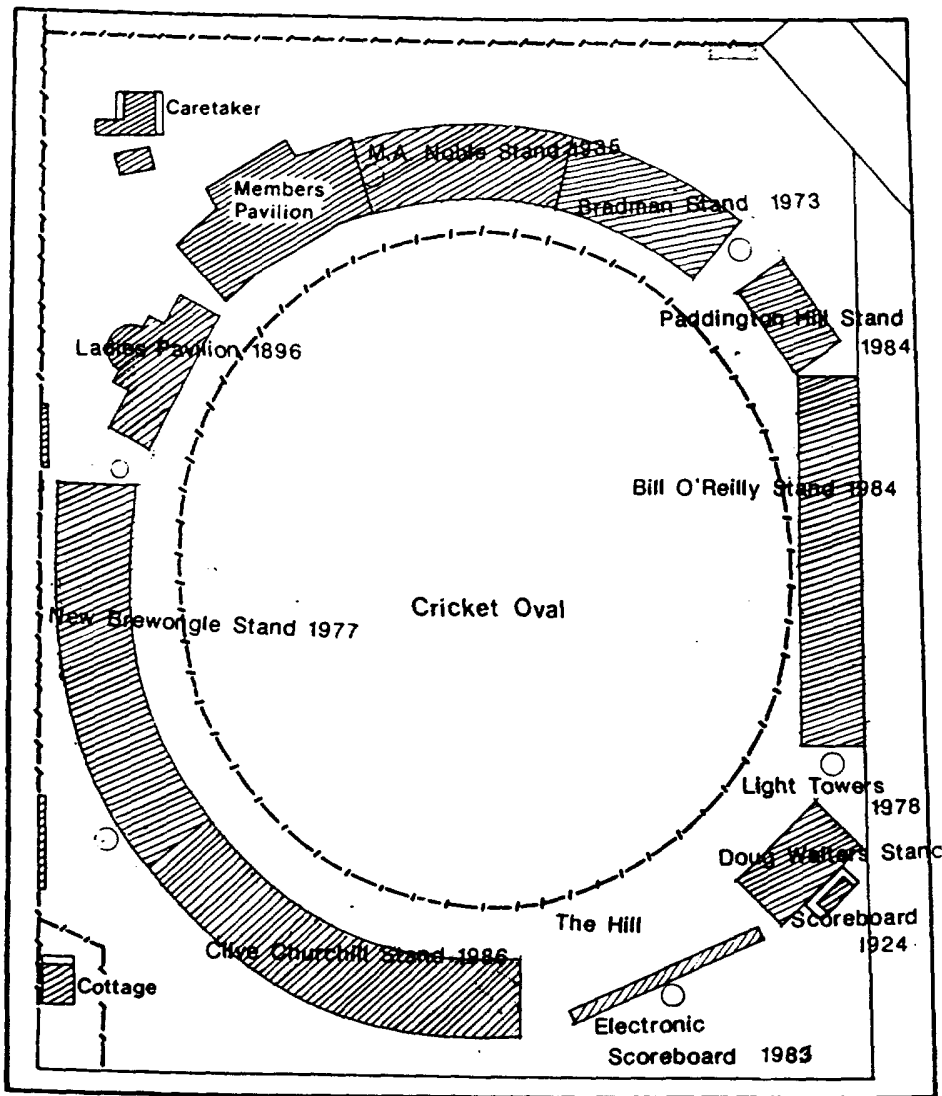
tampered successfully in the promotion and marketing side of the game to introduce into cricket: a high media profile (Kerry Packer at the time owned television's Channel 9 in Australia); images of excitement; coloured uniforms; new rules; white balls; big hitting stars; sexual innuendo to advertise cricket; radical new TV coverage; glossy magazines; songs and jingles ('Come on Aussie, come on'); wider advertising; brilliant night lights; late night play; promotional gimmicks such as give-away bats, t-shirts and hats; WSC logos and, general razzamataz. These innovations were not well received by the cricket establishment in Australia.

But the WSC organisers claimed they were taking cricket to the masses, and this they did after an uncertain start in 1977. Children, young people and women were encouraged to attend cricket by the generating of an atmosphere of excitement. The nature of cricket crowds in Australia was once more under transformation as cricket was commercially reshaped, in the company of Rugby League, Basketball and Australian Rules Football.

The transformation of the crowds went hand in hand with the architectural transformation of the SCG itself. 'The period from 1977 until the present has seen the face of The Sydney Cricket Ground, familiar for nearly 10 years, change completely'.<sup>66</sup> The new Brewongle Stand was erected in 1977 followed in 1978 by the erection of six, eighty metre high, 3500 watt floodlight towers for the introduction of WSC night cricket to the SCG. In 1984, The Hill's stately old scoreboard gave way to a new electronic video scoreboard which is capable of displaying the score, instant replays, advertising and sound track. The old scoreboard was then further overshadowed by the construction of the open decked, Doug Walters Stand. These developments, along with that of the Clive Churchill Stand in 1986 had the effect of radically altering the open, collective character of The Hill and drastically reducing its size. From the mid 1980s on, The Hill was reduced to a remnant of its past history - a symbolic patch of grass in the shadows of the trimmings of sport as modern, mass entertainment (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

# SYDNEY CRICKET GROUND 1977-1988



In 1977, the Brewongle Stand, then in its hundredth year was demolished and replaced in 1980 by the new Brewongle Stand of three levels and capable of holding 4,300 people. Two new features were introduced to the SCG with the new Brewongle Stand. Reserved seating was introduced and private boxes were built into the lowest level of the stand. These are leased, mainly to corporations, and have provided the Sydney Cricket and Sports Ground Trust with a large guaranteed annual income. The boxes have areas of open seating, an enclosed lounge and private catering.<sup>67</sup>

The introduction of private boxes effectively introduced another division into the culture of spectators at the SCG: members; non-members with the ability to pay for private boxes; non-members in the stands and non-members on The Hill. To the north of The Hill in 1984, The Bill O'Reilly Stand (originally Pat Hills Stand 1984-88) was opened. The stand contained twenty-one private boxes, had a total capacity of 3,600 and was built in the style of the new Brewongle Stand.

These developments since 1977 have been both rapid and dramatic and have completely altered the face of the SCG, the size and character of The Hill and its century plus culture. Arguably these developments have contributed to the tensions that have been so visibly expressed on The Hill throughout the late 1970s and 1980s.

The record of crowd unrest on the SCG Hill after the introduction of WSC speaks for itself. The following table charts the course of reported crowd disorder and the regulatory responses which were enacted in an attempt to secure order and control in the post WSC era.

(TABLE 1)<sup>68</sup>

**Disorder and Regulation on the Hill after 1978**

SCG Incidents-Disorder

SCG Changes & Regulation

1978 April 25

Crushes at R. League match on The Hill as 49,500 jam into SCG, thousands shut out.

Additional turnstiles, improved catering temporary lavatories.

1978 May 2

Floodlights to be installed at SCG for WSC night matches.

1978 November 28

13 arrested on The Hill at first WSC night match.

First night of WSC. Floodlights turned on.

1978 November 29

9 arrested on a bus travelling from SCG after night WSC match.

Alcohol banned from being taken into SCG.

1978 December 14

9 arrested for unruly behaviour at WSC cricket.

1979 January 18

Australia vs W. Indies WSC match marred by can throwing and acts of indecent exposure.

1979 December 12

2 fined for throwing beer cans at a WSC night game. Cock tights and drunkenness on Hill despite alcohol ban.

1979 December 18

25 arrested at Australia vs W.Indies cricket.

1979 December 27

Officials seek wider powers to protect players after Australian captain Chappell makes citizen's arrest of spectator.

1981 January 29

Police increased at SCG to deter trouble-makers.

1982 January 19

42 people arrested after beer can fight on Hill.

1982 January 26

37 fans arrested after a policeman is knocked unconscious by a flying beer can.

1982 November 15

28 arrested (13/11) on Hill after brawls spilled over into bloody battles in front of scoreboard.

Barbed wire fence considered for The Hill. Extra police to patrol fence.

1982 November 18

Barbed wire fence rejected.

1982 December 30

Police patrol 2 metre wide 'no-go' area in a crackdown on drunken violence. Command post established atop the Brewongle Stand. SCG crowd maximum sire reduced to 40,000.

1982/83 Season

Members of the police riot squad (Tactical Response Group) placed on The Hill.

1983 January 1

Beer cans sold at \$1.10 each (60c at hotel/ bottle shops), two can limit per customer to be opened at point of sale. Plastic cups made available.

1983 January 3

Police Band pelted with fruit when it wheeled too close to The Hill. Four charged with serious affront, 8 detained.

1983 January 11

60 arrested after a policewoman punched and two other officers attacked on Hill at WSC game.

1983 January 15

Crackdown on bringing alcohol into SCG - more people assigned to check.  
Bars on The Hill may be closed.  
Bag check/searches.  
Members of SCG not searched.

1983 January 28

70 police in groups of 4 to patrol SCG outer.  
Police launch campaign to rid SCG of hooliganism.

1983 February 10

43 arrested at WSC final. 42 detained for 4-8 hours for being intoxicated.

1984 January

Police insist that no cans be sold from bars serving The Hill.  
New pipes installed to serve draught beer.  
Plastic cups replace cans (except in Members Bar)  
Facilities upgraded.

1984 January 9

53 arrested after brawls on Hill.

1984 January 15

Extra police mobilised to curb violence during Australia vs W.Indies cricket.

1984 January 17

Some 80 arrested after brawling on The Hill during cricket.

1985 June 1

10 riot police to SCG to discourage Brussels type outbreak at soccer game between Tottenham Hotspurs and Udinese (Italy), 30 other police present.

1986 November 15

SCG Membership opened up at joining fee of \$5,000.

1985 January 15

80 arrested after brawl on Hill, 5 police injured, 2 charged with assault and the rest with drunkenness. Fence broken in Australia vs NZ match.

1986 January 16

Call for ban on Hill alcohol, call for new seating on Hill, barbed wire, police dogs, fire hoses. Premier Wran suggests Hill may have to go. State-Commonwealth working party looking into violence. Call for stiffer fines.

1986 January 21

Call by AOF President for seats on The Hill, police and others call for strong measures, SCG Trust spokesperson cautions against over-reaction.

1986 January 22

80 police, incl Tactical Response Group at SCG for night cricket game, breath testing units outside SCG.

1986 June 23

Rioting involving 'all sorts of people and not just drunken louts', 7 arrested at Collingwood vs Sydney Swans Australian Rules football game.

1989 January 17

24 arrested, some 100 evicted from Ground at WSC final. Chanting, drunken behaviour, racist comments such as 'up the white ones'. Police describe Hill crowd as 'the assholes of humanity', 3 with pants down.

Daily Mirror hands over to police, pictures of 3 'young louts' photographed with pants down.

1989 January 18

Following rowdy WSC final between Australia and W.Indies, The Herald disputes the Mirror's claim that there was a riot during game.

Alcohol rationed on Hill (2 cups), extra Police, bag searches increased, 156 police on duty (including 16 TRG), call for alcohol ban.

Call for individual seats on Hill, further beer sale limits, searches at turnstile, increased 'riot squad' police, 'cage' The Hill, call to eliminate Hill.

1989 January 19

WSC Final - Hill crowd rowdy, 'started with tennis balls and moved on to apples and oranges' for missiles.

1989 February 27

Crackdown on Hill hooligans. NSW Sports Minister announces Hill to stay but new controls including 62 surveillance video cameras, special area for families, old scoreboard to become a police charge room, fewer people allowed entry (9-10,000), two plastic cups of beer limit, increased security checks on entry, stronger policing.

#### Ongoing

Interspersed among the highly visible disorder and crowd controls is a more subtle drama of an architectural-commercial nature - the building of new stands, concreting, introduction of tiered seating and the reduction of open area standing room to a fraction of its former size.

(See Figure 4).

### **Explaining the New Face of Disorder**

In 1977, World Series Cricket was introduced and, after doubling its crowds in the 1978/9 season, the game proceeded to revolutionise cricket and place it squarely in the realm of mass, popular appeal, sport-as-entertainment. The nature of the cricket audience was transformed as was the nature of the crowd on The Hill. Corresponding to these changes was an increase in the frequency of disorder on The Hill after 1978, increases in the numbers arrested, an apparent increase in the amount of drunken and disorderly behaviour, an increase in reports of brawling behaviour and an escalation of regulatory measures, including more individual seating and a reduction in the size of The Hill as new stands and seats encroached on this territory (see Figure 4).

With the new audience drawn to World Series Cricket, these changes in the nature and frequency of crowd disorder are arguably predictable ones.<sup>69</sup> Two examples from Australian tennis and British soccer illustrate the process involved. Brian Tobin, President of Tennis Australia, spoke in 1989 on the renewal of the Australian Tennis Open and in so doing, shed light on new forms of crowd disruptiveness. Prior to 1982 according to Tobin, Australia was in danger of losing the Grand Slam status held by the Australian Open, a status which had historically been accorded this event. The possibility of this loss was due to such factors as poor prize money, inadequate facilities at the Kooyong (Melbourne) tennis facility and small crowds. International television networks were also not interested in covering the event.

Following 1982, an aggressive marketing-promotion, and rebuilding campaign was undertaken so that in 1989, in an entirely new tennis facility, the Australian Open attracted the world's top players, huge international television coverage, lucrative sponsorships and capacity crowds. Among the large crowds a new type of tennis spectator had been attracted to the game, this being what Tobin refers to as 'the screaming teenager' who calls out, screams, whistles and boos at moments in the game where more stately responses or silence had previously prevailed.<sup>70</sup>

This new and disruptive category of spectator had however been actively sought out by the organisers in their attempts to swell the numbers passing through the turnstiles. The promoters advertised widely through a new source for tennis, that being the popular FM radio stations. In so doing, a young audience with money to spend on entertainment was attracted to the Australian Open (and other Australian tennis tournaments) with an apparent desire to follow the stars of the game - the Edberg's, Graf's and Cash's at the time. Being newly attracted to the game, these youthful spectators did not have a history of sedate tennis watching in the company of a thermos flask and lamingtons. They lacked an awareness of the traditional decorum of tennis crowd behaviour and in search of excitement, entertainment and the rise and fall of the stars, their raucous enthusiasm has been of concern to administrators and players of the 1980s.

In a similar fashion, about five years earlier, World Series Cricket set out to enlarge the cricket audience and succeeded. But in this case, the new spectators located themselves in part on The Hill, a site with a century old tradition of tolerating, if not inviting unruly behaviour.

Another explanation for the new face of crowd disorder can be derived from British research into soccer hooliganism. Dunning, Murphy and Williams have traced the history of crowd disorder at British soccer and, as is the case in Australia, they found that something in the order of a century of crowd disorder preceded the current wave of post 1980s violence.<sup>71</sup> They do however note an apparent escalation

of violence in the mid 1960s and this they attribute in part to an increased and more vigorous media coverage of the disorder occurring on the soccer terraces. What Dunning and his colleagues argue is that with the increased television and press coverage of violence at soccer, young working-class men were attracted to the soccer arenas in larger numbers, particularly those from so called rough working-class areas. Dunning et al argue that soccer after the mid 60s was being 'advertised' as a place where not only soccer took place, but also a place where fighting and aggression occurred regularly. Soccer, aggression and violence being familiar and meaningful to a so called rough working class, it was rather understandable that increased numbers of youth from this class should be drawn to soccer and soccer hooliganism. Following from this, as Dunning et al argue, soccer hooliganism has its social roots in the class structure of British society.<sup>72</sup>

Data are not on hand in Australia to be able to develop Dunning's argument with confidence. But it seems likely that part of the new crowd attracted to World Series Cricket after 1977 was attracted to the possibilities which the SCG Hill has to offer for unruly collective action (see Cashman 1984 pp.123,125,149) and certainly The Hill remains the least expensive point of entry to the SCG.<sup>73</sup> In January 1983 entry charges to various stands ranged from \$15 to \$9 - on The Hill, \$7. The traditional culture of The Hill is working-class and the comparatively low entry charge is likely to continue the tradition.

The period prior to the introduction of WSC saw an increased coverage of sport on television and two commentators have noted an effect on crowds which presumably carried over into the highly televised, day-night matches of the new cricket era. Bill O'Reilly proposed that the increased television coverage has provided the crowd with a greater incentive to 'act out' and writes: 'The play-acting goes on tiresomely in the late afternoons when the telecast goes to screen'.<sup>74</sup> A writer to the *Herald* writes of a suspicion he has that the new crowd members are ill informed about the game and 'that they are less interested in watching

what is happening than in playing the role of spectators - as if they were actors and actresses'.<sup>75</sup>

To summarise the argument being developed here, crowd disorder on the SCG Hill took on a new face following the introduction of World Series Cricket in 1977. Disorder occurred more frequently, there were increased numbers of arrests and an increased reportage of brawling and drunkenness. The explanation offered for this 'new face' lies in the intersection of several processes. First, the historical tradition of unruly behaviour that is embedded in the working-class culture of The Hill. Second, the emergence of World Series Cricket as a commercially packaged and promoted form of mass entertainment. Third, the entry of new kinds of spectators onto The Hill apparently drawn by the spectacle, entertainment and star focus of the new game. Finally (and with some speculation), there appears to have been a process of spectators reacting to the whittling away of The Hill and attempts to make it a place of individual seating - and generally a more sanitised environment. The use and abuse of alcohol and the reaction to on-field incidents have a history dating back one hundred years and as such should not be seen as primary influences shaping the new face of disorder.

### III

How can the regulatory processes on The Hill be explained? By 1986, and following a series of building decisions, The Hill which once extended approximately half way around the ground, was a mere 'cake slice' of the ground's perimeter (see Figure 2). The Hill has been enclosed on three sides by the bulk of the O'Reilly (1984) and Churchill (1986) stands and by the placement of a giant video scoreboard behind it in 1983. The upper part of the once 'widespread grassy mound' has also disappeared with the building of the open deck, Doug Walters Stand in the 1980s. What remains of The Hill is a large number of seats, some concrete and *a symbolic patch of grass*. Bill O'Reilly wrote the following lament:

No real cricket fan of long ago can fail to lament the mutilation that has maimed The Hill. There the electronic scoreboard has taken gaudy charge of this sacred site...The Hill has gone forever. Now it is little more than a backyard fowl run.<sup>76</sup>

The decisions to place grandstands on the former territory of The Hill, the building of the Doug Walters Stand and the calls for individual seating led towards an upgrading or sanitisation of the previously less than formal conditions that prevailed on this 'hallowed' site (see Figures 1-4). These decisions also led towards the placement of increased numbers of individuals in their own seats. Under proposals announced by the NSW Minister for Sport in February 1989, once reduced numbers of spectators had been admitted (9-10,000) to The Hill and more of these seated, they would be under the surveillance of some 62 video cameras and police, and would be allowed to buy a limit of two beers at a time, sold in plastic cups.<sup>77</sup>

Peter Bailey in his book on rational recreation and the contest for control in Victorian England notes that 'in the bourgeois ideology of the reformers, leisure was less the bountiful territory in which to site Utopia, than some dangerous frontier zone beyond the law and order of respectable society'.<sup>78</sup> So the tyranny-evoking regulation of The Hill is not without historical precedent, a specific example of which exists in the English Music Halls of the nineteenth century. According to Clarke and Critcher:

The authorities frowned on the music halls where the potential for drunkenness, prostitution, ribaldry and even subversion was considerable. In the 1860s the London Music Hall Proprietors Association was formed and this association began negotiating with the licensing authorities. What resulted . . . in the 1880s was a transformation of the Music Halls. Gone were the drink, food and most of the prostitutes. Tables and chairs had been replaced by fixed rows of seats; and semi professional and amateur performers had been supplanted by full-time professionals tightly controlled

by contract, including guarantees that they would not include in their acts any material 'offensive' to political figures and institutions.<sup>79</sup>

The 1988 opening of a multi-million dollar shopping and entertainment complex on the foreshores of inner Sydney's Darling Harbour provides a remarkably similar contemporary example of the nineteenth Century controls on the Music Halls.

At the opening of Darling Harbour by the NSW Premier the crowd was entertained by a large number of musicians and bands especially hired for the occasion. When the musicians picked up their contracts in the week prior to the opening they found the documents included the following phrase:

As we are all aware, the Darling Harbour project has been a highly sensitive issue. Please don't take this opportunity to voice adverse opinion. Your co-operation in this matter will help to ensure that Darling Harbour continues to remain a live music venue. Therefore, your co-operation is not only requested, but expected.<sup>80</sup>

What appears to be at work historically in the music Halls and at present at Darling Harbour and on The Hill, is the rational control of recreational space. Foucault identified social segregation with the technique of rational administration. The aim of social segregation, amongst other things, was to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, assess it and judge it. 'Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual'.<sup>81</sup> The process of creating docile bodies is, according to Foucault, one of avoiding distributions in groups; breaking up collective dispositions and analysing confused, massive or transient pluralities.<sup>82</sup> Turner notes in a similar vein, 'by making people different and separate, it makes them more subject to control'.<sup>83</sup>

Control is paramount on The Hill and has been of particular concern for the decade since 1978. The likeable larrikin Hillite of

former years has been replaced by an apparently ugly Australian ocker and the collective excesses of the decade appear to be leading to the inevitable removal of The Hill as an open, collective space, unfettered by individual seating.

The regulatory processes on The Hill, can be read simply in a context of social control and containment of unruly, collectively based leisure. The behaviour on The Hill has, too many times, surpassed the sensibilities of the moral guardians of order and so this once hallowed and rowdy cultural icon, has been the subject of a movement upmarket in architecture and convention in order that it settle comfortably into the larger and more recently corporate culture of the SCG - and into a new, more sanitised mass entertainment which is targeted towards families, children and 'everyone'.

Paradox abounds in this process for it was a movement 'upmarket' so to speak, into a broad-based mass market in 1977 by World Series Cricket, that attracted new young spectators who arguably have been at the centre of the new disorder on The Hill. The stands built between 1977 and 1986 (new Brewongle 1977; O'Reilly [formerly Hills] Stand 1984; Clive Churchill Stand 1986) took the SCG further upmarket and created yet another social division comprised of corporate box spectators. The increased entry of sponsors into sport and the SCG from the 1970s onwards is another component of this puzzle. Sport is now more unquestionably a form of commercial entertainment and it seems reasonable to assume that sponsors who outlay large sums of money do not want their image tarnished by an unruly bunch of spectators. So there is a further impetus to secure control on The Hill, to individuate, sanitise and regulate.

Part of the unruly behaviour at this site, as ugly as it may have become, is arguably a reaction by collections of people against the sanitisation of leisure, against the corporatisation of sport, against control, against encroachment onto the turf of 'the mob', against being placed in a plastic seat and enclosed.

Unruly behaviour, whether it be a real or a perceived threat to life and limb, can be suppressed through the escalation of force, increased policing, electronic surveillance, alcohol restrictions, tougher penalties, individual seating and the like. In concluding their research into football hooliganism in England, Dunning and his colleagues caution that the phenomenon is deeply-rooted in the social world. 'As such it will not yield to blind rage or succumb to narrowly focussed strategies'.<sup>84</sup> As has been argued elsewhere narrow policy solutions to the problem ignore the wider social processes contributing to the unruly behaviour.<sup>85</sup> Thus while the actual behaviour may itself be forcibly suppressed in an immediate context, the processes at the roots of the disorder remain untouched and are ongoing.

For over a century the crowds on The Hill have played with the margins of acceptable behaviour in one of the public arenas in Sydney where it is possible to do so collectively. With regard to what might be called an underside of life, societies and individuals arguably have a need for some forms of rowdy collectivism as in the topsy-turvy medieval carnivals described by Bakhtin or the collective movements in China and Eastern Europe during 1989.<sup>86</sup> In Australia the symbolic patch of grass known as The Hill on the Sydney Cricket Ground used to be such a place of collective expression.

#### NOTES

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# MANAGING PUBLIC ORDER AT THE AUSTRALIAN MOTORCYCLE GRAND PRIX<sup>1</sup>

**Arthur Veno and Elizabeth Veno**

‘HELL ON THE MOUNTAIN’ and ‘BIKIE MOB IN DRUNKEN RIOT ORGY’ were the banner headlines run by the *Daily Telegraph* while *The Australian* headline read ‘THE NIGHT MAD MAX CAME TO BATHURST’.<sup>2</sup> This was the way that Australian newspapers described the riot between spectators and police at the 1985 Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix held in the small country town of Bathurst, New South Wales. The authors involved in an observational study of this 1985 riot. As an extension of this research the authors developed and initiated a violence prevention plan at the new venue for the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix - Phillip Island, Victoria. The authors worked with the Victorian Police Major Incident Planning Unit (MIPU) and were funded by the Health Promotions Unit of the Health Department, Victoria. This article relates the findings of this research to the broad context of social change.

One model of social change is reformation. The reformist perspective assumes that positive change can occur through the altering of existing institutions and practices to create a better society. The Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix study is the analysis of the reformation of an authoritarian and repressive policing style towards a more democratic policing approach to controlling sport violence in Australia. Our goal in presenting this article is to illustrate how a situation traditionally handled by repression can be better handled through the use of consensus and collaboration. In this article, we will:

- define an appropriate psychological context for the analysis of social change
- describe our previous public order studies;
- detail our attempt at generating a better society through the introduction of less repressive and more humane policing

tactics at one large scale public event - the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix; and,

- present guidelines for consensus based public order.

Let us begin by providing readers with a brief historical perspective of public order and policing in Australia.

### **A brief historical perspective**

Settled as a colony of the British empire, Australia traces its policing history to one of the two forms of public order policing developed in Britain. One form was developed by Sir Robert Peel and was derived from the Anglo-Saxon concept of the tythingman whose role was to keep the peace in addition to other duties.<sup>3</sup> This form of policing based upon consensus and democratic election characterised domestic British public order policing until the early 1980s. The second form of public order policing was derived more from the Roman empire model of invasion and subsequent military or paramilitary policing.<sup>4</sup> The latter public order form was developed for controlling indigenous populations of British colonies in a coercive and frequently oppressive manner. Changes to Britain's immigration policy, the dramatic increase in economic problems facing the nation in the 1960s, and finally the election of the conservative Thatcher government in the 1970s created social and economic conditions conducive to public disorder and terrorism. The resulting prevalence of public disorder precipitated a change from the consensus-based domestic public order policing towards protesting Britons being policed in a paramilitary style.

The eight police forces in Australia evolved from the paramilitary form of public order policing. After Federation, Wilson and Western argue that Victorian Police developed a consensus form of policing.<sup>5</sup> International police communications have led to the latest paramilitary British model of public order policing being adopted by Australian police to public disorder. Wardlaw reports that public order and terrorism 'have become a major preoccupation with our law enforcement and associated bodies'.<sup>6</sup> Australian police forces have

responded to this preoccupation with the establishment of public order and anti-terrorist units whose charters are to quell the violence of public disorder through the use of counter force. Contrary to police concern about public disorder, Australia is regarded as a relatively safe and free nation without frequent public disorder. The Gallup Polls consistently show that the Australian public does not regard public disorder as a major concern.<sup>7</sup>

Having provided a brief historical perspective for Australian policing of public order, let us now turn to a psychological orientation for the analysis and structuring of democratic policing - social psychology. Of particular relevance to this article is the work of Shellow and Roemer, and of Shellow.<sup>8</sup> In both cases, these authors successfully implemented crowd control techniques which successfully minimised violence at public events. The tactics used were not repressive tactics, but rather, focussed upon consensus techniques, police liaison and low profile, friendly policing to increase the sense of identity between assembled crowds and police. The net result in both instances was a non-violent event. Our work attempting to effect positive social change by influencing public order practice of Australian police is most similar to Robert Shellow in his 1970 chapter detailing tactical, educational and consensus based police procedures for the effective management of a public order problem in a United States context. Before presenting our work, let us briefly examine some select social psychological theory of collective violence to provide a context for our violence prevention efforts at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix.

### **Social Psychological Theories of Collective Violence**

Lynch's observation of the riot occurring at the Bathurst Motorcycle Races in 1985 revealed that, of a crowd of many thousands no more than 300 individuals were actively fighting the police at any time during the riot.<sup>9</sup> What are the features predicting participation in actively fighting the police? What are the features predicting non-participation in the fighting at a riot? On this occasion, when the

Riot Act was read, only a few hundred of the estimated crowd of 5000 persons dispersed.<sup>10</sup> Social psychological theory can account for these features of public disorder and shed some light on the steps which might be taken to control public order in an appropriately consensual fashion.

A riot occurs when the police define the activities of a crowd as riotous and declare it a riotous assembly. The police, acting as society's agents of control, assert their authority to restore order in the space. The participants in the crowd hear and are aware of this proclamation. They have a choice of complying or not with the agent of authority, the police. There are several social psychological constructs which are directly relevant to an assessment of whether features of a situation facilitate the act of defiance or compliance. Notably, these are:

- authority agent relationships;
- targeting;
- group polarisation;
- conformity; and,
- the frustration-aggression hypothesis.

### **Authority - Agent Relationships**

As Milgram points out the vast majority of encounters individuals have with authority result in compliance.<sup>11</sup> He notes that authority-agent relationships are the 'simple machinery' of social routine. Brown argues that a necessary step in defining a path of rebellion rather than compliance is defining the legitimate power of the authority as either authority overstepping its bounds or authority acting unjustly.<sup>12</sup> The step of delegitimizing the social power of legitimate authority has a well-established history at the Bathurst Motorcycle Race riots. In the case of Bathurst, the concept is found both in the folklore of the spectators and is also clearly evident in some mainstream masspress.<sup>13</sup> Observations of other public leisure events indicate that certain subgroups within any gathering make de-legitimizing and/or aggressive comments about the police.<sup>14</sup> Responses by other subgroups in the crowd uphold the legitimacy of the police authority.

How is police power defined as illegitimate? Again, Brown states that the process is related to successive little incidents empowering an individual to rebel.<sup>15</sup> This is a process widely known as desensitisation. The bike games engaged in at Bathurst, as reported by Lynch, became rougher as the day progressed.<sup>16</sup> These games served the purpose of establishing small, successive incidents which encouraged the display of 'lawlessness' without negative incident or legal consequence. The escalating activity of the games could be interpreted as providing the basis for gradually increasing crowd rowdiness. Once established, the preconditions for defining authority as illegitimate are set in place.

### **Targeting**

One clear feature which differentiates groups choosing to rebel against authority from complaint groups in the presence of individuals within the group experienced in the act of rebellion. This feature is called 'targeting' by Brown.<sup>17</sup> Gamson, Fireman and Rytina refer to it as the effects of a priori beliefs.<sup>18</sup> Veno et al. report data suggesting persons present at Bathurst are more likely to have been in trouble with authorities than individuals at other biker events.<sup>19</sup> Given this history, they are more likely to exhibit rebellious behaviour. More importantly, from a collective violence perspective, these individuals are likely to serve as role models for others. After considering the probability that collective violence will occur, individuals decide or not to attend venues where violence has become institutionalised. This has explanatory relevance to leisure activity riots, such as the 1988 Street Rod Riots in Wagga Wagga and the notorious 'Hill' at the Sydney Cricket Ground as well as demonstration violence such as that occurring at the Springbok Tours of Australia and New Zealand in the 1970s.

## **Group polarisation**

Group polarisation refers to the propensity for groups to take either a more conservative or more radical position than the majority of individuals within the group.<sup>20</sup> Groups are more likely to act defiantly when a majority already favour defiance, Interaction at a gathering somehow polarises attitudes sufficiently for the defiant acts to occur. For example, the individuals involved in the Star Hotel Riot of 1979 may actually believe that collective violence is inappropriate behaviour, in spite of participating in the riot. The psychological force of group polarisation accounts for this discrepancy.

## **Conformity**

Conformity pressure is steeped in the basic human desire to be accepted within a group, and it is regarded by most authors as a powerful social force. Conformity occurs when behaviour is affected by example rather than by direction. It is different from imitation and is restricted to situations where complying individuals act in a way that they would not if on their own.<sup>21</sup> Obedience occurs when those who affect behaviour do so on the basis of authority.<sup>22</sup> Conformity explains the 'behavioural contagion' associated with riotous behaviour. It explains how behaviour, such as missile throwing, suddenly arises from individuals who would not normally engage in such behaviour. When those around you, and with whom you have be-en socialising or demonstrating, begin to express anti- police sentiment and ultimately begin to throw missiles, the process of conformity must be rejected. Riots like those occurring in Redfern (Sydney) in 1983 and on Australia Day in 1988, could exemplify the process of conformity as an explanation for behavioural contagion existing in crowd situations. The expressed principles in the conformity concept seem to be generally applicable across public disorder.

## **Frustration - aggression hypothesis**

The frustration-aggression hypothesis explains how frustration can lead to aggression. The original proponents of the hypothesis tended to make rather sweeping generalisations about frustration always leading to aggression.<sup>23</sup> This tendency resulted in the hypothesis being severely criticised. Reformulated, the hypothesis states that frustration will generally produce a more aggressive response than non-frustration.<sup>24</sup> In their study of soccer hooligans, March, Rosser and Hare noted that the comment of 'boredom' was heard in describing the subjective experience of the participants before they began to throw missiles.<sup>25</sup> We suggest that the subjective experience of frustration may be boredom as the same or similar comments regarding boredom have been reported in our study of public disorders.<sup>26</sup> This is of particular relevance in any analysis of collective violence occurring at public events where severe restrictions and control are imposed. In this context, the participants may be responding to frustration.

The five social psychological constructs presented are selected explanations for the dynamics of collective violence and should not be regarded as exhaustive. They illustrate that theories of collective violence are important, if not essential in the conceptualisation of the dynamics of public disorder.

## **Public order study**

Wardlaw reports that the incidence of Australian public disorder is relatively low.<sup>27</sup> However, since 1960, nine violent clashes defined as riots have occurred between police and bikers attending the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix held at Bathurst, New South Wales. The Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix appeared to be an exception to the Wardlaw assertion and, for this reason, the authors decided to examine violence in this setting. Since violence had already occurred at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix, the work is regarded as secondary prevention.<sup>28</sup>

The goal of the intervention was consistent with the formulation of Rappaport writing about the central issues underlying community psychology interventions in the criminal justice arena:

. . . The question of central concern is how to mobilise actual and potential environmental resources so as to reduce the involvement of persons in the apparatus of the criminal justice system.<sup>29</sup>

Given the framing of this central question, the overall project goal was to develop an effective model of policing public disorder at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix aimed at reducing the antecedent conditions which caused the public disorder in a non-coercive and punitive manner.

Lewin's Action Research model was selected due to the inherent flexibility (and sensibility) of his approach.<sup>30</sup> The project commenced with an information gathering and observation phase; followed by a second phase to plan and implement an intervention strategy. A third phase comprised an evaluation of the intervention. The final phase was the development of public policy guidelines to institutionalise the solutions to the violence.

### **Values and Assumptions**

The approach taken in this research was based on community psychology values and assumptions and included:

- consensus was the most desirable form of conflict resolution;
- shaping of the situational factors conducive to peace rather than conflict was essential for effective conflict resolution;
- bolstering police human resource skills to manage crowds was needed,
- a preventative orientation to the violence by spectators was a key factor in any conflict resolution scenario; and finally,
- developing and implementing an appropriate public order policy was essential to develop long-term solutions.

## **Methods**

Methods consisted of structured interviews and oral histories collected from all parties and a review of relevant literature. Observational studies were conducted at the Bathurst Motorcycle Races during the years 1984-1986 and seven other relevant leisure events in New South Wales, Australian Capital Territory and Victoria. Initially, the immediate goals of each observation were to monitor the self and peer regulation behaviour of the crowd and in particular the bikers, their games and their interactions with the police. Later such observations provided an opportunity to evaluate public order policies. Consistent with the action research model proposed by Lewin, methods progressively developed structure and formality.<sup>31</sup> For example, tape-recorded observations and tedious debriefing sessions were replaced with detailed observational log books, a single debriefing session and the circulation of a draft compilation of event observations.

Initially, an attempt was made to arrange a search conference through the auspices of the New South Wales Bureau of Crime, Statistics and Research to enable all relevant groups to discuss the Bathurst violence problem and its solution. The media (New South Wales Press Council and the Sydney Morning Herald) refused to attend, as did the New South Wales Police. The search conference concept was abandoned. This lack of participation reflected the polarised positions parties were taking about the conflict. We interpreted this finding to reflect one aspect of the institutionalisation of violence at the event.

## **Genesis of the violence**

1960 witnessed the first documented riot in Bathurst. Interestingly enough, the media described the riot as 'youth gone wild in the streets of Bathurst. Four years passed without further major incident; then in 1965, a second riot occurred this time described as 'bikies gone wild' in the streets of Bathurst. The bikers were a logical minority group for the media to identify and use to foster public hysteria about bikies, particularly after the film, 'The Wild One' coincidentally

making its Australian debut in 1965. The effect of 'The Wild One' was to sensationalise the marginally deviant subculture of bikers, making them more deviant to the non-biker world.<sup>32</sup> This process is known in sociological terms as deviance amplification.<sup>33</sup> The media inflamed the conflict by repeated distortion of the facts - presumably motivated by the need to create sensational news.<sup>34</sup>

### **Public order at biker events 1984-1987**

Analysis of court records indicates that the offences police enforce at biker leisure events are public order offences.<sup>35</sup> There is no evidence of more substantial kinds of criminal activity. Our 1986 questionnaire analysis compared attitudes between spectators surveyed at the Bathurst racing circuit and all other observed leisure events.<sup>36</sup> Survey results indicated that Bathurst respondents were:

- more likely to hold negative views about the police;
- more likely to have been arrested,
- younger; and,
- held attitudes generally not characteristic of bikers at other venues.

It may be that spectators who have an anti-authoritarian orientation and a violent history are attracted by the likelihood of violence at Bathurst and as such these data reflect the institutionalisation of the violence.

Observations indicated a connection between spectator frustration and spectator aggression. Likewise, interviews with police personnel suggests frustration in relation to the policing of the event had been increasing over the years. Consistent with the frustration-aggression theory, aggression is the result of frustration.<sup>37</sup> Research indicated that crowd rowdiness is definitely related to the alcohol policy implemented. When alcohol is banned or heavily restricted, crowd rowdiness diminishes; but this also results in increased spectator frustration and lower attendance.

Self-policing is clearly evident and is the most preferred and effective way to police many types of recreational events. In several cases, observed vandalism was repaired by participants prior to departing from an event. This kind of behaviour does not result from a fear of prosecution as a more punitive perspective would suggest. Rather, this kind of behaviour stems from conformity forces when the standards are set to self-police events. Here, the process of conformity works in the interest of all parties. This is exemplified by the benefits accrued from a self-policing strategy used at an annual British public event held in Scarborough, called Oliver's Mount which is a gathering of 5,000-10,000 bikers. Bikers organise and self-police with marshals. Police numbers are restricted to between six and twelve persons.<sup>38</sup> The event is trouble-free year after year due to the careful liaison between police and bikers. The police are reported as regarding the event as a traffic operation rather than a public order problem.

Consistent with other research, our findings indicate that there is an ecological relationship between crowds at Bathurst and riots.<sup>39</sup> Warm weather is related to an increased intake of alcohol which, in turn, is related to increased crowd rowdiness. These increased levels of crowd rowdiness escalate into anti-police activity which can include the throwing of missiles. The throwing of more or less missiles is one of the few features differentiating between riot and non-riot conditions. It is important to understand that these ecological features are secondary features of the violence only. That is, the high levels of frustration establish the preconditions for the violence.

Police have a variety of strategies available for use at public events. In both 1984 and 1985, police at Bathurst employed a mingling tactic which requires police to circulate among the crowd in a friendly and non-threatening manner. The results showed that in 1984, there was little violence; in 1985, there was large-scale violence. The conclusion drawn from the research strongly suggests that policing tactics themselves are insufficient to predict a violent or non-violent year once violence has been institutionalised. The State's response to Bathurst

public disorder was to increase formal policing, heavily resource police hardware, construct a police operations centre, impose severe alcohol and movement restrictions on the crowd. Table 1 reveals a growth in police presence during 1976 - 1986 of 400 per cent. During this same period crowd numbers remained relatively static. The dramatic decrease in crowd numbers in 1986 may have been due to the introduction of aggressive and high profile sixteen-man squads, the declaration of a 'no man's land' and severe alcohol restrictions.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 1: Bathurst Bike Race Public Disorder Statistics 1976 - 1987\***

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1976	Yes	Yes	Yes	250	110	Fine/24	13,171
1977	No	Yes	Yes	138	140	Rain/17	11,528
1978	No	Yes	No	118	392	Rain/18	10,194
1979	No	Yes	No	75	242	Fine/20	12,001
1980	Yes	Yes	Yes	91	300	Fine/26	13,776
1981	Yes	Yes	Yes	163	150	Fine/26	13,591
1982	No	Yes	Yes	53	340	Fine/21	13,920
1983	Yes	Yes	Yes	163	300	Fine/22	14,972
1984	No	No	No	20	300	Rain/NA	12,734
1985	Yes	Yes	Yes	164	300	Rain/22	13,701
1986	No	No	No	106	400	Fine/24	8,200
1987	No	No	No	23	300	Fine/23	4,360

Category 1: confrontations defined by the media as riot

Category 2: police and court records suggesting direct challenge to police

Category 3: complaints of vandalism - from Western Advocate

Category 4: number of arrests - from Western Advocate

Category 5: number of police - from Western Advocate

Category 6: weather conditions - from Bureau of Meteorology

Category 7: number of adults attending - from Bathurst City Council.

\*Adapted from Cunneen et al, 1986.

### **Prevention of violence : an intervention**

In early 1988, the State of New South Wales passed legislation devolving decision making about the holding of motorcycle races to the local Bathurst City Council. In spite of economic loss, the Bathurst City Council cancelled all motorcycle races, including the Australian Grand Prix, until further notice. The council stated the cancellation was due to the chronic violence associated with the bike races in recent years'. In late 1988, the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix was relocated to Phillip Island, Victoria. Subsequently, the senior author of this article was asked to be a consultant to the Victorian Police to develop an appropriate violence prevention plan.

Working with the Major Incident Planning Unit (MIPU) of the Victorian Police, the authors prepared a violence prevention strategy for the 1989 Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix to:

- minimise spectator frustrations;
- maximise self-policing; and,
- minimise harm associated with excessive alcohol consumption.

This project was known as the social impact study and sponsored by the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse through the Health Promotions Unit of the Health Department, Victoria. The primary aspects of the prevention plan are described in the following paragraphs.

### **Internationalisation of the event**

The violence at Bathurst had become institutionalised conflict between two subcultures - the police and the bikers. Broadening of the Phillip Island event to draw families and persons from the middle-classes was seen as part of the solution to the resolution of the conflict between these two subcultures. A planning workshop recommended the Grand Prix should be promoted as a world-class event as it is in Europe and the United States. Consequently the Phillip Island Grand Prix was conceptualised as a much bigger event linked to the international circuit.

A well known promoter of the Australian Formula One (Automobile) Grand Prix, Bob Barnard was invited by the Victorian Government to promote this event.

### **Police Liaison**

Rather than the garrison policing characteristic of Bathurst in the later years, police adopted a consensus based strategy.<sup>41</sup> Well before the event, local groups (notably conservationists, the Concerned Citizens' Group and the Phillip Island Shire Council) and Phillip Island newspapers developed anti-grand prix sentiment. The profile used to foster anti-grand prix sentiment was the ugly 'violent bikie' image of Bathurst. This press soon spread to national attention with the picture of local counsellors standing at the bridge entry to the Island with the caption 'A bridge too far for violent Bikies'.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, police had been observing Motorcyclist run events and consulting with experts involved in management of the Bathurst venue of the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix. On the basis of this intelligence, it was ascertained that the police should approach the policing of the motorcyclists with the overall attitude that motorcyclists were like any other citizen except that they rode a different form of transport. It was decided that the most effective approach to minimise the conflict between police and motorcyclists was an approach which would encourage the motorcyclists' to self-police. The MIPU developed strategies to encourage this self-policing of the motorcyclists which are described in later sections.

In response to the above noted bad publicity from the citizens of Phillip Island, delegations from motorcycling groups from all over Australia contacted the MIPU to establish police attitudes towards motorcycle riders. This approach by the motorcycle riders then provided the MIPU with an opportunity to publicly state the policy which would be used by the Victoria Police for the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix. These friendly police views were then widely

publicised throughout the Motorcyclists' media (eg., *Revs Magazine and Australian Motorcycle News*).

Eventually, the MIPU had contacted most if not all of the motorcycle rider groups and agreements were reached which were later to prove to be an outstanding community policing and public relations exercise based upon mutual trust and co-operation from both the motorcycle riders and police. With these understandings in place, the MIPU was confident to accept invitations to the meetings of the concerned citizens groups, the Phillip Island Shire Council and conservationists and assure them that police did not expect to have problems from the motorcycle riders. The local groups responded favourably and the potentially volatile situation was defused with no further negative press or meetings.

In summary, the MIPU played the central role in the planning of the event and consulted extensively with all vested interest groups. This consultative process resulted in the MIPU being defacto event co-ordinators and regarded by all parties as being serious in their desire to have a peaceful event. The process also meant that the MIPU had to deal with many issues outside the normal ambit of police planning (for example, parking, camping, power, water, etc) as there were many issues which became police problems since no one else would accept responsibility for them.

### **Traffic Plan**

At its worst, the aggressive policing strategy adopted by the New South Wales Police at Bathurst was exemplified by the prolific issuing of traffic citations for minor traffic infringements such as dirty licence plates, frequent searches of persons in transit to the event and the erection of multiple road blocks which spectators needed to negotiate to gain entry into the camping areas. As part of the prevention plan, the Victorian Police aimed to facilitate the traffic flow to/from and on Phillip Island. The plan was widely publicised in local and state newspapers.

Police research indicated that competition between motorcycles and cars was untenable and to be avoided as this could be a significant source of conflict. Thus, separate routes were specified for buses and motorcycles apart from cars. Through negotiation and licensing of appropriate facilities, police attempted to discourage motorcycle travel from temporary campsites to the nearby township of Cowes (about 8 kms). However, significant motorcycle traffic was still expected. To minimise risk of accidents between motorcycle riders and other road users, a preferred motorcycle route was designated and widely publicised.

### **The Grand Prix Rally**

A rally was organised originating in central Melbourne and terminating at select Phillip Island camping areas. The rally was called the Grand Prix Rally and the opportunity for police to become involved in the rally demonstrated the police were genuine in their friendly and co-operative approach to motorcyclists. When the 4,000 motorcycle riders assembled in a central street of Melbourne for the parade around the city, they were led by police solos with lights flashing. For the police and the violence prevention programme, the rally served six purposes. Police were able to:

1. show they were willing to be part of the festival with the motorcyclists;
2. escort the entire group from Melbourne to their dedicated campground at Phillip Island in a controlled (albeit spectacular) manner;
3. introduce bike riders to the preferred traffic plan on the Island;
4. minimise clashes with other road users during the entry phase of the event;
5. establish (further) mutual trust and respect for bike riders and police and establish a positive public step demonstrating goodwill towards the event at the outset of the event; and finally,
6. minimise frustration associated with spectator transit to the Island.

Police assisted by blocking off intersections to give rally bikers the right of way for the entire 100 kilometre journey.

### **Police Frustration Reduction**

Violence at Bathurst was exacerbated by an aggressive police response to games and activities which normally occurs at motorcyclists' recreational events. While the Victorian Police are well known to be less confrontational in their policing of public events and to command a greater respect from the public than their New South Wales counterparts, all people, including police, respond to stress and frustration.<sup>43</sup> Central to the frustration-reduction principles underlying the violence prevention programme, ways that operational police stress might be reduced were considered (for example, better facilities or effective shift rostering). To this end, an appropriately briefed civilian from the Health Department Study was located with operational police at the inspector level. This person's duties were to advise and report on ways that the operation might be handled so as to reduce police frustration and stress and therefore minimise potential over-reaction in years to come.

### **Staffing, Selection and Briefing of Police Members for Duties at the Event**

Research at the Bathurst venue of the event had shown that more senior and experienced police members who were familiar with country or community policing were most ideally suited for duties at this event. Requests were made from Victoria's Police Districts for such members who had 'divisional van experience dealing with domestic type problems, motorists and general community policing'. As well, the expected numbers and composition for the crowd was noted in the requests for volunteers.

The overall policing policy for the Grand Prix was communicated to police members as:

- to be low key, friendly and helpful;

- do not provoke people;
- observe and report back to the Command Post any potential trouble;
- any response must be co-ordinated and controlled,
- police numbers should not be publicised, and;
- local residents should be assisted where possible.

Before any police member took duty during the course of the seven days of police operations at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix, they were briefed as to attitude. Police members were given an overview of the negotiations previously held between the motorcyclists and police. Both police expectations of motorcyclists and motorcyclists expectations of police were clearly identified and communicated in this orientation.

### **Privatisation of Camping Areas**

Rather than providing a single large public camping area offering poorly equipped facilities as was the case at Bathurst, five camping areas were designated by the Phillip Island Shire Council. These camping areas were privatised to encourage competition between camping area operators. An aspect of the violence prevention programme required the camp operators to assume responsibility for policing public order in their own camps. Operators were advised about effective self-policing techniques for bikers. Entertainment and alcohol was available at these campgrounds. The provision of licenses was dependant upon the establishing of appropriate health and crowd control procedures (see Marshal System below).

### **Evaluation of Camping Areas**

Criteria of the Health Department study were directly related to minimising the number and intensity of frustrations the campers might feel. For example, not enough clean toilets, telephones, clearly marked camping sites, fair and reasonable pricing of food and services. Advising

camping area operators of the evaluation criteria was an essential component of the prevention plan as it focussed attention on tangible features of the setting which operators could deliver to lessen frustration.

### **Establishment of a Marshal System**

A system of security was agreed upon for the campsites. The police agreed not to have an overt presence within the rally area of motorcycle riding campers and to rely upon a marshal system developed in consultation with the representatives of the motorcycle riders operating this site. It was agreed that motorcyclist camp operators or their representatives contact the command post daily and as required with situation reports as to the state of peace and police would take whatever action was necessary. The Marshals were all mature people who were properly briefed and (according to police) surprisingly dedicated to their task. They had common rules within the campground which governed antisocial behaviour and alcohol usage.

### **Media Watch**

Sensationalist reporting by the media had been identified as a major source of deviance amplification at Bathurst, part of this violence prevention plan was to institute media confrontation independent of police operations.<sup>44</sup> This involved trained observers from the Health Department study and members of the motorcycle riders community confronting and engaging in conversation with members of the media attempting to provoke spectators into aggressive acts such as vandalism, rocking automobiles, throwing objects.

### **Evaluation of violence prevention programme**

The evaluation methods used to determine the effectiveness of the violence prevention plan included an observational study, a questionnaire study and post-event interviews with local residents and

merchants. In addition, select actuarials were collected for baseline data and comparisons.

### **Arrest Ratio**

The ratio of persons arrested to persons not arrested at public events is presented as a measure of public disorder. A high ratio indicates an orderly event. Table 2 shows comparative arrest ratios for the last live years of the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix. From these data, it can be clearly seen that the intervention was effective in dramatically decreasing the rate of arrests.

**Table 2: Ratio of Persons Arrested to Non-Arrested at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix 1985 - 1989**

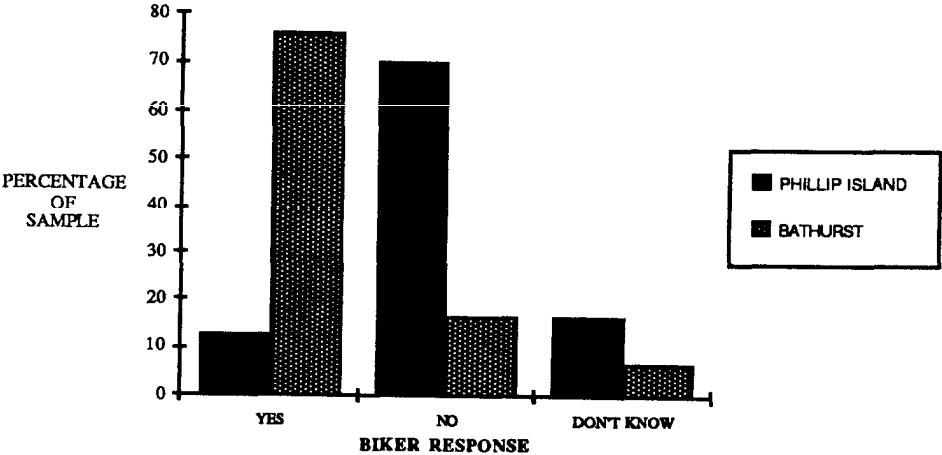
Year	Venue	Total Attend.	Number Arrested	Arrest Ratio
1985	Bathurst	13,701	164	1:84
1986	Bathurst	8,200	106	1:77
1987	Bathurst	4,300	23	1:187
1988	Not Held		-	-
1989	Phillip Isl	241,000	36	1:6694

### **Traffic citations**

Traffic citations are collected by police on a statewide basis. Therefore, interpretation of data about traffic citations to determine an index of the level of frustration people experienced enroute to the Grand Prix was impossible because of problems with ascertaining if those issued with citations were in transit to the Grand Prix. As an alternative, structured interviews were carried out at Bathurst 1986 and Phillip Island 1989 Grand Prix. These structured interviews consisted of approaching on the last day of the events persons who, by their apparel, were obvious members of the biker subculture. These people were asked if they or anyone they could point out to the interviewer had received a citation in transit to the event or during the event. If the

response was positive, they were then asked if they felt the police were acting fairly when issuing citations. A total of 30 people at each event was asked this question. Figure 1 represents the results of this analysis. In stark contrast to Bathurst, the interview data indicated that bikers issued with traffic citations at Phillip Island reported not feeling discriminated against or targeted by police.

**Figure 1: Percentage of bikers in receipt of traffic citations who felt targeted by police**



Ten accidents occurred at Phillip Island and 21 occurred at Bathurst 1985. This produces an accident rate lower for the 1989 Grand Prix than the 1985 Grand Prix Comparisons with other Bathurst events were not possible as these data were not collected.

### **Resident Interviews**

Post event interviews of residents were conducted following the running of the 1989 Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix at Phillip Island, but, none were completed for the Bathurst Grand Prix. Figure 2 illustrates that 93% of our stratified sample of Island residents wished to have another Grand Prix at Phillip Island in 1990. These positive responses to holding the event again at Phillip Island stand in stark contrast to the banning of motorcycle races at Bathurst by the City Council in 1988 All surveyed spectators attending the event wanted another Grand Prix to be held at Phillip Island in 1990.

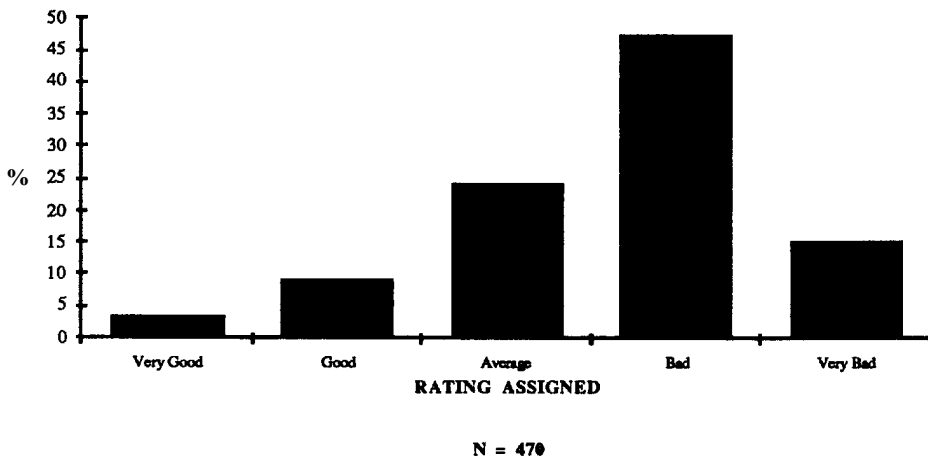
**Figure 2: Phillip Island residents' votes about another grand prix in 1990**



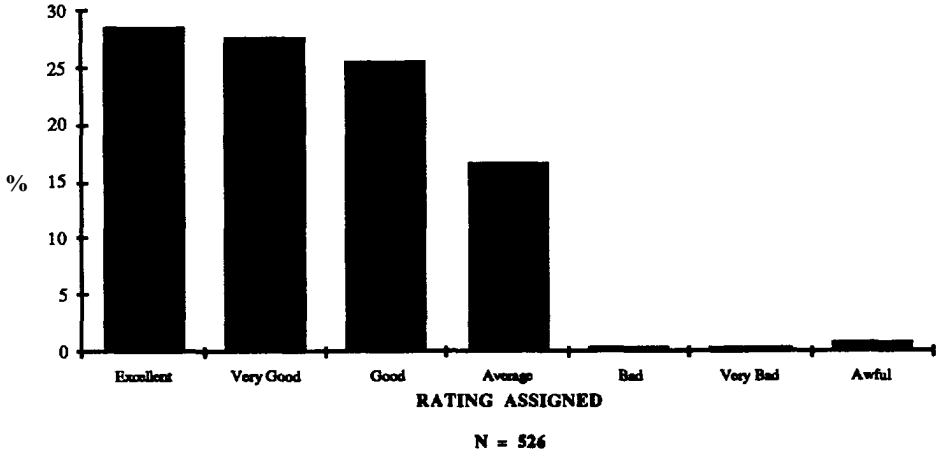
### Police Ratings

Both the 1986 and 1989 questionnaire studies included several items asking respondents to rate certain features of each Grand Prix. Of particular interest were respondent ratings of the policing at the respective events. Figure 3 presents police ratings by Bathurst respondents. Similarly, Figure 4 presents the Phillip Island police rating data.

**Figure 3: Bathurst ratings of police at the 1986 Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix**



**Figure 4: Phillip Island ratings of police at the 1989 Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix**



Whilst the data upon which these figures are based are not directly comparable due to the additional category used during the Phillip Island survey, the results certainly suggest that the police ratings were favourably effected by our intervention strategy. This is a key point as the authors reasoned that if the police were favourably regarded, then violence involving the police was less likely to occur. The Victorian Police must be most highly commended for both their willingness to implement experimental policy and their ability to effectively control the same crowds which have caused so much trouble over the years at Bathurst.

### **Public order guidelines**

By all measures and accounts, the violence prevention strategy employed at Phillip Island was effective. We conclude, therefore that our research of Australian public order provides evidence and a

theoretical basis for effective policing based upon our guidelines. These policing guidelines for public order events are consistent with community psychology formulations about the prevention of violence. The following paragraphs contain the salient features of our policing guidelines.

### **Structuring the setting**

Crowd demographics, size, location, history of the event and history of the interaction between participating individuals or organisations are all factors which can significantly shape the appropriate intervention for the setting. However, our research has shown that common to all settings, frustration should be targeted and minimised. Historical factors are important only in as much as they impact upon an individual's tolerance level. Shaping of situational factors conducive to peace rather than conflict is a central component to effective public order policing. Berkowitz has shown that the visible presence of weapons significantly heightens aggression in humans. If weapons are known to be present, but are not visible, there is little heightening of aggression levels. A 'no weapons visible' policy is essential. Understanding that the display of weapons will increase aggression levels, weapons should only be used if an incident occurs.

### **Bolstering human resources - Police**

Our research focuses upon bolstering the skills of people relevant to the event. Police liaison and co-ordination functions must be bolstered as well as the personal skills of police and organisational efficiency. Notably, stress levels experienced by line police must be minimised through stress inoculation and/or effective briefings and/or introducing stress reducing procedures such as effective shift rostering. In addition, the facilities provided (for example, toilets and huts) should be adequate in number and of a high standard. Standing orders for police should include the tacit recognition of public accountability and specific features of their performance for evaluation.

## **Bolstering human resources - Organisers and Operators**

Our research has shown that owners of an event and operators of facilities associated with the provision of services must be made accountable and informed of the specific criteria upon which their performance will be judged/evaluated. As well, performance appraisal feedback is important to develop a full understanding of the effective procedures to reduce frustration.

### **Spectators**

Existing political and social groups comprising spectator organisations should be consulted and resourced, particularly by the police. Spectators need to be briefed via media advertising well before the event about the desired or expected standard of behaviour at the event. Rules, regulations, possible problems and spectators involvement with self-policing should all be publicly announced prior to the event. Accountability for public behaviour must be devolved to the spectators ultimately.

### **Policy level research**

Consensus policing should be introduced at the highest possible organisational level and given the highest possible organisational profile. Our model of the social impact study has been incorporated into the Victorian Committee Structure for co-ordinating the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix at Phillip Island. A unit established by the Victorian Police to liaise with community groups and co-ordinate public events was established in 1987. This unit, the Major Incident Planning Unit has liaison and co-ordination responsibilities for other major events in Victoria and are implementing and developing the lessons of the Grand Prix research.

### **Evaluation**

Finally, the evaluation is a key component of the research guidelines. Evaluation was used to look at the outcome of the event and

also to exert pressure on relevant parties to perform. This dual use of evaluation should be incorporated into any prevention plan. The evaluation of events has become integrated into the government evaluation process of this type of public event in Victoria.

### **Conclusion**

Our violence prevention study can be analysed in the context of authority. A comparison between Figures 3 and 4 indicates an authoritarian or heavy handed paramilitary approach to policing public order increases public hostility towards the police, whereas a non-authoritarian or collaborative approach creates a strong positive regard for the police. This finding extends Milgram's research on authority-agent relationships as our work demonstrates compliance with an authority is more likely to occur when the authority is perceived as acting in a collaborative and non-punitive fashion.<sup>45</sup> Consistent with Shellow's findings and Rappaport's formulations, this aspect of our research has serious implications for understanding the effect of devolving responsibility for personal actions to people as in the tythingman model rather than imposing a paramilitary model to obtain compliance.<sup>46</sup> In this context, police administrators must make a shift away from coercive policing forms to a consensus, preventative form when the situation permits. On a practical operational level, this would require the introduction of a specialist police or para-police units, similar to the MIPU to generate social policy in the prevention of crime and specifically violence.

A second major finding of our research suggests that the reduction of frustration at the general event level reduces the overall aggression level. As well as being consistent with the frustration - aggression hypothesis, this finding substantiates the formulations of Roesch and Bonnemaïson who suggest that the principle of reducing frustration employed in our research may well apply to a broader context than discussed so far.<sup>47</sup> That is, crime may well be decreased by reducing the general levels of frustration in society.

The research has much broader potential application for the reclamation of recreational space in urban settings in other cultures, notably the United States, Britain and New Zealand. Consensus-based crowd control at recreational events is possible if approached with our orientation; however, this less authoritarian policing form requires all relevant and participating groups to be committed to a peaceful event. It may well be that at recreational events in other cultures, all groups are not committed to a peaceful event, for example, soccer matches in the United Kingdom.<sup>48</sup> This may be due to general frustration levels being experienced by the underclasses in these cultures. In this case, our model may not be applicable until a more equitable distribution of resources is achieved in these societies.

Unlike Britain, the United States and Australia where more juvenile detention facilities have been built to handle juvenile crime which have subsequently generated high juvenile and adult crime rates, Bonnemaïson has shown that establishing school camps and other enrichment programmes for juveniles in France led to spectacular reduction in the crime rate.<sup>49</sup> Like Bonnemaïson, the authors heartily endorse working closely with vested interest groups to create and maintain a strong commitment to a common goal. Perhaps this research should be regarded, then, as yet more evidence arguing for people to work against a punitive society and towards a more gentle and positive society as a solution to the 'crime problem'.

#### NOTES

1. The article is a modified version of the chapter appearing in *Psychology and Social change: Australian and New Zealand Perspectives* D. Thomas & A. Veno (eds.), Auckland: Dunmore Press, available February, 1992. Both the Australian Criminology Research Council and the Health promotions Unit of the Health Department, Victoria funded this intervention and its evaluation by the authors. The authors would like to thank Dan Adelson and Julian Rappaport for their comments and analysis of this work during the 1987 International Congress of psychology. Thanks to Dave Thomas and Des Hatchard for their comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. Correspondence should be directed to the senior author at Monash University Gippsland Campus, Churchill, Victoria, Australia 3842.
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# SPORTS CROWD DISORDER: AN AUSTRALIAN SURVEY

Wray Vamplew

## Introduction

Sports crowd disorder, in particular that associated with soccer but not exclusively so, has become an issue of major public concern virtually worldwide.<sup>1</sup> Australia has not been isolated from this international trend. In the past decade the issue brought together Australasian Sport and Recreation Ministers of all political persuasions to discuss what they feared was a growing menace to public order. They identified crowd violence as *a social problem requiring urgent attention* and focussed attention on the preventative role of the police, sports ground design and restrictions on alcohol consumption.<sup>2</sup> More recently the National Committee on Violence noted that *violence on the part of spectators at Australian sporting events, while insignificant in comparison to that which has taken place in England over the past ten years, is still cause for concern*. Its recommendations concentrated upon stadium design and alcohol restrictions.<sup>3</sup>

Much of this concern, however, has been emotional reaction to specific incidents rather than a response based on quantified empirical data as to the extent of the crowd problem in Australia. Certainly this nation has not been immune from crowd disturbances at sports events.<sup>4</sup> Historically, as well as a multitude of isolated disturbances, four major areas of disorder have been identified. First, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day unruly crowd behaviour has been a feature of Australian cricket, particularly on the Hill at the Sydney Cricket Ground and in Bay 13 at the Melbourne Cricket Ground. Second, during the 1890s and since the mid 1950s violence has frequently erupted at soccer matches. Third, from the 1960s to the mid 1980s crowd riots occurred almost annually at the Australian Grand Prix motor cycle races. Finally, more especially during the past decade or so, parental

behaviour at junior sport has come under the critical microscope.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, no statistical information exists to allow an assessment of whether such behaviour is typical among Australian sports spectators or if it has become more or less common over time.

### **The Survey**

This survey is an attempt to rectify the gap in our statistical knowledge of crowd behaviour in Australia. Advantage was taken of a questionnaire being distributed as part of the author's research project on participant violence for the Australian Sports Commission and a section was inserted on spectator misbehaviour.<sup>6</sup> This appears as section [D] in the questionnaire shown in Appendix 1. It was designed to ascertain whether there was concern within the sports sector about the extent of spectator misconduct; whether this misbehaviour had increased or decreased in the past five years; what counteractive measures would be supported; and beliefs as to how those fans who misbehave should be treated. Section [E] in the questionnaire deals with parental conduct in children's sports and has relevance to both on-field and spectator disorder. It was designed to provide a measure of adult misbehaviour at juvenile sports events and an assessment of attitudes towards proposed suggestions for dealing with this.

Two points should be stressed regarding the survey. First, as it was felt that anonymous replies would produce a truer picture, respondents were guaranteed anonymity if they wished and most took advantage of this. Second, persons were asked to comment only on their own sport so as to avoid bias emanating from intersport rivalry and to secure information based on personal knowledge and experience.

Due to time constraints imposed by the period of the grant from the Australian Sports Commission and delays in the authorisation of the survey by the Flinders University Committee on Ethical Standards in Research, the proposal for a pilot survey had to be dropped. Instead several interested parties were asked to read the questionnaire and comment on possible deficiencies. This was a second-best solution

which failed to note several weaknesses that only became apparent as the completed surveys were analysed. Certainly in section [E] question 27 would have been phrased better by using *does not exist* rather than *no problem* which is almost the same as *exists but acceptable*. Potentially more damaging was the omission, by oversight, of fighting between fans as a type of spectator misbehaviour. However, it was open for respondents to bring this in via the *other* category but only three did so.

As can be seen in Appendix 2, in total 906 valid responses covering 80 sports were received. A fuller breakdown by function, grade of sport, age and experience, location, professional status, and age group of sport can be found in Vamplew.<sup>7</sup> The survey data were supplemented by interviews and correspondence with sports administrators, police, coaches and others. A full list is given in the appendices in Vamplew.<sup>8</sup>

## **Results and Discussion**

### *Spectator Disorder*

It is clear that in Australia, as elsewhere, soccer is perceived as having by far the worst problem regarding spectators. As is shown in Table 1, more than a third of respondents from that sport believed that spectator misbehaviour was excessive. There was also a significant crowd disorder problem perceived in rugby league (19.4%), Australian rules (18.6%), basketball (16.7%) and possibly baseball (13.3%).

Table 2 shows that most misbehaviour appears to be verbal in the form of foul language and the abuse of officials. In both cases these are seen as having increased significantly over the past live years. Sexual harassment, however, has declined and racial/ethnic abuse has increased only marginally which lends support to the view, advanced in relation to participant violence, that anti-discriminatory legislation in these areas and the accompanying educative measures may be having a positive effect on behaviour.<sup>9</sup>

Some interesting results emerge in Table 3 when the types of spectator behaviour are analysed by sport:

- foul language is very common in soccer (80.8%), Australian rules (75.2%) and rugby league (70.7%) and is seen as increasing in all the sports examined except baseball, though the absolute level here remained high at 42.9%.

- as might be anticipated racial and ethnic abuse occurs most often in soccer, Australian rules and rugby league, games in which aborigines and ethnic groups participate significantly.

- sexual harassment was declining in all sports examined.

- the abuse of officials was the most common form of spectator misbehaviour in all the sports analysed except cricket where most of the decision making takes place well away from the crowd and hence perhaps is less easily criticised.

- only soccer (21.6%) and, to a lesser extent, rugby league (12.9%), had a problem with the throwing of missiles and in both cases the incidence was declining.

- drunkenness is commonly witnessed in several sports, particularly rugby league (61.3%) and Australian rules (46.8%). It is noteworthy, in view of soccer's rating as the sport with crowd disorder problems, that it ranked only sixth in relation to the abuse of alcohol. Although drunkenness was still high, with 22.0% of respondents citing it as common, the ranking does suggest that other factors may be triggering the disorder in that sport.

- only soccer (26.0%) had pitch invasions occurring often.

#### *Counter Measures: Punishments*

Clearly Australian sportspersons do not appreciate having their enjoyment of sport spoiled by spectator misbehaviour. Table 4 shows that over 90% would have such offenders expelled from the ground and over 70% favoured some longer-term ban on their presence. Around two-thirds of the respondents would have them arrested and fined and almost 30% supported imprisonment as a punishment, though presumably not for isolated incidents of foul language or verbal abuse of officials. There is, however, no evidence that harsh punishment acts

as a deterrent to crowd disorder. Certainly it is unlikely to prevent heat-of-the-moment, knee-jerk reactions to onfield events. Whether it would lessen premeditated violence is a matter for conjecture. Although the violent player can be relatively easily distinguished, the troublemaker in the crowd is less readily identified. Until the likelihood of being caught becomes a probability rather than a possibility, the deterrent effect of any punishment must be weakened. It can also be speculated that for some of those involved the risk of being caught could be part of the excitement. However, it must be conceded that some punishments by their nature would keep the convicted offender away from the game and would also convince the law-abiding spectator that the authorities were trying to do something about the disorder, a psychological marketing ploy not to be underestimated.

#### *Counter Measures: Control Agents*

Police presence would make the apprehension of troublesome spectators more likely and there was majority support for more officers to attend sports events. There is, of course, a possibility that police actions could aggravate a situation as is alleged to have happened not infrequently at the Bathurst motorcycle races.<sup>10</sup> All police interviewed believed that they should take a preventative rather than a reactive role with a conciliatory talk being the preferred policy and a show of force a last resort.

As *user-pays* is increasingly introduced into policing activities, the employment of voluntary stewards may become financially important to many clubs, though the relevant police command should always be able to determine the minimum number of police required at any sports event within their jurisdiction. It is, however, important that such stewards be adequately trained in crowd management techniques both to be effective in pursuing their functions and to avoid the *bouncer* mentality deployed by the National Committee on Violence in other recreational areas.<sup>11</sup>

The New South Wales Government, for one, also saw a role for other spectators in the reporting of potential trouble to stewards or the police. In 1990 the then Sports Minister, Bob Rowland-Smith, announced plans for a Sports Watch programme, similar in intent to the Neighbourhood Watch scheme. It was intended for use at the smaller grounds with smaller crowds where generally fewer police would be in attendance. Whether this can overcome the traditional Australian reluctance to *dob* someone in must wait as the Sports Watch proposal appears to have fallen through.

Video cameras, which allow a large area to be covered quickly, can also be of assistance to police and stewards. Their use for crowd control purposes at Australian sports events began with two cameras at the Parramatta Stadium in the mid 1980s. Currently the most sophisticated system is in operation at the Sydney Cricket Ground and Football Stadium where a central control can have sixteen monitors working simultaneously, using one hundred cameras all of which have zoom facilities and can be preset to return to possible trouble spots. Photographs from the monitors have been used in successful after-match prosecutions and thus the use of cameras may act as a deterrent if they make arrests of hooligans more likely. Nevertheless they are expensive to install and their application thus could be restricted to major grounds. Although their use was supported by a majority of respondents to the survey, there may be spectator resistance to their introduction through a fear of the *Big Brother* syndrome.

#### *Counter Measures: Restrictions on Alcohol*

Excessive consumption of alcohol has often been accepted as an extenuating circumstance in criminal prosecutions, though this has not been the case with driving offences and is currently under review in legal circles for other crimes, particularly assault. This may have consequences for those involved in crowd disorder as there is a strong belief, especially among the police, backed up by substantial evidence that the abuse of alcohol is a major contributor to crowd disturbance.<sup>12</sup>

Although drinking at the game is an Australian sports tradition, perceptions of fans are undoubtedly distorted by alcohol and in recent years many sports administrators have responded to this potential source of trouble by banning the bringing of alcohol into the ground, by limiting sales to light beer in plastic cups (thus reducing one source of missiles), by setting limits to the amount which can be purchased in any one transaction, and by creating dry areas where no alcohol can be consumed. Such restrictions, as the survey shows, have the support of sports followers: indeed a narrow majority favoured an absolute ban on alcohol, though this would have obvious and unwelcome implications for ground revenue.

#### *Counter Measures: Facilities*

Poor physical facilities for spectators such as sub-standard toilets, overcrowding and inadequate seating have been cited as factors contributing to crowd discomfort and ultimately to crowd disorder.<sup>13</sup> Many of the administrators interviewed acknowledged that improved ground facilities could assist in lessening crowd misbehaviour; in particular all-seating, though economically feasible only at major venues, was considered to have a significant role, and ease of entry and exit, a reduction in traffic chaos and the shortening of queues for food and drink were also seen as important. Interestingly, though, all-seating, despite the evidence that it does reduce disorder, was favoured only by a bare majority of fans, thus underlining the reaction of soccer fans in Britain who forced one club to change its policy and revert to some standing being allowed.<sup>14</sup> It has also been argued that crowd disturbance at the Sydney Cricket Ground has occurred in response to the reduction of the open space on the Hill.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Counter Measures: Nationalism and Ethnicity*

In the international arena sport is perhaps Australia's only way of competing with - and on occasions even defeating - the political superpowers: who cannot recall the nationalistic fervour which greeted

*Australia II's* victory in the America's Cup and the delight in many quarters when Australia beats the Poms at anything? However, there is a fine line between sporting nationalism and sports xenophobia; and jingoism can on occasions contribute to crowd disorder. Certainly Australians have been to the fore in confrontational disturbances at one day cricket where the opponents have been English or New Zealanders. Here a lessening of the *clashes for the Ashes* type of advertising might reduce the propensity for trouble. Yet the major nationalistic crowd problem in Australia is essentially one of internal disputes between ethnic groups long resident here. Soccer grounds have been the focus for disputes between European supporters who have resurrected ancient political scores and, even when Australian citizens, have taken up the nationalistic causes of their home land or its regions. In these days of multiculturalism, this is a difficult issue to tackle. Last year the New South Wales Government suggested that national flags and emblems should be banned at sports events, but, as the response to the survey would indicate, received little community support. The recent Bradley Report, many of whose recommendations are to be implemented by the Australian Soccer Federation and the National Soccer League, has suggested the de-ethnicising of Australian soccer by forcing clubs to adopt community oriented names, albeit *alongside* their traditional ethnic ones.

#### *Counter Measures: Community Involvement*

Currently in Britain several professional soccer clubs are attempting to become community organisations, to turn the clubs to a limited extent back to the people and to allow greater participation by the supporters in the decision-making processes of the clubs. Such developments involve the appointment of a supporter to the board of directors, creches on match days, school visits by players, the use of club facilities by other groups including pensioners, and the sponsorship of other local sports teams. It is hoped that this will encourage greater responsibility on the part of the fans and, at the same time and not

unrelated, transform soccer into a thoroughly family game which again could have favourable consequences for crowd behaviour.<sup>16</sup> This is a relatively new venture and the results are not yet proven. One danger in Australian soccer is that the geographical community could still be ethnically dominated which might preserve rather than change the existing situation.

### *Children's Sport*

In some cases too much family attendance at sports events can have unfortunate consequences. There is substantial evidence that parental misbehaviour can have an adverse affect on children's sporting behaviour and even on their participation in sport itself.<sup>17</sup> It is thus worrying that 19.6%, almost one-fifth, of respondents felt that the level of parental misbehaviour in children's sport was excessive. As is shown in Table 6, in all categories of misbehaviour, except for physical abuse of officials, significant proportions of observers considered that they occurred often and, of even more concern, were on the increase.

Few of those interviewed or who offered specific comments felt that the children were to be blamed and the overwhelming view was that children should not suffer because of the sins of their fathers or, for that matter, their mothers. There was a general feeling that children should be encouraged to enjoy sport, develop skills in a non-threatening environment and avoid the worst aspects of competition until they were older. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 7, around 20% of respondents were willing to see matches abandoned, teams banned, and offending children ejected from a game as a salutary lesson if necessary. It should be noted, however, that this is a substantially lower figure than supported the suspension of clubs and sending-off of players in adult sport.<sup>18</sup> Most focussed their punishment on the parents with almost 70% supporting the banning of those who misbehaved from watching their children play. This may remove the offending parent, but possibly also their offspring and, as such, this would be an unfortunate cost incurred for the benefit of the remaining children. Rehabilitation via the observation of a code

of conduct may be more useful but much would depend on the motivation of both parent and child. The Executive Officer of the South Australian Primary Schools Amateur Sports Association has found that many overexuberant parents do modify their behaviour if counselled appropriately.

The National Committee on Violence praised the Australian Sports Commission for promoting codes of behaviour in sport.<sup>19</sup> Primarily these have been developed in conjunction with the Aussie Sports Program and are aimed at making sport enjoyable and violence-free for children with the implicit hope that these sporting attributes will be taken into adult sport as those children mature. Unfortunately, the codes for parental behaviour have made little inroad into the sporting public's consciousness. As can be seen in Table 8 only a quarter of those surveyed were cognisant of their existence: although the figure was higher for those directly involved in children's sport, it was still less than 40%. Clearly more publicity is required. It might also be advantageous to develop more sports-specific codes of parental conduct, as recently suggested for swimming, for these could be seen as being more relevant.<sup>20</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This survey makes no pretensions to being more than an effort to solicit the views of players, coaches, administrators, officials, media representatives and spectators themselves on the extent of crowd disorder at Australian sports events and on how it should be dealt with. It is not an historical survey, save in that it draws comparisons between now and five years ago. Nor does it make any contribution to the theoretical debate on the causes of sports crowd disorder, though the author accepts the basic tenet that the roots of spectator misbehaviour generally have to be sought outside the sports ground in social strains and structural tensions such as social and economic deprivation, both relative and absolute.<sup>21</sup> Crowd disorder doubtless could be eased by the

removal or lessening of social and economic inequalities but this has proved to be beyond the capabilities of most Australian governments.

This, of course, infers that the elimination of sports crowd violence lies beyond the province of sports administrators or even the sports sector itself. Nevertheless, it is possible to influence spectator behaviour by an amelioration of situational factors conducive to disorder and reducing potential trigger mechanisms to outbreaks of spectator violence. Whereas government policies can contribute to the reduction of economic inequalities and other factors at the heart of spectator disorder, sports administrators and promoters can develop crowd management policies designed to reduce the propensity for trouble to break out. It is hoped that this survey can contribute to their development.

No matter what policies are pursued it would be unrealistic to expect perfect behaviour from a sports crowd. This is unlikely to occur in any large body of people: and, not only is the sports crowd a sample from a larger population with all its imperfections, but in fact it condenses that society into a restricted area which in itself could cause problems. Moreover, the emotional attachment which many fans have for their team and parents for their children inevitably affects their behaviour.

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## TABLES

**Table 1 - Sports in which Spectator Misbehaviour is Considered Excessive \***

(% respondents involved in that sport)			
Soccer	34.0	Netball	10.0
Rugby League	19.4	Cricket	8.2
Australian Rules	18.6	Rugby Union	8.0
Basketball	16.7	Tennis	5.6
Baseball	13.3	Softball	5.0

*\*A minimum of five responses was required with at least two claiming excessive spectator misbehaviour. Only one such response came from auto motor cycling (4 responses), gridiron (2), judo (6), orienteering (3), roller-skating (4), ten-pin bowling (5), and waterpolo (17). Two responses, both citing excessive misbehaviour, came from BMX.*

**Table 2 - Type of Spectator Misconduct**

	(% respondents)				
	Current			Compared with five years ago	
	Never	Rarely	Often	incrs.	decrs
foul language	17.0	45.7	37.3	233	7.2
racial/ethnic abuse	46.1	37.4	16.5	10.0	8.9
sexual harassment	72.5	24.2	3.3	5.0	8.8
verbal abuse of officials	17.0	39.6	43.4	25.6	5.8
throwing of missiles	68.5	26.9	4.6	6.9	10.5
drunkenness	45.4	35.9	18.7	14.6	8.7
running onto pitch	72.5	23.2	4.3	4.7	11.0
vandalism	68.6	27.2	4.2	8.7	6.2

**Table 3 - Spectator Misbehaviour: By Sport**

(% respondents involved in that sport)

	<b>Foul Language</b>		<b>Racial/Ethnic Abuse</b>	
	often	net incrs	often	net incrs
Australian Rules	75.2	26.7	38.6	5.4
Baseball	42.9	- 6.7	23.1	
Basketball	34.8	16.3	14.9	2.4
Cricket	32.9	21.2	15.3	7.8
Netball	32.1	8.7	10.3	-8.7
Rugby League	70.0	23.1	35.5	4.1
Rugby Union	42.3	23.1	19.2	-7.7
Soccer	80.8	35.4	49.0	12.5
Softball	15.0	27.7	-	-12.5
Tennis	10.8	12.9	5.7	-4.7

	<b>Sexual Harassment</b>		<b>Abuse of Officials</b>	
	often	net incrs	often	net incrs
Australian Rules	7.6	-1.7	77.3	28.5
Baseball	-	-15.4	50.0	-6.6
Basketball	4.3	-2.2	69.6	37.2
Cricket	1.4	-	23.9	17.2
Netball	3.6	-4.7	39.3	13.0
Rugby League	3.6	-5.0	83.9	37.5
Rugby Union	-	-12.0	61.5	27.0
Soccer	6.4	-7.7	82.7	53.1
Softball	-	-	40.0	23.5
Tennis	2.9	-	11.1	10.4

	<b>Throwing Missiles</b>		<b>Drunkenness</b>	
	often	net incrs	often	net incrs
AustralianRules	5.7	-3.2	46.8	17.7
Baseball		-23.1	23.1	-7.7
Basketball	6.5	7.7	8.9	7.7
Cricket	9.6	3.1	25.0	11.3
Netball		-4.7	-	-4.8
Rugby League	12.9	-19.3	61.3	7.7
Rugby Union	-	-4.0	23.1	7.7
Soccer	21.6	-8.7	22.0	4.3
Softball		-6.3	10.0	-6.2
Tennis			5.9	

	<b>Running on Pitch</b>		<b>Vandalism</b>	
	often	net incrs	often	net incrs
AustralianRules	6.5	-10.4	5.8	6.7
Baseball			-	16.7
Basketball	2.2	-7.9	2.2	-
Cricket	4.2	-9.7	5.6	5.1
Netball	-	-9.5	5.6	-4.7
Rugby League	6.5	-16.0	13.3	-8.7
Rugby Union	-	-	-	-8.0
Soccer	26.0	-4.3	14.0	-
Softball		-6.3	-	-
Tennis		-3.7	3.0	3.7

**Table 4 - Support of Measures to Counteract Spectator Misconduct**

(% respondents)

	support	strongly support	total support
Banning of alcohol	21.8	29.8	51.6
Limited provision of alcohol	45.9	29.8	75.7
Wet/dry areas	37.3	39.0	76.3
All drinks in plastic cups	29.6	37.1	66.7
All alcohol drinks in plastic cups	29.1	32.7	61.8
All seating	26.6	23.7	50.3
More stewards	38.0	17.6	55.6
Banning of flags and banners	6.3	5.4	11.7
Use of video	37.0	19.6	56.6
More police	38.2	16.6	54.8

**Table 5 - Treatment of Spectators Who Misbehave**

(% respondents)

	support	strongly support	total support
Tolerate	5.0	2.0	7.0
Expel	40.8	51.8	92.6
Arrest	38.2	23.1	61.3
Fine	41.8	27.3	69.1
Imprison	17.8	10.7	28.5
Ban	44.4	26.7	71.1

**Table 6 - Children's Sport: Observed Behaviour**

	(% respondents)	
	often	net change over 5 Yr*
Foul language by parents	17.0	8.4
Verbal abuse of officials	31.4	15.6
Physical abuse of officials	1.5	-6.7
Reticent children pushed into playing	18.9	0.5
Parents 'coaching' from sidelines	60.0	16.5
Criticism of opposition by parents	42.8	16.1
Inciting children to unsporting behaviour	19.1	9.8

*\*Defined as percentage increase minus percentage decrease.*

**Table 7 - Children's Sport: Supported Punishments**

	(% respondents)		
	support	strongly support	total support
Warning by officials	42.7	50.3	93.1
Sending off of children	11.6	7.9	19.5
Banning of parents	41.5	27.4	68.9
Abandonment of game	6.0	12.3	18.3
Banning of teams	15.6	6.1	21.7

**Table 8 - Awareness of Existence of Codes of Conduct**

Target Group	(% of respondents)		
	yes	no	don't know
Parents	25.0	53.3	21.7
Spectators	26.8	53.2	20.0

## **Appendix 1 - The Questionnaire**

### **VIOLENCE IN AUSTRALIAN SPORT A NATIONAL SPORTS RESEARCH PROGRAM SURVEY**

**\* ALL INFORMATION WILL BE TREATED AS  
CONFIDENTIAL**

Please circle the relevant response(s) or provide the required information.

**[A] YOUR SPORT: To what sport will your answer refer?**

If you wish to deal with more than one sport please photocopy the blank survey form or phone (OS) 201 2349 and ask for further copies to be sent to you.

**[B] YOURSELF: This information is sought so that the responses relating to similar age-groups etc. can be aggregated.**

1. Are you      1. Male  
                         2. Female
  
2. Are you a    1. Player  
                         2. Coach  
                         3. Administrator (club or association)  
                         4. Official (e.g. umpire, referee)  
                         5. Member of the media  
                         6. Spectator  
                         7. Other [please specify]

3. What is your age group?
  1. under 21 years
  2. 21-30 years
  3. 31-40 years
  4. 41-50 years
  5. over 50 years
  
4. How long have you been involved in your particular sport in any capacity?
  1. less than one year
  2. 1-5 years
  3. 6-10 years
  4. 10-20 years
  5. over 20 years
  
5. Are you currently involved in
  1. Adult sport
  2. Youth sport (high school age)
  3. Children's sport (primary school age)
  
6. Are you currently involved in
  1. City sport
  2. Country sport
  3. Amateur sport
  4. Semi-professional sport
  5. Professional sport

7. Please indicate the grade of sport in which you are currently involved and also the highest grade in which you have been involved.

Level	Current	Highest
International	1	1
National/Inter-State	2	2
District	3	3
Local (Club)	4	4
Local (School)	5	5
Non-competitive, recreational	6	6
Other [please specify]	7	7

**[C] PLAYER VIOLENCE:**

8. In your selected sport at your level have you witnessed any of the following committed by players during the past season. How does this compare with five years ago? If you have been involved for less than five years please restrict your answers to the past season only.

	Never	Past Season		Compared With Five Years Ago		
		Rarely	Often	Decr.	Same	Incr.
Foul language	1	2	3	4	5	6
Racial or ethnic abuse	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sexual harassment	1	2	3	4	5	6
Verbal abuse of officials	1	2	3	4	5	6
Physical abuse of officials	1	2	3	4	5	6
Verbal abuse of other players (e.g. sledging)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ricking	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eye gouging	1	2	3	4	5	6
Punching	1	2	3	4	5	6
Biting	1	2	3	4	5	6
Elbowing	1	2	3	4	5	6
Head high tackles	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tripping	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other [please specify]	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. In your opinion is the current level of violence (as described in question 8) in your sport
1. acceptable
  2. excessive
10. In your opinion are players taught the rules of your sport properly?
1. yes
  2. no
  3. don't know

11. In your opinion are players encouraged to be aware of new rule changes prior to the commencement of a new season?
  1. yes
  2. no
  3. don't know
  
12. Do you believe that aggressive play (within the rules) should be part of men's sport?
  1. yes
  2. no
  3. no opinion
  
13. Do you believe that aggressive play (within the rules) should be part of women's sport?
  1. yes
  2. no
  3. no opinion
  
14. Is violent play (as described in question 8) ever justified?
  1. never
  2. yes, in retaliation
  3. yes, to gain an advantage
  4. yes, other reasons [please specify]
  
15. Have you ever deliberately violently fouled an opponent (as described in question 8)?
  1. never
  2. yes, in retaliation
  3. yes, to gain an advantage
  4. yes, other reason [please specify]

16. Have you ever been deliberately violently fouled?
1. never
  2. yes, in retaliation
  3. yes, to gain an advantage
  4. yes, other reason [please specify]
17. Does your club enforce or encourage the use of protective equipment?
1. enforce
  2. encourage
  3. left to player
18. Does your club have a medical officer or qualified first aider present?
- at training
1. yes
  2. no
  3. sometimes
  4. don't know
- at matches
1. yes
  2. no
  3. sometimes
  4. don't know
19. At your club who decides if a player should play with an injury?
- (a) a known injury (b) an injury which occurs during a game
- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. player                 | 6. player                  |
| 2. coach                  | 7. coach                   |
| 3. medical officer        | 8. medical officer         |
| 4. selection committee    | 9. selection committee     |
| 5. other [please specify] | 10. other [please specify] |

20. In your sport and at your grade have training requirements changed compared with five years ago?

1. intensified
2. remained the same
3. decreased
4. don't know

21. What are your views on the following suggestions which have been made regarding the control of player violence.

	Strongly Sprt	2	No Opin	4 Disag	5 Strgly Disag
Fining of player	1	2	3	4	5
Fining of coach	1	2	3	4	5
Fining of club	1	2	3	4	5
Loss of premiership points	1	2	3	4	5
Player sent off for part of game ("sin-bin")	1	2	3	4	5
Player sent off for rest of game	1	2	3	4	5
"Trial by video"	1	2	3	4	5
Player suspended for a number of matches	1	2	3	4	5
Player suspended for a season	1	2	3	4	5
Police to prosecute players for assault	1	2	3	4	5
Clubs to report acts of violence to the police	1	2	3	4	5
Injured players to sue the offending player	1	2	3	4	5
Clubs to be suspended	1	2	3	4	5
Other [please specify]	1	2	3	4	5

**[D] SPECTATORS:**

22. In your opinion is spectator misbehaviour at your sport
1. no problem
  2. exists but acceptable
  3. excessive
23. During the past season, at your level, have you witnessed any of the following by spectators and how does this compare with five years ago? If you were not involved in your sport five years ago please restrict your answers to the past season only.

	Past Season			Compared With Five Years Ago		
	Never	Rarely	Often	Decrs	Same	Incr
Foul language	1	2	3	4	5	6
Racial or ethnic abuse of players	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sexual harassment	1	2	3	4	5	6
Verbal abuse of officials	1	2	3	4	5	6
Throwing of missiles	1	2	3	4	5	6
Drunkenness	1	2	3	4	5	6
Running onto pitch	1	2	3	4	5	6
Vandalism	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other [please specify]	1	2	3	4	5	6

24. What do you think of the following suggestions for improving crowd behaviour?

	Strg	No		Strg	
	Sprt	Sprt	Opin	Disag	Disag
Banning alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
Limited provision of alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
Designated drinking areas	1	2	3	4	5
Alcohol drinks only in plastic cups	1	2	3	4	5
All seated, no standing areas	1	2	3	4	5
More stewards	1	2	3	4	5
Banning of flags and banners	1	2	3	4	5
Use of video cameras	1	2	3	4	5
More police	1	2	3	4	5
Other [please specify]	1	2	3	4	5

25. How should spectators who misbehave be treated?

	Strg		No		Strg
	Sprt	Sprt	Opin	Disg	Disg
Tolerated	1	2	3	4	5
Expelled from ground	1	2	3	4	5
Arrested	1	2	3	4	5
Fined	1	2	3	4	5
Imprisoned	1	2	3	4	5
Banned from sport for a period	1	2	3	4	5
Other [please specify]	1	2	3	4	5

**[E] PARENT BEHAVIOUR:**

26. During the past season, at your level, have you witnessed any of the following by parents at matches. How does this compare with five years ago? If you have not been involved in juvenile sport for five years please restrict your answers to the past season only.

	PastSeason			Compared With Five Years Ago		
	Never	Rarely	Often	Decrs	Same	Incrs
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Foul language by parents	1	2	3	4	5	6
Verbal abuse of officials	1	2	3	4	5	6
Physical abuse of officials	1	2	3	4	5	6
Reticent children being pushed into playing	1	2	3	4	5	6
Parents 'coaching' from sidelines	1	2	3	4	5	6
Criticism of opposition teams by parents	1	2	3	4	5	6
Inciting children to unsportsman-like behaviour	1	2	3	4	5	6

27. In your opinion is the level of parental misbehaviour (as defined in question 26) in your sport
1. no problem
  2. exists but acceptable
  3. excessive

28. What do you think of the following suggestions for improving parent behaviour?

	Strg		No		Strg
	Sprt	Sprt	Opin	Disg	Disg
Warning by officials	1	2	3	4	5
Sending off of children involved	1	2	3	4	5
Banning of parents for period of time	1	2	3	4	5
Abandonment of game	1	2	3	4	5
Banning of team from matches for a period	1	2	3	4	5
Other [please specify]	1	2	3	4	5

**[F] THE MEDIA:**

29. In your opinion how do the following sections of the media report violence in sport.

	Condemn	Condone	Glorify	No Opinion
Newspapers	1	2	3	4
Radio commentaries	1	2	3	4
Radio sports programmes	1	2	3	4
Television commentaries	1	2	3	4
Television sports programmes	1	2	3	4
Television News	1	2	3	4

## [G] OFFICIALS

30. Are the referees, umpires etc. in your sport at your level

1. Paid 3. Generally Competent 5. Often Biased

2. Unpaid 4. Generally Incompetent 6. Rarely Biased

31. Do referees, umpires etc. in your sport at your level

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Take exams on the rules	1	2	3
Under go practical tests	1	2	3
Undergo physical tests	1	2	3
Have to train compulsorily	1	2	3
Have their performances observed by assessors	1	2	3

## [H] GENERAL:

32. Does your sport have a code of conduct for

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Players	1	2	3
Coaches	1	2	3
Spectators	1	2	3
Parents	1	2	3

33. In your opinion who is responsible for on-field violence. Please rank from most responsible (1) to least responsible (5)

Players Coaches Spectators Officials Selectors

34. In your opinion who are the worst on-field offenders in your sport.  
Please rank from most violent (1) to least violent (4).  
Elite Adult    Other Adult    Adolescent    Children
35. Have you any comments which you would like to make regarding on-field violence or spectator misbehaviour in Australian sport?

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE THIS  
QUESTIONNAIRE.**

Please return this survey in the pre-paid envelope provided to:  
Associate Professor Wray Vamplew  
Pro-Vice-Chancellor  
The Flinders University of South Australia  
GPO Box 2100  
Adelaide SA 5001

**Appendix 2 - Responses: By Sport and Gender**

Sport	Male	Female	Total
Aerobics		1	1
Archery	2	2	4
Athletics - track & field	14	3	17
Australian Rules	138	5	143
Auto-motor cycling	3	2	5
Badminton	8	1	9
Baseball	15		15
Basketball	33	15	48
Baton twirling		3	3
Bicycle motorcross - BMX	2		2
Billiards	1		1
Bocce	1		1
Bowhunting		1	1
Bowls	2	1	3
Boxing	4	1	5
Calisthenics	1	4	5
Canoeing	3	2	5
canoe Polo	9	3	12
Cricket	51	18	69
Croquet	3	2	5
Curling	1		1
Cycling	7	1	8
Darts	2	1	3
Deer hunting	1		1
Disabled sports	1	2	3
Diving	2	2	4
Equestrian		4	4
Fencing	3		3
Golf	8	1	9
Gridiron	1	1	2

Gymnastics	10	13	23
Handball	3		3
Harness racing	1		1
Hockey	23	18	41
Ice skating		3	3
Indoor cricket	4		4
Jogging		1	1
Judo	5	2	7
Karate do	2		2
Kendo	2		2
Korfball	1		1
Lacrosse	5		13
Life saving	1		1
Marching	2		2
Motor sport	5		5
Netball	1	30	31
Orienteering	2	1	3
Parachuting		1	1
Polo	3		3
Power lifting	1		1
Rock climbing	1		1
Rodeo	1		1
Roller hockey	2		2
Roller skating	3	1	4
Rowing	2	3	5
Rugby League	31		31
Rugby Union	25	1	26
Soapbox racing	1	1	
Shooting	3	2	5
Skiing	2		2
Soccer	47	7	54
Softball	5	15	20
Squash	10	2	12

Swimming	2	1	3
Synchronised swimming		1	1
Table tennis	3	1	4
Tee ball		1	1
Taekwondo	1	1	2
Tai Chi	4	3	7
Tennis	33	7	40
Tenpin bowling	5		5
Touch	16	4	20
Trampoline	1	1	2
Triathlon	1		1
Tug of war	1		1
Volleyball	8	4	12
Water polo	15	2	17
Water skiing	3		3
Weight lifting	2		2
Yachting - sailing	5	3	8
Unspecified	43	14	57
Total	675	231	906

