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..'Our wicked foreign game': Why has Association Football (soccer) not become the main code of football in Australia?*

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Introduction

Soccer, 'our wicked foreign game', is not the main code of football in any state in Australia, but it is probably the second in most states if measured by spectator attendance or participation.¹ In Victoria, Australian rules is number one, while in New South Wales, rugby league is the dominant code.

The phenomenon is not unique to Australia. None of the white dominions of the old British Empire nor the former British colony the United States has soccer as its main code, with the exception of South Africa where the non-white population has taken up Association Football.² In most of these countries soccer is characterised as a migrants' game, even though many of the migrants playing or watching the game are of second or later generations. Explanations for the secondary position of soccer in Australia ought therefore to be compared with those for these other countries, and if we seek a comprehensive explanation of this phenomenon then the Australian story ought not to vary too much from those applied to the others, unless it can be clearly shown that Australian experience and conditions were indeed different.³ This article concentrates on the domestic experience in Australia, with a view to introducing and outlining some of the issues which might be drawn into an effective international comparison.

Before doing that, though, it is worthwhile looking more closely at the true position of soccer in Australia today. If the men's code is secondary, that is not necessarily true of the women's game in Australia. Women's soccer is also the top code in the United States where the team is the current Olympic champion and runner-up in the FIFA Women's World Cup to Germany. In Australia, the women's game is at least as popular as any of the other codes of football. The national team has qualified for the Women's World Cup and the Olympic Games. Women's soccer is claimed to be the

fastest growing sport in the country. Separate organisations for women's soccer (and indoor soccer, futsal) have now been brought together under the Football Federation of Australia. Women's matches were played alongside men's games at the Olympic Games in Australia in 2000 and when the men took part in a friendly international against Iraq in 2005. It is arguable that an opportunity exists to turn soccer into a more appealing game to families by involving women as players, administrators and spectators, as well as mothers of the next generation.

It is also easy to underestimate the significance of soccer in Australia by simply relying on the mainstream media. Even though they are very rubbery, participation rates in the football codes, particularly among youngsters up to the age of 15, boys and girls, show soccer leaving the other football codes its wake. 'The sports that attracted most boys were outdoor soccer (with a participation rate for boys of 20%), swimming (13%), Australian rules (13%) and outdoor cricket (10%). For girls, the most popular sports were netball (18%), swimming (16%), tennis (8%) and basketball (6%)'.⁴ Female registrations in soccer in New South Wales rose by 28.5 per cent between 2002 and 2003, reaching 23 305 in the latter year. Junior female registrations (6–17 years) were up by over 30 per cent.⁵ In 2005 an 18 per cent increase in total registrations to 14 000 in Sydney's north shore district of Ku-ring-gai put extreme pressure on facilities for soccer in the area.⁶

Attendance^(a) at selected sporting events—1999 and 2002⁷

	1999		2002	
	Persons '000	Attendance rate ^(b) %	Persons '000	Attendance rate ^(b) %
Australian rules	2509.2	16.8	2486.2	17.1
Horse racing	1756.4	11.8	1865.2	12.9
Motor sports	1574.3	10.6	1473.4	10.2
Rugby league	1501.1	10.1	1464.6	10.1
Cricket (outdoor)	942.5	6.3	866.2	6.0
Soccer	621.2	4.2	801.9	5.5
Rugby union	446.2	3.0	673.6	4.6
Harness racing	534.8	3.6	508.3	3.5
Basketball	526.0	3.5	434.4	3.0
Tennis	444.0	3.0	393.5	2.7
Dog racing	276.4	1.9	232.3	1.6
Netball	248.7	1.7	219.7	1.5

- (a) Attendance at a sporting event, match or competition as a spectator by persons aged 15 years and over in the 12 months prior to interview in April 1999. The 2002 survey referred to people aged 18 years and over.
- (b) The number of people who attended, expressed as a percentage of the civilian population aged 18 years and over.

There were changes in the survey methodology between these two surveys, so the figures should not be used for comparison without reference to the Explanatory Notes in the 2002 document. The 2002 document records different figures for 1999.

Crowds for competitive international soccer matches in Australia, especially World Cup qualifiers, have been excellent. Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup qualifiers against Iran in 1997 and Uruguay in 2001 drew capacity attendances to the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG) and over 100 000 saw the Olympic Games final in Melbourne in 1956. An average of 47 000 spectators attended double headers at the MCG during preliminary rounds of the Sydney Olympics of 2000, even though this tournament was limited to male players under the age of 23 and the program each night had one male and one female game. When Australia played 93 000 were present.⁸ National Soccer League (NSL) crowds between 1977 and 2003 were often regarded as woeful by comparison with those of the Australian Football League (AFL), but, particularly in Perth and Adelaide, they were not wildly out of line with rugby union or rugby league crowds. Also, Australian attendances are Soccer and Australia

comparable to those in the top leagues in many countries around the world, e.g. Scotland with the major exception of Celtic and Rangers, the Old Firm.⁹

Nevertheless, despite its occasional triumphs on the field and its precocious establishment of the first national league of any of the football codes, soccer in Australia has never come close to establishing itself as the primary form of football in a country which is often said to be obsessed by sport.¹⁰ Why is this?

There is no single reason. Some explanations lie outside the code, others inside. Many reach back into the history of the game since its inception in the nineteenth century. They set a pattern which became established very early and influenced perceptions of the game thereafter, being reinforced again and again by developments within the code and in the wider society.¹¹

Formative stages

In the early part of the nineteenth century games of football were not as rigidly defined and codified as they later became. Bill Murray argues that timing is critical and that once a sport becomes established in a society it is difficult to dislodge. He also attributes the lack of impression made by soccer in the United States and the white dominions in part to social snobbery. As a predominantly working-class game, soccer did not receive support from British elites seeking to influence their colonial brethren. Nor did it appeal to colonial elites. He also suggests that the greater availability of open space and grass militated against the development of soccer compared with cricket and Australian rules, which were more suitable to societies with more land, though football and soccer both developed in the inner cities and the near suburbs where land was at a premium.¹²

There is obviously a class dimension to the status of football in Australia. Football has been a working-class, professional game, while cricket and rugby union, though often transcending classes in certain localities, have tended to be associated with middle-class and upper-class groups whose social leadership resisted challenge effectively until at least the turn of the twentieth century.¹³ As a general rule British officials and teachers did not promote soccer and the process was left to seamen, engineers, artisans and the like.¹⁴ As Richard Holt puts it, 'Football also failed to become Soccer and Australia

officially established as an institution of Empire'.¹⁵ Australia's elites, with certain exceptions which will be addressed later, have not warmed to soccer and indeed have kept clear of all the football codes until relatively recently. Lower-class migrants, on the other hand, have taken to the game. This invites comparison with the United States where, according to Foer, the two social groups which have supported the game are elites and Latin-American immigrants.¹⁶

The sources of early British migrants to Australia may have been significant. If they were predominantly drawn from the lower orders of urban London, rural Southern England, Ireland and Highland Scotland, they would have been less likely to have brought a species of soccer with them than if they had come from the North of England or the central belt of Scotland, where the game had a much greater hold by the 1880s. This hypothesis is put forward as speculation rather than established fact at this stage, but it is worth exploring.¹⁷ According to James Jupp, 'Despite a widespread belief in Australia that a high proportion of English free settlers came from the industrial North, there is little evidence from available figures that this was true until the 1880s'.¹⁸ The North was also under-represented in assisted migration figures between the 1860s and the 1880s.¹⁹ J. C. Docherty mentions the political and social concerns of immigrants to Newcastle in New South Wales and their strong collectivist approach but does not explain how this became a pioneering area in the development of soccer in Australia, just as it was in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in England. Scottish migrants were also over-represented in the Newcastle area.²⁰ Jupp, on the other hand, asserts that 'Soccer established a mass following in the Hunter Valley region, where there was a concentration of immigrants from Scottish and North East mining areas, but otherwise was unable to displace rugby and Australian rules'.²¹ If the migration boom of the 1880s had a higher proportion of northern English and Scottish migrants then it is probably significant that this was the decade in which soccer became prominent for the first time as a separate code in Australia, with the foundation of a number of clubs in the major eastern cities and industrial centres and the first interstate matches taking place.²²

The English-speaking migrants to these new colonial societies did not absolutely need their sports to assist them to come to terms with the places in which they found themselves. Some subsequent generations of migrants did. We will be returning to Soccer and Australia

this point later. Nevertheless, the Scottish and English migrants who set up clubs in Australia began a tradition of naming them after their homelands or geographic areas, or used terms which were current in the names of existing clubs overseas, so we have Caledonians, Northumberland and Durhams, Rangers, Celtics, Fifers and others to mark the newcomers.²³ These clubs became enclaves where new migrants could find like-minded people at a time when there were few domestic organisations in Australia catering for them.²⁴ Some British migrants were brought to Australia by soccer clubs, or joined them within days of arrival, including the father of the former Australian cricket captain, Bobby Simpson, who was offered fifty pounds a season to play for Granville in Sydney around 1926. Jock Simpson was probably a rarity, since semi-professional soccer was uncommon in Australia in the 1920s.²⁵ More typical would be the experience of William MacGowan, who was signed up to play with Ford's soccer club in Geelong as soon as his feet touched Australian soil in Melbourne in 1926.²⁶ Ford had set up its assembly plant in Victoria only in that year, and its workers very quickly entered a team in the local league. By the 1950s semi-professionalism was more common and overseas players were actively sought out by Australian clubs.²⁷

Andrew Dettre attempted to trace the colonial pattern to the very origins of European Australia. He argues that the early involuntary migrants left their stamp on the culture and the sports in Australia and elsewhere: 'Those people [early British settlers in Australia, America, Canada and South Africa] included convicts and others similarly disillusioned and determined to forget what they had left behind. Theirs was a rough, tough life-style and when it came to diversion they preferred a form of blood sport. Hence we saw the development of rugby, Australian football, gridiron and ice hockey'.²⁸ It is an interesting thesis, but it is hard to accommodate the attraction of cricket in this interpretation. It was cricket which became Australia's national sport in the nineteenth century, precisely because it was a sport in which Australia could compete with the colonial metropolis.²⁹

Australians proved they could organise themselves on a private enterprise basis to compete effectively against the English at cricket by the 1880s, whereas a similar group of Australian soccer players would have been completely out of their depth against British professional footballers, as proved be the case as late as the 1960s. The Soccer and Australia

same would have been true of the other English-speaking dominions. Low-standard soccer did not appeal to British migrants used to top-class professional games in England and Scotland.³⁰ Indeed, the earliest ‘international’ matches played by representative Australian teams were relatively light-hearted affairs between Western Australian selections and the English cricket tourists led by A. C. McLaren in 1902 and ‘Plum’ Warner in 1904, both of which ended in large wins for the cricketers.³¹ It was not until the ‘bodyline’ tour of 1932–33 that the Hakoah club in Melbourne beat the English cricketers in a match which was the last activity of the tourists before they set sail for Sydney and home in March 1933.³²

Domestic influences

There was little or no indigenous culture of ball games to be drawn on in Australia. Despite recent anachronistic attempts to link Australian rules to Aboriginal prototypes, there is no sign of an indigenous activity which could embrace or be translated easily into soccer.³³ John Sugden and Bill Murray, among others, have tried to explain the spread of soccer around the world and, like Murray, I remain unconvinced by those accounts which concentrate solely on the role of the European proselytisers and fail to examine what was already there in the popular consciousness which could relate to this peculiar sport.³⁴ We need to go back to the local sources and the travellers tales with a view to finding out what ‘sports’ or cultural activities existed prior to the appearance of soccer in a whole range of countries if we are to explain why it took off in some parts of the world and not elsewhere. We have to undertake the kind of archaeological work which Neil Tranter has done for parts of the central belt of Scotland, which has undermined the notion that popular forms of football had been eliminated by Calvinism, Puritanism and the industrial revolution.³⁵ We also need to be aware of the problems inherent in transforming indigenous cultural practices into modern sports. There is no simple conversion mechanism.³⁶

The precocious establishment of domestic codes of football in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada inhibited the spread of migrant games. What later became known as Australian rules, rugby union and American football were all functioning sports with substantial followings by the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Hence it was relatively harder for another code to overturn their position in the consciousness of the natives. For a period the various codes co-existed, but soon in Soccer and Australia

each society one code became dominant in popular estimation. In Australia, one significant feature is that the main codes, Australian rules and rugby league, were regionalised, divided by 'the Barassi line', which demarcated the areas which played these sports.³⁷ That line did not follow the border between Victoria, where Australian rules developed, and New South Wales, which plumped for rugby league, but took in the Riverina bounded by the Murrumbidgee (since that part of New South Wales had been orientated towards Melbourne rather than Sydney), the national capital Canberra and the whole of South and Western Australia and the Northern Territory. Since Australian rules expanded nationally in the 1990s and rugby league established a toehold in Melbourne with the Melbourne Storm, the line has become blurred, but for most of last century it marked a real division.³⁸

The popularity of the early established codes of football was reinforced by some explicit antagonism exhibited by these codes as they fought for their patches. In this they were regularly backed by the domestic media and local authorities. Examples abound from Australian experience as soccer clubs were pilloried in the press and refused permission to use football and cricket ovals or banished to remote areas within municipalities at the behest of established sporting bodies. A Mr Thomas of Western Australia remarked in 1909, 'The opposition to the game everywhere is stupendous and only continued self sacrifice on the part of its votaries can keep the flag flying'.³⁹ During periods of rapid expansion soccer clubs sought extra fields on which to play and this brought them into direct competition with the existing domestic football clubs. Even in the 1930s, when economic depression affected all the football codes, soccer found it hard to get a share of or take over underused football ovals.⁴⁰

All codes of football had a boost at the end of the Second World War, but Australian rules was struggling for a period thereafter. Its attendances were not keeping pace with the growth of the Melbourne or Victorian population.⁴¹ Yet soccer could not make as much headway as it wished, thanks in part to the effective opposition of Australian rules and rugby league. John Kallinikios charts the difficulties faced by migrant soccer bodies in the years after the Second World War in obtaining adequate pitches in the Melbourne suburb of Footscray, with the powerful Yugoslav club JUST banished to what became Schintler Reserve amidst warehouses and transport facilities.⁴²

Another factor inhibiting the growth of soccer was the failure to get teachers or police in states other than NSW heavily involved in the game.⁴³ These local community leaders have had a major influence on the development of sport around the country and relatively few of them have been strong promoters of soccer.⁴⁴ Similarly, the game made little impact on Australia's private school system until the last two decades when some elite schools began to take up the game, often driven by students who were devotees of the game and descendants of migrants. By comparison, in the United States, soccer struggled to make headway in the college system, which provides the bulk of recruits to the National Football League.⁴⁵

The organisation of soccer in Australia

The internal politics and maladministration of the sport have not helped improve the image and acceptance of the game. There has been a species of self-inflicted ghettoisation.⁴⁶ Though clubs and ethnic groups will deny it, some migrant clubs have become bastions of particular communities in Australia.⁴⁷ These are not always national groups with a particular ethnic composition, as the media tend to portray them. Often they are sub-national or regional, or have a specific religious affiliation, but they retain an attachment to an 'imagined community' overseas which often seems parochial or offensive to outsiders.⁴⁸ They seem to be, or can be portrayed as being, 'un-Australian', though this term is as contentious and undefined as its United States' equivalent has been in that country's chequered past.⁴⁹

The code was also wracked for much of its early post-war history by a conflict between amateur and professional groups within the administration of the sport and its clubs. Since only amateurs could take part in the Olympic Games which were to be held in Melbourne in 1956, there was a considerable incentive to ensure that the game was kept free of any taint of professionalism, just at the point when its popularity was taking off as a spectator sport which allowed the emergence of semi-professionalism on a significant scale for the first time. By 1957 the professionals were in the ascendancy, but momentum had been lost and the code was subject to a major split and suspension by FIFA for the poaching of players from European clubs without paying transfer fees. The resulting battles within the code were not ended until at least 1962. The structure which was set up at that time, with the Australian Soccer Soccer and Australia

Federation as the creature of the state federations which were the main stakeholders, proved in the end to be a contributor to the persistence of divisions within the code. Arguably, this held back later development when the promotion and costs of maintaining the Australian national team became relatively much more onerous, though others would point to qualification for the World Cup in 1974 and the setting up of the National Soccer League in 1977 as successes for the ASF.

In another sense there has been a failure to make the sport Australian. This is a very controversial claim. What we mean by 'Australian' is not static but highly malleable. Soccer was the first code of football to establish a national league in 1977.⁵⁰ The code had a very torrid time trying to do so, but then so did the Victorian Football League, later the Australian Football League (VFL/AFL) in the 1980s and 1990s. The soccer league was not truly national, in that all the teams taking part came from New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory, though Western Australia and New Zealand were to join many years later.⁵¹ But soccer was probably ahead of its time and the country was not quite ready for a national league, as it was still bound up in local, state and parochial concerns. By 2004 the concept of national leagues was well established and it was at that point that a major crisis occurred in Australian soccer, which led to the demise of the existing national league and its planned replacement by a smaller A-League. Unfortunately, this resulted in a hiatus of two years, which had an appalling effect on the careers of many young Australians.

Throughout soccer's history in Australia there have been incidents of financial mismanagement, corruption and the burning of sponsors. Whether soccer has been worse than other codes in these areas is a moot point, but the code has a poor record of financial probity over the years. High-profile cases involving the president of the Australian Soccer Association and the national coach in the 1990s led to parliamentary inquiries and police investigations.⁵² While during the currency of their sponsorship business and government organisations profess to be delighted with the results they obtain from soccer, it often becomes clear in retrospect that they did not feel that they obtained the promised benefits. There have been successful long-term sponsorships, however, such as those by the Ampol Petroleum Company in the 1950s and 1960s, by Phillips in the 1970s and by Diabetes Australia in the 1990s.

It is often argued that soccer has shown a persistent failure to obtain and hold media coverage, particularly free-to-air commercial television. Crude conspiracy theories abound to explain these results, but often the code has not been able to provide an attractive product for hardheaded commercial realists in the media industries. David Hill's almost obsessive desire for mainstreaming the game led him to sell the rights to televising soccer to Channel Seven in a long-term deal, only for the television company to broadcast matches solely on its pay-TV operation, which had a very poor take-up at the time. It is a chicken-and-egg problem, however: if soccer can produce the continuing audience then it will attract free-to-air commercial television, but television exposure is seen as necessary to achieve a broader audience for the game. But the initiative has to come from the sport itself.⁵³ Meantime, soccer has had to rely largely on the tireless work of Dominic Galati, Les Murray, the late Johnny Warren and their colleagues at SBS.⁵⁴

According to Bill Murray, in the United States the people who organised the game were not interested in it as a game in its own right. Many were baseball park owners looking for extra use of their capital investment.⁵⁵ In Australia there have been examples of outsiders becoming involved in the game for largely extrinsic reasons, but the majority of those who developed and financed the game started with and retained a commitment to soccer.⁵⁶

Bill Murray also argues that in the United States works teams were used by socially conscious employers to help damp down labour troubles in the textile towns of New England.⁵⁷ There is not much evidence of this in Australia, where works teams were usually the initiative of the workers themselves who then sometimes managed to get a little sponsorship from their employer.⁵⁸ A few companies did embark on more ambitious schemes of social control through sport and welfare in the 1920s, but on the whole these were in decline within a decade. As Philip Mosely remarks, 'Soccer in New South Wales has traditionally been a working class recreation, with little bourgeois involvement to speak of'.⁵⁹ As far as can be ascertained, the few employer-sponsored initiatives had little influence on the growth of the game in Australia.⁶⁰

Soccer and migration

Repeatedly, soccer would have its status as a migrant game reinforced in the White Dominions and the United States. Major waves of inward migration saw a boom in the number of people playing and watching soccer in all these countries. Bill Murray talks about a golden period of soccer in the United States in the 1920s, when it seemed that the game might force itself into a wider consciousness.⁶¹

In Australia the great waves of migration in the 1880s, the decade before the First World War, the 1920s and the period after the Second World War saw the growth in the popularity of soccer as a participant sport among migrants, but only in the last of these periods did it become a consistent mass spectator sport and by that time the migrants who flocked to soccer were from non-traditional sources; first northern then southern Europe. So the implications of post-war migration and the success of soccer kept up the image of a migrants' game. Its organisation remained ethnic rather than district. The massive post-war migration gave a huge boost to soccer in Australia, turning it from a largely participant sport into a semi-professional spectator sport attracting crowds in excess of 10 000 to matches at state league level in New South Wales and Victoria and proportionately high numbers in South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia. Though British migrants produced many of the players, the bulk of spectators were drawn from the ranks of non-British immigrants.

These migrants, arriving in a strange society which welcomed their labour but expected them to become assimilated Australians and to eschew links with their homelands, found very few institutions catering for them. Soccer clubs became one of the places where migrant groups could gather for more than just the sport. Aside from providing them with recreation and entertainment in a sport with which many were familiar, unlike Australian rules or cricket, the soccer clubs assisted migrants in a variety of ways. They helped migrants to establish an identity that was both Australian and related to their homeland. Many migrants were and are fiercely proud of both societies. Soccer gave them a chance to compete at something in which they could succeed through their own efforts and with skills that were often superior to those of Australians of longer standing.

The sport introduced them to many Australian concepts and ideological beliefs, such as fair play, mateship, fierce competition followed by convivial celebration or commiseration. Frank Lowy, now the President of the Football Federation of Australia and the second richest man in Australia, learned about the customs and practices of his new home at the Hakoah club in Sydney.⁶² Lowy's involvement in soccer preceded his rise into the Australian moneyed elite, but a few influential business people helped promote the game, including Sir William Walkley of the Ampol Petroleum Company and more recently Nick Tana in Perth, Western Australia.⁶³ A significant number of business leaders among the ethnic communities used soccer on their climb to the top; Harry Mrksa of Melbourne Croatia and Metro Travel, one of the largest travel agencies in Australia in the 1980s, and Branko Filipi, a leading house builder in South Australia and later in Victoria, are two examples.

Yet, by emphasising migrant groups and their particular characteristics and by conducting business and social activities in languages other than English, the soccer clubs were creating barriers for Australians of long standing, who were not prepared to work at overcoming their initial feelings of strangeness when they came into contact with these new clubs and their members. There was a fear of the 'foreigner', exacerbated by war and not entirely offset by the fact that large numbers of Australian service men and women now had some first-hand experience of countries other than their own.

Local support for soccer

As we have already noted, access to facilities was sometimes blocked by other codes or local authorities. On the other hand, there are examples of local, state and national institutions contributing to the development of the game. For example, the Western Australian Football League donated half the proceeds of a pre-season friendly between East Fremantle and South Fremantle in 1909 to assist a soccer tour of the eastern states.⁶⁴ The Attorney-General, Septimus Burt, is said to have offered a contribution to the cost of buying Perth Oval around 1905, but the British Football Association of Western Australia did not have enough money to pay its share. Much later the state authorities in South Australia helped develop the Hindmarsh Stadium in Adelaide, while the Western Australian government assisted in providing a ground for Perth Glory in the 1990s.

Local authorities could be persuaded to cooperate and assist soccer on occasion. The Prahran ground was floodlit for night soccer in 1954. Bill Thomas of the Victorian Amateur Soccer Football Association mentioned the high esteem in which his colleague John Oliphant was held by Prahran Council for the manner in which he had conducted negotiations on behalf of soccer.⁶⁵

In the past twenty years soccer has benefited from significant funding through the Australian Institute of Sport and state institutes via the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) and from state programs designed to improve the health of the population. Diabetes Australia (Victoria) has been a major sponsor of the Victorian Soccer Federation. Also, the Federal Government provided financial backing for the Crawford Inquiry and Report into Australian soccer in 2002–03.⁶⁶ When the report was accepted by the government and the soccer authorities, a \$15 million Federal Government grant was made via the ASC so that the debts of Soccer Australia could be paid off and the group presided over by Frank Lowy could make a fresh start.⁶⁷ Lowy insisted that the government money come without strings, relying on his own profile and commitment to achieve what he promised.⁶⁸

Geographical factors

What Geoffrey Blainey referred to as the tyranny of distance affects all codes in Australia, but it is particularly influential on the game which is played by the majority of countries in the world. Australia is virtually an automatic participant in the finals of rugby league and rugby union world competitions, with their very restricted lists of participants, while Australian rules has its ersatz and unhistorical competition with the Gaelic Athletic Association's version of football. But the national soccer team has to climb an almost impossible ladder to reach the final stages of the FIFA World Cup, which consists of an easy run against all the countries of Oceania, with the occasional exception of New Zealand, followed by a two-game play-off against a battle-hardened team from South America, Europe or Asia.

One bad game at this stage and the World Cup dream is over for another four years, with consequent loss of media exposure, not to mention the financial boost which comes from World Cup qualification. In 1997 David Hill, then President of the Soccer and Australia

Australian Soccer Federation, adopted a typical crash through or crash approach, hiring the high-profile former England manager Terry Venables to coach the national team through the qualifiers. All went well until the final match in Melbourne when the Socceroos threw away a two-goal lead to allow Iran to qualify on the away goals rule. The subsequent let down, and the financial problems which were an inevitable consequence, set back the code significantly. Hill had also conducted a campaign against the ethnic clubs in the National Soccer League, which had the effect of polarising the forces within the game while undermining the viability of the clubs which had helped to develop the code.

A recent development has also had some deleterious effects on the code. For many years Australia imported players from overseas, many of whom took Australian citizenship and went on to play for the national team. Thanks in part to the training facilities at the Australian Institute of Sport and the various state institutes, Australia is now producing junior players who can compete successfully in FIFA's restricted age competitions at under-17, under-20 and under-23 Olympic level. To complete their soccer education, however, the best of these players have to go overseas to test themselves against the stars of Europe and South America. The result is that elite Australian players are now based largely in Europe, where high-level competition and training is available.⁶⁹ The perennial conflict between club and country is exacerbated because of the distance Australian players have to travel to take part in matches for their national team. The Australian authorities have responded by playing some friendly matches in London to reduce the travel burden and ensure the greater accessibility of star players.

So Australia has only reached the World Cup final stages once, in 1974, though it has come very close on at least four occasions since then. In 2005, under the new Football Federation of Australia chaired by Frank Lowy, Australia has become a member of the Asian Football Confederation, which will give it a more competitive but less daunting, less sudden-death, route to the major international competitions.⁷⁰ In turn, this will increase the travel burdens on Australia's overseas-based players, because they will be required to be available for many more competitive matches, not all of which fall in the weeks in the international calendar which FIFA is beginning to develop.

We have noted the impact of the outward migration of elite players to test themselves at the highest level in Europe and the implication for the Socceroos, the national team. But the absence of the best players overseas weakens the appeal of the domestic competitions, which are now staffed by players seen to be of a lower calibre. One of the expressed aims of the Football Federation of Australia is to attract players back to this country in their prime to raise the standards and promote the game. To do so they need to offer the players a full-time professional contract at a level which is competitive, when lifestyle and family issues are taken into account, with that offered in Europe by second-tier clubs. There is no reasonable prospect of Australian soccer being able to offer the equivalent of the remuneration packages of a top Premier League club in England or Italy.

Violence and soccer

There is no doubt that soccer in Australia has been influenced by perceptions that it is a uniquely violent game as far as its fans and spectators are concerned.⁷¹ There are serious questions about the perceived level of violence and the reality.⁷² The level of on-field violence is no worse than in Australian rules or rugby league. Indeed, some of the violence in rugby league internationals between England and Australia was so vicious that Tony Collins was led to wonder why the ‘Battle of Brisbane’ in 1932 did not cause a ripple in Anglo-Australian relations, unlike the ‘bodyline’ cricket test series which followed soon after.⁷³

Spectator violence is often attributed to European ethnic politics, even when very little of the latter is involved. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s Maltese clubs like George Cross had a reputation for having very rowdy fans. George Cross was suspended from Victorian competition, as was Geelong (when it was taken over by an Italian group and played as IAMA—Italian-Australian Migrant Association), though neither had political problems with other groups in the league.

On the other hand, clashes among migrants from Yugoslavia, between Serbs and Croatians (less frequently between Greeks and Macedonians), often had a political edge.⁷⁴ Episodes in 2005 revived all the old fears and hatreds. At the match between Sydney United (Croatian) and Bonnyrigg White Eagles (Serbian) on Sunday 13 Soccer and Australia

March at Edensor Park in Sydney there was a confrontation between rival supporters prior to the game.⁷⁵ Representatives of both clubs denied any ethnic link and said that they were cooperating to avoid hooliganism. Sydney United said that the people involved were not known to the club, though White Eagles named various people to the authorities.⁷⁶ Another match, in the Illawarra region of New South Wales, was postponed for fear of a repetition of the events in Sydney.⁷⁷ The same charges and replies can be found in the cases of incidents going back at least to the 1950s in Australia.⁷⁸ They were repeated when South Melbourne (Greek) and Preston Lions (Macedonian) supporters clashed at Bob Jane Stadium in Melbourne in the Victorian Premier League on Sunday 17 April 2005.⁷⁹

The FA and FIFA and the world game

Bill Murray argues that the lack of interest of the Football Association (FA) and the Scottish Football Association in the game in Australia and the other dominions inhibited its growth. The logistics of proselytising tours ruled out a visit by full-strength English representative teams in the early days. When a side was sent it was largely second-tier players and yet it was still far too strong for the locals. One-sided matches were less attractive to spectators. Even in USA, where tours by top-class British clubs were regular events from the 1920s onwards, the game did not dent the hold of American football.⁸⁰ However, the FA is said to have made a large cash grant for the development of soccer in New South Wales and Queensland in 1931.⁸¹ The timing was not good, being in the midst of the Great Depression, but apart from this donation Australian soccer was not the recipient of a large amount of FA support. A few trophies were offered for local competition. On the other hand, the pools companies provided a regular financial subvention to Australian soccer in return for the use of Australian fixtures and results in the northern hemisphere summer.

The development of soccer in Australia was never smooth. There were divisions in the code over the distribution of resources between elite teams and those at a lower level, something which is almost endemic in soccer around the world. Should the money the game generated be retained at the elite level to advance standards, exposure and further commercial gain, or should some of it be redistributed to assist junior development and competition outside the elite to increase the future pool of talent and participation in the code? In Australia these common dilemmas were

compounded by divisions over the organisation of the code. Should it be organised on a district or local basis, or should teams draw on particular ethnic or other interest groups? Should migrants join existing clubs and leaven the game as skilled individuals, helping in the process with their assimilation into mainstream Australian society, or should they be allowed to form 'national groups' to play with and be supported by people of similar migrant background? These tensions boiled over at intervals in the history of the game in Australia.

Splits, divisions and breakaways are not unique to soccer in Australia and have been part of the game in most parts of the world. In the United Kingdom, the Football League was set up in 1888 to give the leading professional clubs a regular competition and to channel the resources of the new mass audience to them. It remained under the umbrella of the Football Association, but the relationship was an uneasy one. In 1992 an internal coup within the FA enabled the leading clubs to form a Premier League separate from the Football League, once again driven by commercial concerns. In both cases the innovating group prospered, though the results for the rest of the code in England remained problematic. So it is not inevitable that a split or a breakaway will have a deleterious effect on the game in the longer run.⁸² Nevertheless, the splits which occurred in Australia in 1927 and between 1957 and 1962, whatever their commercial impact, reinforced negative stereotypes about the game, the influence of ethnicity, politics and impressions of difference from the other codes of football. The role of migrants in the changes in the game was not interpreted positively by those observing the game from outside.

Soccer in Australia was also disrupted by the suspension of the Australian Soccer Football Association by FIFA when member clubs recruited players from European clubs, primarily from Austria, Holland and Malta, in the 1950s without paying a transfer fee in compensation. Though the suspension allowed some of these clubs to prosper by hiring talented overseas stars and hence generating revenue from spectators, participation in FIFA tournaments and tours by high-profile overseas teams were prevented. Subsequently, FIFA, particularly under the presidencies of Joao Havelange and Joseph Blatter, has become more involved with the game in Australia, but largely through the anomalous Oceania Confederation. It is arguable that being a large fish in this particular pond had not benefited the game in Australia.

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Oceania has had direct qualification for the various under-age tournaments but not for the critical World Cup, the only confederation with no guaranteed place.⁸³

Other possibilities

The soccer scoring system is often cited as a cause of the failure of Australians to embrace the game. Australians are said to prefer high-scoring games like Australian rules or basketball. Baseball is another low-scoring minority sport in Australia. But experimental rule changes overseas to increase scoring rates did not find widespread acceptance, for example 'beer matches' in Scotland, sponsored by a brewery, with rule changes and consequently higher scoring. So there is no guarantee that higher scoring in soccer would produce a greater response in Australia.

Women were not integrated into the game until very recently in Australia. Whereas Australian rules has always drawn a significant number of female spectators, soccer has tended until recently to draw on a predominantly male audience.⁸⁴

Though women have played the game recreationally and competitively since the nineteenth century, and indeed attracted an audience of over 50 000 to a match between two of the leading teams in England in 1920, its regrowth in the last twenty or thirty years has been remarkable.⁸⁵ In England the number of adult women's teams has gone from 80 to over 1000 in a decade. Women's soccer attracted some of the largest attendances at the Olympic Games in Atlanta in 1996 and it is claimed that the 1999 World Cup in the United States was the largest sporting event involving women ever held. The crowd at the final in Los Angeles exceeded that for the men's World Cup held at the same venue in 1994, television coverage in the United States was on a par, sponsorship of the game and its leading players increased dramatically in that country, and even the ball used in the competition was specially designed.⁸⁶

Australia has participated in that growth, if on a smaller scale.⁸⁷ In Victoria alone, 62 teams took part in official league competitions under the auspices of the Victorian Soccer Federation in 1999.⁸⁸ Every girl in Victorian primary schools receives some chance to play the game as part of the curriculum. The game has been historically much stronger, in both indoor and outdoor varieties, in New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland and the ACT. It is said that a match in Brisbane in 1925

attracted nearly 10 000 spectators and women's soccer was played during the Depression in Lithgow, New South Wales.⁸⁹ By 1978 an estimated 60 000 women played soccer, and Australian representative player Julie Murray gained a professional contract with Fortuna in Denmark in 1990.⁹⁰ The Australian women's team qualified for the World Cup in 1999 and 2003. Australia hosted the Olympic women's tournament in Sydney in 2000 and mounted an ultimately unsuccessful bid to stage the women's World Cup in 2003. Success in this would have had implications for any bid for the men's World Cup in the next millennium.

Women's participation rates remain lower than for males.⁹¹ There are still a number of barriers to equal treatment in the sport, including shortage of facilities, lack of qualified coaches, very limited media coverage and promotion of female role models, continuing prejudice against women playing soccer and the expectations of women regarding sporting activity.⁹² Yet women's soccer in Australia is continuing to expand rapidly.

The future

The future may not be like the past, despite the false dawns which have occurred at regular intervals in Australia. Four days after Johnny Warren's death Ray Chesterton wrote in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 'Soccer's failure is cultural. It wants to impose world thinking on Australia without acknowledging this is a unique country with established sporting traditions. Soccer in Australia should be called abandon all hope'.⁹³ The current Chief Executive Officer of the Football Federation of Australia, John O'Neill, disagrees: 'The history of the game has a tradition of immigrants to Australia at various stages of our history, bringing a passion for football with them, e.g. Anglo-Celts, Italians, Greeks, Eastern European and more recently Asians. Thus, the opportunity exists to unify the game as Australian, reflecting the fact that Australia is a multicultural country. In fact, I believe this is a source of strategic competitive advantage, that the cultural diversity will indeed assist football to become a more popular sport'.⁹⁴ He may be optimistic and the test will come with the new A-League and the Asian connections which his organisation is fostering.

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Endnotes

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¹ 'Our wicked foreign game' was quoted by V. J. M Dixon, editor of *Soccer News*, in his editorial of 24 July 1954, 2. He was writing about the forthcoming tour of a New Zealand team to Victoria: 'The usual panic is on in the home of another code [Australian Rules Football] and all clubs are combining to make sure "Our Wicked Foreign Game" shall not use any of their hallowed ovals'. He went on to say that the difficulty had been overcome and a suitable venue arranged. Brunswick Oval, home of the Fitzroy Cricket Club and the Fitzroy Football Club ground, was to be used on 11 and 14 August 1954 for games against Victoria and Australia respectively (*Soccer News*, 31 July 1954, 7 & 10).

² Though rugby union has a much higher media profile at international level. That may change when South Africa hosts the FIFA World Cup in 2010. It is interesting that in the last two or three years a few youngsters in some of the black townships have taken up Australian rules, claiming that the game has less imperial baggage than either rugby union or soccer. Expatriate Australians and the AFL have been partially responsible for this small beginning, including former Melbourne player Brian Dixon (Peter Blucher, 'Lions recruit Australia's expert on Irish footballers', *Age*, Sport, 22 April 2005, 5). See also Australian Football League, *Australian Football in South Africa*. David Matthews, General Manager, Game Development, Australian Football League, also supplied information.

³ Markovits and Helleman's *Offside* is a stimulating account of United States' experience, but its comparisons are largely with Europe and not at all with the British dominions, with the limited exception of Canada and the role of ice hockey.

⁴ Children's Participation in Cultural and Leisure Activities, Australia, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2000 (4901.0).

⁵ 'Soccer NSW posts record registration numbers', Soccer New South Wales website, Sunday, 24 August 2003, www.soccernsw.com.au/mr240803rego.html.

⁶ 'Soccer boom worsens grounds crisis on Sydney's North Shore', Relay of Kuring-gai & District Soccer Association media release, Soccer New South Wales website, 11 April 2005, media@soccernsw.com.au.

⁷ Sports Attendance, Australia, Australian Bureau of Statistics, April 1999 & December 2003 (4174.0).

⁸ Hay, 'Sports mad nations'.

⁹ Hay, 'Soccer and social control in Scotland, 1873–1973'.

¹⁰ In 2005 the Australian Soccer Association changed its name to the Football Federation of Australia and was followed by some of the state federations as they embraced football as the name by which the code would be officially known. Since the 1880s the game has been known successively as British football, soccer football, soccer and, more derisively, 'wogball' during the period of post-Second World War migration (Talia Cerritelli, 'Football: A code divided', Victorian Soccer Federation website, March 2005, www.soccervictoria.org.au, accessed 23 March 2005, by which time the VSF had become the Football Federation of Victoria, following Western Australia and the Northern Territory).

¹¹ Murray, *Football*, 79.

¹² Murray, *The World's Game*, 20.

¹³ For an introduction of great breadth and sophistication see Chapter Four, 'Empire and Nation', in Holt, *Sport and the British*, 203–79. Holt makes the point that football was of British origin but not really 'English' in the sense of being a game embraced by the social and political leadership of the imperial power (237).

¹⁴ Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*.

¹⁵ Holt, *Sport and the British*, 237.

¹⁶ Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World*.

¹⁷ Richard Holt uses a similar argument to explain the failure of football to become the dominant sport in South Wales (Holt, *Sport and the British*, 247).

¹⁸ Jupp, *The Australian People*, 300.

¹⁹ Jupp, *The Australian People*, 301.

²⁰ Docherty, 'English settlement in Newcastle and the Hunter Valley'.

²¹ Jupp, *The Australian People*, 343; see also Mosely and Murray, 'Soccer'.

²² Hay, 'British football, wogball or the world game?'; Mosely, 'The game'.

²³ Mosely, 'A Social History of Soccer in New South Wales, 1880–1956'.

²⁴ Hay, 'Oral history, migration and soccer in Australia, 1880–2000'.

²⁵ Doug Aiton, 'Settling the score', *Conversations*, *Sunday Age*, Agenda, 8 December 1996, 5.

²⁶ Oral information from MacGowan's daughter, Liliás Burke, Geelong Historical Record Centre, Geelong, 6 April 1994.

²⁷ 'Most [migrant soccer star players] have their fares paid by their supporters here, and are found jobs with a future', *Soccer News*, 19 August 1961, 3.

²⁸ Quoted by Laurie Schwab, 'Will we embrace soccer at last?', *Sunday Age*, 28 February 1993, 12.

²⁹ Hay, 'The last night of the Poms'.

³⁰ The unwary might be misled by references to matches between England and Scotland played in Australia from the 1880s onwards. These were games of association football played between migrants from these countries or their descendants. Similarly, the New World Cups played for in the 1950s onwards extended the catchment for tournaments to the post-war migrants, from Europe in particular.

³¹ 'English cricketers as footballers', *Referee*, 2 April 1902, 8; Kreider, *A Soccer Century*, 23–5. A South Australian selection was also trounced by the cricketers in 1904.

³² Hay, 'Sidelight on bodyline'.

³³ Hay, 'How footy kicked off: Origins of our great game unclear', *Geelong Advertiser*, 6 November 2004, 37.

³⁴ Murray, *Football*; Murray, *The World's Game*; Sugden, 'USA and the World Cup'; Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*.

³⁵ Tranter, 'The chronology of organised sport in nineteenth century Scotland: A regional study I—Patterns'; Tranter 'The chronology of organised sport in nineteenth century Scotland: A regional study II—Causes'; see also Holt, 'Working class football and the city'.

³⁶ See Bale and Cronin, *Sport and Post-colonialism*, especially the Introduction.

³⁷ 'Australia is divided by a deep cultural rift known as the Barassi Line. It runs between Canberra, Broken Hill, Birdsville and Maningrida (Arnhem Land) and it divides Australia between rugby and rules' (Turner, 'The Ron Barassi Memorial Lecture 1978', 290). The line (as well as the lecture) was named after Ron Barassi, senior, the father of Ronald Dale Barassi, one of the most impressive and innovative

players and coaches of Australian rules. My thanks to David Nadel for confirming the origins of the phrase.

³⁸ Rugby league has also expanded, setting up or incorporating teams in Melbourne and New Zealand.

³⁹ Kreider, *The Soccerites*, 221. I am indebted to Richard Kreider for allowing me to read his book prior to publication.

⁴⁰ 'J. J. Liston (who is better known as President of the Victorian Football Association, was also President of the Victorian Soccer Football Association until his death during the Second World War) desired to convert some of the VFA grounds to soccer and in 1937 he sought financial aid from the English Football Association but nothing more was heard of the idea' (J. O. Wilshaw, 'Soccer aid to VFA', *Sporting Globe*, 6 June 1953, 7).

⁴¹ Sandercock and Turner, *Up Where, Cazaly?*, 226. The authors attribute the relative decline of Australian rules in Melbourne at that time to the conditions at suburban grounds, the decline of inner-urban populations, the higher share of recent, non-English speaking migrants in these suburbs, and a changing attitude to competitive sport in schools (227–30). Most codes of football experienced a decline in attendances from the immediate post-war peaks, so the rapid growth of soccer in Australia seemed particularly threatening in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁴² Kallinikios, 'Sporting Realities and Social Meanings'.

⁴³ Schoolmaster, 'The future in the school', *Soccer News*, 31 July 1954, 1 & 4.

⁴⁴ Incidents of on-field violence in Australian rules and rugby league have encouraged some parents to try soccer for their children, though off-field violence by soccer fans may have had the opposite effect.

⁴⁵ Murray, *Football*, 259.

⁴⁶ Mosely, *Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer, 1950–1990*; Bradley, *Report to Australian Soccer Federation on Structure and Organisation of Australian Soccer*; Hay, 'Marmaras' s oyster or Seamonds' baby?; Hay, 'Croatia'.

⁴⁷ Hay, ' "Those bloody Croatians" '.

⁴⁸ Hughson, 'The Bad Blue Boys and "the magical recovery" of John Clarke'. For a fuller analysis see Hughson, 'A Feel For the Game'.

⁴⁹ Simon Hill, 'Can you smell the fear? Parts 1 and 2, SBS website, accessed 6 June 2005, <http://wwiii.sbs.com.au/opinions/index.php3?id=58677>.

⁵⁰ Hay, 'The origins of the Australian National Soccer League'.

⁵¹ Western Australia applied for the original National Soccer League in 1975, but the application was not accepted, almost certainly because of transport costs (Memo to Members of the Executive Committee of the Australian Soccer Federation by the President, Sir Arthur George, 1 December 1975, 3). The memo refers to resolutions of the Executive Committee of the ASF on 12 July 1975. I am indebted to Nick Guoth for supplying me with copies of documents relating to the formation of the NSL in 1975–77.

⁵² Stewart, *Report to Australian Soccer Federation on the Transfer of Australian Soccer Players*.

⁵³ As Nick Tana puts it, 'As a marketer, I understand the networks' attitude is "Get your runs on the board and show us your credentials and away we go". It's not up to them to make our product, it's up to us to make our product. We here in Perth are a good example of what one can do by virtue of forcing the networks into coming and knocking on our doors, because once you put, pardon my French, bums on seats, and there's excitement and things are happening around football, then all of a sudden

the networks are wanting to get involved because they're being forced by public pressure. So what comes first? We have to get our game in order, and that is happening now' ('Sports Factor', ABC Radio National, 11 March 2005).

⁵⁴ Though Galati was owed over \$2 million by Soccer Australia and eventually settled for \$300 000 under persuasion from Frank Lowy (Solly, *Shootout*, 300; see also Harper, *Mr and Mrs Soccer*).

⁵⁵ Murray, *Football*, 258.

⁵⁶ Following the transfer of the young Australian-Croatian Mark Viduka from his Melbourne club to Dinamo Zagreb in 1995, expectations were raised that investors could make money by identifying Australian talent and exporting it to major overseas clubs, but these were not realised.

⁵⁷ Murray, *Football*, 258.

⁵⁸ Mosely, 'Factory football'.

⁵⁹ Mosely, 'Factory football', 33.

⁶⁰ Branko Filipi's sponsoring and employment of Croatian migrants in Adelaide and Melbourne was significant in the early period of post-war migration (Hay, 'Croatia', 61).

⁶¹ Murray, *Football*, 261–4.

⁶² Margo, *Frank Lowy*, 108. Lowy was a prime mover in Westfield shopping complexes.

⁶³ Walkley was instrumental in the settlement with FIFA in 1962–63, which brought an end to Australia's suspension from the world body for poaching players from overseas. He became President of the Australian Soccer Federation after the tragic death of Dr Henry Seamonds in 1963, and later Chairman of the Oceania Confederation of FIFA in 1968, a year after he was knighted. Perth businessman Tana said, 'I do a lot of business in Asia, and football is a door-opener. It's a political door-opener and it's a business door-opener and it's just a general conversation door-opener. It is an incredible tool, and if we use it correctly, we will definitely have very, very strong links with Asia, bearing in mind that that is their first sport' ('Sports Factor', ABC Radio National, 18 March 2005).

⁶⁴ *West Australian*, Saturday 24 April 1909, quoted in Kreider, *The Soccerites*, 62.

⁶⁵ *Soccer News*, 31 July 1954, 10.

⁶⁶ Independent Soccer Inquiry, Australian Sports Commission, Canberra, 2003 (Crawford Report).

⁶⁷ Michael Lynch, 'The round-ball revolution', *Age*, 31 October 2004.

⁶⁸ Solly, *Shootout*, 8.

⁶⁹ The FFA has about 150 overseas players on its database, of whom about 40 are playing in the first division in their respective countries and about a dozen of those in the English Premier League, the Italian Serie A, La Liga in Spain and the Bundesliga in Germany, the top four competitions in Europe (Information from Peter Smith, Communications Department, FFA, by email, 14 April 2005).

⁷⁰ Michael Cockerill, 'Hopes high switch to Asia will help us soccer it to 'em', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March 2005.

⁷¹ Vamplew, *Sports Violence in Australia*; Adair and Vamplew, 'Not so far from the madding crowd'.

⁷² O'Hara, *Crowd Violence at Australian Sport*.

⁷³ Tony Collins, ‘“Ahr Waggy”—Harold Wagstaff and the making of Anglo-Australian rugby league culture’, 5th Annual Tom Brock lecture, North Sydney, 4 July 2003, 12.

⁷⁴ Hay, ‘A new look at soccer violence’.

⁷⁵ There was another small-scale but ugly incident at the end of another match between these clubs at Parramatta Stadium on 1 May 2005 (Stephen Gibbs and AAP, ‘Soccer thugs out of control’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 2005). A committee of inquiry’s report into the first incident was tabled in the NSW State Parliament on 5 May (‘Report of the independent panel of inquiry into the crowd disturbances at the Sydney United sports centre on Sunday 13 March 2005’, Soccer New South Wales website, http://www.soccernsw.com.au/home/AA/2005/IPR_April_2005.pdf).

⁷⁶ *Australian and British Soccer Weekly*, Tuesday 15 March 2005, had a full-page report on the match on p.13, and on p. 9 Greg Stock mentions the crowd trouble in only his opening paragraph. The television, radio and mainstream print media carried extensive reports on the incidents, which provoked Soccer New South Wales to appoint an independent board of inquiry into the matter (Ben Sharkey, ‘Riot police called out to match’, news.com.au, 14 March 2005; Michael Cockerill and Les Kennedy, ‘Clubs face fan lockout after brawl’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 2005; Sheree Went and Paul Carter, ‘Lockouts, bans possible for ethnic clubs’, news.com.au, 15 March 2005; ‘Hooligans read riot act’, SBS, theworldgame.com.au, 15 March 2005).

⁷⁷ *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 March 2005, 22.

⁷⁸ Hay, ‘A new look at soccer violence’; Mosely, ‘European immigrants and soccer violence in New South Wales, 1949–1959’; Vamplew, ‘Sports crowd disorder’; Danforth, ‘Is the world game an ethnic game or an Aussie game?’; Hughson, ‘Football, folk dancing and fascism’; Warren, *Football Crowds and Cultures*.

⁷⁹ Michael Lynch and Andrea Petrie, ‘Clubs face expulsion after fans clash at soccer match’, *Age*, News, 19 April 2005, 5. For previous incidents involving South Melbourne and Preston and the political context see Hay, ‘A new look at soccer violence’, 55–7. A correspondent to the Melbourne *Herald-Sun* argued that Australia’s multicultural policies were to blame for the ethnic tensions involved (Jud Field, ‘Soccer trouble from old ideas’, *Herald-Sun*, 20 April 2005, p. 19). I owe this reference to John Kallinikios.

⁸⁰ Murray, *Football*, 261.

⁸¹ Cameron, *The Second Australian Almanac*.

⁸² It could be argued that cricket and rugby league prospered in the long run from the interventions of Kerry Packer in cricket in the 1970s and Rupert Murdoch in rugby league in the 1990s, even though the short term consequences were adverse.

⁸³ Following promises made during his election campaign by Blatter, Oceania was briefly awarded a place, but this was withdrawn in part because of political opposition from South America and partly because of internal chaos within the Australian and Oceania soccer authorities.

⁸⁴ Hess, ‘“Ladies are specially invited” ’; Wedgwood, ‘We have contact!’. However, Sir Arthur George (opoulos), former President of the Australian Soccer Federation, remembers: ‘When I used to go to Sydney Olympic matches I’d feel like a foreigner. The emotion, the abuse and the carrying on. Women used to go in their hundreds, but then a small minority [of men] took over, with the bad language, etc.’ (Quoted in Solly, *Shootout*, 27).

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- ⁸⁵ Williamson, *Belles of the Ball*, 31; For a summary of the state of play see Pfister et al., 'Women and football—A contradiction?'.
⁸⁶ *Women in Sport*, 10.
⁸⁷ The trials and early growth of women's soccer in Australia are outlined in Watson, *Australian Women's Soccer*.
⁸⁸ Calculated from Victorian Soccer Federation, Women's League Tables, 25 July 1999.
⁸⁹ Kreider, *A Soccer Century*, 151.
⁹⁰ Stell, *Half the Race*, 255. Since then several players, including Dianne Alagich and Alison Forman, have won contracts overseas.
⁹¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Participation in Sport and Physical Activities', *Year Book Australia*, 1998 (1301.0).
⁹² Scraton et al., 'It's still a man's game?'.
⁹³ The World Game, SBS website, <http://wwiii.sbs.com.au/opinions/index.php3?id=51794>, accessed 16 November 2004.
⁹⁴ Devlin, 'John O'Neill and his dreams and targets'. This article originally appeared in *Football Business International*, at www.soccerinvestor.com.