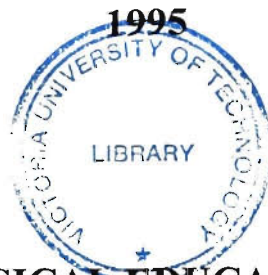


**SOCIAL MOBILITY, AUSTRALIAN RULES FOOTBALL
AND THE ABORIGINAL ATHLETE:
A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE.**

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

Aboriginal Australians clearly occupy a marginal position within the class structure of Australian society. They experience discrimination in all public forums and have differential access to health care and education. As such, it appears that Aborigines are disadvantaged in relation to opportunities for achieving upward social mobility. International research into the relationship between race, ethnicity and sport has suggested that professional sports participation may positively assist members of minority groups to achieve upward social mobility.

It has been shown that Aboriginal participation in post-colonial sport can be divided into three eras that represent periods of over-representation. The first spanning the years 1880 to 1930 involved the participation of Aborigines in athletics and cricket [Blades, 1985]. The second, described by Tatz [1987] as the '*Golden Era*', spanned the years 1930 to 1979 and involved Aboriginal participation in professional boxing. The third domain of over-representation has spanned the years 1982 to the present day. This domain has been characterised by the widespread participation of Aborigines in the major football codes of Australia.

An examination of the available research literature revealed that little or no social mobility was achieved by Aboriginal participants during the first and second periods of post-colonial sport in Australia. Rather than challenging the existing social order, the participation of Aborigines in sport during the first two domains appeared to have no significant influence upon improving their place in the existing social order. The third domain remains relatively unresearched. This thesis is concerned with examining the rates of social mobility achieved by Aboriginal players in the Australian Football League.

This thesis therefore had two major research questions. The first question concerned whether there was ever a period during the history of the Victorian Football League or Australian Football League that witnessed an over-representation of Aborigines relative to their proportion in the general population. The second research question was concerned with whether or not the research group comprising *Aboriginal Footballers* in the Australian Football League had achieved a greater degree of social mobility when compared to *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*, *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *General Public*.

The first research question was addressed by undertaking an analysis of the participation of Aborigines in Victorian Football League/Australian Football League from 1898 to the present-day. Past and present Aboriginal players were identified through a review of literature related to Aboriginal participation in sport and by contact with the Australian Football League and member clubs. As a result, the names and career details of 78 Aboriginal Footballers in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League were obtained. In addition, census data related to both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations of Australia was obtained so that comparisons could be made. As a result of these investigations it was possible to examine the patterns of participation and involvement of Aborigines in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League and to compare these patterns with figures related to the proportion of Aboriginal males within the Australian population.

To examine the second research question a representative sample of Australian Football League players was obtained by surveying 12 of the 15 Australian Football League clubs. The remaining three clubs did not wish to be involved in the study. The questionnaire employed consisted of items related to football experience, social class, class of origin, descriptive characteristics, perceptions of success and the respondent's perceptions of available routes for social mobility. As a result of employing this methodology a sample of 447 *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and 24 *Aboriginal Footballers* was obtained. An age matched sample of 22 *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* was subsequently obtained by approaching various Aboriginal agencies for assistance in identifying Aboriginal males aged 18-34. A similar questionnaire was used for the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* research grouping. Survey responses were coded with due recognition of the methods employed by contemporary sociologists in the analysis of social class and social mobility [Goldthorpe, 1980; Baxter, Emmison, Western, & Western, 1991]. Results were then tabulated and compared between the four research groupings.

The two major conclusions of this thesis were:

1. The years 1982 to the present-day constituted the third domain of Aboriginal over-representation in post colonial sport by way of involvement in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League.
2. A significantly greater proportion of the *Aboriginal Footballer* group achieved upward social mobility when compared to the groups comprising *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *General Public*.

The major recommendations emanating from this study were:

1. Further research related to the social mobility and involvement of racial, ethnic and religious minority groupings in Australian sport is warranted in support of the principle of social justice.
2. Detailed examinations of the social characteristics of elite sportspeople are required that employ recognised, contemporary measures of social class and social mobility and include the analysis of the race, gender, ethnicity and religion of participants.
3. Encouragement of further studies into the intra-generational social mobility experienced by elite Aboriginal athletes during and at the cessation of their sporting careers should be undertaken to examine whether any social mobility achieved by such athletes during their playing careers is sustained at the cessation of their respective sporting careers.
4. The patterns of involvement and experiences of male and female Aborigines in Australian sport also require immediate examination in order to gain a greater appreciation of a range of equity, access and lifestyle related issues and outcomes.

The capitalisation of the terms Aborigine(s) and Aboriginal(s), when used to refer to the indigenous peoples of Australia, is confirmed as being appropriate by Associate Professor Nick Evans, Head of Linguistics, University of Melbourne and Dr. John Alaman, Director of the Centre of Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University.

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CHAPTER I:

You are, all of you in this land, brothers. But when God fashioned you, he added gold to the composition of those of you who are qualified to be rulers (which is why their prestige is greatest); he put silver in the auxiliaries, and iron and bronze in the farmers and the rest. Now since you are all from the same stock, though children will often resemble their parents, occasionally a silver child will be born of golden parents, or a golden child will be born of silver parents or a golden child of bronze parents and so on [Plato cited in Lee, 1962, pp. 160-161]

Introduction.

Within any society individuals differ according to race, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, skill, power, sex and educational attainment [*Snyder & Sprietzer, 1983*]. When these physical, social and political characteristics are valued differentially, or they are unequally distributed between society's members, social inequalities can arise leading to a system of social stratification [*Wild, 1978*]. Within this system, the social order of the society is viewed as being hierarchical, where individuals are identified as belonging to different social classes according to the differential distribution of resources and assets [*Baxter, Emmison, Western, & Western, 1991; Broom & Selznick, 1969*].

Upward or downward movement between social classes is referred to as social mobility. This change in social class can be seen to occur between generations, for example the difference between the social class of fathers and of their sons (inter-generational) and/or through an individual's life-cycle (intra-generational). Several sociological theories suggest that social mobility is fluid and accessible in liberal capitalist societies such as Australia. Factors such as educational attainment, hard work, marriage, the ability to take advantage of opportunities and job promotion, have been shown to enhance the social status of an individual within society, and are regarded as traditional routes for social mobility [*Bilton et al., 1987; Reiss, 1980*].

In reality, however, research has shown that individuals who are members of ethnic or racial minorities, who have poor education, or who grow up in economically deprived circumstances, often face barriers to upward mobility in the workplace and can encounter restricted access to the traditional routes for social mobility [*Braddock, 1980*]. In addition, it has also been demonstrated that high levels of class inheritance, class reproduction and social closure are prevalent in Australia and other societies [*Baxter et al., 1991; Jones & Davis, 1988b*].

When potentially mobile individuals or minorities encounter such barriers to social ascent, they may either persist with the traditional routes for social mobility, or seek to exploit alternative routes to success such as crime, politics, entertainment and sport [*Reiss, 1980*]. One of the most thoroughly researched of these alternative routes for social mobility in North America is sport [*Semyonov & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1981*].

The examination of sport as an alternative route for social mobility has not been thoroughly investigated in Australia or in relation to elite Aboriginal sportsmen.

Sport is often presented as a democratic, egalitarian, and meritocratic institution that is free of ethnic and racial discrimination. Semyonov & Yuchtman Yaar [1981] suggest that many members of minority groupings have embraced sport as a palliative to social and physical deprivation and that some have actually achieved social mobility in spite of limited capital, low educational attainment, and few marketable occupational skills. McKay [1991] drawing upon the history of Aboriginal involvement in Australian sport eludes to the idea that sport offers an alternative route for social mobility:

... successful Aboriginal athletes such as Tony Mundine, Lionel Rose, the Ella Brothers and Evonne Cawley are frequently cited as proof of Australian sports democratic structure. If Aborigines have been badly treated in other areas of Australian society, at least they get a 'fair go' in sport - or so goes the conventional wisdom [p. 58].

It is also believed that the over-representation of minority group members playing professional sports combined with the attraction of high professional sporting salaries and the countless 'rags to riches' anecdotes that pervade sporting literature and mythology are further proof of the mobilising potential and character of sport [Ball, 1973; Hallinan, Eddleman & Olsen, 1991b].

More recently, however, a growing body of research has tended to suggest that "sport is probably no more or less egalitarian than any other social institution" [Tait, 1982, p.2]. In terms of sports participation in Australian, American and European societies it appears that the socio-economic status of an individual plays a powerful role in relation to the type and nature of sports involvement [Crawford, 1977; Sohi, 1981; Sohi & Yousuff, 1987]. In a similar fashion, individual participation in sport has been shown to be influenced by factors such as ethnicity [Semyonov, 1986], social class [Collins, 1972; Pavia & Jaques, 1978], race [Ball, 1973; Coakley, 1978; Loy & McElvogue, 1972] and the socio-economic status of parents [Lowe, Hill & Roberts, 1975; Pavia, 1974; Pavia & Jaques, 1978; Semyonov, 1986; Sohi, 1981; Sohi & Yusuff, 1987].

Recognition must also be given to the limited number of elite positions that are realistically available for careers within professional sport. Given the vast number of sub-elite participants, a professional sporting

career may be seen as being difficult to attain. In addition, the vast amount of time that has to be devoted to physical practice to perfect the skills associated with elite sporting performance, those athletes who fail to procure a professional athletic career may suffer decreased occupational opportunities due to limited education attainment and occupational skills [Edwards, 1979].

The short time-span of professional athletic careers and the questionable worth of sporting skills outside the professional sports arena challenge the belief that sport is a means of guaranteeing the sustained social mobility of participants. For some of those who do achieve professional athletic status it has been found that they experience downward mobility and truncated career opportunities at the cessation of their sporting careers [Houlston, 1982].

This thesis aims to investigate the validity of the sport-social mobility connection within the Australian context by focusing on the experiences of Aboriginal Australian Rules Football participants in the Australian Football League (AFL) and by comparing the rates of social mobility achieved by *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*, *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and the *General Public*.

Significance of the study.

This thesis was held to be significant in that it provided an important opportunity to test the substance of the frequently espoused claims that sport in multi-cultural Australia is free of discrimination and thus allows equal opportunity and equality of outcome for all participants. This thesis was also significant in that it addressed a major shortfall in terms of Aboriginal participation in sport by quantifying the significance of the experiences and role that sport has had in promoting the social mobility of Aboriginal athletes. Furthermore, this thesis was considered important because it provided a first-time opportunity to compare both absolute and relative rates of social mobility of four research groupings: *Aboriginal Footballers*, *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*, *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *General Public*.

In addition, this thesis was significant in that it offered a contemporary insight into social class by examining the relationship between Aboriginality, Australian Rules Football participation and social

mobility. Furthermore, as Goldthorpe's [1980] *Schema of Social Class* was used in this study, a different theoretical focus and research methodology to comparable Australian studies, which concentrated on reputational scales of occupational status and occupational mobility, was obtained [Lowe, et al., 1975; Pavia, 1973; Pavia, 1974; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Tait, 1982].

Statement of Problem and Research Questions.

There is a dearth of research in Australia examining the potential of sports participation for enhancing the social mobility for those athletically skilled members of marginally placed social groupings who participate in elite sports. Australian sport history provides a number of examples of talented Aboriginal men and women who have made their mark as champions in a variety of sporting activities. No research, however, has attempted to examine the impact that high profile sports participation might have on the social mobility of those Aboriginal athletes who might have otherwise remained more closely aligned to their marginal or minority group status. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. *Is there a period in Australian history that demonstrates an over-representation of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australian Rules Football at the Australian Football League level relative to the proportion of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Australian population ?*
2. *Is there evidence to show that a greater proportion of Aboriginal Footballers achieve upward social mobility when compared to Non-Aboriginal Footballers, Aboriginal Non-Footballers and to the General Public ?*

Research Hypothesis.

The major research hypothesis for this study was:

A significantly greater proportion of Aboriginal Footballers achieve upward inter-generational social mobility when compared to Non-Aboriginal Footballers, Aboriginal Non-Footballers and the General Public.

Null Hypothesis.

The alternate or null-hypothesis for this study was:

That no significant difference in the proportions of individuals experiencing upward or downward inter-generational social mobility will exist between the four research groupings.

Limitations of the study.

Several major limitations were identified for this study. The first arose from the fact that social mobility may be seen to be a longitudinal process that occurs throughout the life cycle of the respondent. The cross-sectional survey methodology and differing age cohorts used in this study, provided a useful but limited measure of inter-generational social mobility.

The second limitation occurred in relation to the small sample size of *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* that were utilised in this study. This limitation was connected to the small proportion of Aborigines found within the Australian population (*approximately 1.5%*) and the possibility that some people may wish to conceal their Aboriginality. It is recognised that this factor will limit the overall generalisation of findings to the wider Aboriginal population.

A third limitation arose from the fact that the findings of Baxter *et al.* [1991], related to rates of social mobility in Australia, were used to establish the proportion of upwardly and downwardly mobile individuals within the *General Public*. As such, this study was limited by differences in the methods and time of data collection and methods of data classification between the Baxter *et al.* study and the present research undertaking. These limitations were addressed by the use of a modified version of the interview format used by Baxter *et al.* [1991]. It is fully recognised that the preceding limitation cannot be ignored when considering the final results due to temporal and methodological differences between the two studies.

A fourth limitation was related to the fact that the use of Goldthorpe's [1980] Schema of Social Class was essentially a taxonomy designed for application in Britain and not Australia. To overcome possible differences in the occupational structure of these two countries, a combination of the most recent Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO) [Castles, 1990] and the original Hope-Goldthorpe

[Goldthorpe & Hope, 1974] occupational categories was performed before data analysis was undertaken in this study. This transformation was also performed by Baxter *et al.* [1991].

The classification of the indigenous males of Australia and the Torres Strait Islands under the categories of '*Aboriginal Footballers*' or '*Aboriginal Non-Footballers*', created a fifth limitation in so far that no effort was made to determine if the research findings were compromised by combining these two diverse cultures into the two preceding research categories. This limitation emerged as a consequence of the small proportion of indigenous Australian and Torres Strait Islanders in the total population with an even smaller proportionate representation to be found playing Australian Rules Football in the AFL. The combination of these two culturally distinct groups was deemed necessary so that significant numbers of individuals could be compared.

The juxtaposition of Anglo-Celtic values, norms and measures as unequivocal standards of social standing and social attainment upon Aboriginal respondents represents a sixth limitation on the overall validity of the findings of this study in relation to the social mobility of Aboriginal respondents. This limitation, resulted from the likely differences in perceptions surrounding the cultural conceptualisation of social attainment, social status and social mobility.

The seventh limitation of this study arose as a result of the fact that each of the research groupings consisted of males, drawn from the metropolitan area of Melbourne and aged between 17 and 34. As a result, the generalisation of this study's findings related to rates of social mobility to the general population were limited.

Delimitations of this study.

The findings of this study relate to the inter-generational social mobility attained by those individuals who completed the questionnaire. In addition, this study was bounded by the definitions that are employed and as data was collected in 1993, findings were limited to those footballers who played in the 1993 AFL season for the 12 clubs included in the survey.

Definition of Terms and Abbreviations.

The following definitions and abbreviations were used in support of the present thesis;

Australian Football League (AFL):

The *Australian Football League* replaced the *Victorian Football League* in 1991. The league consisted of 15 teams in 1993. Ten of these teams were located in Melbourne, and one team was located in each of Adelaide, Brisbane, Geelong, Perth and Sydney. The acronym *AFL* refers to the *Australian Football League*.

Aborigine/Torres Strait Islander:

The terms *Aborigine(s)* and *Torres Strait Islander(s)* refer to any individual who regarded himself to be an indigenous person of Australia or the Torres Strait Islands [Castles 1991b; Tatz, 1987]. This classification was made on the basis of each respondent's response to the question in the survey format "Are you an Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander?".

While recognising it is the preference of some indigenous people of Australia to be referred to by their traditional tribal names: specifically Anangu (Central Australia), Koori (Southern Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania), Murri (Northern Queensland), Nyunga (South West Australia) and Yolunga (Northern Territory), the generic title *Aborigine* was employed in this study to permit the analysis of similar tribes [Pauwels, 1991, p. 26].

The inclusion of the descriptive term *Torres Strait Islander(s)* in the survey format was a recognition of the differences in the languages and cultural heritage of the indigenous people of The Torres Strait Islands, when compared to the indigenous population of mainland Australia [Pauwels, 1991]. Due to the limited number of Australian Rules Footballers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent in the AFL, it was necessary to combine these two distinct groupings of individuals under the homogeneous titles *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer*.

Finally, the term *Aboriginal* was only used in this thesis as an attributive adjective. Such uses as *Aboriginal Footballers*, *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*, *The Aboriginal People of Australia* are consistent with common usage [Pauwels, 1991, p.26].

Aboriginal Footballer:

The term *Aboriginal Footballer* refers to the 24 Aboriginal survey respondents who played football in the *Australian Football League* during the 1993 football season.

Aboriginal Non-Footballer:

The term *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* refers to the 22 Aboriginal survey respondents who did not play football in the *Australian Football League* during the 1993 football season.

Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO)

The abbreviation *ASCO*, refers to the *Australian Standard Classification of Occupations* [Castles, 1990]. This classification is used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to classify occupations in census data.

Class of Origin:

The term *Class of Origin* refers to the class location of the financial supporter of the respondent during his childhood and early adult period.

Financial Supporter

The term *Financial Supporter* refers to the individual in the respondent's family who provided most of the financial support while growing up [Baxter et al. 1991].

Football:

The term *Football* refers to Australian Rules Football played at senior and reserve grade level in the *AFL* or *Victorian Football League*.

Footballer:

The term *Footballer* refers to Australian Rules Football participants in the *Australian Football League* or *Victorian Football League*.

Goldthorpe's [1980] Schema of Social Class:

This term was used to refer to the schema of social class that will be employed in this study to examine social class and rates of social mobility. This schema groups “occupations, not in terms of perceived social desirability, but rather according to their objective work and market situations” [Baxter *et al.*, 1991, p.40] into seven distinct classes. Where necessary, this schema will be collapsed into three categories: *The Upper Classes* (classes I and II), *The Middle Classes* (classes III, IV and V) and *The Lower Classes* (classes VI and VII). This method of condensation is in accordance with the methods employed by both Goldthorpe [1980] and Baxter *et al.* [1991].

Lower Class(es)/Working Class(es):

The terms *Lower Class(es)* and *Working Class(es)* were used synonymously to refer to individuals who belong to Class VI and Class VII of Goldthorpe's [1980] *Schema of Social Class*.

Middle Class(es)/Intermediate Class(es)

The terms *Intermediate Class(es)* and *Middle Class(es)* were used synonymously to refer to individuals who belong to Class III, Class IV and Class V of Goldthorpe's [1980] *Schema of Social Class*.

New South Wales Rugby League/Australian Rugby League (NSWRL/ARL)

Established in 1908, the *Australian Rugby League* is the major professional rugby league competition in Australia. Teams from New South Wales, Queensland and The Australian Capital Territory compete in a sixteen team competition. This league was preceded by the *New South Wales Rugby League*.

Non-Aboriginal Footballers:

The term *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* refers to the 447 non-Aboriginal survey respondents who play football in the *AFL*. The use of this generic term enabled the comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal respondents and allowed the easy recognition of research groupings.

Northern Territory Football League (NTFL):

The *Northern Territory Football League* is the major football league in the Northern Territory of Australia, from which many *AFL* players are recruited. The abbreviation *NTFL* refers to the *Northern Territory Football League*.

South Australian National Football League (SANFL):

The *South Australian National Football League* is the major football competition in South Australia, from which many *AFL* players are recruited. Throughout this thesis the abbreviation *SANFL* shall be used to refer to the *South Australian National Football League*.

Social Class:

The term *social class* refers to a group who share a similar position in the hierarchical structure of objective material inequalities that are produced by the system of economic relationships that characterises Australian society [Bilton et al., 1987]. These objective material inequalities will be operationalised by the use of Goldthorpe's [1980] *Weberian Schema of Social Class*.

Social Mobility:

The term *social mobility* shall refer to the upward or downward movement of an individual between *social classes*. This movement will be said to occur between generations (inter-generational).

Upper Class(es)/Service Class(es)

The terms *Upper Class(es)* and *Service Class* were synonymously to refer to individuals who belong to Class I and Class II of Goldthorpe's [1980] *Schema of Social Class*

Victorian Football Association (VFA)

The *Victorian Football Association* was formed in 1877 and is the oldest governing body of Australian Rules Football. This competition was the predecessor of the *Victorian Football League* and many players are recruited to *Australian Football League* clubs from this association. The acronym *VFA* refers to the *Victorian Football Association*.

Victorian Football League (VFL):

The *Victorian Football League*, formed in 1896 as the result of Essendon, Geelong, Melbourne, South Melbourne, Collingwood, St. Kilda, Carlton and Fitzroy leaving the Victorian Football Association was the predecessor of the *Australian Football League*. This league included 12 teams based in Victoria up until 1982, and 11 teams in Victoria and one from New South Wales from 1983. The inclusion of teams from Western Australia and Queensland in 1991 led to the league being renamed the *Australian Football League* in 1991. A further team from South Australia was included in 1992. The acronym '*VFL*' refers to the *Victorian Football League*.

Western Australian Football League (WAFL):

The *Western Australian Football League* is the major *football* league in Western Australia from which many *AFL* players are recruited. The abbreviation *WAFL* refers to the *Western Australian Football League*.

CHAPTER II:

LITERATURE REVIEW.

Sport has always played an important role in the life of Aborigines and black Australians have made a significant contribution to sport in this country. Sport has provided Aborigines with a path to the top. Sadly, in many cases, it was the only avenue open to them [Ella, cited in Harris, p. 5, 1989].

Introduction.

The literature review of this thesis is divided into four areas of methodological and theoretical significance which are distant but related to the examination of Aborigines, sport, social class and social mobility.

There has been a great deal of research into the role of sport as a means for the social mobility. This research has concentrated upon the experiences of members of racial and/or ethnic minority groups in professional sports in North America and Europe. This interest may be attributed to the pervasive nature of racial inequalities in some of these societies and the somewhat confusing and contradictory over-representation of minority group athletes in professional and elite level sports. As this thesis related to the examination of the involvement of the Aboriginal male athletes in Australian Rules Football, the first section of the literature review includes a critical examination of the findings of North American, European and Australian research into sport as an alternate route for the social mobility of minority group members.

The second section of the literature review consists of an examination of the position that Aborigines hold within the class structure of Australian society and of the role that sport has played in the social mobility of Aboriginal athletes. This section also included a historical analysis of the participation of Aboriginal participation in post-colonial sport.

The terms social class and social mobility have assumed a wide variety of uses and connotations in modern sociological literature. The third section of this literature review includes a discussion of the work of Marxist, Weberian and Functionalist theorists related to social class and social mobility. The primary focus of this section will be *Goldthorpe's (1980) Weberian Schema of Social Class* given the theoretical acceptance, applicability and usage of this taxonomy in social mobility research.

The final section of the literature review involves a discussion of research related to the analysis of social mobility in Australian society, concentrating specifically on the theories and methods of Goldthorpe [1980] and findings Baxter *et al.* [1991]. The preceding theories were examined as it was held that they best

operationalize the preferred sociological perspective for this study. Methods of determining rates and patterns of social mobility are also discussed including a commentary on the patterns of social mobility in Australia, as researched by Baxter *et al.* [1991].

SECTION 1: Sport, Race and Social Mobility.

The Focus of Research Related to Race, Sport and Social Mobility.

Research conducted in Europe and North America that relates specifically to the sociological analysis surrounding the involvement of racial minorities in sport and the sport - social mobility nexus can be divided into two categories. The first category relates to the overt examination of the effect of sporting participation upon social, or occupational mobility of athletes [Eisen & Turner, 1992; Houlston, 1982; Laasko, 1980; Massengale, 1982; Nabil, 1980; Reiss, 1980; Sack & Thiel 1979; Semyonov, 1986; Semyonov & Yuchtman-Yaar., 1981; Smith & Abbott, 1982; Sohi, 1981; Sohi & Yusuff 1987; Vuolle, 1978], and the educational and/or occupational attainment of athletes [Bend, 1968; Birrell, 1976; Bowlus, 1975; Buhrmann, 1972; Dowell, Badgett & Hunkler, 1972; Dubois, 1978; Dubois 1979; Dubois 1980; Haerle, 1975; Hanks & Eckland, 1976; Hauser & Lueptow, 1978; Howell, 1984; Landers, Feltz, Obermeier, & Brouse, 1978; Loy, 1972; Lueptow & Kayser 1973; MacIntosh, 1982; McTeer, 1983; Magill & Ash, 1979; Otto & Alwin, 1977; Sack & Thiel, 1979; Schafer & Armer, 1968; Spady, 1970; Wells & Pikou, 1980].

The second category of research that has been undertaken outside of Australia has concentrated on the experiences of athletes who are members of racial/ethnic minorities within professional sport by examining the extent to which members of racial minorities are over or under-representation in various playing positions [Ball, 1973; Dougherty, 1976; Eitzen, 1975; Eitzen and Yetman, 1977; Hallinan, 1991a; Hallinan, Eddleman & Olsen, 1991b; Kjeldsen, 1984; Leonard, 1977; Loy & McElvogue, 1970; Maguire, 1988; Yetman & Eitzen, 1972]. The remaining research has concentrated on the patterns of social recruitment that characterises participation in specific sport.

Research undertaken in Australia pertaining to the sociological examination of the involvement of Aborigines in sport, can be seen to have concentrated on the examination of rugby league [Hallinan, 1988;

Hallinan et al., 1991a; Harris, 1989; Tatz, 1987], boxing [Broome, 1980; Corris, 1975; Corris, 1980; Harris, 1989; Tatz, 1987], cricket [Blades, 1982; Blades, 1985; Harris, 1989; Harte, 1987; Howell & Howell, 1986; Tatz, 1987], track and field [Blades, 1985; Harris, 1989; Tatz, 1987] and the sports, games and pastimes of the indigenous population [Robertson, 1975; Salter, 1967]. The remainder of Australian sports sociology research that relates to the social characteristics of athletes, has tended to ignore the variable of race [Pavia, 1973; Pavia, 1974; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Tait, 1982].

Methods Employed in the Study of Race, Sport and Social Mobility.

Several points regarding the methodologies used in studies related to the sociological examination of sport can be made. It is clear that a vast majority of studies have based their methodologies and analysis upon functional theories of social stratification, in that they have employed measures of socio-economic status, education and income as being indicative of an individual's social standing [Bend, 1968; Berlage, 1981; Bowlus, 1975; Crawford, 1977; Dubois, 1978; Dubois, 1979; Dubois, 1980; Eisen & Turner, 1992; Houlston, 1981; Howell, 1984; Lowe et al., 1975; Loy, 1972; McTeer, 1983; Oliver, 1980; Otto & Alwin, 1977; Pavia, 1973; Pavia, 1974; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Sack & Thiel, 1979; Semyonov, 1986, Semyonov & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1981; Sohi, 1981, Sohi & Yusuff, 1987; Tait, 1982; Vuolle, 1978]. In contrast, Collins [1972] represents an example of a researcher who can be said to have employed a recognised taxonomy of social class.

Despite the similarity of the sociological perspectives, the methods employed in the collection of data show much variation between respective studies. A majority of studies that examined the social characteristics of athletes and the effectiveness of sport as a means for social or occupational mobility utilised a questionnaire format as the primary tool for data collection and analysis [Bend, 1968; Bowlus, 1975; Dubois, 1978; Dubois, 1979; Eisen et al., 1992; Laasko, 1980; Lowe et al. 1975; Loy, 1972; McIntosh, 1982; Oliver, 1980; Pavia, 1974; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Sack & Thiel, 1979; Tait, 1982; Vuolle, 1978]. Other researchers have made conclusions regarding the effectiveness of sport as a means for social mobility on the basis of personal interviews with athletes [Brown, 1981; Houlston, 1982; Howell, 1984; Nabil, 1980; Semyonov, 1986]. In more recent times researchers have endeavoured to undertake socio-historical analyses of literature related to the involvement of racial minorities in sports [Blades, 1982; Blades, 1985; Harris,

1989; Reiss, 1980; Tatz, 1987] and/or the critical review and synthesis of existing sociological literature on race and social mobility via sport [Bale, 1982; Braddock, 1980; Carrington, 1986; Cashmore, 1982; Chappell, 1985]. A small number of studies have undertaken anthropological examinations of the games, sports and leisure activities of indigenous populations [Robertson, 1975; Salter, 1967].

Studies have also been completed that have examined the recruitment practices, the assignment of playing positions and the allocation of rewards and positions of authority in professional sports. These studies have involved the examination of literature that indicates the race and playing positions of athletes [Ball, 1973; Dougherty, 1976; Eitzen and Yetman, 1977; Hallinan, 1991a; Hallinan et al. 1991b; Kjeldsen, 1984; Leonard, 1977; Loy & McElvogue, 1970; Maguire, 1988; Yetman & Eitzen, 1972].

Findings of Research Related to Race, Sport and Social Mobility.

Analysis of the research findings reveals the existence of two schools of thought in relation to the effectiveness of sport as an alternative route for social mobility: namely '*sport enhances social mobility*' and '*sport impedes social mobility*'. Advocates of the first thesis argue that sufficient evidence exists to confirm the mobilising potential of sport. Such evidence includes findings that sports participants have greater educational [Bend, 1968; Birrell, 1976; Buhrmann, 1972; Hanks & Eckland, 1976; Hauser & Lueptow, 1978; Magill & Ash, 1979; Otto & Alwin, 1977; Pavia, 1973; Pavia, 1974; Schafer & Armer, 1968; Spady, 1970; Vuolle, 1978] and/or occupational attainment [Brown, 1981; Dubois, 1979; Haerle, 1975; Howell, 1984; Massengale, 1982; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Sack & Thiel, 1979; Semyonov, 1986; Vuolle, 1978] than their non-athletic peers, and have higher levels of occupational status when compared to their fathers [Eisen & Turner, 1992; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Semyonov, 1986; Sohi, 1981; Sohi & Yusuff, 1987].

In contrast, the second thesis draws its conclusions from studies which have shown athletes to have significantly poorer educational [Landers et al. 1978; Magill & Ash, 1979; Semyonov & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1981] and occupational attainment [Dubois, 1979; Semyonov & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1981] in comparison to non-athletes. It is also of interest that Houlston [1982] and Laasko [1980] make reference to the trend that athletes experience significant downward social mobility at the cessation of their playing careers. Furthermore, it has been shown that a large number of research endeavours related to social mobility via

sport have had serious methodological flaws, and that detailed information relating to the social class of athletes has been ignored in such research [Braddock, 1980; Chappell, 1985]

In addition, athletes who belong to racial, ethnic or religious minorities have been shown to be over-represented in non-central playing positions and/or allocated positions according to racial stereotypes in the high profile sports of rugby league [Hallinan, 1991a], Canadian football [Ball, 1973], American football [Dougherty, 1976; Eitzen & Yetman, 1977; Loy & McElvogue, 1970], baseball, Dougherty, 1976; Eitzen & Yetman, 1977; Leonard, 1977; Loy & McElvogue, 1970] and basketball [Eitzen & Yetman, 1977; Hallinan et al., 1991b]. Some researchers have suggested that selection for Olympic or Commonwealth Games teams is linked to race [Kjeldsen, 1984; Perkins, 1973] and/or the socio-economic status of an athlete [Collins, 1972, Crawford, 1977; Pavia, 1973; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Tait 1982].

Summary of Section 1.

The preceding discussion shows that two schools of thought exist in relation to the effectiveness of sport as a means for social mobility: namely *Sport enhances social mobility* and *Sport impedes social mobility*. It is also evident that research in this field has generally been based upon functional theories of social stratification and employed survey methodologies. In addition, the weight of evidence emanating from existing sport-social mobility research suggests that athletic participation enhances social mobility and that elite athletes generally have higher educational and occupational attainment than their fathers and non-athletic peers and athletes generally emerge from higher socio-economic backgrounds than their non-athletic peers [Braddock, 1980; Carrington, 1986].

It is also evident that a dearth of serious research into the inter-relationships exists between race, social mobility and sports participation in Australia. Further, previous international research appears flawed in relation to sampling techniques, survey methodologies and the theoretical perspectives that have been adopted by researchers.

SECTION 2: *Aborigines in Australian Society and the Role of Anglo-Celtic Sport as a Means for Social Mobility.*

Introduction.

The previous section of this literature review highlighted the fact that there has been a dearth of Australian based research into the role of sport as an alternate route for the social mobility of minority group members. The structural inequalities prevalent in Australian society, reflected in reduced life-chances for disadvantaged groups, would appear to offer fertile ground for examining the connection between sport and social mobility in terms of Aboriginal athletes.

Before European colonisation, Aboriginal society was paternal and was based on kinship, hunting and gathering. Individuals ascended through a series of designated social strata by being male and growing older [Dingle, 1984]. Stratton [1986] shows that as a result of European colonisation, the indigenous population of Australia were systematically dispossessed of their land and moved to the periphery of society resulting in the destruction of their traditional land based society, religion, economy and culture.

In subsequent years, the Eurocentric beliefs and accompanying racist viewpoints, led to the Aboriginal population being classified as sub-human. Those Aborigines who survived the initial annihilation were either placed on reservations, debilitated by introduced diseases or forced to 'assimilate' into the general population. McKay [1991] leaves no doubt when he argues that the indigenous population of Australia have clearly been subjected to institutionalised racism and economic, legal, physical and social deprivation for the past 200 years of European colonisation.

The Aboriginal people of Australia are unequivocally the most disadvantaged minority when compared with any other distinct group or with society as a whole [Johnson, 1991]. Pittock [1971] draws attention to the disproportionately high rates of infant mortality, criminal conviction, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and poverty that are common within Aboriginal communities [Pittock, 1971]. It has also been revealed that over 32% of Aboriginal males in the labour force are unemployed [Castles, 1991a], a figure that is nearly 3 times that of non-Aboriginal males [Castles, 1991b]. Furthermore, 6.8% of Aboriginal males are self-employed or an employer of others [Castles, 1991a]. In comparison, 17.4 % of non-Aboriginals are self employed or an employer of others [Castles, 1991b].

An analysis of the occupational structure of Australian society by race (*Table 1*) reveals that a greater proportion of Aboriginal males over the age of 15 are found in trade, labouring and farming occupations when compared to the remainder of the male population who are concentrated in professional, administrative, clerical and sales occupations.

Table 1 ^{a b c}
Occupations of Australian Males Over the Age of 15 by Race.

	Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders	Non-Aboriginals
Managers	1,638 (4.87%)	621,835 (15.23%)
Professionals	1,734 (5.16%)	496,711 (12.17%)
Para-professionals	2,395 (7.12%)	260,726 (6.39%)
Tradespersons	6,016 (17.89%)	105,415 (2.58%)
Clerks	1,654 (4.92%)	825,870 (20.23%)
Sales and personnel workers	1,349 (4.01%)	621,859 (15.24%)
Plant and machine operators and drivers	4,398 (13.08%)	76,824 (1.88%)
Labourers and related workers	10,158 (30.21%)	336,959 (8.26%)
Inadequately described	1,373 (4.08%)	24,100 (0.59%)
Not Stated	2,911 (8.66%)	177,782 (4.36%)
Total Employed Over 15	33,626	4,081,675

Note ^a Table 1 was developed from data presented in the 1991 *Census of Population and Housing: Aboriginal Community Profile and Basic Community Profile* ABS Catalogue No. 2722.0.
^b Figures in Table 1 represent percentages of total sample
^c *Australian Standard Classification of Occupations* is used.

It can be argued that traditional Anglo-Celtic routes for social mobility are clearly unavailable to a majority of Aborigines. The number of inter-racial marriages is low, as is the education level of Aborigines, in terms of European standards. Given the marginal position and distribution of Aborigines within the occupational structure of Australian society, upward mobility as a result of occupational promotion is either minimal or nigh impossible. It is also highly probable that the destruction and fragmentation of Aboriginal society has seriously jeopardised a range of traditional age based routes for social mobility.

All things being considered, Australian Aborigines can be seen to occupy an extremely marginal position within Australian society. The traditional routes for social mobility, within Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian cultures, can be seen to have been made virtually inaccessible to all but a few Aborigines and as such, those seeking social mobility have been left to search for alternative routes which may include crime, sport and entertainment [*Reiss, 1980*].

At first glance, it seems that sport at least, has offered a means for successful assimilation and social mobility for talented Aboriginal men and women. Ryan [1984] supports this view by illustrating that “the success of Aboriginal sportsmen and women has been enormously important in gaining respect and understanding of Aboriginal Australia by white Australia” [p.12]. Tatz [1987] adds further to the belief in opportunities available to Aboriginal athletes by reference to those who have succeeded both on and off the sporting field, including the late Sir Doug Nicholls, John Moriaty, Charles Perkins, Harry Edwards, Evonne Cawley, Tony Mundine, and The Ella Brothers.

Tatz, however, provides a sobering commentary by showing that unfortunately for many, including “... the Sands Brothers, Richards, Bennett, the Cricketers, sport was an all-too-brief high followed by crashing and crushing disaster” [p.127]. Darlison [1985] reminds us, however, of the power of individual perseverance to overcome impossible odds when she stated that:

... as with other social institutions, sport tends to reproduce and legitimise the values and practices of dominant social groups. The success of individual Aboriginal sportspeople is not a reflection of the successes of the Aboriginal race as a whole, it is a reflection of the success of particular individuals in overcoming widespread social barriers and cultural discrimination [p.103].

The involvement of Aboriginal males in post-colonial Australian sport can be divided into three domains: *Cricket and Athletics*, *Boxing* and *The Football Codes*. Although these three domains are not totally representative of Aboriginal participation in sport they never-the-less provide a sound and contemporary focus for examining the involvement of patterns of Aboriginal athletes.

The first two domains are characterised by the use of sport by the dominant economic class to perpetuate social class inequalities, and to reinforce racist stereotypes [Blades, 1982, Broome, 1980; Corris, 1975]. The third domain of Aboriginal sporting involvement remains relatively unresearched. The involvement of female Aboriginal athletes has not received detailed consideration in this study due to its focus on the participation of Aboriginal males in Australian Rules Football.

The question of whether sport acts as an alternative route for the social mobility of Aboriginal athletes requires further exploration with consideration to the history of Aboriginal involvement in sport. The experiences of Aborigines in Australian Rules Football offers fertile ground for analyses as there has been limited research on the social mobility prospects of these high profile minority group athletes.

Aboriginal Involvement in Athletics and Cricket (1880-1930).

Blades [1982] identifies the period 1880-1930 as the first domain of post-colonial Aboriginal sporting participation involving pedestrianism (athletics) and cricket. During this time professional and amateur athletics in the Eastern States of Australia had a large number of successful Aboriginal participants [Blades, 1982, Tatz, 1987]. Despite the success of Aboriginal athletes, athletics programs still featured the addendum (a) after the names of Aboriginal runners and (h.c.) after the names of individuals defined as *half-castes* because “without these distinguishing marks ... the public are misled” [Tatz, 1987, p. 15].

Tatz [1987] also demonstrates that Aboriginal athletes clearly encountered racism during this period, an example being the Queensland Amateur Athletic Association’s attempt to ban all Aboriginal athletes “because they lacked moral character, then because they had insufficient intelligence, and then because they couldn’t resist white vice” [p. 15]. Tatz also comments that when the Association was unable to sustain these ‘reasons’, all Aboriginal athletes were declared to be permanent professionals which led to them being banned from competing in any amateur athletic event in Australia.

Under the thin guise of protection, legislation was enacted by the ‘*Aboriginal Protector*’ in the late 19th and early 20th century, which served to move Aborigines to the periphery of white society [Blades 1985]. Tatz [1987] and Harris [1989] provide clear evidence that Aboriginal athletes were exploited by their white middle-class managers during this period who forced them to “run-stiff” to gain better handicaps, live in poverty and forfeit a majority of their prize money for limited services or support. It is apparent that the domineering relationship that existed between whites and Aborigines was reaffirmed rather than challenged by the participation of Aborigines in athletics and that upward social mobility was not a realistic option for a majority of Aboriginal participants.

When considered in conjunction with the demise of professional athletics in the Eastern States of Australia in and around 1912, an appreciation of the unjust restrictions on Aboriginal involvement in athletics can be gained. Only in more recent times have we witnessed a serious return of talented Aboriginal athletes to major competition with Kyle Van der Kuyp, Tony Briggs, and Cathy Freeman representing Australia in Commonwealth, Olympic or Under-Age competition]. Perkins [1973] drawing upon historical

records, demonstrates how the South Australian Aboriginal sprinter Bobby McDonald, was denied a position in the South Australian and ultimately the Olympic team as a result of his Aboriginality.

By the 1840s cricket had also become a popular pastime amongst Aborigines. Aboriginal participation in cricket was encouraged on Government controlled missions and reserves during this time because it was believed that it would be possible to inculcate British norms and values into the Aboriginal culture [Howell & Howell, 1986]. The sporting skills displayed by Aborigines were generally perceived in terms of racial stereotypes that deemed them to be immutably inferior, while sporting successes were usually attributed to the work of the white missionaries [Blades, 1985]. Further it is suggested by Blades [1982] that rather than threatening the existing social order, cricket participation served to justify the processes that supported the exclusion and exploitation of Aborigines.

The culmination of Aboriginal involvement was the tour of England in 1868 by an Aboriginal cricket team, better likened to a performing troupe. The tour, whose sole purpose was the accumulation of profit for its white organisers, occurred 10 years before the first tour of England by a white Australian team and in winning 14, losing 14 and drawing 19 of their 47 matches, they performed significantly better than their white counterparts [Mulveyney & Harcourt, 1988].

Despite the scale and success of the initial tour, the expenses associated with playing cricket, the pervasion of racism and the same Government legislation that effectively excluded Aborigines from athletics, also restricted the number of Aborigines to play first-class cricket in Australia to nine. Only one male and one female have represented Australia in Test cricket.

The first two Aborigines to play first-class cricket were Twopenny (1 first class-match in 1879) and Johnny Mullagh (1 first-class match in 1879). Both were also members of the initial touring party [Webster, 1991]. It is evident that they were subjected to, and aware of racial discrimination throughout their lives. Mullagh for instance is said to have deliberately surrendered his innings after an opposing captain called him a “nigger” [Harris, 1989]. In another instance, rather than sleep in a partitioned stable while on tour, Mullagh chose to sleep in the open [Tatz, 1987].

Over twenty years later a further two Aborigines played first-class cricket. The careers of Albert Henry, who played 7 matches for New South Wales between 1902-1905, and Jack Marsh, who played 6 matches for Queensland between 1900-1902, were highlighted by conflict [Webster, 1991]. Often labelled as being “lazy” and “unpredictable” by officials and selectors, they came into frequent conflict with umpires and officials over the legality of their bowling actions. Pollard [1988] identifies these disputes as being the major reason for the demise of their cricketing careers.

The racist experiences of Aborigines during this time of ‘Protection Policies’ provides some explanation for the tragic circumstances surrounding the demise of Henry and Marsh. Henry, “imprisoned a month for loafing, malingering and defying authority” [Tatz, 1987, p.30], died at the age of 29 of tuberculosis at the Yarrabah Aboriginal mission only 4 years after his final first class match. Tatz further explains how Marsh died at the age of 42 as a result of a fractured skull caused by the toe of a boot. The presiding, “Judge Bevan opined 'so far as the kicking [of Marsh as he lay on the ground] was concerned, Marsh may have deserved it !' His two assailants were charged with manslaughter and acquitted without the jury leaving the box” [p.32].

A further twenty years later Eddie Gilbert, who played 23 matches for Queensland between 1930 and 1936 [Webster, 1991], appears to have been subjected to the same paternalism, racism and “constant queries about the legitimacy of his action” that had been encountered by his Aboriginal fast bowling predecessors [Whimpress, 1991]. Gilbert was committed to Goodna Mental Asylum in 1948 when he developed signs of mental instability. He was committed to an institution at the age of 38 and died unknown of syphilis in 1978. When writing of the fastest bowler who he had ever faced the legendary Sir Donald Bradman [1988] replied:

The fastest bowling I ever faced for a few overs was by the Queensland Aboriginal Eddie Gilbert. ...At the start of my brief innings one ball knocked the bat completely out of my hands, the only time I ever had such an experience. I was eventually caught by the wicket-keeper who was standing half way between the stumps and the boundary. He took the ball above his head [p.288].

Despite the ability of his predecessors, the only male Aborigine to play test cricket for Australia was Grahame Thomas. Thomas represented New South Wales on 59 occasions between 1957 and 1967 and Australia in a total of eight test matches against England, West Indies, New Zealand and South Africa. He was described as being of “part-Aboriginal extraction” [Martin-Jenkins, 1980, p.231] and a “graceful,

powerful, strokemaker” [Pollard, 1988, p.1036]. Pollard, however, reports that while Thomas is said to have retired as a result of the homesickness he encountered while on tour, it may well have been related to doubts regarding his parentage that arose in the press during a tour of England.

In more recent times, Pollard reports that Ian King played eight first-class matches between 1969 and 1970 for Queensland and Michael Mainhardt represented Queensland on 3 occasions between 1980 and 1982, while Tatz [1995] reports the Roger Brown gained selection for Tasmania on 29 occasions between 1984 and 1987 and represented the Australian under-25 team in the 1985-86 season against Zimbabwe [p.371]. Other prominent Aborigines to have played cricket include Neil Bulger from the Australian Capital Territory who won selection as twelfth man in the Prime Minister's XI match against the touring West Indians and youngsters Clifton Dann [Western Australia], Campbell Densley [Northern Territory], and Ken Vowles [Northern Territory] have recently represented their states in underage state competitions [Ray, 1991].

Aboriginal cricketers have clearly experienced overt and illicit racism throughout this domain. Of the fifteen players to have been no-balled for throwing in Australian first class cricket, “three out of the seven Aboriginal bowlers are amongst them, and two of the remaining four were described as having suspect actions” [Whimpress, 1992, p. 66]. In addition, Aborigines appear to have experienced difficulty in gaining selection for State and Test teams as a result of their Aboriginality [Harris, 1989; Tatz, 1987]. Whimpress also demonstrates that even when selected, Aboriginal cricketers were generally batted last and fielded in peripheral positions due to the public school ethic present in cricket during this time.

Further, it has been suggested by Blades [1985] that rather than sport helping assimilate and enhance the social opportunities of Aborigines, involvement in cricket and athletics during this period actually served to restrict social mobility, retard assimilation and highlight the deviance of Aborigines thus preserving the existing social order. The Eurocentric ideology inherent in cricket, simply ignored Aboriginal cricketing abilities and when necessary explained away good or excellent performances by claims of illegality and impropriety. As a result segregation and racial stereotypes, which deemed Aborigines to be inferior were reinforced and Aboriginal reservations were rationalised as being necessary bastions of moral and social

order for the “diseased, the infirm, the immoral and criminal Aborigines” [Evans cited in Blades, 1982, p.72].

In conclusion it can be said that the involvement and successes of Aboriginal cricketers during this domain:

... were only transitory experiences as sport did not prove as a “way out” for the Aboriginal cricketer. They had learned the white man's game but they did not acquire the social prestige or the upward social mobility. Their expertise in the physical skills of cricket did not lead to an acceptance or assimilation into the white culture [Howell & Howell, 1986, p. 14].

Aboriginal Involvement in Professional Boxing [1930-1979].

The second domain of Aboriginal involvement in professional sports was exemplified through the art of boxing. Described as the “Golden Era” [Tatz, 1987], this epoch spanned the years 1930-1979, beginning with the widespread employment of Aboriginal boxers in boxing tents at country festivals during the 1930s and the success of Jerry Jerome and concluding with the retirement of World Bantam Weight champion Lionel Rose in 1979. During this period, which has been researched and commented upon by a number of authors [Broome, 1980; Corris, 1975; Corris, 1980; Stratton, 1986; Tatz, 1987], despite representing only 1% of the Australian population, Aboriginal boxers held 30 of the 225 Australian titles (13.3%), six British Commonwealth titles, a World Bantam Weight title, and at least 100 state titles” [Tatz, 1987, p. 20].

In spite of the successes of Aboriginal boxers, Broome comments that rather than helping to assimilate Aboriginals into Australian society and improve their life-chances, “boxing has done more to reinforce the basic oppression of Aboriginals than it has to overcome it” [p. 69]. Corris [1975] argues that this could have been due to mismanagement, exploitation and paternalistic treatment of Aboriginal boxers by their white middle-class managers. In addition, any social mobility attained by Aboriginal boxers during their short careers was soon lost upon retirement due to their general lack of real life skills, fragmented kinship ties and limited occupational options.

To suggest that the only potential for upward social mobility for Aborigines was through sport, was to deny that Aborigines had any other skills and abilities other than physical. According to Broome [1980] boxing was an accomplice to this lie. The lure of professional boxing for Aborigines was said to stem from

the money and respect. Boxing has been “embraced by Aboriginals as a palliative to under-privilege, professional boxing has failed to deliver the goods” [Corris, 1975, p.10].

Overall boxing did not prove to be a way out for Aborigines. Few boxers achieved lasting financial gains from the sport. Since they boxed their way out of a predicament it could be argued that boxing was in this sense a nascent protest against the social system, against the poverty and discrimination that they experienced as children and as adolescents. However, their protest against external dominance was stillborn because boxing could not hope to change anything. It is a sport controlled by Europeans and their values are thus an integral part of the system...Boxing has done more to reinforce the basic oppression of Aborigines than it has ever done to overcome it. [Broome, 1980, p.69]

Aboriginal Involvement in the Professional Football Codes (1979 to the Present Day).

The third and final domain of apparent over-representation of Aboriginal athletes is that of the professional football codes, in particular Australian Rules Football and rugby league. Broome [1980] offers the view that Australian Rules Football is the only activity to have “rivalled the importance of boxing in Aboriginal community and sporting life and Aboriginal folklore” [p. 49].

Rugby league records show that not less than 14 Aborigines have represented Australia, and Artie Beetsen, Max Krillich, Steve Ella, Lionel Morgan, and current Australian captain Mal Meninga are said to have been accepted and encouraged to participate [Tatz, 1995]. Figures also reveal that in 1986 despite only representing 1.09% of the New South Wales population [Castles, 1986], over 9 % of the players in the NSWRL/ARL were of Aboriginal descent [Hallinan et al, 1991b]. Hallinan [1991a] suggests, however, that centrality and stacking are prevalent within Australian rugby league by stating that Aboriginal athletes are allocated playing positions in rugby league according to racial stereotypes. Further, the positions held by Aborigines are peripheral to general play and have the lowest level of involvement of any of the playing positions [Hallinan, 1991a].

A cursory review of records reveals that Aborigines have achieved great successes in Australian Rules Football. Appendix 1 details the playing careers of 150 identified Aborigines who have represented clubs in the SANFL and the WAFL and Aborigines appear to be currently over-represented in the major professional Australian football leagues. Preliminary analysis and research revealed that over 10% of players in the WAFL [Quartermain, 1993, p.45], 5% of players in the SANFL and nearly 50% of players in the NTFL

(Appendix 2) are of Aboriginal descent. Table 2 reveals that each of these proportions exceed the corresponding proportions within the general population.

Table 2 ^{a b c d}

Proportions of Aboriginal Footballers in Selected Australian Football Leagues and the Percentage of
Aboriginals in Corresponding States

League	Year	% of Aboriginal Players	% of Aborigines in State Population
NTFL	1992	48.74%	22.44%
WAFL	1993	10.63%	2.69%
SANFL	1992	5.04%	1.06%

- Notes:
- a Figures for the NTFL were obtained from correspondence with the NTFL [Appendix 2].
 - b Figures for the WAFL were obtained from Quartermain, 1993, p. 45 and correspondence with the WAFL and member clubs [Appendix 3].
 - c Figures for the SANFL were obtained from correspondence with the SANFL and clubs [Appendix 4].
 - d Figures for the proportion of Aborigines in State Populations were taken from the 1991 census of Population and Housing [Castles, 1993a]

A review of 1992 AFL records by the current researcher suggests that more than 25 Aborigines played senior and reserve grade AFL football in that year (2.5% of players) . This finding would place the preceding percentage well above the proportion of Aboriginal males within the Australian population.

In addition to over-representation, Tatz [1987] has indicated that Aboriginal players including Polly Farmer, Maurice Rioli, Syd Jackson, Doug Nicholls and the Krakouer brothers all had impressive AFL/VFL careers. Furthermore, Tatz [1995] comments:

In the relatively short period 1956-1994, Aborigines have made 30 AFL Grand Final appearances (including tied matches and replays), won 10 Sandover Medals, thirteen Simpsons, three Tassies, a Magarey (and three runners-up, a staggering thirty-six out of fifty-three Nichols Medals (NT) since 1946-47 (or 68 percent of the total), four Brownlow runners-up, a Brownlow in 1993 and had twenty one selections in All-Australian merit sides. [p. 167]

It is apparent, however, that Aboriginal footballers in the AFL and VFL have and do experience racism from spectators, teammates, opposition players and even club officials. Contemporary Aboriginal players, Phil Krakouer, Nicky Winmar, Derek Kickett, Michael Long and Eddie Hocking have stated that they have been subjected to racist comments from opposition players whilst on the field [Barrett, 1992; Perrie & Brammell, 1993; Wilson, 1991b]. Former Collingwood captain Tony Shaw was quoted as saying that he would “make a racist comment every week if I thought it would help win the game” [Shaw cited in Wilson, 1991b, p. 6].

Club administrators have also been accused of racism toward Aboriginal players. Phillip Egan, who played 126 games with Richmond and Melbourne states that because of his Aboriginality he was unfairly accused of theft on numerous occasions while playing at Richmond by a senior club administrator. [Jackomos & Fowell., 1991]. In addition, Allan McAllister, President of the Collingwood Football Club, has said of Aborigines: "As long as they conduct themselves like white people, well, off the field, everyone will admire and respect them" [McAllister cited in Ferguson & Coffey, 1993].

The late Sir Doug Nicholls (MBE, OBE), a talented footballer with Fitzroy and later the Governor of South Australia, experienced difficulties when he came from Cumeroogunga to play football with Carlton. He could not find anyone to give him a pre-game rub-down and players refused to get changed with him, complaining that he 'smelt' [Cadigan, et al. 1989, p. 140].

Summary of Section 2.

Apart from these three domains of apparent over-representation, the sporting achievements of Aborigines have been restricted to one elite tennis player (Evonne Cawley-Goolagong), one jockey (Darby McCarthy), two Olympic basketballers (Danny Morseau, Michael Ahmatt), three elite soccer players (John Moriarty, Charles Perkins and Harry Williams), three Commonwealth Games Gold Medal winners (Percy Hobson and Cathy Freeman in Athletics and Jeff Dynevor in Boxing), four rugby union Internationals (Gary Ella, Glenn Ella, Mark Ella and Lloyd McDermott), one Olympic wrestler (John Kinsella), three State softball representatives (Rowena Randall, Rose Damaso, Joanne Lesiputty) and female State hockey players (Phynea Clarke, Louisa Collins, Faith Couthard and Rose Damaso) [Tatz, 1987; Harris, 1989].

Other elite Aboriginal sportspeople have been honoured for their sporting achievements by being named in the *Aboriginal and Islander Sports Hall of Fame* (Appendix 5). The research literature would suggest that this represents the totality of Aboriginal sporting achievement at an elite level, although it is quite probable that other Aborigines have been involved in elite level sport but fears of racism and discrimination have prevented them from identifying themselves as such.

Other sports including archery, lawn bowls (1 elite performer), cycling (1 elite performer), fencing, golf (1 elite performer), swimming, polo and yachting have had little or no Aboriginal representation, possibly due to limited access to facilities and the expense associated with sports. [Tatz, 1987]. In fact it has

been suggested that “the only white sport that Aboriginals have participated in right into this century has been hunting. They of course were the hunted” [Stratton, 1986, p.4].

The effectiveness of sport as a means of social mobility of present-day Aboriginal athletes remains uncertain. Research would suggest that although sports such as athletics, cricket and boxing have done little to improve the position of Aborigines due to exploitation, discrimination and paternalism, sport has been “one of the few sources of collective pride, and the one venue in which to vanquish the oppressor. In a life in which all things black are declared inferior to all things white, winning is a matter of great moment” [Tatz, 1987, p.52].

Similarly, due to a lack of concentrated research, the effectiveness of the football codes as an alternate route for Aboriginal social mobility remains unclear. Although soccer player and former senior public servant, Charles Perkins said that soccer gave him the money to study, keep fit and mix socially [Perkins, 1973], the overt racism recently experienced by Aboriginal footballers in the AFL and the finding that Aboriginal rugby league players are allocated marginal playing positions according to racial stereotypes would suggest that the racial discrimination that characterises other social institutions has presented itself within contemporary Australian sport. If this is in fact the case, the possibility of sustainable social mobility being a reality for Aboriginal AFL participants appears to be highly unlikely.

SECTION 3: *Sociological Conceptions of Social Class*

Karl Marx and Related Theories of Social Class.

The term *social class*, although never fully defined by Marx, formed the fundamental basis of his analysis of the class structure of capitalist society [Giddens, 1974]. Used to describe “the economically determined divisions of society, Marx based his conception of social class on the basis of the ownership and non-ownership of property” [Jary & Jary, 1991, p. 75]. Class is seen as being integrally connected with the division of labour. Marxist theorists define those who own the means of production in productive relations as the *Bourgeoisie*. In contrast, those who sell their labour to the *Bourgeoisie* are defined as the *Proletariat* [Bilton et al., 1987].

Bilton *et al.* further highlight that the *Bourgeoisie* in their attempt to accumulate capital, exploit and oppress the *Proletariat*, who sell their labour and work to produce surplus value in society. As a result of the nature of this relationship the Bourgeoisie's control of the means of production leads to political power. For Giddens [1974] "the dichotomous division of class is also a division of both property and power" [p.29]. The exploitative nature of class relations is inherently unstable, and conflict between social classes is seen as being an inevitable consequence resulting from the unequal distribution of property and power. The result according to Marx is the development of a collective class consciousness by the *Proletariat*. Giddens argues that the potential for class based revolution and the eventual destruction of the capitalist mode of production is always a probability when unequal power relations exist between classes.

It must be appreciated that Marx developed his account of capitalist class relations from the analysis of feudal pre-capitalist societies. Several problems, however, have arisen as a result of attempts by contemporary sociologists to apply traditional Marxist theories to the analysis of the class structure of modern capitalist societies. Firstly, Marx's theories do not account for the emergence of a middle stratum of non-manual, supervisory professional, technical, administrative and service workers who do not belong to the traditional capitalist or working classes [Marks, Western & Western, 1989]. This deficiency limits the contemporary applicability of Marx's theories given the obvious existence of the middle classes in modern capitalist societies.

Marx's theoretical perspectives are also unsuited to the analysis of modern capitalist societies due to the fact that "divisions within classes are often more significant politically than divisions between classes" [Jary & Jary, 1991, p.77]. These *contradictory class locations*, as described by Wright [1989], stem from differences in the political power between occupations that occupy the same class location. Marx did not account for these differences in his analysis theories of social class.

The possible influence that factors other than economic and political power, such as race, status and gender, may have on an individual's position within society were also unaccounted for by Marx. Given the reported influence that such factors have in modern capitalist society, it is essential that any serious analysis of social inequality in capitalist societies include these factors for consideration [Baxter *et al.* 1991]. Finally, class consciousness in practice has never evidenced a correspondence with the objective class situations

described by Marx [Bilton et al., 1987]. This limitation along with the preceding weaknesses restricts the contemporary applicability of Marx's theories to the analysis of social class.

Max Weber and Related Theories of Social Class.

A number of alternative analytical conceptions of social class have emerged that challenge the perspectives offered by Marx. Max Weber's work is the most influential of these alternate sociological conceptions. In contrast to Marx, Weber believed that the bases for conflict inter-group and within group formation in capitalist societies are far wider than the simple dichotomy between ownership and non-ownership of property. He suggested that three orders of stratification influence an individual's social class, including market capacity, status, party and class [Broom & Selznick, 1969; Giddens, 1974; Wild, 1978]. In turn, it is these factors that lead to, and promote the existence of inequality in modern capitalist societies. Weber's explanation for social inequality also differed from Marx in that he perceived power to arise not only from class but also from the structures of bureaucracy present in capitalist society [Baxter et al. 1991, Bilton et al. 1987].

Furthermore, Weber believed that, as a result of the variety of bases for social cleavage, a large number of social classes would emerge in modern capitalist societies [Giddens, 1974]. As previously stated, a high level of class fragmentation characterises modern capitalist societies [Baxter et al. 1991, Goldthorpe, 1980, Marks et al., 1989]. Weber's theory of social class also accounts for differences in the political power and social advantage that exist between individuals within the same social class. He believed that these differences arise out of differences in *status*, defined as "prestige or high standing in the eyes of other members of the society" and/or *party*, defined as "the ability of one group to dominate others, or to have a preponderant influence over decision-making, or to benefit advantageously from decisions" [Bilton et al., 1987, p. 35]. Differences in status and party can exist between occupations within the same class location leading to the observed differences in social or political advantage.

Weber also believed that a link between the social class of an individual and the opportunities afforded to them exists, arguing that a "class is a category of people who share similar *life-chances*" [Jary & Jary, 1991, p.]. Allocation of these life-chances is related to an individual's market capacity, or the demand for their skills. Weber used this theory of social class to explain how different levels of skill divide the

working class, and how the separation of the commercial and owning classes has occurred in modern capitalist society [Bilton et al., 1987].

Functionalist Theories of Social Class and Social Mobility.

Functional theorists believe social inequalities to be an inevitable and natural part of modern capitalist societies [Broom & Selznick, 1969]. It is these inequalities that ensure that essential and necessary tasks are performed by the most qualified persons by providing rewards which attract people with specialised skills or training. As such, Functional theorists perceive the occupational structure to be the pivot of stratificational orders [Jones 1988a], with access to highly valued occupations being strongly linked with the ability of an individual to gain educational credentials and training.

Several problems exist in relation to the application of functional theories of social stratification to the analysis of social mobility. Firstly, inequalities present in society often result from a mismatched difference between rewards received and the acquired skills, knowledge and actual importance of a particular occupational group and/or service provider. Second, social inequalities are transmitted from generation to generation in the form of class inheritance and social closure. As a result the identification and utilisation of talent is frequently undermined due to reduced access to education as a result of social disadvantage.

Third, the use of the terms social class and social mobility within structural functional thinking to describe socio-economic status and occupational mobility respectively, are deemed to be unsuitable for the examination of contemporary dimensions of social mobility. These terms are generally used to refer to reputational scales of occupational prestige, rather than the objective measures of the market or productive position of an individual or group within society that Marxist and Weberian theories offer. These scales are generally based on the subjective evaluations of occupations by members of the community in terms of the “standard of living, power and influence, qualifications and the value to society associated with different occupational positions” [Jones, 1988a, p. 280].

Several problems can be identified associated with the use of these functional measures of social status. In the first place, a great divergence in ratings is generally found within and between studies. The level of agreement appears to be significantly influenced by the respondent's occupation. Further, functional theories of social stratification generally present the class structure of modern capitalist societies as an "open, empirically contingent and fluid arrangement with no inherent or necessary structure attaching to it" [Baxter et al. 1991, p.25]. These theories make no account for the possible existence of social closure, class stability, and the existence of racial and gender barriers to social ascent that are reputedly present in Australian society [Wild, 1978, Baxter et al. 1991]. Therefore, functional theories that relate to social class and social mobility are inappropriate for the realistic examination of social mobility due to the aforementioned limitations.

Contemporary Conceptions of Social Class.

In more recent times a variety of conceptions of social class have emerged that challenge traditional modes of thinking. Using either Marx or Weber as a starting point the new approaches attempt to adapt or refute perspectives offered by elements of the approaches of the classical theorists. Generally, Neo-Marxist theorists have been concerned with the examination of "class as an objective structure of production and exploitation relations" while neo-Weberian theorists have tended to regard "class as an effect of social action, as a market phenomenon, as an asymmetry of power and authority and just one of the potential bases of social cleavage" [Baxter et al. 1991, p.26].

Common to both paradigms, however, is the desire to identify, characterise and analyse the intermediate positions between labour and capital that have been "brought into existence by the rise of joint stock companies and by the increasing scale of the industrial plant and commercial enterprise" [Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 6]. Burris [1989 cited in Baxter et al. 1991, p. 26] differentiated intermediate class positions from working class positions on the basis of five basic strategies:

manual vs non-manual occupations (Giddens 1973, Poulantzas 1975); supervisors vs non-supervisors, (Dahrendorf 1959, Carchedi 1977); productive and unproductive labour (Collins 1979, Poulantzas 1975); professionals and managers vs routine employees (Goldthorpe 1982, the Ehrenreichs 1977); credentialed vs uncredentialed workers (Parkin 1979, Wright 1985)

Baxter et al., however, draw attention to the fact that:

of the numerous conceptualisations of class that have proliferated in the sociological literature in the past decade or so, two have come to assume particular prominence in recent years: Erik

Olin Wright's structural Marxist account derived from an analysis of the social relations of production and John Goldthorpe's Weberian schema based upon the work and market situations of particular occupational groupings [p.38].

Baxter *et al.* also argue that the pre-eminence of these taxonomies in sociological literature has occurred as a result of Wright's and Goldthorpe's recognition of, and the ability of their taxonomies to, effectively "locate salaried non-owning members of organisations, the Middle Classes who do not produce 'surplus value' in the production process but who organise and supervise its production and distribution" [p.26].

Goldthorpe's [1980] Schema of Social Class and the Rationale Underlying it's Use.

As this study is concerned with the analysis of social mobility with particular reference to present day Aboriginal footballers, the Marxist orientation of Wright's conceptualisation makes its use inappropriate for a variety of reasons. This inapplicability arises out of the fact that Marxist theorists generally see the divisions and inequalities in society as being based entirely upon the ownership of property and the means of production. The influence of the variable race, is clearly unaccounted for within this paradigm. Weberian theories account for the influences of race on social class, and in turn mobility and thus make them more suitable for the purposes of this examination [Wild, 1978].

In addition, Marxist theorists generally claim that the possibility of upward movement from the working class to be a liberal myth due to the presence of class barriers and high levels of social closure and class inheritance [Goldthorpe, 1980; Jones & Davis, 1988b; Wright, 1989]. The concept of social mobility is clearly unaccounted for or appreciated by Marxist theories. As such apparently Wright's [1989] taxonomy of social class is also held to be generally unsuitable for the examination of social mobility within the context of the present study. On the other hand, Baxter *et al* [1991] has suggested that:

within the Weberian tradition much less attention has been given to a nuanced mapping of the class structures of the advanced societies and rather more to the *dynamics* - the patterns of class mobility, social closure, class structuration and so on - which characterise such structures [p. 39].

The suitability of Goldthorpe's schema for the present study of social class and social mobility emerges as a highly suitable approach following its recent use and operationalization in major studies of social class and social mobility that have been undertaken in Australia [Baxter et al., 1991] and England [Goldthorpe, 1980]. In contrast, Wright's [1989] conceptualisation of social class has not been used to examine social mobility despite its applicability to the analysis of social class.

As such, Goldthorpe's [1980] class schema, which groups occupations according to their objective work and market situations rather than their perceived social desirability [Baxter et al. 1991], appears to be the most appropriate taxonomy of class to employ when looking at and comparing rates of social mobility in contemporary Australian society. The rationale underlying this schema's usage is detailed in Appendix 6. The method underlying the use and selection is detailed in Chapter 3. Goldthorpe's [1980] schema effectively divides capitalist society into seven distinct classes by combining:

... occupational categories whose members would appear, in light of the available evidence, to be typically comparable, on the one hand, in terms of their sources and levels of income, their degree of economic security and their chances of economic advancement; and, on the other in terms of their location within the systems of authority and control governing the process of production in which they are engaged, and hence their degree of autonomy in performing their work tasks and roles [p.39].

Summary of Section 3.

The previous discussion indicated that Weberian theories and taxonomies of social class are the most appropriate to employ when examining social mobility. This suitability arises out of the acceptance and research concentration of Weberian theorists on the concept of social mobility. Furthermore, it is Goldthorpe's schema that has achieved particular prominence in this area and offers the most appropriate starting point for analysis of social mobility to be undertaken. Marxist and Functional theories of social mobility and social class are considered to be less appropriate for the examination of social class in terms of the present study.

SECTION 4: *Patterns of Social Mobility in Australia*

Rates of Social Mobility in Australia (Inflows and Outflows).

As previously discussed the upward or downward movement of an individual between social classes is referred to as social mobility. This change in social class can be seen to occur between generations, for example the difference between the social class of fathers and of their sons (inter-generational) and/or through an individual's life-cycle (intra-generational).

A selection of the findings of Baxter *et al.* [1991] relating to social class and social mobility in Australian society are presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5. These tables illustrate not only the changes that have occurred in the class structure of Australian society over the past generation but also the extent of intra-generational social mobility. The latter of these two functions is shown in two distinct ways, "first by showing the pattern of class distribution or 'outflows' (Table 3) and then in terms of class composition or 'inflows' (Table 4)" [Baxter *et al.* 1991, p. 44]. Goldthorpe's [1980] Taxonomy of Social Class (Table 6) was employed in both of these tables and they were prepared by the cross-tabulation of the respondent's *Class of Origin* by the *Class of Respondent*.

The following statements can be made with relation to the class distributions of Australian society, as shown in Table 3. Figures in the column marked 'percent' indicate that over 29 % of Australian male respondents have upper class origins, a further 44 % of respondents came from families occupying middle class occupations and the remaining 26 % were found to come from families belonging to the lower classes.

In addition, this table reveals that 59 % of males from upper-service class backgrounds (*Class I*) retained the service class location of their financial supporter. These individuals have experienced intergenerational stability. A further 16% of males from Class I now occupy working class (*Classes VI and VII*) locations while a further 27 % of lower service class respondents (*Class II*) now occupy lower class occupations. These individuals can be seen to have experienced downward intergenerational mobility [Baxter *et al.* 1991].

Table 3 ^{a b c d}
Intergenerational Social Mobility of Australian Males (Outflows).

		CLASS OF RESPONDENT									
		Upper		Middle			Lower		Row Percent	N	
Class		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII			
CLASS OF ORIGIN	Upper	I	38	21	10	4	11	11	5	12.6	178
		II	29	20	8	11	5	16	11	17	105
	Middle	III	26	61	8	9	18	40	30	6.2	38
		IV	7	18	7	23	7	15	21	25	154
		V	7	27	9	10	10	22	16	13	80
	Lower	VI	9	16	8	18	18	23	19	11	70
		VII	5	19	3	12	12	19	31	15	92

- Notes:
- ^a Sample size of 615 was used
 - ^b Table 3 was taken and adapted from Baxter *et al.* [1991 p. 46].
 - ^c Class III was originally divided into IIIa and IIIb.
 - ^d All figures are in percentages and the figures in the percentage column will be taken to indicate *Class of Origin*

In contrast, 14% of males from skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds (*Classes VI and VII*) now occupy Class I locations and a further 35 % of males originating from Classes VI and VII can be found in class II. This movement indicates the achievement of upward social mobility. However, the bulk of the remaining men from working class backgrounds (*50% from Class VII and 42 % from Class VI*) can be seen to have returned to the same class location with smaller proportions now in Class IV and Class V [Baxter *et al.* 1991].

The data depicted in Table 4 relating to the current class composition of Australian society reveals much the same information as Table 3, although changes in the class structure between generations can be seen to be evident and differences in the levels of intergenerational stability between classes can be seen to be prevalent. It is evident that within one generation the proportion of individuals located within *Class IV: Small proprietors*, has decreased by over 50 percent in the last generation [Baxter *et al.* 1991]. This decrease may have been compensated for by slight increases in the size of Classes I, II, III, VI and VII and decreases in the proportion of Class V can be seen to have occurred. Despite these alterations in the class structure over one generation, the class make-up of these two birth cohorts has not been found to be significantly different ($\chi^2 = 18.53$, *d.f.* = 13, $p < 0.05$).

Table 4 ^{a b c d}
Intergenerational Social Mobility of Australian Males (Inflows).

		CLASS OF RESPONDENT						
		<i>Upper</i>		<i>Middle</i>			<i>Lower</i>	
CLASS OF ORIGIN	Class	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	<i>Upper</i>							
	I	33	13	35	4	14	8	3
	II	33	17	29	15	9	15	11
	<i>Middle</i>							
	III	5	9	13	3	6	8	5
	IV	11	22	59	47	17	22	30
	V	6	17	26	11	14	16	12
	<i>Lower</i>							
	VI	7	9	24	6	21	15	12
	VII	5	14	12	14	19	16	26
Percent		14.8	21.1	7.6	12	8.9	18.8	17.1
N		92	126	25	75	59	108	109

- Note:
- a Table 4 was taken and adapted from Baxter *et al.* [1991 p. 46].
 - b Numbers featured in column cells are percentages.
 - c The percent column was calculated by dividing the N by 617.
 - d The figures in the percent row indicate the *Class of Respondent*

The examination of Table 4 also shows that approximately 66 % of males now located in Class I had service class backgrounds whereas 22 % have been drawn from the middle classes and 12 % have been recruited from the working classes [Baxter *et al.*, 1991]. In addition over two-thirds of males who are currently located in the working classes have working class backgrounds. In contrast only 3% of working class males are drawn from Class I and 11% are drawn from Class II. Table 4 also reveals a great deal about the degree of demographic stability that different classes exhibit. The upper service class (*Class I*) and the working classes (*VI and VII*) appear to be significantly self-recruiting and relatively stable in their composition [Baxter *et al.* 1991]. In contrast, the broad intermediate strata of classes (*Classes III, IV and V*) exhibit the lowest degree of intergenerational stability, possibly due to the relative immaturity of this class. Baxter *et al.* [1991] state that “Significant numbers in these class locations have arrived here from other class backgrounds and can reasonably expect that they or their offspring will experience further social mobility in due course” [Baxter *et al.* 1991, p. 47]. It can be said that these findings offer tentative support for the existence of the *closure* thesis [Giddens, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1980; Millibrand, 1970].

A combination of Classes I and II to form the upper classes, Classes III, IV and V to form the middle classes and of Classes VI and VII to form the lower classes (*shaded area on Tables 3, 4*) and downgrading of percentage figures to whole numbers enables the calculation of the rates of social mobility and patterns of class recruitment to be simplified. The results of these calculations are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 a b c
Intergenerational Social Mobility of Males in Australia
CLASS OF RESPONDENT

		<i>Upper</i>		<i>Middle</i>			<i>Lower</i>		
CLASS OF ORIGIN	Class	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	N
	<i>Upper</i>								
	I	30	16	8	3	9	9	4	78
	II	30	21	7	12	4	17	12	104
	<i>Middle</i>								
	III	4	11	3	2	3	9	5	38
	IV	11	28	14	35	11	23	32	154
	V	6	22	6	8	8	18	13	81
	<i>Lower</i>								
	VI	6	11	6	4	13	16	13	69
	VII	5	17	3	11	11	17	29	93
	N	92	126	47	75	59	109	108	617

- Notes:
- a Table 5 was adapted from data appearing in Baxter *et al.* 1991 p. 46.
 - b Class III was originally divided into IIIa and IIIb.
 - c Numbers featured in column cells have been converted from percentages to whole numbers by multiplication of percentage data by the weighted N that were featured in the original table.

An individual can be said to have experienced upward or downward mobility when their class position is significantly different to that of the respondent's financial supporter. This difference can be defined as the movement of an individual outside the boundaries of the tripartite classification of social class between generations (*Table 6*).

By adding the numbers of respondents with a class position that significantly exceeds that of their financial supporter it can be ascertained that 169 of the 617 respondents interviewed by Baxter *et al.* [1991] or 27.4% of the sample have achieved upward social mobility. These individuals can be seen to hold an occupation of higher social class than that of their financial supporter when the respondent was 16 years of age. These individuals are located in Table 5 in the area below the horizontal line of shaded cells.

In contrast, 262 of the 617 respondents, or 42.5% of the sample can be said to have experienced intergenerational stability or remained in the same class location as the financial supporter of their family at the age of 16. These individuals can be located in the shaded cells in Table 5. The remaining 186 respondents, or 30.1% of the sample, can be said to have experienced downward mobility. These individuals have a social class that is lower than that of their financial supporter and are located in the area above the shaded cells of Table 5.

Summary of Section 4.

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that intergenerational mobility (both upward and downward), intergenerational stability and patterns of class-recruitment and stability are prevalent within Australia's class structure. In addition, if the Baxter *et al.* [1991] study sample is taken to be representative of Australian society, the existence of social closure within the service classes appears possible [Millibrand, 1970; Giddens, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1980]. The finding that members of the middle classes are recruited from a variety of class locations may contradict the *Bufferzone Thesis* which eludes to the existence of a barrier that prevents movement between manual and non-manual forms of labour [Bottomore, 1973; Bottomore, 1977; Giddens, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1980; Parkin 1975].

CHAPTER III:

METHODOLOGY.

Though this maybe madness, yet there be method in't [Hamlet, Act 2 Scene 2]

Selection of Research Methodology.

The questionnaire approach was considered to be the most appropriate research methodology to employ in this study for four main reasons. First, as names were not recorded on surveys and club details were removed from analysis, the use of a questionnaire would allow the researcher to protect the respondent's identity. This was deemed to be important given the public profile and social position of some of the respondents.

Second, it was envisaged that the football clubs would more readily allow the researcher to discuss the survey with players in group rather than individual settings and thus the likelihood of the researcher not gaining access to the clubs would be decreased by utilising a questionnaire. It was also believed that the use of questionnaire would enable responses to be collected from a large number of respondents at any given time and as a result shorter period of time would be spent collecting data.

Third, survey methodologies have also been proven to be effective in a variety of studies related to the examination of the sport-social mobility nexus. The use of a survey enabled comparisons with existing studies to be made. Finally the Australian Government and the Australian Bureau of Statistics have proven self-administered surveys to be an effective method for the identification of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders [Castles, 1986].

The researcher also considered it essential for the survey to be personally administered *insitu* to athletes in preference to either mailed or manager distributed formats. The preceding approach was utilised in order to ensure conformity of survey instructions as well as facilitating a higher rate of questionnaire completion.

Selection of Goldthorpe's 1980 Schema of Social Class.

The review of literature related to social class and social mobility identified Goldthorpe's (1980) Schema of Social Class to be the most appropriate to employ when examining social mobility. In addition, the process underlying the selection of Goldthorpe's (1980) Schema of Social Class also involved

consultation with thesis supervisors and discussions with Professor John Western, co-author of *Class Analysis and Contemporary Australia* (1991).

The seven (7) social classes included in Goldthorpe's [1980] schemata are detailed in Table 6. To assist analysis, this taxonomy was collapsed into a tripartite classification [ie: *The Lower Classes* (a combination of classes VI and VII), *The Middle Classes* (a combination of Classes III, IV and V) and *The Upper Classes* (a combination of Classes I and II)].

Table 6 ^a
Goldthorpe's (1980) Taxonomy of Social Class.

THE UPPER CLASSES	
CLASS I:	Upper- service, High-grade professionals, Managers, Administrators and Large proprietors.
CLASS II:	Lower service. Lower-grade professionals, Administrators and Managers, Higher-grade Technicians, Supervisors of Non-manual Employees.
THE MIDDLE CLASSES.	
CLASS IIIa:	Higher-grade routine non-manual workers,
CLASS IIIb:	Lower-grade routine non-manual workers, personal service workers.
CLASS IVab:	Small proprietors, own account workers (self-employed), Non-agricultural.
CLASS IVc:	Farmers, small holders
CLASS V:	Lower grade technicians and supervisors of manual workers
THE LOWER CLASSES.	
CLASS VI:	Skilled manual workers.
CLASS VIIa:	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.
CLASS VIIb:	Agricultural workers
Note: ^a Adapted from Goldthorpe 1980, pp. 39-41, Goldthorpe et al., 1974 and Baxter et al. 1991, p. 42	

The preceding modification is judged to be consistent with the adaptations and methods employed by Goldthorpe [1986, p.51] and Baxter *et al.* [1991, p.44] in their respective examinations of social class and social mobility. The specific occupations included in each class are provided in Appendix 7.

To confirm the validity of the selection of *Goldthorpe's (1980) Schema of Social Class* for the examination of social mobility, Professor John Western of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of Queensland University was consulted. Professor Western was asked to provide comments and suggestions

regarding the methodology and schema employed. Included in Appendix 6 is the rationale and correspondence which details Professor Western's opinion that Goldthorpe's schema provides the most appropriate base for the examination of social mobility and that the rationale underlying its use in the present study was valid.

Development of Research Instrument.

Utilising the questionnaire methodology and adopting *Goldthorpe's (1980) Schema of Social Class* as the most appropriate perspective and theoretical standpoint to employ in examining social mobility, a research instrument was developed that effectively allocated respondents' positions within the class structure of Australian society.

Commencing with the interview format employed by *Baxter et al. (1991)* to examine social class in Australian society, modifications were made to those questions which were used to determine *class of origin, religious beliefs and educational attainment* of the respondent [*Baxter et al., 1991, pp. 354 - 370*]. These changes were undertaken to make items more suitable for the study survey format. *Baxter et al. [1991]* used the following questions to determine the respondent's *Class of Origin*:

- K1. *Who provided the most financial support in your family while you were growing up ?
(IF UNCLEAR: Who provided the most financial support in your family when you were 16 ?)*
- K2. *What was (PERSON IN K1)'s main occupation while you were growing up? That is what kind of occupation does (he/she) generally do ?*
- K3 *What kind of industry was that in ? That is what did they make or do?*
- K4. *When you were growing up with you family as (PERSON IN K1) always self-employed, or did (he/she) always work for someone else, or some of each ?*
- K4a. *If (PERSON IN K1) was self-employed did (he/she) usually have paid employees working for (him/her) or did (he/she) usually work for (himself/herself) ?*
- K4b. *Did your (PERSON IN K1) usually occupy a management or supervisory position while you were growing up ?*
- K4c. *Most of the time was (he/she) self-employed or did (he/she) usually work for someone else?*

[pp. 362-363]

An additional set of suitably worded questions were also included in the interview format that related to the respondent's employment history. Responses to these questions were used to ascertain the respondent's social class [Baxter *et al.*, 1991, pp. 354 - 370].

Further specific questions were developed that related to football participation, life related goals, perceptions of success and factors attracting participation in the AFL [Appendix 8, Questions 2-5 and 27-30]. An item related to Aboriginality was adapted from an item included in the 1986 *Census of Population and Housing*.

Further modifications to the questionnaire used in this study were made as a result of a consultative process that included advice and guidance from these supervisors, Dr. John Western (co-author of *Class Analysis and Contemporary Australia*, 1991) and thirty second year Bachelor of Applied Science students (Physical Education) at Victoria University of Technology.

Primary Pilot Study.

The survey instrument was pilot tested on 30 second-year Physical Education students. Students were advised that it was the researcher's intention to administer the questionnaire to the *General Public* and *AFL Footballers* and that any feedback on the suitability or otherwise of the proposed survey questions and general format would be welcomed. Students were specifically asked to identify those questions which they did not understand or considered to be ambiguous.

As a result of this process several questions relating to demographics and football experience of the respondent were modified. Questions related to racism were removed as they were deemed on hindsight to be superfluous to the overall purpose of the study. A number of questions of the direct response type were changed to include open-ended responses to enable a wider range of responses to be examined. The order of several items were also changed as a result of this exploratory study. The preceding review and subsequent changes in the questionnaire provided the opportunity to conduct a secondary pilot study utilising respondents more closely aligned with the proposed study sample.

Secondary Pilot Study.

Following the primary pilot study, four (4) elite (*Victorian Football Association*) non-AFL footballers enrolled in Physical Education at Victoria University of Technology were asked to complete the survey. These respondents were advised that the survey would be administered to the *General Public* and *AFL Footballers* and were asked to complete the survey, identify any ambiguous questions and offer suggestions as to additional items that might be included in the survey instrument. In addition the time taken by respondents to complete the survey was recorded. No known *AFL Footballers* were utilised in this secondary pilot testing as they were to be the primary focus of the major study.

Findings of this secondary pilot test of the questionnaire indicated that the survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Feedback from subjects indicated that the questionnaire did not contain any items which respondents did not understand or believed were ambiguous. Subjects experienced no difficulties with the nature, content and coding format of the questionnaire. Results of the two pilot studies are not presented.

Survey Approval.

In accordance with established research procedures, the survey instrument along with documentation was submitted to the University Ethics Committee for review and subsequent approval (*Appendix 8*). The final developmental stage of the study involved discussion with senior AFL officials regarding the proposed structure and nature of the survey. The rationale and objectives of the study were outlined in all of the preceding discussions. No alterations to the survey instrument were required as a result of these discussions. The researcher sought permission from each club to survey players in accordance with an agreed time and format.

Main Study.

Subjects.

Four groups of subjects were surveyed and compared in this study. Those respondents who identified themselves as Aboriginal footballers from the AFL clubs surveyed were included in the first research grouping: *Aboriginal Footballers*. This group consisted of 24 respondents who had played football with AFL clubs during the 1992 season. The second group consisted of 458 *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* who had

played with AFL clubs during the 1992 season. The third group consisted of 22 *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* drawn from the Melbourne Metropolitan Region. Data for the final group, *General Public* was taken from an analysis of social mobility in Australia by Baxter *et al.* [1991].

Subject recruitment of Footballer Groupings.

Given the operational definition of Aboriginality, the need to ensure that a representative sample of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal AFL footballers was obtained, the following method of subject recruitment was employed. Formal contact was made with the Commissioners of the AFL seeking an appointment to discuss the details of the research program and gain permission and assistance to undertake the study. As a result, formal approval to proceed with the study was granted. With support of the Commissioners of the AFL, letters of introduction were forwarded by mail to each of the 15 AFL clubs (*Appendix 9*).

The preceding letter of introduction had attachments including a copy of the questionnaire and a letter from the researcher (*Appendix 10*). Clubs were contacted and suitable times were arranged whereby the researcher could meet with and discuss the aims and objectives of the study with senior officials of the respective AFL clubs. In the case of the four interstate clubs these meetings were conducted by telephone. The need for the researcher to address respondents and to be directly responsible for the administration and collection of all surveys was continually emphasised during all discussions. As a result of these meetings, times were arranged for the surveys to be administered by the researcher at 12 of the 15 AFL clubs. The remaining three (3) clubs did not wish to be involved in the study. These clubs were recontacted and continually declined offers to be involved in the study. It is believed that the refusal of these clubs to be involved in the study limited the size of the Aboriginal Footballer research grouping.

Given that during the 1992 AFL season the Sydney and Brisbane Football Clubs had playing lists of 60 and the remaining 13 AFL clubs had senior playing lists of 52, the completion of 469 surveys represented a sample that constitutes 59 percent of the total population of AFL footballers. When the non-participating clubs are removed, the obtained sample represents in excess of 74% of registered league footballers from the 12 participating AFL clubs (*Table 7*).

Procedure.

A number of consistencies were employed in relation to the method of data collection for the football playing respondents (*Table 7*). These included the fact that surveys were conducted before or after training. In each circumstance the researcher was introduced by a club official (*Coach or Team Manager*) and respondents were addressed using a standard set of instructions (*Appendix 11*). Any queries that respondents had in relation to survey questions on the survey were dealt with individually. Upon completion of the survey, respondents were thanked for their assistance. Subsequent to the completion of each club visitation, a letter of appreciation for their assistance provided was mailed within seven days (*Appendix 12*). In due course, results were collated for each club including a synopsis of findings (*Appendix 13*). In addition, the AFL will receive a copy of the completed thesis.

Table 7
Rates of Survey Completion by Football Playing Respondents

Club	Number of respondents	% of Players	Date of Survey	Survey Format	No of Visits	Researcher introduced by
Adelaide	24	46.15	Jul-92	Large Group, Before and After Training	2	Football Manager
Brisbane	44	73.33	Jun-92	Individually and Small Groups, Before and After Training	3	Football Manager
Carlton	31	59.62	Oct-92	Individually, After Training	1	Coach
Essendon	39	75	Apr-92	Large Group, Before Training	1	Football Manager
Fitzroy	39	75	May-92	Large Group, Before Training	1	Football Manager
Footscray	46	88.46	May-92	Individually and in Small Groups, Before and After Training	3	Football Manager
Geelong	45	86.54	May-92	Large Group, After Training	1	Coach
Hawthorn	32	61.54	May-92	Large Group, Before Training	1	Coach
Melbourne	42	80.77	Oct-92	Individually, Before 2 different trainings	2	Coach
Nth Melbourne	33	63.46	Jul-92	Individually Before Training	1	Football Manager
Richmond	48	92.31	Apr-92	Large Group, After Training	1	Coach
St. Kilda	48	92.31	May-92	Large Group, Before Training	1	Coach
Total	471	74.21%			18	

Subject Recruitment and Survey Completion Rates by Aboriginal Non-Footballer Grouping

Once the footballer groupings had been surveyed, a variety of Aboriginal community groups were contacted with the aim of identifying and surveying as many male *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* between the age of 16 and 37 as possible. The selection of this age range was made on the basis of the age distribution of

AFL footballers. Aboriginal Community groups contacted included the *Department of Education*, the *Department of Youth Sport and Recreation*, the *Aboriginal Advancement League* and the *Aboriginal Youth Sport and Recreation Co-operative*. Initially the researcher was met with a great deal of scepticism and except for one case, was not permitted to undertake or conduct surveys.

In the case of the *Aboriginal Youth Sport and Recreation Co-operative* the researcher contacted and discussed the program with the Manager of the Co-operative and a meeting a time was arranged at which respondents could be surveyed. To maintain methodological consistency, respondents were given the same instructions as the footballing respondents. In the case of seven *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*, assistance was given due to their low literacy levels. In the present instance, the researcher was mindful of the need for sensibility, care and patience in helping the preceding respondents to understand the full requirements for the satisfactory completion of the survey.

Survey Structure

The information required for this study was collected by way of two slightly different self-administered questionnaires. Both survey instruments were developed from an existing interview format employed by Baxter *et al.* [1991] in their analysis of the class structure and patterns of social mobility within Australian society. Given that both *Footballer* and *Non-Footballer* groups would be surveyed, the primary difference between these two surveys arose out of questions related to football experience being replaced with an item related to sports participation. In addition, several questions were reworded so that they were more relevant to the experiences of each survey group.

The first survey, administered to the footballer groupings consisted of 32 questions (*Appendix 14*). The second questionnaire, administered to the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping included 26 items (*Appendix 15*). The *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* survey were not pilot tested given the similarities with the questionnaire administered to the footballer groupings.

On the basis of the pilot studies and the review of literature, four groups of questions were included on the final survey format. Common to both surveys were groups of items related to the

1. Demographic characteristics of the respondent,
2. Social class and *class of origin* of the respondent, and
3. General items related to the respondent's perceptions of success, Life Goals and social mobility.

Demographic Items

The first group of questions related to the demographic characteristics of respondents. This section consisted of eight items which were aimed at measuring social mobility and its relationship to age, religion, ethnicity, race, education and the population size of each respondent's place of residence at age 16 and at the time of the survey.

The item related to age was included to examine the relationship between age and the level of intergenerational social mobility experienced by respondents. To the researcher's knowledge no such analysis had been undertaken in relation to sports participants.

As reported by Carrington [1986], Semyonov *et al.* [1981], and Semyonov [1986] youths who find themselves handicapped by ethnicity and a poor education are more likely to pursue a career in professional sport. As a result of these findings, items related to the country of birth of the respondent and that of his parents were included in the questionnaire to allow for the examination of the relationship between ethnicity and the social mobility of respondents.

In addition, two questions relating to educational attainment were included in the survey to examine whether differences in the level of education exist between the various research groupings and whether footballers have greater educational attainment than their non-footballing peers and the chief breadwinner in each respondent's family as reported by Bend, [1968] Birrell, [1976]; Buhrmann, [1972]; Hanks & Eckland [1976]; Hauser *et al.* [1978]; Magill *et al.* [1979]; Otto *et al.* [1977]; Pavia [1973]; Pavia *et al.* [1974]; Schafer *et al.* [1968]; Spady [1970] and Vuolle [1978]. The inclusion of these two questions also allowed for the examination of the relationship between education and the social mobility of each for the research groupings.

Two questions relating to population size of each respondent's place of residence at present and at age 16 were taken and modified from Lowe *et al.* [1975] so that comparisons could be made with their finding that over 90 percent of elite athletes in Australia are drawn from areas with populations greater than 25,000 people.

A question related to Aboriginality was included so that respondents could indicate whether they perceived themselves to be Aboriginal or a Torres Strait Islander. The inclusion of this question also enabled respondents to be divided into Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal groupings. This question, taken and adapted from the 1986 *Census of Population and Housing* is in accordance with the definition of *Aborigine* and *Aboriginal* currently employed by the Australian Government and the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

An additional two questions relating to each respondent's religious affiliations were included so that the validity of the finding by Sohi *et al.* (1987) that religion has an influence on the level of social mobility of elite athletes could be tested. An open ended response offered respondents a high degree of flexibility within this segment of the survey.

Social Class Items

The second group of questions included in the survey related to the *social class* and *class of origin* of the respondent. A total of nine questions were included to ascertain the respondent's social class, pre-football social class, perceived future social class and the social class of the respondent's financial supporter at age 16.

Respondents were also asked to indicate the person who provided the most financial support in their family while they were growing up (or at age 16), the occupation that person held at that time, the employment status (self-employed or paid employee) and the managerial/supervisory status of the respondent's financial supporter. These items, taken from Baxter *et al.* [1991] were used to allocate the respondent's financial supporter to a categorical position within the class structure of Australian society.

These responses also established the respondent's *class of origin* which was subsequently used to ascertain levels of intra-generational social mobility.

Similarly the determination of each respondent's position within the occupational structure and his *social class* was made according to responses to four questions. These items were created by slightly modifying those used to determine *class of origin*. Respondents were asked to indicate their occupation prior to playing football, whether they were currently employed, and if so, their current occupation. Further research questions relating to employment status (self-employed or paid employee) and the managerial/supervisory duties involved with their occupation were also included. These questions were included in order to indicate the objective position of the individual within the class structure of Australian society. Respondents who indicated that they were unemployed were allocated to Class V if a tertiary student or to the class of their parent, if they were unemployed, to enable analysis to occur.

A further item asking the respondent to 'predict' the occupation that they would hold at the cessation of their football careers or in the case of non-footballing respondents their occupation in 5 years time was also included. The inclusion of this item allowed for a subjective measure of future social class and intra-generational mobility. The period of 5 years was used as this was average duration of a league footballing career determined by the Researcher through analysis of the length of playing careers. The preceding approach provided an important opportunity to compare the footballing and non-footballing respondents.

General Items

Included in the survey were a further five questions relating to the respondent's goals, the perceived means for improving his current position in society and perceptions of what it means for him to be successful in life. These questions were of the open-ended response mode, the first three of which were coded and compared by research grouping.

The item relating to the respondent's perceived means for improving their position within Australian society was designed so that differences in the perceptions of routes for social mobility between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal and footballing and non-footballing respondents could be compared. This question was

included in both the footballer and non-footballer surveys with the underlining and capitalisation of the word 'YOU' in order to emphasise the individual focus of the question.

To determine the individual importance of social mobility, the life-time goals of each respondent was also examined in this study. A single question was included in the survey so that responses could be compared with responses to other items. Responses to this question for each of the research groupings were compared for similarities and differences.

Respondent views on post-football social mobility and the relationship of elite participation in football to success in life were also examined. Altered versions of these questions were also included in the non-footballer survey so that the views of non-footballing respondents regarding the potential for social mobility through elite football participation could be ascertained.

The final item included on both surveys asked all respondents to make any general or specific comments relating to the issues raised in this survey. This item was included to provide respondents the opportunity to raise any issues or make comments on issues not addressed in the questionnaire.

Items related to football participation.

The questionnaire also included an additional six items relating to football experience and the reasons underlying the individual's decision to play league football. These items specifically related to the competition from which the respondent was recruited, the respondent's year of debut, the number of senior games played, the number of AFL clubs the respondent had been involved as a player and the factors associated with playing AFL football. These items were included to examine the possible relationship between the social mobility achieved by the respondent, the level of participation, and whether or not the respondent had played football with the aim of improving his position in society.

Data Coding.

The coding of responses to the surveys involved allocating a numerical value to each response. Prior to commencement of the study, codes for the responses to several variables were developed to enable easy coding and correct allocation of survey responses. Codes were allocated with consideration to theoretical

concerns related to social class. In these cases the allocated numbers helped to indicate specific details of the response, for example when coding occupation, the numbers between 100 and 199 indicated an occupation classified as belonging to Class I. The codes for occupations appear in Appendix 7.

The coding of open-ended questions was achieved by allocating numbers to responses in order of their occurrence. In cases where the respondent did not respond a zero was given and subsequently classified as missing. Data was presented in ASCII code and analysis was performed using the SPSSx statistics program for personal computers and SPSS for Windows packages.

Methods of Analysis.

It is to be noted that as a result of the use of open-ended questions and the wide range of responses given to other questions, it was necessary for several variables to be re-coded to make their analysis more manageable. The reclassification of a number of the variables was undertaken so that the social mobility of respondents could be thoroughly examined.

Data Reduction of Items with Directed Responses.

Given the vast amount of information (*Appendix 16*) gathered by this research endeavour, it was necessary to recode responses to limit the variation of a number of variables so that meaningful analysis could take place. Variables that were re-coded included class of origin, current social class and perceived post-football or future social class. The initial allocation of the respondent's social class was according to his occupation, each occupation belonging to a particular social class within the seven class schema of Goldthorpe [1980]. The seven class schemata was condensed into the tripartite classification: lower, middle and upper class in accordance with the methods and practices of Goldthorpe detailed in Table 6 (*p. 44*). Responses to various questions were then cross-tabulated and collapsed to allow for more efficient analysis.

The age of football playing respondents was re-coded into three birth cohorts. This data reduction enabled the relationship between age and social mobility to be examined and was achieved by dividing the age distribution of the *Non-Aboriginal Football* playing respondents into thirds. In this way the oldest 33 per cent of respondents constituted the first grouping, the second 33 per cent constituted the second grouping and

the final grouping included the youngest thirty-three per cent of football playing respondents. *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* were then allocated into the same birth cohorts to enable comparisons between football and non-football playing respondents to be made.

Each respondent's ethnicity was also classified and coded to enable meaningful analysis and comparison with census data related to ethnicity. This classification was made on the basis of the main language spoken in the country of birth. As a result the three new categories for the variable ethnicity were: *Born in Australia*, *Born in an English Speaking Country* and *Born in Another Country*.

Responses to the question '*Are you an Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander?*' were re-coded into the dichotomous classification; *Aborigine* or *Non Aborigine*. As previously stated, due to the limited number of Aborigines and/or Torres Strait Islanders currently playing in the AFL it was necessary to combine these two disparate social and cultural groupings under the same classification to achieve a large enough sample to enable meaningful comparisons.

Responses to the question related to religious affiliation were re-classified into three groups. The first consisted of respondents without a religious affiliation. The second consisted of those respondents who indicated they belong to the Roman Catholic Church and the final group consisted of respondents who indicated that they belong to a Church other than Roman Catholic. This variable was then cross-tabulated with other variables so that the relationship between religious affiliation and social mobility and responses to a variety of related questions could be examined.

The country of birth of the respondent, the country of birth of the respondent's father, and the country of birth of the respondent's mother were re-classified into the dichotomous categories; *Australian Born* or *Foreign Born*. The relationship between these three variables and social mobility and responses to various questions were then examined.

Data Reduction for items with Open-Ended Responses.

Given the large number of responses to questions which offered open-ended modes of response (*Appendices 17, 18, 19, 20 & 21*), it was necessary to reduce data so that analysis could take place. The re-coding of the responses to the open-ended items related to the respondent's Life Goals, and his perceptions of

success was undertaken using *grounded theory construction* [Tesch, 1990]. This reduction was necessary given the wide range of responses. This phenomenological research technique requires the data to be collected and subsequently the researcher allows the phenomenon to speak for itself. As a result the researcher develops theories as a result of the patterns of data that emerge [Tesch, 1990]. In each case, responses were divided on the basis of their similarity and then given a generic title that encompassed the meaning and ideas portrayed within the responses.

As a result of adopting this method of data reduction, responses to the item related to the respondent's main *Life Goals* were classified as follows:

- 1. *Social Mobility:* Responses that related to the direct achievement of social mobility.
- 2. *Other Goals:* Responses that did not relate to the achievement of social mobility.

These categories were then cross-tabulated with other demographic variables so that an understanding of differences in social class, birth cohort, level of football experience and social mobility could be examined.

Variables 37, 38 and 39 relating to the respondent's perception of success were also coded to enable meaningful analysis. The responses were collapsed into the following three categories:

- 1. *Criteria related to social mobility:* Criteria for success that related to the achievement of upward social mobility via traditional routes.
- 2. *Additional Criteria:* Criteria for success that were not related to the achievement of upward social mobility.

These categories were then cross-tabulated with other demographic items in order to examine any differences between the importance of these factors to members of various social classes and birth cohorts.

Variables 31, 32 and 33, relating to the factors that attracted AFL football participation were also coded to enable the meaningful analysis of data. The four categories used for further analysis included:

- 1. *Factors associated with Social Mobility:* Factors associated with the traditional routes for social mobility.
- 2. *Situational/Personal variables:* Variables associated with the sport or personal attributes that enabled the respondent to participate at this level. These factors were also not related to traditional routes for social mobility.

These variables were subsequently cross-tabulated with the various demographic items related to age, social class, level of social mobility, number of senior games played and number of clubs represented. The combination of categories 3 and 4 above occurred during secondary analysis as they both related to traditional forms of social mobility of the respondent.

In contrast to previous methods, the open ended responses to variables 25, 26 and 27, relating to the respondent's perceived means of social mobility, were divided into the following three categories according to the different modes of social mobility identified by Reiss (1980).

- 1. *Traditional Routes for Social Mobility:* Such as education, marriage and hard work.
- 2. *Alternate Routes for Social Mobility:* Such as sport, crime, politics and entertainment.

Once again these response categories were compared between members of differing social classes and research groupings.

Additional Classification of Data.

To enable further analysis of data, additional classification of responses was undertaken. The division of football playing respondents into three groups according to the number of games the respondent had played and the respondent's year of debut was undertaken. This division of respondents was achieved by dividing the frequency distribution into thirds as described earlier. To enable meaningful analysis the football-playing respondents were also divided according to the geographical location of the football competition from which the respondent was recruited. As a result three groups emerged:

- 1. *Metropolitan Melbourne* Football competitions in the metropolitan area of Melbourne.
- 2. *Country Victoria* Football competitions in rural areas of Victoria.
- 3. *Outside Victoria* Football competitions outside Victoria.

Finally, the social class rating of football playing respondents prior to beginning their football playing career was also classified. By cross-tabulating this variable with present social class, a measure of intra-generational social mobility was obtained. All other responses were left in their original form.

Data Creation.

Several variables were created following the preliminary statistical analysis of data. By subtracting the numerical value given to each respondent's social class in the collapsed tripartite classification from that of his financial supporter (*class of origin*) a new variable was created, namely *Social Mobility*. This variable has values ranging from minus 2 indicating a high level of downward social mobility through to positive 2 indicating a high level of upward social mobility. A value of zero indicated social stability. This variable was simplified to the tripartite classification *Upward*, *Static* and *Downward* by allocating all positive values to the upward grouping, all values of zero to the static grouping and all negative values to the downward grouping.

By subtracting the numerical value given to each respondent's pre-football occupation from that of his financial supporter a measure of inter-generational mobility was obtained. This new variable was entitled *Pre-Football Social Mobility*. Again values were simplified to the tripartite classification *Upward*, *Static* and *Downward*.

Two measures for each respondent's Intra-generational social mobility were also obtained. The first entitled *Football Social Mobility* was created by subtracting the numerical value assigned to his pre-football social class from the value assigned to his present social class. A measure of the respondent's *Post-Football Mobility* or future intra-generational social mobility was also obtained. This measure was obtained by subtracting the numerical value of the respondents present occupation from that of the occupation he expected to hold at the end of his football career or in five years time. Again values were simplified to the tripartite classification: *Upward*, *Static* and *Downward*.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.

*If we do not find anything pleasant, at least we shall find something new
[Voltaire, 1759, Ch.17].*

Introduction

This study aimed to address two research questions and test the research hypothesis that a *significantly greater proportion of Aboriginal Footballers achieve upward inter-generational social mobility when compared to Non-Aboriginal Footballers, Aboriginal Non-Footballers and the General Public.*

The wide range of information elicited from the research surveys was analysed from several perspectives in order to examine the above hypothesis and the two related research questions. This chapter is divided into 5 sections, each of which presents one aspect of the findings of this study. **Section 1** details the descriptive and demographic characteristics of the sample including preliminary comparisons of the respective research groupings.

Section 2 consists of an examination of those items which related specifically to football playing respondents. The two football playing groups are compared in relation to the competition from which they were recruited, their year of debut, the number of clubs with which they had played and the number of senior games played.

Section 3 addresses the first research question of this study, *Is there a period in Australian history that demonstrates an over-representation of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australian Rules Football at the Australian Football League level relative to the proportion of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Australian population?* Statistical analysis is employed to examine the level of Aboriginal participation in the AFL and other football codes. The percentage of Aborigines playing AFL football is compared with census data related to the male Aboriginal population of Australia at the times of *Population and Housing Censuses* from 1911 to 1991. In addition, the proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* in the AFL is examined for the years 1980-1993, the proportion of games played by *Aboriginal Footballers* is compared with *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and the career details of players identified as being Aboriginal are presented.

Section 4 examines the class of origin, current social class and the patterns of social mobility achieved by each of the four research groupings are examined and compared. Cross-tabulations provided the opportunity to test the research hypothesis and to examine the second research question, *“Is there evidence to show that a greater proportion of Aboriginal Footballers achieve upward social mobility when compared to Non-Aboriginal Footballers, Aboriginal Non-Footballers and to the General Public?”*

Section 5 discusses a range of findings which emerged from the analysis of data collected in this study. Findings related to the intra-generational mobility of the research groups are presented in this including the statistical comparison of "Age", "Number of Senior Games" and their effect on other variables. In addition, findings related to the proportion of Aboriginals within the NSWRL/ARL. Each of the preceding sections concludes with a summary of the relevant findings and their implications.

Section 1: Demographic and Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample.

The number of surveys completed at each of the AFL clubs, the date and location of survey completion and the proportion of total players at the club surveyed is shown in Table 7 (p. 49). It is to be noted that for the 1992 AFL season both the Sydney and Brisbane football clubs had playing lists of 60 while the remaining 13 AFL clubs all had senior playing lists of 52. The completion of 471 footballer surveys represents a sample that constitutes 59 percent of the total population of registered AFL footballers for the 1992 AFL season. With the non-participating clubs removed, the final sample represents nearly three quarters of registered league footballers from the 12 clubs surveyed.

The 493 subjects involved in this study were divided, according to two dichotomous criteria, namely whether they played football and whether they were Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, into three cells of a 2x2 contingency matrix. The first research group (*Aboriginal Footballers*) consisted of 24 respondents who indicated that they were either an Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander and had played football in the AFL during the 1992 season. The second research grouping (*Non-Aboriginal Footballers*) consisted of 447 survey respondents who indicated that they were not Aboriginal and played football in the AFL during the 1992 season. The third research grouping (*Aboriginal Non-Footballers*) consisted of 22 male Aborigines drawn from the Melbourne metropolitan region who did not play football in the AFL during the 1992 season.

Demographic information related to the general male population was taken from the *1991 Census of Population and Housing*. Results related to the social class, class of origin and rates and patterns of social mobility achieved by the males were taken from the work of Baxter *et al.* (1991). As the variable of race was not considered in Baxter *et al.*, it is assumed that this factor would only have only a minimal effect upon results.

Age

Analysis of the age distribution of respondents revealed that the chronological age ranged between 16 and 34 for the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* (*Mode* = 19, \bar{x} = 22.8, *sd* = 3.7), 17 and 29 for the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (*Mode* = 17, \bar{x} = 21.6, *sd* = 3.7), and 18 and 37 for the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping (*Mode* = 21 & 32, \bar{x} = 25.4, *sd* = 5.5). The statistical comparison (*t-test of independent means*) of the mean ages of each of the research groupings revealed that no significant difference existed between the *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* groupings ($t = 0.27, p > 0.05$). In contrast, the mean age of the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping was found to be significantly greater than that of the *Aboriginal Footballer* ($t = 2.15, p < 0.05$) and *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* ($t = 3.43, p < 0.05$) groupings.

Given that social mobility is a longitudinal process that occurs throughout the life-cycle of an individual [Baxter *et al.*, 1991] the narrow age distribution of respondents in this study and the limited time that these respondents may have been in the workforce, it is probable that the vast majority of subjects were yet to have reached either the peak of their social class or social mobility. Previous examinations of the social class and social mobility of Australian sportspeople have neither examined the effect nor reported the age of respondents [Pavia, 1973; Pavia & Jacques, 1978; Tait, 1982].

Ethnicity.

Respondents from the three research groups appear homogenous in relation to their ethnicity and that of their parents. A cursory examination of Table 8 reveals that members of each of the groups and their parents were almost exclusively born in Australia.

Table 8 ^a
Ethnicity by Research Grouping

	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>			<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>			<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>		
COUNTRY	Country of Birth	Father's Country of Birth	Mother's Country of Birth	Country of Birth	Father's Country of Birth	Mother's Country of Birth	Country of Birth	Father's Country of Birth	Mother's Country of Birth
Australia	23	22	24	436	395	391	22	21	21
Italy	1	0	0	0	11	10	0	0	0
Holland	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
England	0	1	0	4	9	17	0	1	0
Malta	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Ireland	0	0	0	2	4	4	0	0	0
Germany	0	0	0	0	7	3	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Croatia	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Scotland	0	0	0	1	6	2	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	0
Greece	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Latvia	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Papua New Guinea	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
France	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Column Total	24	24	24	447	447	447	22	22	22

Note: ^a Cells feature column frequencies

It is to be noted that the comparison of Table 8 with census data [Castles, 1993a] reveals several differences between the place of birth of this sample and that of the Australian population. These differences include the fact that despite 4.1% of the Australian population being born in Asian countries [Castles, 1991], the analysis of survey responses revealed that none of the respondents or their parents were Asian born. This finding could in part be due to the recency of patterns of Asian immigration.

The recoding of the above information into the tripartite classification, *Born in Australia*, *Born in an English Speaking Country* and *Born in Another Country*, and chi-square analysis between research groupings revealed that a significantly greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping were born in Australia when compared to the *General Public* ($\chi^2 = 108.75, d.f. = 2, p < 0.05$)¹. Comparisons of the ethnicity of the two Aboriginal groupings were not undertaken because the analysis of survey responses revealed that the vast majority of the two Aboriginal research groupings were Australian born (*Table 8*).

The dominance of this Australian Rules Football at an AFL level by Australian born and other Anglo-Celtic cultures may suggest that the same Eurocentric racism that manifested itself in cricket, athletics and boxing throughout this century may again present itself in this sporting form. If this is in fact the case, the possibility of social mobility for Aboriginal participants may be a remote possibility.

Race

Analysis of responses to the item included in the survey that related to the race of respondents revealed that nearly 90% of respondents were of non-Aboriginal origins. The remaining 10.1% of respondents were of either Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent. Chi-square analysis of the research sample with census results related to the race of the Australian male population, indicated that a significantly greater proportion of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are found within this study's sample ($\chi^2 = 225.04, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$).

Similarly, the combination of the two football playing research groupings and the chi-square comparison of the racial origins of the footballer groupings with the general population (*Table 9*) revealed that a significantly greater proportion of AFL footballers are of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent ($\chi^2 = 35.52, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$).

¹ When performing chi-square analysis, the degrees of freedom of a contingency table is calculated by multiplying the sum of the number of rows minus one (r-1) by the number of columns minus one (c-1). Throughout this thesis the indication that given chi-square findings have one degree of freedom will show that analysis was performed on a 2x2 contingency table, two degrees of freedom will show that analysis was performed on either a 3x2 contingency table or a 2x3 contingency table. **Care should be taken when interpreting all chi-square results. Given the small sample size of the Aboriginal Footballer and Aboriginal Non-Footballer Groupings, it was necessary, in some cases to analyse some tables with cell frequencies less than 5.**

Table 9 ^{a b}
The Race of AFL Footballers in Comparison to the General Male Population

RACE	Footballer Groupings	General Male Population
Non-Aboriginals	447 (94.9%)	7,972,125 (98.38%)
Aborigines	24 (5.1%)	131,604 (1.63%)
Column Total	471	8,103,729

Note: a Cells feature column counts and percentages.
 b Figures taken from the 1991 Census of Population and Housing.

Despite a greater proportion of Aborigines being found in the AFL than in the general public, it is evident that their over-representation is not as great as is found in other major Australian Football codes (*Table 2, p. 28*). This finding may be due to the distribution of the Aboriginal population within Australia, or the result of Aborigines experiencing differential access to positions within the AFL when compared to the NTFL, WAFL and NSWRL/ARL.

Furthermore, these findings also indicate that the over-representation of Aborigines in the Australian professional sports is not as great as that observed in major professional sports in the United States. This disparity may in be due to differences in the overall population of Aborigines in the Australian population (1.6%) [*Castles, 1993b*] when compared to American Blacks (11%) [*Carlston, 1983*].

Religion

An examination of the first item included on the survey format related to the religious beliefs of respondents revealed that a significantly greater proportion of the *General Male Population* hold religious beliefs when compared to *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 382.1567, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$), *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 18.4737, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 25.35, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$).

Table 10 ^{a b}
Religious Beliefs by Research Group

Religious Beliefs	Aboriginal Footballers	Non-Aboriginal Footballers	Aboriginal Non-Footballers	General Male Population
Yes	11 (45.83)	222 (49.66)	11 (50%)	6,241,749 (83.76)
No	13 (54.17)	225 (50.34)	11 (50%)	1,209,830 (16.24)
Column Total	24	447	22	7,451,579

Note: a Cell figures include frequencies and row percentages
 b Information for the *General Male Population* was taken from the 1991 Census of Housing and Population. The categories *Inadequately Described* and *Not Stated* were removed from the analysis.

These findings could be in part attributed to the fact that the data related to the general population was not differentiated by age. As a result a greater range of ages would be found in the general population sample and religious beliefs may be more prevalent in older rather than younger individuals. Sohi (1981) reported that an individual’s religion can be seen as influential in determining the sport in which they participate. Given the high proportion of Roman Catholics playing AFL football, when compared to the *General Public*, further research related to the examination of the relationship between religious beliefs and participation in sport in Australia is required.

Source of Financial Support

The chi-square analysis of the source of financial support when growing up by research group (Table 12) revealed that a significantly greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping received financial support from their father or mother while they were growing up when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 12.70, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 60.70, d.f. = 1, p < 0.05$). The *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings did not differ significantly in relation to source of financial support ($\chi^2 = 1.84, d.f. = 2, p > 0.05$). No data was available to enable comparisons with the general population.

Table 12 a b
Financial Supporter by Research Grouping

FINANCIAL SUPPORTER	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	Row Total
Father and or Mother	16 (66.67%)	398 (89.04%)	16 (72.73%)	377 (80.93%)
Other	8 (33.33%)	49 (10.96%)	6 (27.27%)	53 (10.75%)
Column Total	24	447	22	493

Note: a Figures included in cells are frequencies and column percentages.
 b The responses *Stepfather*, *Brother* and *Ward of the State* were included in the category “*Other*” for the purposes of this table.

The finding that a greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* received financial support from a significant other when compared to *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* may have been the result of the policies enacted by the Australian Government which removed Aboriginal Children from their parents.

Education

Education has traditionally been considered to be an effective means for upward social mobility [Bilton, et al. 1987; Reiss, 1980]. In order to examine the possible influence of education upon social mobility the level of education of both respondents and their financial supporters was ascertained. Chi-square comparison of the level of education of respondent’s financial supporters by research grouping (Table 13) revealed that a significant difference between the education level of the financial supporters of the three research groupings existed ($\chi^2 = 9.05, df = 2, p < 0.05$). Specifically, a significantly greater proportion of the financial supporters of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* had completed their secondary education or higher when compared to the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($\chi^2 = 8.32, df = 1, p < 0.05$). No significant difference was found to exist between the education level of the financial supporters of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 1.01, df = 1, p > 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 2.18, df = 1, p > 0.05$).

Table 13 ^{a b}
Education Level of Financial Supporter by Research Grouping

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>
Incomplete Secondary Education	13 (56.5%)	203 (45.8%)	17 (77.3%)
Secondary Education or Greater	10 (43.5%)	240 (54.2%)	5 (22.7%)
Column Total	23	443	22

Notes a 1 response missing from the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping and 4 responses missing from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping.
 b Figures included in cells include frequencies and column percentages.

When the education levels of the three research groupings are compared several differences are also evident ($\chi^2 = 34.18, df = 2, p < 0.05$). Chi-square analysis reveals that a significantly greater proportion of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* have completed secondary education when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballer* ($\chi^2 = 6.78, df = 1, p < 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($\chi^2 = 30.56, df = 1, p < 0.05$). In addition a significantly greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* had completed secondary education when compared to the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping ($\chi^2 = 4.76, df = 1, p < 0.05$).

Table 14 ^a
Respondents Education Level by Research Grouping

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>
Incomplete Secondary	11 (45.8%)	107 (24%)	17 (77.3%)
Secondary or Greater	13 (54.2%)	339 (76%)	5 (22.7%)
Column Total	24 (100%)	446 (100%)	22 (100%)

Notes ^a 1 response missing from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping

The statistical comparison of the respondent's level of education with that of their financial supporter revealed that a significantly greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* had completed their secondary education when compared to their financial supporter ($\chi^2 = 26.18$, $d.f. = 1$, $p < 0.05$). No significant difference between the education level of *Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 0.90$, $d.f. = 1$, $p < 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 1.67$, $d.f. = 1$, $p > 0.05$) and their financial supporters was found to exist.

These findings offer support to the belief that Aborigines experience differential access to education in Australia [Johnston, 1991]. If this is in fact the case, the possibility of social mobility through education may not be as realistic a route for the upward social mobility of Aborigines when compared non-Aboriginals.

Perceived means for Social Mobility

Respondents were asked to indicate the available means that they perceived existed for upward social mobility. Responses were divided into the groupings; *Traditional Routes* and *Alternate Routes*. A cursory examination of Table 15, reveals that the majority of each of the research groupings (approximately two thirds) believe traditional routes for social mobility are effective means for social mobility. The remaining third of each of the research groups believe that alternate routes, including sport, are effective means for upward social mobility.

Table 15 ^{a b}
Perceived Means for Social Mobility by Research Grouping

AVAILABLE MEANS FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>
Traditional Routes	11 (68.8%)	239 (66%)	10 (66.7%)
Alternate Routes	5 (31.3%)	123 (34%)	5 (33.3%)
Column Total	16	362	17

Notes: ^a Cells feature frequencies and column percentages in parentheses
^b 8 responses missing from the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (67% response rate), 85 responses missing from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (81% response rate) and 3 responses missing from the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping (85% response rate)

Chi-square analysis revealed that no significant differences existed between the three research groupings ($\chi^2 = 0.97, d.f. = 2, p > 0.05$). A full list of the responses included in each category are given in Appendix 17. This finding implies that approximately one third of respondents believe that alternate routes for social mobility, such as sport may be effective in achieving for improving their position in life. This finding is not surprising given the high proportion of footballers included in the sample.

Life Goals

Responses to the item related to “*Life Goals*” were divided into the groupings “*Goals Related to Social Mobility*” and “*Other goals*”. Chi-square analysis of responses revealed that no significant differences existed between the groups in relation to their responses to this item ($\chi^2 = 2.69, d.f. = 2, p > 0.05$). An examination of Table 16 reveals that the goals of respondents were equally divided between those that directly related to the achievement of upward social mobility and goals that did not relate to the achievement of social mobility. A full list of responses to this item is provided in Appendix 18.

Table 16 ^{a b}
Life Goals by Research Grouping

LIFE GOALS	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	Row Total
Goals related to Social Mobility	10 (52.6%)	209 (48.3%)	11 (68.7%)	230
Other Goals	9 (47.4%)	224 (51.7%)	5 (31.3%)	238
Column Total	19	433	16	468

Note: a Cells feature frequencies and column percentages in parentheses.
 b 5 missing responses from the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (79% of sample) 14 missing responses from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* Grouping (97% of sample) and 4 responses missing from the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping (80% of sample)

This finding indicates that a large proportion of each research grouping have ‘Life Goals’ that relate to the achievement of upward social mobility. Thus it could be stated that for a majority of respondents, the possibility of achieving upward social mobility may be an important motivating factor in their lives.

Perceptions of Success.

The second last item included in the survey related to the respondents perceptions of what success in life means to them. Responses to this item were divided into two groups “*Criteria related to Social*

Mobility” and “Additional Criteria”. Chi-square analysis of responses to this item revealed that no significant differences between the research groups existed in relation to their perceptions of success ($\chi^2 = 0.68, df = 2, p > 0.05$). A full list of responses to this item is provided in Appendix 19.

Table 17 ^{a b}
Indicators of Success in Life by Research Grouping

CRITERIA OF SUCCESS	Aboriginal Footballers	Non-Aboriginal Footballers	Aboriginal Non-Footballers	Row Total
Criteria related to Social Mobility	5(25%)	138 (32.7%)	5 (27.8%)	148 (32.2%)
Additional Criteria	15 (75%)	284 (67.3%)	13 (72.2%)	312 (67.8%)
Column Total	20	422	18	460

Note: a Cells feature frequencies and column percentages
b 4 responses missing from the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (83% of sample), 25 missing responses from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (94% of sample) and 2 missing responses from the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping (90% of sample)

Football Participation and Occupational Opportunity.

Respondents were also asked whether they believed AFL Football would enhance the post-football occupational opportunities of participants. Analysis and comparison of the responses, which ranged from *Strongly Agree* to *Strongly Disagree*, revealed that over 70 % of respondents believed that AFL Footballers would achieve their desired post-football occupation more easily than non-participants. Allocation of a number to each mode of response (1 through 5) and comparison of mean scores (*t-test*) revealed no significant differences between the *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* groupings ($t = 0.95, p > 0.05$), *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($t = 1.64, p > 0.05$) and *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($t = 1.58, p > 0.05$).

Table 18 ^{a b}
The Perceptions of Respondent's Regarding the Ability of AFL Participation to Enhance the Post-Playing Occupation of Participants

RESPONSE	Aboriginal Footballers	Non-Aboriginal Footballers	Aboriginal Non-Footballers	Total
Strongly Agree	6 (25%)	120 (26.91%)	4 (20%)	130
Agree	9 (37.5%)	198 (44.39%)	10 (50%)	217
Don't Know	7 (29.17%)	74 (16.59%)	6 (30%)	87
Disagree	1 (4.17%)	43 (9.64%)	0 (0%)	44
Strongly Disagree	1 (4.17%)	11 (2.47%)	0 (0%)	12
Total	24	446	20	490

Note: a Cells feature frequencies and column percentages in parentheses.
b 1 response missing from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping

A small proportion (12%) of the footballers included in the study sample, however, indicated that they disagreed with the statement that AFL football participation would enhance the post-football occupational opportunities of participants. It is also evident that a majority of respondents believe that participants in the AFL will experience upward social mobility at the cessation of their playing careers due to enhanced occupational opportunities.

Football Participation and Opportunities for “Success in Life.”

A further item, with responses ranging from *Strongly Agree* to *Strongly Disagree*, related to the opportunities for success in life that are afforded to AFL footballers as a result of their participation was also included in the survey. Examination of Table 19 reveals that the vast majority of respondents (92% of sample) believe that AFL football participation can offer opportunities for its participants to be successful in life.

Table 19 ^{a,b}
AFL Football Participation and Success in Life By Research Grouping

RESPONSE	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	Row Total
Strongly Agree	11 (45.83%)	183 (41.12%)	3 (15%)	197 (40.29%)
Agree	11 (45.83%)	234 (52.58%)	10 (50%)	255 (52.15%)
Don't Know	2 (8.33%)	20 (4.49%)	7 (35%)	29 (5.93%)
Disagree	0	6 (1.35%)	0	6 (1.23%)
Strongly Disagree	0	2 (0.45%)	0	2 (0.41%)
Total	24	445	20	489

Note: a Cells feature frequencies and column percentages in parentheses
 b 2 responses missing from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping

Allocation of a number for each mode of response (1 through 5) and the statistical analysis of responses (*t-test*), revealed that no significant differences existed between the responses of the *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* groupings ($t = 0.76, p > 0.05$), *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($t = 0.4, p > 0.05$) or between the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($t = 0.06, p > 0.05$).

It is also apparent from this result that the vast majority of respondents perceive football participation to be beneficial in offering opportunities for its participant to be successful in life. Further, this result would suggest that respondents believe that upward social mobility can be accrued from elite participation in football.

Further comments made by respondents

Respondents were requested to make any further comments related to the issues raised in the survey. Despite 91% of the sample offering no response to this item, a number of interesting responses were given in relation to the influence of elite athletic participation at an AFL level and social mobility. Selected comments are presented which are representative of the emergent themes.

A number of respondents believed football was a significant means for their social mobility and success in life. One respondent noted that

Sport in Australian society is held in such high esteem that elite sportsmen and women such as AFL Footballers are given advantages over the average citizen. This can be done by the club pulling 'strings' when needed or getting by on who you are on the weekend.

Others echoed his comments by saying :

Football can and has opened up many opportunities for me both socially and vocationally. It is a great way of teaching people the ups and downs of life.

Success in your football life can bring success in your domestic life. Both in your character and with finance and opportunity.

Another respondent commented that football participation empowered him in his life:

AFL football is not a means to an ends but a part of life which one chance is given to bring out the best in yourself. There is no other situation which enables you to control a situation as football does.

Younger respondents were generally confident that football participation would provide them with a future

Football will hopefully set me up in a career

I believe any professional sportsperson has avenues opened up to them via their 'on field performance' (ie career boost).

It was clear, however, that many respondents were somewhat sceptical of likelihood of short-term or long term social advantages emanating from football participation. For a number of respondents there was a perception of limited rather than expanded occupational opportunities. One stated that:

AFL football only helps the top 3-5 players It can f..k up the future of other players because of the time they put into training. No one will employ them in a full-time job.

It was also stated that:

Football dominates the life of most players. For young players this can direct their lives in directions they may not be happy unless they have sound advice (ie occupations). Also, football provides you with opportunities, whether an individual is "successful in life" is up to the individual.

The following comment suggests that only a select number of players achieved any improvement in their quality of life as a result of playing AFL football:

I believe AFL football and the income it provides can improve the quality of the player's life if he is a star. If that person is not a big star the quality of one's life is reduced. Football is an extremely risky business.

It was the conclusion of another respondent that other sports maybe more viable routes for social mobility when considering a sporting career:

If you have kids give them a tennis racquet or golf club - forget about football.

A complete list of all responses to this item is attached as Appendix 20.

Summary of Section 1.

It is apparent from the information presented in this section that the footballer groupings are homogeneous in relation to their responses to a majority of the survey items. The footballer groupings are from the same birth cohorts and along with their parents they are predominantly Australian born, have similar religious beliefs and recognised the dominant traditional means for social mobility. Footballers have similar perceptions of success and a majority of both groupings agree with statements related to the potential for positive occupational benefits flowing from football participation. A high degree of congruence also exists in terms of indicators of success and Life Goals.

Several differences exist, however, between the research groups. A greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* were financially supported by their father and/or mother when growing up when compared to the two Aboriginal groups. In addition, the financial supporters of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* were generally better educated than *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*.

In addition, the research sample was found to differ significantly from the *General Public* in relation to race and ethnicity. A significantly greater proportion of the respondents in this study were Australian born and a significantly greater proportion of Aborigines are playing football in the AFL when compared to the proportion of Aborigines within the *General Public*. In other words there is an over-representation of Aborigines in AFL football when compared to their proportionate representation in the General Public.

Section 2: Frequency Distributions of Football Related Variables

Before conducting and analysing the information obtained from the survey employed in this thesis it was anticipated that several differences between the research groups would exist in response to those items related to *Year of Debut*, *Competition Recruited From*, *Games Played* and *Number of Clubs Played with*. This section details the responses of respondents and identifies differences that exist between the two footballer groupings in relation to those items which are associated specifically with football participation.

Year of senior debut

By ascertaining the year of senior debut, it is possible to make comments about the length of football playing career and to compare the football playing research groupings. A cursory examination of the frequency distribution of respondents year of senior debut (*Table 20*) indicated that the year of debut of *Aboriginal Footballers* was found to range between 1982 and 1992 with a mean of 1990, a mode of 1991 and an average career length of 3.08 years. The year of debut of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* ranged between 1974 and 1992 with a mean 1988, a mode of 1991 and a mean career length of 5 years.

The statistical comparison (*t-test*) of the mean of football playing career lengths revealed that *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* had significantly longer careers than members of the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping ($t = 2.37, p < 0.05$).

Comparison of the mean number of games (*t-test*) revealed that *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* had played a significantly greater number of senior games when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping ($t = 2.61, p < 0.05$).

Location of Competition From Which Respondents Were Recruited.

The relocation of the South Melbourne Football Club to Sydney and the introduction of teams in Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland has resulted in an expansion of the areas from which players are recruited to play in the AFL and in the number of playing opportunities available within the AFL. An analysis of Aboriginality and the competition from which football playing respondents were recruited revealed that a significantly greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* (63%) were recruited from areas outside Victoria when compared to the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping (26%) ($\chi^2=7.7662, d.f. = 2, p < 0.05$). This finding is not surprising given the apparently high proportions of Aborigines playing in the WAFL and SANFL and the recruiting links that AFL clubs have with these football leagues (*Table 2, p. 28*).

Table 21 ^a
Competition From Which Respondents Were Recruited.

LOCATION OF COMPETITION	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>
Metropolitan Victoria	233 (52.24%)	4 (16.67%)
Country Victoria	95 (21.3%)	5 (20.83%)
Other than Victoria	118 (26.46%)	15 (62.5%)
Column Total	446	24

Note: ^a Cells feature frequencies and column percentages in parentheses.
 ^b 1 missing response from the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping

Factors Attracting Participation in the AFL.

A variety of factors attract participants to play Australian Rules Football in the AFL. These factors which ranged from the pragmatic, "*I was drafted*" to the banal "*To make the most of my talents*", were divided into two broad categories; *Social Mobility* and *Situational and/or Personal*, to enable easier analysis.

Analysis of responses to this item revealed that a significantly greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* were attracted to participation in the AFL for reasons that can be associated with the achievement of upward social mobility ($\chi^2 = 4.06, d.f. = 3, p > 0.05$). In contrast, a greater proportion of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* are attracted to participation in the AFL by *situational and/or personal* characteristics. Attached in Appendix 21 is a complete list of responses included in each category.

Table 22 ^a
The Factors that Attracted Participation in the AFL by Research Grouping

FACTORS ATTRACTING PARTICIPATION	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	Row Total
Possibility of Social Mobility	7 (29.2%)	61 (14.1%)	66 (14.5%)
Situational and/or Personal Factors	17 (70.8%)	371 (85.9%)	390 (85.5%)
Column Total	24	432	456

Note: ^a Cells feature frequencies and column frequencies in parentheses

This finding may suggest that Aborigines are attracted to participate in the AFL as an alternate route for upward social mobility. Furthermore, it is possible that this attraction may stem from the belief that other routes for upward social mobility may be difficult to access of simply not available to them.

Summary of Section 2.

The two football playing groupings differ greatly in relation to responses to those items included in the survey which were related to football participation. *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* have significantly longer playing careers than *Aboriginal Footballers* and as a consequence have played a significantly greater number of games. In addition, a greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* are also attracted to participate in the AFL by factors that can be associated with traditional routes for social mobility such as financial security, educational opportunities and occupational advancement. While the finding that a greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* had been recruited from competitions outside Victoria, this may be a function of population dynamics and the distribution of Aborigines within Australia.

Section 3: Aboriginal Involvement in the VFL/AFL.

The first research question of this thesis related to the determination of whether there is a period of time which is characterised by the over-representation of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australian Rules Football at the AFL level relative to the proportion of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Australian population ?

To examine this research question, a comprehensive examination of literature related to Aboriginal involvement in Australian Rules Football in the VFL/AFL was undertaken [Attwood, 1989; Harris, 1989; Main & Holmesby, 1992; Piesse, 1993; Tatz, 1987; Tatz, 1995; Walker, 1992]. These examinations revealed the names of *Aboriginal Footballers*, the clubs for which they had played, the years in which they played and the number of games they had played. In addition, census data related to the dynamics of the Aboriginal population between 1911 and 1991 was collected so that comparisons could be made [Archer, 1961a; Archer, 1961b; Cameron, 1976; Cameron, 1981; Carver, 1947a; Carver, 1947b; Carver, 1954a; Carver, 1954b; Castles, 1986; Castles, 1991a; Castles, 1991b; Castles, 1993a; Castles, 1993b; Knibbs, 1911; O'Neill, 1966; O'Neill, 1971; Smith, 1980; Wickens, 1921; Wilson, 1933].

As a result, the proportion of Aboriginal males within the Australian population for selected years was ascertained and then compared with patterns of Aboriginal participation in the VFL/AFL. Furthermore, patterns of Aboriginal over-representation in the VFL/AFL were made. In addition, the examination of this data allowed for a probing of the first research question that related to the determination of whether Aboriginal participation in Australian Rules Football constitutes the third era of over-representation in post-colonial sport to be discussed.

The Number and Names of Aboriginal Footballers in the VFL/AFL (1898-1994)

The examination of the history of Aboriginal involvement in the VFL/AFL revealed that the participation rate of Aborigines in the VFL/AFL has increased dramatically in the competitions ninety-six year history. Table 23 is a listing of these records and presents the names of players, the years in which they played, the clubs for whom they played and details of the number of games played and goals kicked [Main & Holmesby, 1989].

23^{a,b}: Aboriginal Involvement in the VFL/AFL (1898-1994)

NAME		CLUB(S)	94	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	99	98
JOHNSON Joe		Fitz																							
THORPE Vic		Rich																							
SIMMONDS George		Melb																							
GOMEZ Bill		Nth Melb/Ess																							
NICHOLLS Doug		Fitz																							
JAMES Shadrack		Fitz																							
JACKSON Eddie		Melb																							
McDONALD Norm		Ess																							
WANDIN Jim		StK																							
COLLARD Cyril		Haw																							
STEWART Charlie		Foots																							
REILLY Elkin		Sth Melb																							
FARMER Graham		Geel																							
LOVETT Ted		Fitz																							
JOHNSON Bert		Nth Melb																							
PEARSON Derek		Rich																							
COOPER Ruben		Sth Melb																							
JACKSON Syd		Carl																							
CABLE Barry		Nth Melb																							
MUIR Robert		StK																							
GRAHAM Colin		Melb																							
CLARKE Eric		StK																							
PEAKE Brian		Geel																							
TAYLOR Kevin		Sth Melb/Fitz																							
WADDELL Rod		Carl/Geel																							
EGAN Phillip		Rich/Melb.																							
RIOLI Maurice		Rich																							
KRAKOUER Jim		Nth Melb /StK																							
KRAKOUER Phil		Nth Melb/Foots																							
LOVETT Wally		Coll/Rich.																							
BAMBLETT Les		Melb/Foots																							
McLEAN Micheal		Foots/Bris																							
PALM David		Rich																							
NARKLE Phillip		StK/WCE																							
McADAM Greg		StK																							
CAPRIOLI Robert		Syd																							
ANTROBUS Tony		Ess/StK																							
JEFFREY Russell		StK/Bris																							
LEWIS Chris		WCE																							
MAINWARING Chris		WCE																							
MATERA Wally		WCE/Fitz																							
MITCHELL Michael		Rich																							
WINMAR Nicky		StK																							
CATON Kevin		WCE/Fitz/Bris																							
JONES Bob		StK																							
LOVELL Anthony		Melb																							
UGLE Troy		WCE																							
CABLE Shane		WCE																							
KICKETT Derek		Nth Melb/Ess/Syd																							
KRAKOUER Andrew		Nth Melb																							
LONG Michael		Ess																							
TURLEY Craig		WCE																							
KICKETT Dale		Fitz/WCE/StK/Ess																							
MATERA Peter		WCE																							
AHMAT Mathew		Bris/Syd																							
FRANCIS Fabian		Melb./Bris																							
HOCKING Eddie		Adel																							
LAWSON Jamie		Syd																							
McADAM Gilbert		StK																							
STANISLAUS Brian		Syd																							
WANGANEEN Gavin		Ess																							
CHARLES Sean		Melb																							
DICK Willie		Ess																							
KERINAJUA Adam		Bris																							
THORPE Alan		Syd/Foots																							
WHITE Darryl		Bris																							
McADAM Adrian		Nth Melb																							
BOND Troy		Carl																							
BOND Shane		WCE																							
CAMPBELL Warren		Nth Melb																							
COCKATOO-COLLINS Che		Ess																							
JOHNSON Chris		Fitz																							
MERENDA Mark		Rich																							
MURPHY Justin		Rich																							
ROSS Lachlan		Ess																							
TONGERIE Shane		Adel																							
WILLIAMS Russell		Ess																							
Number of Aboriginal Players			28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Number of teams in the A.F.L. and V.F.L.			15	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

Notes: * The following abbreviations were used in the above table: Eagles
b Information presented in this table was obtained from: Gra

counts of population until 1966 and figures related to the Aboriginal population were taken from estimates made by health authorities [Castles, 1991a, p. 1], data related to the Aboriginal population prior to 1966 could be inaccurate to say the least.

Table 24 ^{a b c d}
The Aboriginal Population of Australia and the Number of *Aboriginal Footballers* at times of National Census

Year	Population of Australia	Male Population of Australia	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Population	Male Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Population	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders playing VFL/AFL Football
1911	4,424,626	2,365,287 (53.46%)	10,113 (0.23%)	5,283 (0.22%)	1 (0.23%)
1921	5,435,734	2,273,999 (41.83%)	11,536 (0.21%)	5,925 (0.26%)	1 (0.23%)
1933	6,629,839	3,367,111 (50.79%)	20,620 (0.31%)	10,631 (0.32%)	1 (0.23%)
1947	7,579,358	3,797,370 (50.1%)	47,741 (0.63%)	26,714 (0.71%)	2 (0.45%)
1954	8,986,530	4,546,118 (50.6%)	54,050 (0.61%)	29,716 (0.66%)	0 (0%)
1961	10,508,106	5,312,252 (50.6%)	64,618 (0.62%)	38,612 (0.73%)	2 (0.45%)
1966	11,550,462	5,816,359 (50.4%)	80,207 (0.7%)	40,984 (0.71%)	2 (0.45%)
1971	12,755,638	6,412,711 (50.3%)	115,953 (0.92%)	58,734 (0.92%)	1 (0.23)
1976	13,548,449	6,774,948 (50.0%)	160,912 (1.2%)	81,154 (1.21%)	3 (0.68%)
1981	14,576,330	7,267,076 (49.86%)	159,897 (1.1%)	79,722 (1.1%)	3 (0.66%)
1986	15,602,156	7,768,313 (49.79%)	227,645 (1.48%)	112,655 (1.47%)	14 (3.03%)
1991	16,847,310	8,361,798 (49.6%)	265,459 (1.6%)	131,448 (1.6%)	21 (3.73%)

- Notes:
- a** Cell percentage figures in columns 2 and 3 indicate proportion of total population
 - b** Cell percentage figures in column 4 indicate proportion of total population
 - c** Information for columns 2, 3, 4, and 5 was taken from census data *Archer, 1961a; Archer, 1961b; Cameron, 1976; Cameron, 1981; Carver, 1947a; Carver, 1947b; Carver, 1954a; Carver, 1954b; Castles, 1986; Castles, 1991a; Castles, 1991b; Castles, 1993a; Castles, 1993b; Knibbs, 1911; O'Neill, 1966; O'Neill, 1971; Smith, 1980; Wickens, 1921; Wilson, 1933*. Figures for Columns 2, 3 and 4 in Table 24 were taken from National Census Data.
 - d** Figures for Column 6 were obtained from the review of literature. Percentage figures were calculated by dividing the number of Aboriginal players by the total number of players to play senior football. As the researcher was unable to ascertain the number of VFL players in the years before 1978, the constant of 440 was used to enable comparison. This number was selected as it was the number of players to play in the 1979 season.

The proportion of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Footballers in the AFL/VFL (1980-1994).

An examination of Table 25 reveals a number of interesting aspects in relation to the proportion of players of Aboriginal descent in the AFL. From 1980 to 1992 we can see an expansion in not only the number and proportion of Aboriginal players in the AFL but also a significant increase in the number AFL football playing opportunities (12% increase in the total number of players). This increase may be attributed to the increase in the number of teams in the AFL and a corresponding increase in the number of games played in the season.

Table 25^{a b}
Aboriginal Players in the AFL by Year as a Percentage of Total Players (1980-1994)

YEAR	Total number of AFL/VFL players	Number of Aboriginal Players in AFL/VFL	Percentage of Aboriginal Players in AFL/VFL
1980	465	2	0.43%
1981	454	3	0.66%
1982	443	7	1.58%
1983	453	10	2.21%
1984	467	13	2.78%
1985	453	9	1.99%
1986	462	9	1.95%
1987	489	15	3.07%
1988	515	15	2.91%
1989	529	19	3.59%
1990	541	19	3.51%
1991	563	24	4.26 %
1992	553	21	3.78%
1993	533	18	3.38%
1994	529	28	5.29%

Note: a See Table 23 for information related to the number of *Aboriginal Footballers* in the VFL/AFL prior to 1980.
 b Figures featured in column 4 are percentages of total players

The Average and Proportion of Games played by Aboriginal Footballers (1980-1992).

The increase in Aboriginal participation in the AFL is also found to be shown in the increase in both the proportion and average number of games played by *Aboriginal Footballers* during this period. Table 26 illustrates the magnitude of this change and suggests in ten of the last fourteen years the average number of

league games played by Aborigines has exceeded the average number of games played by *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*.

Table 26 ^{a b c d}
The Proportion of Total Games Played by Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Footballers (1980-1994)

YEAR	Total number of games played in season	Number and proportion of Games played by Aborigines	Average number of Games played by <i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	Average number of games played by <i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>
1980	5520	12 (0.22%)	6.00	11.90
1981	5520	30 (0.54%)	10.00	12.17
1982	5520	110 (1.99%)	15.71	12.41
1983	5520	150 (2.72%)	15.00	12.12
1984	5520	159 (2.88%)	12.23	11.81
1985	5520	170 (3.08%)	18.89	12.05
1986	5520	100 (1.81%)	11.11	11.96
1987	6400	238 (3.72%)	15.87	13
1988	6400	223 (3.48%)	14.87	12.35
1989	6400	174 (2.72%)	9.16	12.21
1990	6400	250 (3.91%)	13.16	11.78
1991	6880	274 (3.98%)	11.42	12.26
1992	6880	301 (4.51%)	14.33	12.37
1993	6280	237 (3.77%)	13.17	11.73
1994	6960	401 (5.76%)	14.32	13.09

- Notes:
- a

Figures featured in column 2 were calculated by multiplying the number of teams by the number of players by the number of rounds.
- b

Figures featured in column 3 are the total number of games played by Aboriginal Footballers and the percentage of the total number of games that this number represents.
- c

Figures featured in column 4 were obtained by dividing the number of games played by the number of Aboriginal Footballers in any given year.
- d

Figures featured in column 5 were obtained by dividing the number of games played by the number of Non-Aboriginal Footballers in any given year.

Summary of Section 3.

Several problems were encountered when interpreting the data presented in this section. It has been hypothesised that it was probable that *Aboriginal Footballers* in the early 1900s did not wish to have their Aboriginality publicly recognised due to the racism that they would surely encounter as a result of their “admission”. In addition it is probable that several *Aboriginal Footballers* were inadvertently omitted from the list of *Aboriginal Footballers* to have played in the VFL/AFL (Table 23, p. 81).

These figures suggest that the rate of Aboriginal participation in the VFL/AFL has increased dramatically over the past 96 years, particularly since 1982. In addition, the number of Aborigines playing in

the AFL has increased exponentially since 1979 and the years 1982 to 1994 are characterised by the over-representation of Aborigines in the VFL/AFL relative to the proportion of Aborigines within the general population. This rise and over-representation is evidenced in an increase in the number and proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* relative to the proportion of Aboriginal males within the general population. Increases in the participation of Aborigines have also been observed in relation to the average number of games played by *Aboriginal Footballers* and also in the proportion of the total number of games played by *Aboriginal Footballers*.

Given these findings, it appears that the years 1982-1994 are characterised by the over-representation of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australian Rules Football at the AFL level relative to the proportion of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Australian population and as such it is the conclusion of this section that the years 1982 to 1994 constitute the third era of Aboriginal over-representation in post-colonial sport.

Section 4 Class of Origin, Social Class and Social Mobility of Research Groupings

The proceeding research question forms the focus for this section of the research thesis:

Is there evidence to show that a greater proportion of Aboriginal Footballers achieve upward social mobility when compared to Non-Aboriginal Footballers, Aboriginal Non-Footballers and to the General Public ?

In order to examine the social mobility achieved by each of the research groupings it was necessary to allocate respondents to a *social class* and to determine their *class of origin*. From this information social mobility was determined by the cross-tabulation of these two measures of social class. Inter-generational, intra-generational and career mobility are examined in this section with the aid of inflow/outflow charts.

Class of Origin of Respondents

A comparison of the *Class of Origin* of respondents (Table 27) revealed that a greater proportion of *Non-Aboriginal Football* playing respondents had a service (36.9%) or intermediate class (46.7%)

backgrounds when compared with the *Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 20.67, d.f. = 2, p < 0.05$) and the *General Public* ($\chi^2 = 16.09, d.f. = 2, p < 0.05$). In addition, *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* appear to have emerged from social classes at the upper and lower extremities of classes within the taxonomy (eg: Class II & Class VII).

Table 27 •
Class of Origin of Respondents

CLASS		<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	<i>General Public</i>
I	Upper Service	4.2	17.9	4.5	12.6
II	Lower Service	12.5	19	13.6	17.0
Total Service Classes		16.7	36.9	18.1	29.6
IIIab	Routine Non-Manual	16.7	12.3	4.5	6.2
IVabc	Small Proprietors and Own Account Workers	8.3	26.8	4.5	25.0
V	Lower Grade Technical and Non-Manual Supervisory	4.2	7.6	4.5	13.0
Total Intermediate Classes		29.2	46.8	13.5	44.2
VI	Skilled Manual	8.3	7.4	0	11.4
VII	Semi and Unskilled Manual	45.8	8.9	68.2	14.9
Total Working Classes		54.1	16.3	68.2	26.3
Total Sample (N)		22	447	22	617

Note: a Figures for the General Public taken from Baxter et al 1991

Similarly, significantly greater proportions of the *General Public* had service class origins when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballer* ($\chi^2 = 9.1024, d.f. = 2, p < 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($\chi^2 = 19.3317, d.f. = 2, p < 0.05$). No significant difference was found to exist between the *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings in relation to the *Class of Origin* ($\chi^2 = 1.33, d.f. = 2, p > 0.05$).

Present Social Class

An analysis of the current class location of respondents revealed that higher proportions of the *General Public* (35.9%) hold service class positions when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*. It appears that both *Aboriginal Footballers* (75%) and *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* (70.9%) are more likely to belong to the middle classes. This finding is in part produced by the classification of sportsmen as belonging to the 'Blue Collar Elite' [Goldthorpe, 1980, p.275].

Table 28 ^a
Social Class of Respondents

	CLASS	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	<i>General Public</i>
I	Upper Service	4.2	7.2	0	14.8
II	Lower Service	8.3	9.2	22.7	21.1
	Service Classes	12.5	16.4	22.7	35.9
IIIab	Routine Non-Manual	29.2	20.8	4.5	7.6
IVabc	Small Proprietors and Own Account Workers	4.1	6.9	0	12.0
V	Lower Grade Technical and Non-Manual Supervisory	41.7	43.2	18.2	8.9
	Intermediate Classes	75	70.9	22.7	28.5
VI	Skilled Manual	0	6.7	13.6	18.4
VII	Semi and Unskilled Manual	12.5	6	40.9	17.1
	Working Classes	12.5	12.7	54.5	35.5
	Total Sample (N)	24	446	16	670

Note: ^a Figures for the General Public taken from Baxter et al 1991.

The comparison of the present social class of respondents revealed that a significantly greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* belong to the middle classes when compared to the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping ($t = 2.081, p < 0.05$). No significant statistical difference exist between the present social class of the *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* ($t = 1.28, p > 0.05$) or the *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* ($t = 0.122, p > 0.05$).

In addition several differences in the class positions held by the different research groupings exist. The finding of Baxter *et al.* that young people (18-34) are less likely than those aged 35 or above to be self employed, be expert or skilled managers or belong to the Petit Bourgeoisie [Baxter *et al.*, p.74, 1991], was not found to be a true indication of the employment positions held by members of the two footballer groupings included in this study.

Table 29 presents the self-employment and managerial status of the four research groupings. Analysis of this table suggests that greater proportions of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* are self employed (20%) or expert managers (11%) when compared to *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* (9 % Self-Employed & 0 % Expert Managers), and to the *General Public* (4 % Self-Employed & 9 % Expert Managers) and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* (0% Self Employed, 14% Expert Managers).

Table 29 ^a
Class Position of those Employed (Age (18-34))

CLASS POSITION	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	<i>General Public (18-34 Years) *</i>
Employers Large and Small	9%	8%	0%	4%
Petit Bourgeoisie	0	13%	0%	5%
Total Self Employed	9%	20%	0%	9%
Expert Managers	0.0	11%	14%	4%
Other Experts	27%	16%	9%	5%
Total Experts	27%	28%	23%	9%
Skilled Managers	9	6%	0%	9%
Skilled Supervisors	0	7%	0%	6%
Unskilled Managers	0	2%	5%	7%
Unskilled Supervisors	0	2%	5%	8%
Total Non-Expert Managers and Supervisors	9%	16%	10%	30%
Skilled Workers	55%	41%	23%	14%
Other Workers	0	5%	44%	37%
Total Workers	55%	41%	67%	51%
Number of Respondents	24	471	22	586

Note: ^a The design and figures for the *General Public* for Table 29 were taken from *Baxter et al. Table 5.3, p.74 [1991]*

Significant differences between the class positions held by the *General Public* when compared to the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* and *Aboriginal Footballer* groupings also seems to exist with a higher proportion of the *General Public* aged 18-34 being more likely to hold managerial and supervisory positions of skilled and unskilled labour. No significant differences appear to exist between the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* and *Aboriginal Footballer* groupings or between the *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*.

Inter-Generational Social Mobility

The cross-tabulation of *Social Class* and *Class of Origin* reveals information related to the patterns and rates of social mobility. The inflow/outflow tables of social mobility for the three research groupings are presented in Table 30 opening up the opportunity to examine the intergenerational social mobility achieved by *Aboriginal Footballers*, *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*.

An examination of Table 30 reveals that 50% of the *Aboriginal Footballer* respondents have experienced upward inter-generational social mobility, 37.5% have experienced social stability and only

12.5% of Aboriginal Football playing respondents have experienced downward social mobility. This is most probably due to the generally low class of origin which characterised the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping.

Table 30 ^a
Inflow/Outflow Table of the Social Mobility of the *Aboriginal Footballer* Grouping

		CLASS OF ORIGIN							Row Total	
		Upper		Middle			Lower			
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
PRESENT SOCIAL CLASS	Upper	I	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4.2%)
		II	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2 (8.3%)
	Middle	III	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	7 (29.2%)
		IV	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (4.2%)
		V	0	0	4	0	1	2	3	10 (41.7%)
	Lower	VI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
		VII	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3 (12.5%)
	Column Total		1 (4.2%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (16.7%)	2 (8.3%)	1 (4.2%)	2 (8.3%)	11 (45.8%)	24

Note: ^a Cells feature frequencies

In addition, there is a high level of class inheritance in the service classes (50%) locations with those *Aboriginal Footballers* who occupy service class locations being primarily drawn from the service classes. In contrast, respondents who are presently members of the intermediate classes have been recruited from the working classes leading to a contraction in the size of this class between generations. In addition, nearly 82% of individuals with Class VII backgrounds have moved into the intermediate classes, 56% of whom have moved into *Class III: Routine Non-Manual Workers*. Given the small number of respondents further comments cannot be made.

Table 31 presents several interesting observations in relation to the patterns of social mobility experienced by *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* in the AFL. From this table it can be determined that nearly 35% of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* have experienced downward social mobility, 19% of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* are upwardly mobile and the remaining 47% of the sample can be said to have experienced social stability between generations.

Table 31
Inflow/Outflow Table of the Social Mobility of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* Grouping

		CLASS OF ORIGIN							Row Total	
		Upper		Middle			Lower			
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
PRESENT SOCIAL CLASS	Upper	I	10	7	4	8	2	1	0	32 (7.2%)
		II	7	9	6	9	1	7	2	41 (9.2%)
	Middle	III	15	22	11	20	9	6	10	93 (20.8%)
		IV	4	4	3	16	2	0	2	31 (6.9%)
		V	37	36	26	54	15	12	13	193 (43.2%)
	Lower	VI	4	3	2	6	4	4	7	30 (6.7%)
		VII	3	4	3	7	1	3	6	27 (6%)
		Column Total	80 (17.9%)	85 (19%)	55 (12.3%)	120 (26.8%)	34 (7.6%)	33 (7.4%)	40 (8.9%)	447

A closer examination of the outflows of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* reveals that 80% of respondents with service class origins have experienced downward social mobility. This movement of these individuals is only over a short range with 72% of these respondents being retained by the intermediate classes. In addition, 72.6% the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* with working class origins have achieved upward mobility, 81% of these can be seen to have moved to the intermediate classes. Given the recency of the development of the middle strata of classes it is surprising to see that for *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* the middle classes are primarily self-recruiting with 74% of respondents with middle class origins retaining the class location of their financial supporter.

The patterns of social recruitment differ significantly for *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* from those found to exist in the *General Public*. It can be seen that the service classes are self-recruiting with 53% of respondents now located in Class I and 45% of the total number of service class occupants having service class backgrounds. The middle classes demonstrate the highest level of inter-generational stability (49.21%) and therefore the highest level of self-recruitment. In contrast, the working classes appear to be open with only 35% of those with working class origins retaining their social class, 40% being recruited from the intermediate classes and the remaining 25% from the service classes.

The examination of Table 32 reveals that 32% of the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping are upwardly mobile, 50% of respondents have retained the social class of their financial supporter and the remaining 18% are downwardly mobile.

Table 32
Inflow/Outflow Table of the Social Mobility of the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* Grouping

		CLASS OF ORIGIN							
PRESENT SOCIAL CLASS		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
	I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
	II	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	5 (22.7%)
	III	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (4.5%)
	IV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
	V	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	4 (18.2%)
	VI	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	3 (13.6%)
	VII	0	1	1	0	0	0	7	9 (40.9%)
	Column	1 (4.5%)	3 (13.6%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (4.5%)	0 (0%)	15 (68.2%)	22

In relation to the outflows of the *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* grouping it can be seen that 53% of those with financial supporters who occupied *Class VII: Semi-Skilled an Unskilled Worker* positions have remained in the working class, predominantly in class VII. A further 27% have moved to the edges of the intermediate classes and the remaining 20% have moved into the *Class II Lower Service Class*

In addition, it can also be seen that the working classes are self-recruiting with 75% of those who currently hold working class positions have working Class origins. The remaining 25% were recruited from the service and middle classes. In addition, 60% of those currently in the middle classes can be seen to have been recruited from the working classes.

Summary of Section 4.

From the previous discussion it is evident that *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* have classes of origin which are significantly lower than those of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and the *General Public*. Over the past generation however, *Aboriginal Footballers* can be seen to have improved their social position beyond that of their non-football playing peers to a level that is equal to that of

the *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* in terms of not only class, but also in terms of ownership and managerial status. In addition, it is also clear that greater proportions of both *Aboriginal* and *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* hold management or ownership positions when compared to an age matched sample of the *General Public*. It is to be noted, however, that a greater proportion to the *General Public* hold service class positions.

It would appear from the preceding observation that a greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* have achieved upward social mobility when compared with the other research groupings. The statistical analysis of upward social mobility, as presented in Table 33, revealed that a significantly greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* experienced upward inter-generational social mobility when compared to *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 14.921$, *d.f.* = 2, $p < 0.05$) and the *General Public* ($\chi^2 = 6.7534$, *d.f.* = 2, $p < 0.05$). In addition, a significantly greater proportion of the *General Public* have experienced upward social mobility when compared to the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping ($\chi^2 = 11.258$, *d.f.* = 2, $p < 0.05$).

Table 33 ^{a b}
Social Mobility of Research Groupings

MOBILITY	<i>Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Footballers</i>	<i>Aboriginal Non-Footballers</i>	<i>General Public</i>
Upwardly Mobile	12 50%	83 18.57%	7 31.82%	169 27.39%
Static	9 37.5%	209 46.76%	11 50%	262 42.46%
Downwardly Mobile	3 12.5%	155 34.68%	4 18.18%	186 30.15%

Note: a figures shown in Table 33 are counts and percentages of total sample
 b given that 2 of 6 cells have frequencies less than 5, chi-square results should be interpreted with caution.

No significant differences in the rates of social mobility exist between the *Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 1.5729$, *d.f.* = 2, $p > 0.05$), the *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* groupings ($\chi^2 = 3.6523$, *d.f.* = 2, $p > 0.05$) or the *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *General Public* ($\chi^2 = 1.4465$, *d.f.* = 2, $p > 0.05$).

Given the previous discussion it is evident that the null hypothesis of this thesis is not supported and the proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* to experience upward inter-generational social mobility differs significantly from the other research groupings. As such the alternate hypotheses of this research endeavour

is tentatively supported. That is, a greater proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* appear to have experienced upward social mobility when compared to *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and the *General Public*. The preceding comments need, however, to be viewed with caution due to the small presentation of Aboriginal respondents in two of the cells in Table 33.

Section 5: Additional Research Findings.

Findings related to the intra-generational mobility of research groupings are presented in this section of the results together with other findings arising from the statistical analysis of "Age", "Year of Debut" and "Number of Senior Games" and their relationship with respondent's experience of inter-generational social mobility. The findings of analyses of the proportion of Aboriginals in major football competitions and codes are also presented in this section of the results. Given that the primary focus of this study is the analysis of Aboriginal involvement in the AFL, these findings are only presented as a point of comparison and discussion.

Intra-Generational Social Mobility

Two addition measures of the social mobility achieved by the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping were obtained. The first cross-tabulated their pre-football class by their present class (*Pre-football Intra-Generational Mobility*) and the second cross-tabulated their present social class by their perceived social class at the end of their football playing career (*Post-football Intra-Generational Mobility*). The second of these measures was only obtained for the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping due to the low response rate of *Aboriginal Footballer* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* grouping to this item.

Pre-Football Intra-Generational Mobility of Aboriginal Footballers

From Table 34 we can see that vast changes in the proportion of *Aboriginal Footballers* located in each of the classes have occurred since *Aboriginal Footballers* commenced their AFL careers. An 8% increase in the proportion of respondents holding service classes positions and an increase in the proportion of respondents belonging to the middle classes from 17% to 75% can be seen to have occurred. A compensatory decrease in the proportion of working class (from 79% to 13%) has also occurred.

The examination of the differences that exist between pre-football and present social class give us an understanding of the intra-generational social mobility experienced by respondents. From Table 34 it can also be seen that 71% of the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping experienced upward intra-generational mobility, with the remaining 29% retaining the social class they held prior to commencing their AFL footballing career. Surprisingly, no *Aboriginal Footballer* has experienced downward intra-generational mobility since commencing his football playing career. In addition, the most common class destinations are the middle classes with the majority of the *Aboriginal Footballers* currently in the intermediate classes (79%) have been recruited from the working classes.

Table 34 ^a
The Intra-Generational Mobility of *Aboriginal Footballers*

		PRESENT SOCIAL CLASS							Row Total	
		<i>Upper</i>		<i>Middle</i>			<i>Lower</i>			
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
PRE- FOOTBALL SOCIAL CLASS	<i>Upper</i>	I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
		II	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4.2%)
	<i>Middle</i>	III	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3 (12.5%)
		IV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
		V	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1 (4.2%)
	<i>Lower</i>	VI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
		VII	1	0	5	1	9	0	3	19 (79.2%)
		Column Total	1 (4.2%)	2 (8.3%)	7 (29.2%)	1 (4.2%)	10 (41.7%)	0 (0%)	3 (12.5%)	24

Note: ^a Cells in Table 34 feature frequencies

Pre-Football Intra-generational Mobility of Non-Aboriginal Footballers

Prior to commencing their football playing careers a majority (78%) of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping can be seen to have belonged to the working classes, with smaller proportions found in the middle (28%) and service classes (4%). When the sizes of pre-football classes are compared with present class locations it is evident that a contraction in the size of the working *class* (from 78% to 13%) and the

expansion of the middle (from 28% to 71%) and upper classes (from 4% to 16%) can be seen to have occurred.

In relation to the Intra-generational mobility experienced by the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping it can be seen from analysis of Table 35 that 65% have improved their social class since commencing playing football, 27% have retained the social class they held prior to playing football in the AFL and the remaining and 3% are downwardly mobile. This upward mobility is further demonstrated with the finding that 68% of those currently in the service classes and 77% of those in the intermediate classes have Class VI or VII backgrounds.

Table 35 ^a
The Intra-Generational Mobility of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*

		PRESENT SOCIAL CLASS								
		Upper		Middle			Lower		Row Total	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
PRE- FOOTBALL SOCIAL CLASS	Upper	I	5	0	1	0	2	0	0	8 (1.8%)
		II	2	8	0	0	5	0	0	15 (3.4%)
	Middle	III	3	3	30	1	10	0	1	48 (10.7%)
		IV	1	1	4	4	2	1	0	13 (2.9%)
		V	0	0	1	0	12	1	1	15 (3.4%)
	Lower	VI	1	0	4	1	10	15	3	34 (7.6%)
		VII	20	29	53	25	152	13	27	314 (70.2%)
		Column Total	32 (7.2%)	41 (9.2%)	93 (20.8%)	31 (6.9%)	193 (43.2%)	30 (6.7%)	27 (6%)	24

Note: ^a Cells in Table 35 feature frequencies

When compared the pre-football classes of football playing respondents do not differ significantly ($\chi^2 = 0.053, d.f. = 2, p > 0.05$) nor do the proportions of respondents experiencing upward intra-generational mobility ($\chi^2 = 0.688, d.f. = 2, p > 0.05$).

Post-Football Intra-Generational Mobility of Non-Aboriginal Footballers

From Table 36 it can be seen that 43% of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* expect to experience upward social mobility, 55% expect to retain their present social class and only 2% of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping expect to experience downward social mobility at the cessation of their footballing careers. A majority of those (50%) presently in the intermediate classes expect to move into the service class when they

finish playing football and a further 17% of those currently in the working classes expect to move to the service classes. In addition, 94% of those currently in the service classes expect to retain their present class position.

Table 36 ^a
The Post-Football Social Mobility of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*

		PRESENT SOCIAL CLASS								
		Upper		Middle			Lower		Row Total	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		
POST FOOTBALL SOCIAL CLASS	Upper	I	25	4	4	1	40	0	1	75 (22%)
		II	0	30	20	0	52	3	3	108 (31.7%)
	Middle	III	1	0	30	1	11	2	2	47 (13.8%)
		IV	1	1	12	21	26	4	6	71 20.8%)
		V	0	1	3	1	10	4	3	22 (6.5%)
	Lower	VI	0	0	0	0	4	11	1	16 (4.7%)
		VII	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2 (0.6%)
		Column Total	27 (7.9%)	36 (10.6%)	69 (20.2%)	24 (7%)	143 (41.9%)	24 (7%)	18 (5.3%)	341

Note: ^a Cells in Table 36 feature frequencies

Age and Social Mobility.

As social mobility can be seen to be a dynamic process that occurs through the duration of an individual's worklife [Bilton, et al. 1980], an analysis of the relationship between age and intergenerational social mobility was also undertaken. Although this examination revealed no significant differences within the *Aboriginal Footballer* ($\chi^2 = 5.98, d.f. = 4, p > 0.05$) and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings ($\chi^2 = 7.41, d.f. = 4, p > 0.05$), significant differences were found to exist in the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping ($\chi^2 = 47.69, d.f. = 4, p < 0.05$). Table 37 reveals that a significantly greater proportion of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* over the age of 25 have achieved upward social mobility when compared to the other two birth cohorts.

Table 37 ^a
Age and Social Mobility (Non-Aboriginal Footballers)

AGE	Upward	Static	Downward	Total
16-20 YEARS	17 (12%)	13 (9.2%)	112 (78.9%)	142 (31.8%)
21-24 YEARS	37 (22%)	23 (13.7%)	108 (64.3%)	168 (37.6%)
25 OR OLDER	55 (40.1%)	28 (20.4%)	54 (39.4%)	137 (30.6%)
Total	109 (24.4%)	64 (14.3%)	274 (61.3%)	100

Note: ^a figures in parentheses indicate row percentages

Social Mobility and Football Related Variables

Rates of social mobility were also compared with the various football specific variables. This analysis was included to examine the relationship between football success, as measured by career length and number of games, upon social mobility. Despite no significant difference being found between year of debut and social mobility for *Aboriginal Footballers* ($\chi^2 = 2.24, d.f. = 4, p > 0.05$), it is apparent that significant differences exist for *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*. Table 38 reveals that a significantly greater proportion of players who made their AFL debuts prior to 1987 achieved upward social mobility when compared to other research groupings ($\chi^2 = 32.21, d.f. = 4, p < 0.05$).

Table 38 ^a
Year of debut and social mobility (Non-Aboriginal Footballers)

Year of Debut	Upward	Static	Downward	Total
1971-1987	58 (34.5%)	33 (19.6%)	77 (45.8%)	168 (37.6%)
1988-1990	32 (21.9%)	20 (13.7%)	94 (64.4%)	146 (32.7%)
1991-1992	19 (14.3%)	11 (8.3%)	103 (77.4%)	133 (29.8%)
Column	109 (24.4%)	64 (14.3%)	274 (61.3%)	447

Note: ^a figures in parentheses indicate row percentages

Another indicator of success in the AFL is the number of senior games that an individual has played. Although no significant differences were found to exist within the *Aboriginal Footballer* grouping ($\chi^2 = 2.75, d.f. = 4, p > 0.05$), Table 39 reveals that a significantly greater proportion of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* who have played 53 or more senior games have achieved upward intergenerational social mobility ($\chi^2 = 55.54, d.f. = 4, p < 0.05$). It may well be that when *Aboriginal Footballers* maintain career lengths, greater levels of social mobility will occur.

Table 39 ^a
Number of Games played by Social Mobility (Non-Aboriginal Footballers).

Games Played	Upward	Static	Downward	Total
0-6 GAMES	15 (10.4%)	13 (9%)	116 (80.6%)	144 (32.2%)
7-52 GAMES	32 (20.6%)	24 (15.5%)	99 (63.9%)	155 (34.7%)
53 OR MORE	62 (41.9%)	27 (18.2%)	59 (39.9%)	148 (33.1%)
Total	109 (24.4%)	64 (14.3%)	274 (61.3%)	447 (100%)

Note: ^a Cells feature frequencies and row percentages

The Proportion of Aborigines in Other Major Football Competitions

In the course of this study preliminary analysis of the participation rates of Aboriginal athletes in other football codes was also undertaken. This research was carried out so that comments related to the participation of Aborigines in the generically titled *Football Codes* could be made. Table 40 presents the names and playing details of Aborigines who have or are currently playing in the NSWRL/ARL.

			7	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8
GREEN	George	East/Norths																				
JOHNSON	Dick	Newtown/Souths																				
JOHNSON	Lindsay	Canterbury																				
MUSSING	Walter	St George																				
FERGUSON	A.	Norths/Parramatta																				
DONOVAN	Charlie	Canterbury/Souths/Parramatta																				
Longbottom	Kevin	Souths																				
ROBINSON	Eric	Souths																				
SADDLER	Ron	East																				
AMBRUM	John	Norths																				
OLIVE	Bruce	Newtown																				
SIMMS	Eric	Souths																				
BEETSON	Arthur	Balmain/East/Parramatta																				
AMBRUM	George	Norths																				
PITT	Eric	Norths																				
YOWYEH	Kevin	Balmain																				
BRYANT	Mick	Manly																				
STEWART	Bruce	East																				
WILLIAMSON	Lionel	Newtown																				
FLANDERS	Peter	West/East																				
WILLIAMS	Claude	Souths																				
CAIN	Buddy	South/West																				
MOYLAN	Tom	Souths																				
GIGG	Ross	Penrith																				
WICKEY	Terry	Penrith/Canberra																				
DONNELLY	Andrew	Souths																				
GRANT	David	South/Balmain/Canterbury																				
BLACKLOCK	Ray	Penrith/Newtown/Canberra																				
FERGUSON	Eric	South/East																				
CORROWA	Larry	Balmain/Gold Coast																				
KNIGHT	Percy	Balmain/Canberra																				
ELLA	Steve	Parramatta																				
FERGUSON	John	Newtown/East/Canberra																				
KINCHELA	Dennis	St George/West																				
FOSTER	Henry	Penrith																				
WALFORD	Ricky	East/North/St. George																				
LIDDIARD	David	Parramatta/Canberra/Manly																				
GIBBS	Ron	East/Man/Gold Coast/West																				
GALE	Scott	West/East/Balmain/North/Canberra																				
GALE	Brett	West/East/Nth																				
BACKO	Sam	Can/Bris																				
BILES	Les	Souths																				
Longbottom	George	Souths																				
WALKER	Bill	Balmain/Canberra																				
GARRETT	Brad	Parramatta																				
COCHARAN	Mal	Manly																				
LYONS	Cliff	North/Manly																				
WILLIAMS	Wilfred	East/West/St. George																				
HARDY	Jeff	Illawarra/St. George																				
SHEARER	Dale	Manly/Brisbane/Gold Coast																				
ROBINSON	Stephen	North																				
FRENCH	Brett	North/Gold Coast																				
BUTLER	Terry	North																				
CURRIE	Tony	Canterbury/Brisbane																				
NADEN	Ian	West																				
KELLY	Malcolm	Illawarra																				
WEBB	Brad	South																				
DOTTI	Phil	Cronulla																				
MATTERSON	Terry	East/Brisbane																				
MENINGA	Mal	Canberra																				
SALVATORI	Craig	East																				
DELANEY	Doug	Penrith/Balmain/Illawarra																				
SHAW	Paul	Manly/G'Coast																				
ROBERTS	Paul	South																				
GORDON	Bert	St. George																				
DAVIS	Brett	West																				
FRENCH	Ian	North																				
FRENCH	Gary	Brisbane																				
Longbottom	Bruce	South																				
KILROY	Joc	Brisbane																				
SCOTT	Colin	Brisbane																				
LYONS	Graham	South/Penrith																				
RUSSELL	Ian	Illawarra																				
GORDON	Ashley	Newcastle																				
RENOUF	Steve	Brisbane																				
McGRADY	Ewan	Canterbury																				
STOKES	Frank	Manly																				
TRINDALL	Darrell	South																				
SIMON	John	Illawarra																				
McGRADY	Jason	Canterbury																				
ROBINSON	Will	Balmain																				
MORGANSON	Willie	Brisbane																				
STEWART	Corey	East																				
SIMON	Craig	Illawarra																				
NAGAS	Ken	Canberra																				
FATNOWNA	Butch	Brisbane																				
WALKER	Andrew	St. George																				
DONOVAN	Matt	Gold Coast																				
Total Number of Aboriginal Players				0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

Several difficulties were encountered in data collection and the interpretation of Aboriginal participants in the NSWRL/ARL. First, as this research was conducted in Victoria, accurate and detailed information related to the NSWRL/ARL was difficult to obtain. Second, as the identification of players was made from four sources of literature [Harris, 1989; Middleton, 1992; Tatz, 1987; Whitaker & Hudson, 1993], the names of many Aboriginal players may have been inadvertently omitted from the list.

Despite these problems, several trends and similarities between the patterns of participation of Aborigines in the VFL/AFL and the NSWRL/ARL are evident. First, the number of Aboriginal participants in the NSWRL/ARL has increased dramatically since 1909. Further, it can be seen that a majority (72%) of the identified Aboriginal participants in the NSWRL/ARL played in the years after 1981. Further, taking the number of players to play in the NSWRL/ARL in any one year to equal 527, corresponding to the number of players to play in the NSWRL/ARL in 1991 [Middleton, 1992], it can also be seen that the proportion of Aborigines playing in the NSWRL/ARL has surpassed the proportion of Aborigines within the general population at times of national census after 1981.

In addition, the pattern of the rise in the number of Aboriginal participants in the NSWRL/ARL (*Figure 1*) is remarkably similar to the exponential rise observed for Aborigines in the AFL (*Figure 2*). Figure 1 reveals that the number of Aboriginal players in the NSWRL/ARL has increased since 1908 to reach a peak of 30 participants in 1987. It is also apparent that the number and proportion of Aborigines in the NSWRL/ARL exceeded the number playing in the AFL in a number of the years examined, perhaps suggesting that Aborigines have gained greater access to the NSWRL when compared to the VFL/AFL.

These findings offer tentative support to the suggestion that the years 1982 to the present day constitute the third era of Aboriginal over-representation. In addition, Table 2 (*p.28*) indicates that involvement of Aborigines in each of the major Australian Rules Football leagues in Australia is presented. From the previous discussion it is evident that Aborigines are over-represented in many of the other major Australian Rules Football competitions throughout Australia.

Figure 1: Aboriginal Participation in the NSWRL/ARL (1908-1992)

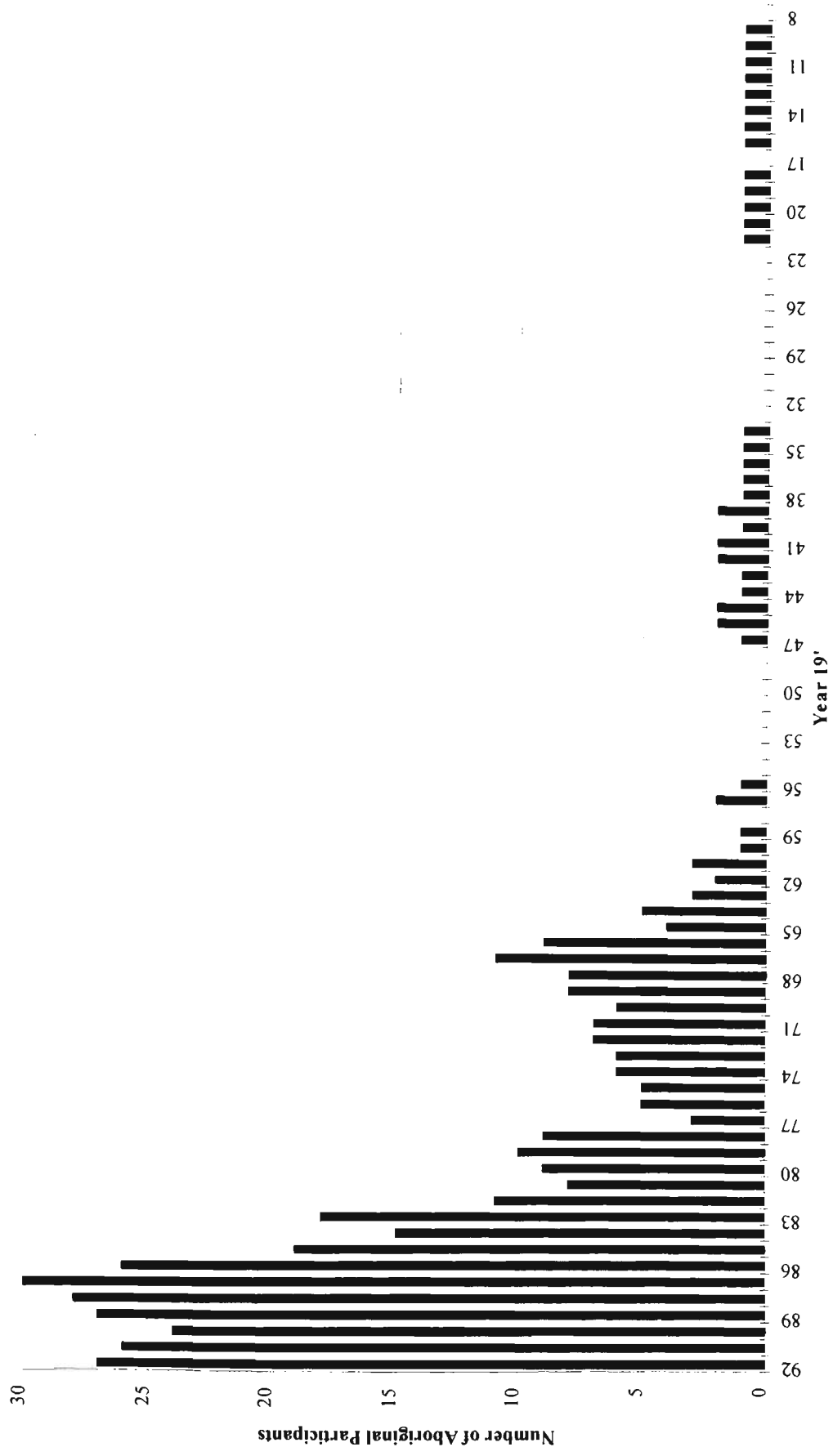
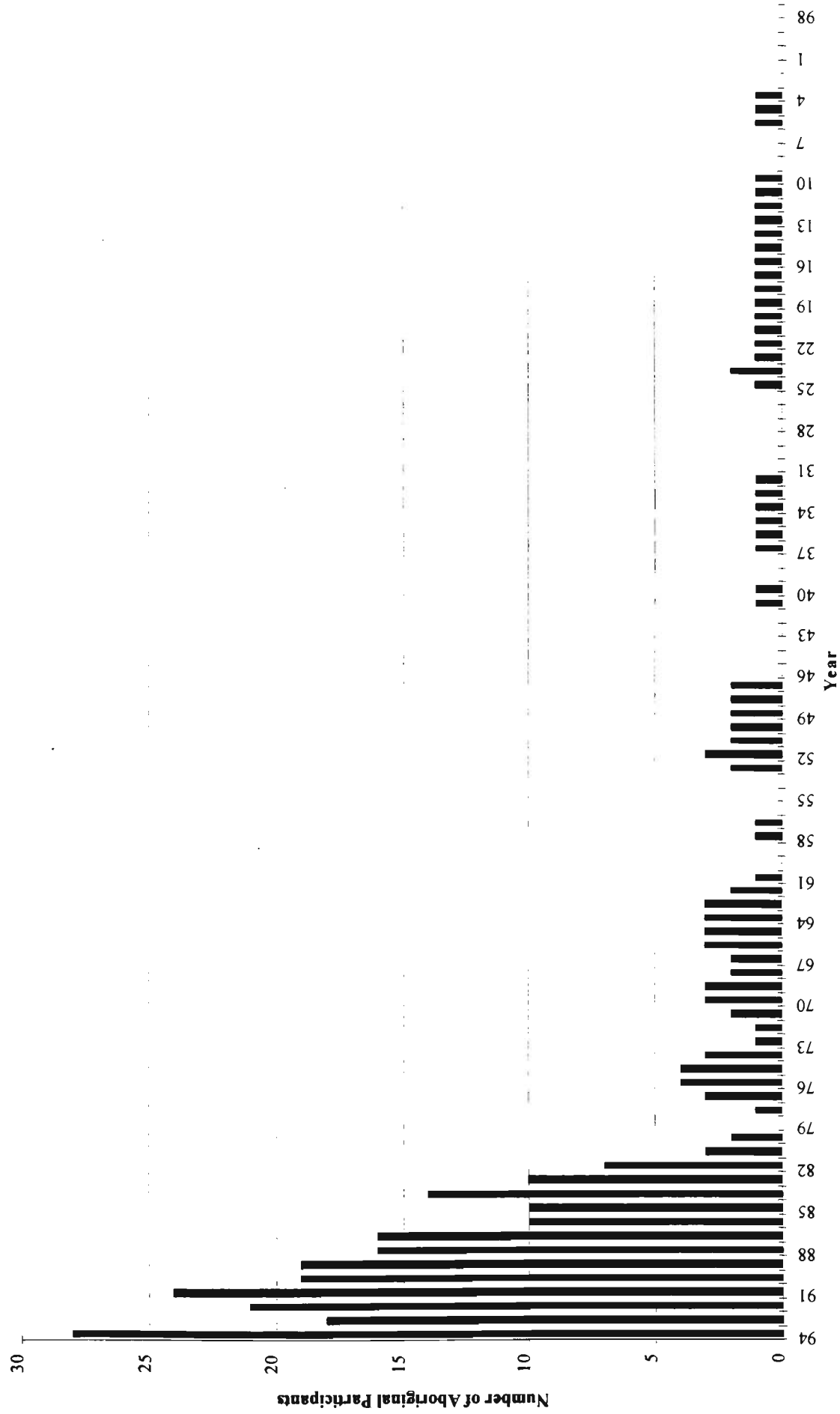


Figure 2: Aboriginal Participation in the VFL/AFL (1897-1994)



Summary of Section 5.

It is evident that "age", "year of debut" and "senior games played" are significantly related to upward social mobility for *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*. In addition, these findings indicate that 68% of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and 71% of *Aboriginal Footballers* have experienced upward social mobility since commencing their football playing careers. Further, a vast majority of *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* expect to experience further upward social mobility or at least retain their footballing social class at the cessation of their footballing careers.

From the preceding discussion it is also evident that Aborigines are over-represented in each of the major football leagues and codes examined in this paper (NSWRL/ARL, AFL, WAFL and SANFL). As such, tentative support is offered to the belief that the years 1982 to the present-day constitute the third era of Aboriginal over-representation in post-colonial sport. This era is best described as the "Football Codes".

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*As often as a study is cultivated by narrow minds, they will draw from it narrow conclusions
[Mill, Auguste Comte and Positivism, 1865, p.82]*

Summary of Study.

The fact that Aborigines hold a marginal position within Australian society is beyond question.. They are subjected to institutionalised racism and experience differential access to traditional routes for social mobility. The somewhat contradictory over-representation of Aborigines within Australian Rules Football and other major sports throughout post-colonial Australian history, would seem to suggest that Aborigines participate in those sports that appear to offer more opportunistic and alternative routes for social mobility.. The substantive purpose of this study was to examine and compare the participation levels and social mobility achieved by Aboriginal Footballers when matched against contrasting research groups. Specifically the study addressed the following two related but separate research questions:

1. *Is there a period in Australian history that demonstrates an over-representation of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australian Rules Football at the Australian Football League level relative to the proportion of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Australian population ?*
2. *Is there evidence to show that a greater proportion of Aboriginal Footballers achieve upward social mobility when compared to Non-Aboriginal Footballers, Aboriginal Non-Footballers and to the General Public?*

Patterns and levels of Aboriginal participation in the AFL/VFL were ascertained through the review of literature related to Aboriginal involvement in sport and by direct contact with AFL member clubs. Information related to the levels of social mobility was elicited from a questionnaire administered to 24 *Aboriginal Footballers*, 447 *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and 22 *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*. The questionnaire included items related to Demographics, Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Social Class, Class of Origin, Football Experience, Perceptions of Success, Perceived Means for Social Mobility and Life Goals. Each respondent's social class and class of origin were cross-tabulated to obtain a measure of inter-generational social mobility which was subsequently compared with a sample of the *General Public* (Taken From Baxter et al, 1991).

This study is deemed valuable as it provided an opportunity to examine an area of Australian sport previously unresearched. Quantitative measures of relative and absolute mobility were obtained along with qualitative measures of perceived means for enhancing social mobility and motivation driving participation

of elite male athletes in Australian Rules Football. As this research endeavour adopted a somewhat less traditional sociological focus, it allowed for the presentation of a different perspective on a major Australian sport. Further, a recognised contemporary measure of social class has been employed allowing comparison with previous studies relating to social mobility.

The claim that Australian sport is egalitarian and free of racial or ethnic discrimination has also been tested in this thesis. Although Aborigines are over-represented in the AFL, there is little doubt that Aboriginal participants are subjected to both overt and tacit forms of racial discrimination and that members of racial, ethnic and religious minorities are not proportionally represented and may experience differential access to playing positions within the AFL.

Conclusions

On the basis of the statistical analysis of the research data, the following tentative conclusions have been reached:

1. A significantly greater proportion ($\alpha = 0.05$) of *Aboriginal Footballers* experienced upward inter-generational social mobility when compared to the *General Public* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* groupings. This finding may be due to the lower class of origin of Aboriginal respondents and their subsequent rise in social class resulting from participation in the AFL and opportunity for improved social circumstances.
2. The years 1980-1994 are characterised by the over-representation of Aborigines in the AFL relative to their proportion in the Australian population and these years constitute the third domain of Aboriginal over-representation in Australian sport.

Further findings

From the preceding discussion several other findings of interest have emerged. First, *Aboriginal Footballers* were found to differ from their non-athletic peers in relation to the education level of their financial supporter, their level of education and their perceived means for upward social mobility.

In addition, a significantly greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping are Australian Born, when compared to the *General Public* while a greater proportion of the *General Public* have religious beliefs when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballers*, *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*.

Further, the analysis of research suggests that Aboriginal participation in post-colonial sport can be divided into three domains of over-representation. The first, spanning the years 1880-1930, is characterised by the over-representation of Aboriginals in the sports of cricket and athletics. The second domain, which spanned the years 1930-1979, involved the over-representation of Aborigines in the sport of boxing. The third domain, as identified in this thesis spans the years 1982 to 1994 and is characterised by the over-representation of Aborigines in Australian Rules Football. In addition, preliminary analysis of Aboriginal participation in the NSWRL also offers tentative support to belief that Aboriginal over-representation in this domain may also include Rugby League.

Recommendations.

The major recommendations emanating from this study were:

1. Further research related to the social mobility and involvement of racial, ethnic and religious minority groupings in Australian sport is warranted in support of the principle of social justice.
2. Detailed examinations of the social characteristics of elite sportspeople are required that employ recognised, contemporary measures of social class and social mobility and include the analysis of the race, gender, ethnicity and religion of participants.
3. Encouragement of further studies into the intra-generational social mobility experienced by elite Aboriginal athletes during and at the cessation of their sporting careers should be undertaken to examine whether any social mobility achieved by such athletes during their playing careers is sustained at the cessation of their respective sporting careers.
4. The patterns of involvement and experiences of male and female Aborigines in Australian sport also require immediate examination in order to gain a greater appreciation of a range of equity, access and lifestyle related issues and outcomes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

**Career Details of Aboriginal Australian Rules Footballers to
have played in the WAFL and SANFL**

Name	Games	Years	CLUB(S)
ABRAHAM Winston	4	1993-94	Perth (WAFL)
AGIUS Fred	19	1951-52	West Adelaide (SANFL)
AGIUS Ross	53	1979-84	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
AHCHEE Paul	22	1977-1981	North Adelaide (SANFL)
AHMAT Joeseeph	6	1983	Norwood (SANFL)
	27	1987-88	Claremont (WAFL)
	51	1984, 1989-90	Swan Districts (WAFL)
BALL Michael	7	1992	South Fremantle (WAFL)
BARTLETT Adrian	1	1990	East Fremantle (WAFL)
BELLOTTI John	6	1984-85	East Fremantle (WAFL)
BRAY Richard	77	1958-1965	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
BURNS Ronnie	3	1993	West Perth (WAFL)
BOND Shane	6	1993	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
BOND Troy	22	1991-92	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
BONSON Donald	14	unknown	West Perth (WAFL)
CABLE Barry (SNR)	225	1962-69	Perth (WAFL)
	42	1978-79	East Perth (WAFL)
CABLE Barry (JNR)	6	1988	Perth (WAFL)
	4	1990	Subiaco (WAFL)
CABLE Shane	12	1990	Subiaco (WAFL)
	35	1987-90	Perth (WAFL)
CAMPBELL Basil	102	1975-1981	South Fremantle (WAFL)
CAMPBELL Warren	19	1992-92	South Fremantle (WAFL)
CAPEWELL Darren	3	1991	East Fremantle (WAFL)
CATON Kevin	118	1984-1987	Swan Districts (WAFL)
CLARKE Joe	50	1966-69	West Torrens (SANFL)
CLARK John	58	1977-81	Norwood (SANFL)
COCKATOO-COLLINS Che	25	1993	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
COCKIE Michael	59	1981-1985	South Fremantle (WAFL)
COLBUNG Shawn	56	1991-1994	East Perth (WAFL)
COLLARD Brad	108	1984-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
COLLARD Cliff	96	1986-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
COLLARD Derek	57	1985-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
COX Arnold	86	unknown	East Perth (WAFL)
COX Patrick	3	1993-1994	Claremont (WAFL)
CRONAN Phil	86	1979-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
	21	1983	West Perth (WAFL)
	22	1989	Woodville (SANFL)
DAVIS Troy	49	1987-94	Perth (WAFL)
DEMPSEY Bill	343	1960-76	West Perth (WAFL)
DICK Willie	125	1985-1991	Perth (WAFL)
DUNN Cadji	3	unknown	South Fremantle (WAFL)
FARMER Brett	58	1981-83	Claremont (WAFL)
	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
FARMER Dean	31	1982-89	Claremont (WAFL)
	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)

Name	Games	Years	CLUB(S)
FARMER Graham	176	1953-61	East Perth (WAFL)
	79	1968-71	West Perth (WAFL)
FLUGGE Ashley	52	1987-94	South Fremantle (WAFL)
FRANCIS Fabian	unknown	1989	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
FRY Eddie	153	1975-88	Sturt (SANFL)
GIDJUP Jimmy	5	unknown	South Fremantle (WAFL)
GRAHAM Phillip	196	1978-89	South Adelaide (SANFL)
GRAHAM Michael	293	1971-85	Sturt (SANFL)
GRAY Bevan	12	1987-88	East Fremantle (WAFL)
HAGEN Norm	15	1975	West Adelaide (SANFL)
HANSEN Tony	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
HAYWARD Bill	26	1937-39	South Fremantle (WAFL)
HAYWARD Eric	83	1937-39	South Fremantle (WAFL)
HAYWARD Len	11	1950-51	South Fremantle (WAFL)
HAYWARD Maily	18	1928-29	Claremont (WAFL)
	18	1937-39	South Fremantle (WAFL)
HENRY Lindsay	5	unknown	West Perth (WAFL)
HILL Kevin	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
HOCKING Eddie	91	1987-93	Central Districts (SANFL)
	11	unknown	Adelaide (SANFL)
HOLLAND Lindsay	13	1964-65	South Fremantle (WAFL)
HUDDLESTON Wilf	24	1971-73	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
JACKSON Syd	105	1963-66	East Perth (WAFL)
JOHNSON Bert	84	1957-64	West Adelaide (SANFL)
KANTILLA David	113	1961-66	South Adelaide (SANFL)
KELLY Austin	8	1993-94	Perth (WAFL)
KELLY Ken	1	1990	South Fremantle (WAFL)
KELLY Merv	83	1987-94	Perth (WAFL)
KICKETT Graham	41	1986-89	South Fremantle (WAFL)
	79	1978-85	East Fremantle (WAFL)
KICKETT Dale	70	1988-91	Claremont (WAFL)
KICKETT Derek	32	1986-87	Claremont (WAFL)
	25	1988	Central Districts (SANFL)
KICKETT Larry	69	1983-86	Claremont (WAFL)
	158	1974-82	East Perth (WAFL)
KILMURRAY Ted	257	1953-65	East Perth (WAFL)
KRAKOUER Billy	18	1988-89	Claremont (WAFL)
	65	1990-94	East Fremantle (WAFL)
KRAKOUER James	88	1977-81	Claremont (WAFL)
KRAKOUER Phillip	90	1978-81	Claremont (WAFL)
LEE David	64	1965-69	Torrens (SANFL)
LEWIS Cameron	92	1987-90	Claremont (WAFL)
LEWIS Christopher	9	1986	Claremont (WAFL)
LEWIS Clayton	25	1979-82	Claremont (WAFL)
LEWIS Irwin	75	1958-65	Claremont (WAFL)
LIDDY Edward	5	unknown	West Adelaide (SANFL)
LITTLE Michael	10	1988-89	East Fremantle (WAFL)
LITTLE Brett	15	1984-85	South Fremantle (WAFL)

Name	Games	Years	CLUB(S)
LONG Michael	22	unknown	West Torrens (SANFL)
LONG Noel	3	1990	East Perth (WAFL)
	8	1988-89	West Torrens (SANFL)
McADAM Adrian	15	1988-91	North Adelaide (SANFL)
McADAM Gilbert	3	1986	Claremont (WAFL)
	55	1988-89	Central Districts (SANFL)
McADAM Greg	8	1989	Central Districts (SANFL)
	110	1977-88	North Adelaide (SANFL)
McGUNNES Lindsay	108	unknown	West Perth (WAFL)
McGUIRE John	85	1973-79	East Perth (WAFL)
	21	1980-83	Perth (WAFL)
McGUIRE Oral	38	1982-85	Perth (WAFL)
	23	1989-90	West Perth (WAFL)
McKENZIE Graham	9	1965	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
MAINWARING Chris	51	1985-87, 1993	South Fremantle (WAFL)
MATERA Wally	115	1982-88, 1992	South Fremantle (WAFL)
MATERA Peter	59	1987-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
MAY Russell	4	1990	East Perth (WAFL)
MEAD Stephen	11	1992-93	Claremont (WAFL)
MICHAEL Steven	243	1975-85	South Fremantle (WAFL)
MITCHELL Michael	88	1982-86	Claremont (WAFL)
MITCHELL Kevin	105	1985, 1989-93	Claremont (WAFL)
MOTLOP Mark	43	1983-85	Glenelg (SANFL)
MOTLOP Paul	11	1981-82	Norwood (SANFL)
MOREY Soney	219	1964-77	Central Districts (SANFL)
MORRIS Jeff	30	1991-1994	East Fremantle (WAFL)
MUIR Robert	15	1979-80, 1982	West Adelaide (SANFL)
NARKLE Dempsey	30	1988	Perth (WAFL)
	13	1985-87, 1991-92	South Fremantle (WAFL)
NARKLE Keith	254	1971-85	Swan Districts (WAFL)
NARKLE Phillip	177	1978-93	Swan Districts (WAFL)
NANNUP Wayne	2	1987	East Fremantle (WAFL)
NUNN D.	21	1979-81	West Adelaide (SANFL)
OAKLEY Revel	1	1991	East Fremantle (WAFL)
PALM David	2	1991	Subiaco (WAFL)
	72	1980-90	West Perth (WAFL)
PEAKE Brian	304	1972-90	East Fremantle (WAFL)
	10	1990	Perth (WAFL)
PECKHAM Henry	6	Unknown	West Adelaide (SANFL)
PENNY Danny	123	1985-90	Swan Districts (WAFL)
QUALL Kevin	4	unknown	West Perth (WAFL)
RIGNEY Roger	210	1959-71	Sturt (SANFL)
RIOLI Cyril	10	1987	South Fremantle (WAFL)
RIOLI Maurice	168	1975-90, 1988-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
RIOLI Sebastian	51	1972-76	South Fremantle (WAFL)
RIOLI Willie	35	1989-90	South Fremantle (WAFL)
ROE Billy	13	1956-58	East Perth (WAFL)
ROE Willy	87	1982-88	South Fremantle (WAFL)
ROSS David	138	unknown	West Perth (WAFL)

Name	Games	Years	CLUB(S)
RYDER Revis	36	1988-91	East Fremantle (WAFL)
RYDER Wayne	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
SINGH James	5	unknown	West Perth (WAFL)
SMITH Joe	1	1991	Subiaco (WAFL)
	14	1993-94	Claremont (WAFL)
STACK Reg	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
STANISLAUS Brian	9	1990	East Perth (WAFL)
STOKES Darryl	15	1980-81	South Fremantle (WAFL)
TALMAN Peter	11	1965-66	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
TAYLOR Barry	17	unknown	East Perth (WAFL)
	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
TAYLOR Kevin	115	1978-80, 1982-84	East Fremantle (WAFL)
	32	1985-86	Swan Districts (WAFL)
	33	1987-88	West Torrens (SANFL)
THORN Tom	24	1980-82	West Adelaide (SANFL)
THORNE Harry	9	1988-89	East Fremantle (WAFL)
	5	unknown	East Perth (WAFL)
TONGERIE Shane	36	1991-93	Central Districts (SANFL)
TRENT Jack	89	1956-60	East Perth (WAFL)
UGLE Grenville	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
UGLE Troy	89	1987-94	Swan Districts (WAFL)
VIGONA Benny	165	1977-86	South Fremantle (WAFL)
WALLY Clive	unknown	unknown	Perth (WAFL)
WANGANEEN Gavin	24	1990-91	Port Adelaide (SANFL)
WARE Peter	131	1982-88	Swan Districts (WAFL)
WILLIAMS Bruce	13	unknown	South Fremantle (WAFL)
WILLIAMS Malcolm	57	1988-90	West Perth (WAFL)
	35	1991-92	Subiaco (WAFL)
	3	1991	East Perth (WAFL)
	12	1993-94	Perth (WAFL)
WILSON Wilbur	171	1975-86	Central Districts (SANFL)
WINMAR Laurence	2	1990	East Fremantle (WAFL)
WINMAR Nicky	58	1983-86	South Fremantle (WAFL)
WOLFE Clinton	21	1988-93	East Fremantle (WAFL)
	49	unknown	Claremont (WAFL)
WOODROFFE Greg	7	1989-90	West Perth (WAFL)
YARRAN Hank	16	1988-90	Perth (WAFL)
YARRAN Leonard	1	1987-89	Claremont (WAFL)
	5	1990	West Perth (WAFL)
YARRAN Nicholas	3	1988	Claremont (WAFL)
	17	1989-90	East Perth (WAFL)

Note ^a This table was compiled with the assistance of Karen Phelan, Public Relations Officer for the Australian Football League, Poat, P. & East, A. [1990] *The 1990 West Australian Football Register*, information provided by Mr. John O'Connell, General Manager of the WAFL and Officers from each of the WAFL clubs (Appendix3), correspondence with SANFL member clubs (Appendix 4) & Tatz [1995] *The Obstacle Race; Aborigines in Sport*.

APPENDIX 2

**Correspondence with the NTFL Requesting the Names of
Past and Present Aboriginal Footballers in the NTFL**

Victoria University of Technology

Bullarat Road Telephone
Footscray (03) 688 4200

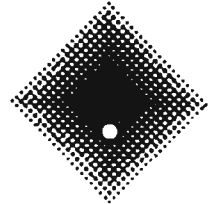
PO Box 64 Facsimile
Footscray (03) 689 4069
Victoria 3011
Australia

Footscray Campus
Department of
Physical Education
and Recreation

Telephone
(03) 688 4470
(03) 688 4473

Facsimile
(03) 688 4891

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**



VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY
OF
TECHNOLOGY

Northern Territory Football League,
The General Manager,
Football Development Foundation,
Mr. P. C. Atkinson,
P.O. Box NTFL 1,
Casuarina, Northern Territory, 0811.

Dear Mr. Atkinson,

I am sorry if any misconceptions have arisen in relation to my letter pertaining to Aboriginal Footballers who are, or who have played football in the N.T.F.L..

My request for assistance is twofold. Firstly I am interested in establishing the names of those Aboriginals who have played in the N.T.F.L. and to have also represented a team in any of the other major Football competitions: ie. The A.F.L., The S.A.N.F.L., The W.A.F.L., The Q.A.F.L. or the V.F.L..

In addition, I am also interested in establishing the proportion of Aboriginal Footballers who are currently playing in the N.T.F.L.. In relation to this request please find the most current list of players currently playing in the N.T.F.L. that I could obtain. If possible I would appreciate it if you could mark the names of those players of Aboriginal descent and add any names that are missing to this list.

I am extremely grateful of your assistance, I appreciate that this is the busiest time of your year and I look forward to hearing from you at a time that is convenient to you.

Yours Sincerely


Andrew McAree.

NORTHERN TERRITORY FOOTBALL LEAGUE TEAM LISTS.

DARWIN

COLOURS: DOUBLE BLUE
COACH: DONALD BONSON
CAPTAIN: DAVID ATKINSON
VICE CAPT: STEVEN STOKES
DAV/CAPT: WILLIAM 'NINNY' BRISTON
FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)



NIGHTCLIFF

COLOURS: BLACK & GOLD
COACH: MARK MOTLOP
CAPTAIN: INGVAR DYRTING



FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

WARATAHS

COLOURS: RED & WHITE
COACH: MAURICE RIOU
CAPTAIN: GARY ARGUS
V/CAPT: JASON WATSON



FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

	G	B
1. SHANE HAYES		
2. RONNIE MAREKO		
3. PHILLIP MAY		
4. ALAN MOORE #		
5. TREVOR DHU		
6. STEVEN STOKES		
7. DAVID PARFITT #		
8. KEVIN CUALL		
9. JAMES SING		
10. STEPHEN HAYES		
11. MARK BAKER #		
12. BERNARD NIK #		
13. NATHAN SENGE		
14. CAMERON ROSS		
15. JAMIE KREUGER		
16. MUNO TINOCO #		
17. GREG BRUCE		
18. MICHAEL WILLIAMS		
19. IAN KERIN		
20. WAYNE RITCHIE		
21. JASON JONES		
22. DAVID ATKINSON		
23. PETER REID		
24. CHARLIE MAY		
25. JONATHAN McLEOD #		
26. KARL HOWARD		
27. JOSEPH KELLY #		
28. KENNY REID		
29. GUY ADAMS		
30. WAYNE THOMPSON		

	G	B
1. MARK MOTLOP		
2. BRENDAN LANG		
3. BRETT WILLS		
6. MURRAY UDOLLE		
7. EDDIE CUBILLO		
9. INGVAR DYRTING		
10. ROONEY BONSON #		
11. DAVID ELIX #		
12. ROBBIE CORRIE		
13. CRAIG SIMONS		
15. ROONEY KEELAN #		
16. JASON BONSON #		
17. ROBIN MOONEY		
18. DANIEL GRAETZ #		
19. MARK GROGAN		
20. DAMIEN KNEEBONE		
24. ADRIAN KIDNEY		
25. PETER HALVORSON		
26. TODD SHEAHAN		
27. PATRICK GRANT		
28. JOSH PRESTON		
29. PETER GRANT		
30. NORM MURPHY #		
31. SIMON OUTRAM		
32. TODD HARTLEY		
34. GARY LINDNER		
35. CRAIG HALL		
42. TIM EDWARDS		
50. PETER MCGANN		
51. DAVID ABBOTT		

	G	B
1. JAMIE MACRI		
2. GLEN WRIGHT		
3. TOM KAVANAGH		
4. HENRY TIPUNGWUTI #		
7. SEBASTIAN TIPUNGWUTI #		
8. BRIAN ROSS #		
9. JASON WATSON		
10. BRENDAN WATSON		
11. PETER GERVINAS		
12. GARY ARGUS		
13. EDDIE KITCHING		
14. GRAHAM ROSS		
15. MARK RYAN #		
16. GREG ORSTO		
17. MAURICE RIOU		
18. MICHAEL CAMEIRAO		
19. ASHLEY BARNETT		
20. RICHARD ADAMS		
21. GAVIN ADAMS		
22. ANDY MILLER		
23. RON ROE		
24. CHRIS GRUMLEY		
25. KYLE ATKINSON		
26. TONY VAGG		
27. WILLIE RIOU		
28. MICHAEL CARROLL		
29. PAUL CARROLL		
30. PETER CROSSBY		

ST. MARYS

COLOURS: BOTTLE GREEN & GOLD
COACH: JOHN TAYLOR
CAPTAIN: BRIAN LONG
V/CAPT: MICHAEL ATHANASIOU
DAV/CAPT: CYRIL RIOU
FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

1. CYRIL RIOU
2. ALLEN CORRIE
3. BRETT GRIGGS
4. BRIAN LONG
5. DARREN WEETRA
6. TED LUDY
7. TOMMY WEETRA
8. BRIAN STANISLAUS
9. ALBERTO CUBILLO
10. AARON PERRY
11. WAYNE MCLENNAN
12. DENNIS DUNN
13. KEN HILL
14. NOEL LONG
15. SHANE PONTER
16. NATHAN RICHARDSON
17. DAMIEN HALE
18. CHRIS WHELAN
19. MICHAEL ATHANASIOU
20. DAMIEN BERTO
22. TODD SPEARMAN
23. GABBY WEETRA
24. CHRIS LONG
25. WAYNE HENWOOD
26. KYRI HILL
27. RHYS CAMPBELL
29. BRADLEY DOBSON
29. AIDEN HENRY
30. CRAIG JUDO
33. JOHN LONG

NORTH DARWIN

COLOURS: BLACK & WHITE
COACH: DANNY JENKINS
CAPTAIN: N. CAMMERANO

FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

1. ROONEY MARBINDA #
2. FRED MUGGLETON
3. GEOFF CALLENDER
4. MICHAEL TOWNSEND
5. BRETT EDWARDS
6. STEVE GASTON
7. MARK TURNER #
8. DAVID CUSACK
9. NAZARO CAMARANO
10. SCOTT HASELGROVE
11. PETER KUEBER
12. CHRIS MOLLOY
13. MICHAEL COREY #
14. BRAD MALONEY
15. TIM WATKINS
16. GERRY GREIG
18. FABIAN DAVEY
19. LUDO HUNTER
20. NATHAN FISHER
21. BRETT FISHER
22. WARREN BENTON
23. RICHARD GATES
24. IAN THOMPSON
25. CRAIG KELLY
27. PETER KATHAPOULIS
28. ASHLEY CORBETT
29. JASON MAYINAJ #
33. DAVID NARKLE

WANDERERS

COLOURS: BLUE & GOLD
COACH: BRIAN HOOD
CAPTAIN: DAVID TOTHAM

FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)



	G	B
1. KEVIN WANGANEEN		
2. JOHN ROBERTS		
3. MATHEW JOHNSON		
4. BLAIR MOURISH		
5. ROD LEWIS		
6. DARRYL TAYLOR		
7. PONCIE CUBILLO		
8. SEAMUS SHARKEY		
9. ANDREW COOPER		
10. RICHARD GUIT		
11. DUSTY MILLAR		
12. LINK JENKINS		
13. PHILIP ROUT		
14. GLEN MARRETT		
15. GLEN MOREEN #		
17. BRAD MAWSON		
18. SHAUN CUSACK #		
19. LEIGH MURPHY		
21. BRETT JUKAWICS		
22. DAVID TOTHAM		
23. TROY ANGEL		
24. RUSSELL JEFFREY		
25. GARY DHJIRKAY		
26. MARK DEEBLE		
27. STEVE CONNELLY		
29. IAN BERRY		
30. JACK CONRICK		
31. MANUEL NIK #		
32. STEPHEN GAMMER		

SOUTHERN DISTRICTS

COLOURS: RED, BLACK & WHITE
COACH: DENNIS LEWFATT
CAPTAIN: DARREN FLANAGAN

FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

2. JOHN SECRETT
3. RICK LAVERCOMBE
4. GREG WEST
5. BRADLEY COPELAND
6. WAYDE MALLIE
7. ROBERT RUSCA
9. MURRAY HILL
12. NATHAN BUCKLEY
13. STEVE ROY
14. GREG SMITH
16. MATTHEW BEGGS
17. DARRYL COPELAND #
19. ROWAN MAYNE
21. DARREN FLANAGAN
22. GRAHAM TAYLOR
24. BRETT DUCKETT
25. NEIL RUSSELL
27. STEVEN TURNER
28. FRANK CARBONE #
32. TREVOR GROWDEN
40. MATTHEW IRWIN
42. STEVE KIRK
50. PAUL ROSS
53. TIM OTTO



NORTHERN TERRITORY FOOTBALL LEAGUE INC.

Football Development Foundation

PO BOX NTFL 1 CASUARINA NORTHERN TERRITORY 0811
TELEPHONE (089) 452224 FACSIMILE (089) 450069

PATRON
J.H. MUIRHEAD QC.

15 April 1992

Andrew McAree,
Victoria University of Technology,
P.O. Box 64,
Footscray Vic 3011

Dear Mr McAree,

Re: Aboriginal Footballers - Southern Leagues

I refer to your latest letter seeking information about
aboriginal footballers in and from the NTFL.

Please find enclosed a copy of the team list you supplied
with aboriginal players highlighted by me.
The lists had close to 200 names showing and the 96 odd
aboriginal players included is probably a fair reflection of
the normal percentages.

It is interesting to note that only 1 (Premiers St Marys)
have an aboriginal captain.

It should be pointed out though that the sides which have
won all but 4 premierships since 1974 have been St Marys and
Darwin clubs which have a strong local aboriginal family
base. Indeed these clubs have contested the last 3 Grand
Finals including the 1992 Grand Final.
Clubs such as Waratahs & North Darwin rely on an influx each
season of "southern" players and neither club is
consistently "competitive".
Southern Districts club is only 10 years old and entered the
League ranks 5 seasons ago.

The origins of each club are interesting in that several of
our clubs banned aboriginals from playing with them, a
situation which did not alter until the mid 60's.

Darwin, Wanderers and Waratahs are foundation NTFL clubs
formed in 1916, St Marys was created especially to give Tiwi
Island aboriginals a game in the early 50's, Nightcliff was
created in the late 40's, North Darwin in 1969 and as
mentioned Southern Districts in the early 80's.
Districts was formed to cater for people living in the rural
area 15-50 kms south of Darwin, an area which now has a
population of close to 20,000.

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Your request to establish names of players who have played in other competitions is extremely difficult at this time. The NTFL registrar is currently involved in a long exercise to produce such information for a NTFL history statistical type book which should be available later this year.

We do not consider the QAFL a major competition and are only attempting to produce statistics about players who have reached league level in the SANFL and WAFL.

The QAFL is from my observation and in the NTFL's opinion the equivalent of the TAFL, ACTFL, NSWFL and NTFL competition with many of each of their "representative" players over the years playing in Darwin and failing to dominate or perform to the same level as former SA, WA or Victorian "Senior" players.

Players originating from the NTFL who have played at Senior VFL or AFL level include Maurice Rioli (Richmond), Russell Jeffrey (Geelong/St Kilda/Brisbane), Michael McLean (Footscray/Brisbane), Fabian Francis (Melbourne/Brisbane), Darryl White (Brisbane), Brian Stanislaus (Sydney), Kevin Caton (West Coast/Fitzroy/Brisbane), Greg & Gilbert McAdam (St Kilda) Matthew Ahmat (Brisbane) & Bob Jones (St Kilda). We have several others currently with southern league clubs which we expect to play at senior level in 1992.

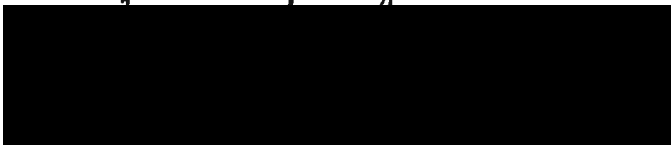
A player David Ross was recruited by North Melbourne in 1983 and although he did not reach league level won the Under 19 VFL Best & Fairest Medal, the Mourish Medal.

The NTFL has produced several State of Origin aboriginal players including Basil Campbell, Willie Roe and Benny Vigona. Prior to "State of Origin" football Bill Dempsey and Bill Roe (father of Willie) represented WA and the late Tiwi Island champion David Kantilla represented SA in the 60's.

I trust the above information is useful to you and what you seek.

If further information is sought please write to the NTFL Registrar Michael Barfoot c/- this address. He is compiling the information you appear to seek and should have most by July/August.

Yours sincerely,



/ P.C. Atkinson
General Manager

NORTHERN TERRITORY FOOTBALL LEAGUE TEAM LISTS.

DARWIN

COLOURS: DOUBLE BLUE
COACH: DONALD BONSON
CAPTAIN: DAVID ATKINSON
VICE CAPT: STEVEN STOKES
DN/CAPT: WILLIAM 'NINNY' BRISTON
FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)



G B

1. SHANE HAYES
2. RONNIE MAREKO
3. PHILLIP MAY
4. ALAN MOORE
5. TREVOR DHU
6. STEVEN STOKES
7. DAVID PARFITT
8. KEVIN OUAL
9. JAMES SING
10. STEPHEN HAYES
11. MARK BAKER
12. BERNARD NIKO
13. NATHAN SENGE
14. CAMERON ROSS
15. JAMIE KREUGER
16. NUNO TINOCO
17. GREG BRUCE
18. MICHAEL WILLIAMS
19. IAN KERIN
20. WAYNE RITCHIE
21. JASON JONES
22. DAVID ATKINSON
23. PETER REID
24. CHARLIE MAY
25. JONATHAN McLEOD
26. KARL HOWARD
27. JOSEPH KELLY
28. KENNY REID
29. GUY ADAMS
30. WAYNE THOMPSON

NIGHTCLIFF

COLOURS: BLACK & GOLD
COACH: MARK MOTLOP
CAPTAIN: INGVAR DYRTING



FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

G B

1. MARK MOTLOP
2. BRENDAN LANG
3. BRETT WILLS
4. MURRAY LIDDLE
5. EDDIE CUBILLO
6. INGVAR DYRTING
7. ROONEY BONSON
8. DAVID ELIX
9. ROBBIE CORRIE
10. CRAIG SIMONS
11. ROONEY KEELAN
12. JASON BONSON
13. ROBIN KONEY
14. DANIEL GRAETZ
15. MARK GROGAN
16. DAMIEN KNEEBONE
17. ADRIAN KONEY
18. PETER MALVORSON
19. TODD SHEAHAN
20. PATRICK GRANT
21. JOSH PRESTON
22. PETER GRANT
23. NORM MURPHY
24. SIMON OUTRAM
25. TODD HARTLEY
26. GARY LINDNER
27. CRAIG HALL
28. TIM EDWARDS
29. PETER MCGANN
30. DAVID ABBOTT

WARATAHS

COLOURS: RED & WHITE
COACH: MAURICE RIOLI
CAPTAIN: GARY ARGUS
VICAPT: JASON WATSON



FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

G B

1. JAMIE MACRI
2. GLEN WRIGHT
3. TOM KAVANAGH
4. HENRY TIPUNGWUTI
5. SEBASTIAN TIPUNGWUTI
6. BRIAN ROSS
7. JASON WATSON
8. BRENDAN WATSON
9. PETER GERVINAS
10. GARY ARGUS
11. EDDIE KITCHING
12. GRAHAM ROSS
13. MARK RYAN
14. GREG CRISTO
15. MAURICE RIOLI
16. MICHAEL CAMEBAO
17. ASHLEY BARNETT
18. RICHARD ADAMS
19. GAVIN ADAMS
20. ANDY MILLER
21. RON ROE
22. CHRIS GRUMLEY
23. KYLE ATKINSON
24. TONY VAGG
25. WILLIE RIOLI
26. MICHAEL CARROLL
27. PAUL CARROLL
28. PETER CROSSBY

ST. MARYS

COLOURS: BOTTLE GREEN & GOLD
COACH: JOHN TAYLOR
CAPTAIN: BRIAN LONG
VICAPT: MICHAEL ATHANASIOU
DN/CAPT: CYRIL RIOLI
FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

NORTH DARWIN

COLOURS: BLACK & WHITE
COACH: DANNY JENKINS
CAPTAIN: N. CAMMERANO

FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

1. ROONEY MARBINDA
2. FRED MUGGLETON
3. GEOFF CALLENDER
4. MICHAEL TOWNSEND
5. BRETT EDWARDS
6. STEVE GASTON
7. MARK TURNER
8. DAVID CUSACK
9. NAZARO CAMARANO
10. SCOTT HASELGROVE
11. PETER KUEBER
12. CHRIS MOLLOY
13. MICHAEL COREY
14. BRAD MALONEY
15. TIM WATKINS
16. GERRY GREIG
17. FABIAN DAVEY
18. LUDO HUNTER
19. NATHAN FISHER
20. BRETT FISHER
21. WARREN BENTON
22. RICHARD GATES
23. IAN THOMPSON
24. CRAIG KELLY
25. PETER KATHAPOULIS
26. ASHLEY CORBETT
27. JASON MAYINAJ
28. DAVID NARPLE

WANDERERS

COLOURS: BLUE & GOLD
COACH: BRIAN HOOD
CAPTAIN: DAVID TOTHAM



FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

G B

1. KEVIN WANGANEE
2. JOHN ROBERTS
3. MATHEW JOHNSON
4. BLAIR MOURISH
5. ROD LEWIS
6. DARRYL TAYLOR
7. PONCE CUBILLO
8. SEAMUS SHARKEY
9. ANDREW COOPER
10. RICHARD GUIT
11. DUSTY MILLAR
12. LINK JENKINS
13. PHILIP ROUT
14. GLEN MARRETT
15. GLEN MOREEN
16. BRAD MAWSON
17. SHAUN CUSACK
18. LEIGH MURPHY
19. BRETT JUKAWICS
20. DAVID TOTHAM
21. TROY ANGEL
22. RUSSELL JEFFREY
23. GARY DHURPKAY
24. MARK DEEBLE
25. STEVE CONNELLY
26. IAN BERRY
27. JACK CONRICK
28. MANUEL NIKO
29. STEPHEN GRAMMER

SOUTHERN DISTRICTS

COLOURS: RED, BLACK & WHITE
COACH: DENNIS LEWFATT
CAPTAIN: DARREN FLANAGAN

FIRST YEAR PLAYER (LOCAL)

2. JOHN SECRETT
3. RICK LAVERCOMBE
4. GREG WEST
5. BRADLEY COPELAND
6. WAYDE MALLIE
7. ROBERT RUSCA
8. MURRAY HILL
9. NATHAN BUCKLEY
10. STEVE ROY
11. GREG SMITH
12. MATTHEW BEGGS
13. DARRYL COPELAND
14. ROWAN MAYNE
15. DARREN FLANAGAN
16. GRAHAM TAYLOR
17. BRETT DUCKETT
18. NEIL RUSSELL
19. STEVEN TURNER
20. FRANK CARBONE
21. TREVOR GROWDEN
22. MATTHEW JARVIN
23. STEVE KIRK
24. PAUL ROSS
25. TIM OTTO

APPENDIX 3

**Sample Correspondence with the WAFL Requesting the Names of
Past and Present Aboriginal Footballers in the WAFL.**

Ballarat Road
Footscray
PO Box 14428
MMC
Melbourne
Victoria 3000
Australia

Telephone
(03) 688 4000

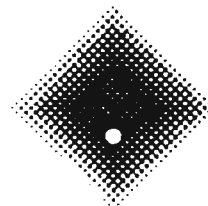
Facsimile
(03) 689 4069

Footscray Campus
Department of
Physical Education
and Recreation

Telephone
(03) 688 4470
(03) 688 4473

Facsimile
(03) 688 4891

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**



OF
TECHNOLOGY

The General Manager,
Western Australian Football League,
181 Roberts Road,
Subiaco, Western Australia

Dear Sir,

Re: Past and Present Aboriginal Players in the WAFL.

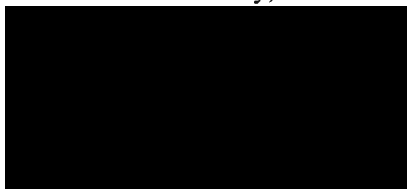
I am currently undertaking a Masters study at Victorian University of Technology related to Aboriginal involvement in Australian Rules Football and seek your assistance in helping me to identify both past and present Aboriginal Footballers in the WAFL. At this stage of my investigation I am aware that a vast number of Aboriginal players including

Barry Cable, Steven Michael, Ted Kilmurray, Graham Farmer, Syd Jackson, Chris Lewis, Irwin Lewis, Brian Peake, Jim Krakouer, Phil Krakouer, Billy Krakouer, Maurice Rioli, Willy Rioli, Cliff Collard, Brad Collard, Derek Collard, Brian Stanislaus, Bill Dempsey, Phil Cronan, Michael Mitchell, Kevin Mitchell, Phil Narkle, Kevin Caton, Peter Matera, Shane Cable, Gilbert McAdam, Russell May, Willie Dick, Danny Penny and Noel Long

have played senior football in Western Australia but given the lack of available information related to Football in Western Australia, I am unable to gain a full appreciation of Aboriginal involvement.

If you, or your officers are aware of any other Aboriginals to have played, or more importantly, those who are still playing in the WAFL, I would greatly appreciate it if you could provide me with details of their playing careers together with the total number of players to have played in the WAFL in 1992. I appreciate that this is a fairly big task, however, the opportunity to follow through on the proposed study will offer a range of potential benefits to Australian Rules Football clubs throughout Australia. I thank-you in anticipation of your assistance and look forward to hearing from you in the near future. I am available at the above address for future correspondence.

Yours Gratefully,



Andrew McAree



West Australian Football League

181 Roberts Road, Subiaco, Western Australia 6008

PO Box 275, Subiaco, Western Australia 6008

Telephone: (09) 381 5599 Fax: (09) 381 7743

29th January, 1992

Ref. No. 0512

Mr. Andrew McAree,
Victoria University of Technology,
Footscray Campus,
Department of Physical Education & Recreation,
PO Box 64,
FOOTSCRAY VIC 3011

Dear Mr. McAree,

Re: Past & Present WAFL Aboriginal Footballers

I forwarded a copy of your letter received on 19th December, 1991 to the General Manager of each of the eight WAFL Clubs, seeking assistance in identifying past and present Aboriginal players who had been involved in their club.

I enclose a copy of the reply from each of the eight Clubs.

I hope the information is of some assistance to you in your project.

Yours faithfully,


JOHN O'CONNELL
General Manager

Encls.



CLAREMONT FOOTBALL CLUB (INC.)

List of players of Aboriginal descent who have played
League football with Claremont

<u>NAME</u>	<u>NO. OF GAMES</u>	<u>YEARS</u>
AHMAT, Joseph	27	1987-88
FARMER, Brett	58	1981-83
FARMER, Dean	31	1982-89
HAYWARD, Maley	18	1928
KRAKOUER, James	88	1977-81
KRAKOUER, Phillip	90	1978-81
KRAKOUER, William	16	1989-90
KICKETT, Larry	69	1983-86
KICKETT, Derek.	32	1986-87
KICKETT, Dale	48	1988-
LEWIS, Irwin	75	1958-65
LEWIS, Clayton	25	1979-82
LEWIS, Cameron	92	1980-90
LEWIS, Christopher	7	1986-90
MITCHELL, Michael	88	1982-86
MITCHELL, Kevin	62	1985-1991
McADAM, Gilbert	3	1986
YARRAM, Leonard	1	1987
YARRAM, Nicholas	2	1988

APPENDIX 4

Correspondence with the SANFL Requesting the Names of Past and Present Aboriginal Footballers in the SANFL

Footscray
PO Box 14428
MMC
Melbourne
Victoria 3000
Australia

Telephone
(03) 688 4000

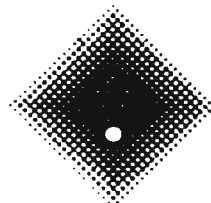
Facsimile
(03) 689 4069

Footscray Campus
Department of
Physical Education
and Recreation

Telephone
(03) 688 4470
(03) 688 4473

Facsimile
(03) 688 4891

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**



VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY
OF
TECHNOLOGY

12/10/92
The General Manager,
South Australian National Football League,
West Lakes Drive,
West Lakes, South Australia

Dear Sir,

Re: Past and Present Aboriginal Players in the SANFL.

I am currently undertaking a Masters study at Victorian University of Technology related to Aboriginal involvement in Australian Rules Football and seek your assistance in helping me to identify both past and present Aboriginal Footballers in the WAFL. At this stage of my investigation I am aware that a vast number of Aboriginal players including

Michael Graham, Eddie Hocking, Bert Johnson, Fabian Francis, Gilbert McAdam, Greg McAdam, Noel Long, Russel Muir, Roger Rigney and David Kantilla

have played senior football in South Australia but given the lack of available information related to Football in South Australia, I am unable to gain a full appreciation of Aboriginal involvement.

If you, or your officers are aware of any other Aboriginals to have played, or more importantly, those who are still playing in the SANFL, I would greatly appreciate it if you could provide me with details of their playing careers together with the total number of players to have played in the WAFL in 1992. I appreciate that this is a fairly big task, however, the opportunity to follow through on the proposed study will offer a range of potential benefits to Australian Rules Football clubs throughout Australia. I thank-you in anticipation of your assistance and look forward to hearing from you in the near future. I am available at the above address for future correspondence.

Yours Gratefully,

Andrew McAree



Major Sponsor: PATAWALONGA MOTOR INN



5 November 1991

A McAree
Victoria University of Technology
Footscray Campus
PO Box 64
FOOTSCRAY VIC 3011

Dear Andrew,

Sorry about the delay in writing back to you but the records you already have on David Kantilla is all we could tell you also. I have looked back through our reports that we have and it seems you have found all the research we know.

All we have in the club to go by are old Annual reports that have been kept and have information on players of the past like David Kantilla.

Presently we have no league players that are aboriginal.

Sorry we could not help you any further.

Yours sincerely,



MICHELLE TROTT
RECEPTIONIST



Bob Moran Cars



TRILOGY



APPENDIX 5

The Aboriginal and Islander Sports Hall of Fame.

Appendix 5: *The Aboriginal and Islander Sports Hall of Fame*

Athletics	Lynch Cooper
	Tom Dancey
	Karl Feifer
	Cathy Freeman
	Percy Hobson
	Bobby Kinnear
	Bobby McDonald
	Charlie Samuels
	Kyle Van Der-Kuyp
	Robert Wandin
Australian Rules	Barry Cable
	Billy Dempsey
	Graham Farmer
	Michael Graham
	Maley Hayward
	Syd Jackson
	Glenn James
	David Kantilla
	Ted Kilmurray
	Jim Krakouer
	Phil Krakouer
	Micheal Long
	Gilbert McAdam
	Norm McDonald
	Michael McLean
	Stephen Michael
	Phil Narkle
	Doug Nicholls
	Maurice Rioli
	Billy Roe
	Gavin Wanganeen
	Nicky Winmar
Badminton	Cheryl Mullet
Basketball	Michael Ahmatt
	Louisa Collins
	Kevin Coombes
	Rose Demaso
	Carmelita Dunn
	Danny Morseau
	Claude Williams
Boxing	Lawrence Baby Cassius Austin
	Eiley Bennett
	George Bracken
	Wally Carr
	Tommy Chapman
	Gary Cowburn
	Steve Dennis
	Joe Donovan
	Jeff Dynevor
	Jack Hassen
	Jerry Jerome
	Tony Mundine

	Robert Peden Ron Richards Brian Roberts Lionel Rose Dave Sands Hector Thompson Bobby Willaims Gary Williams
Cricket	Roger Brown Edna Crouch Mabel Crouch Jonny Cuzens Eddie Gilbert Albert Henry Ian King Jack Marsh John McGuire Johnny Mullagh Faith Thomas
Cycling	Brian Mansell
Darts	Ivy Hampton Horrie Seden
Golf	May Chalker
Hockey	Phyena Clark Lorelle Morrissey Nova Peris
Horse Racing	Richard McCarthy
Lawn Bowls	Les Appo
Netball	Nicole Cusack Sharon Finnan Marcia Ella Andrea Mason
Powerlifting	Bernie Devine
Roughriding	Alec Hayden
Rugby League	George Ambrum Sam Backo Arthur Beetson Larry Corowa Glen Crouch Tony Currie Steve Ella John Ferguson George Green Dick Johnson Lindsay Johnson Cliff Lyons Wally McArthur

Mal Meninga
Lionel Morgan
Steve Renouf
Colin Scott
Dale Shearer
Eric Simms

Rugby Union Glen Ella
Gary Ella
Mark Ella
Frank Ivory
Lloyd McDermott
Lloyd Walker

Showring Riding Jimmy Callaghan

Soccer Kayleen Janseen
Karen Menzies
John Moriarty
Charles Perkins
Harry Williams

Softball Joanne Lesiputty

Squash Steve Bowditch
Adam Schreiber

Tennis Evvone Goolagong-Cawley

Volleyball Sharon Firebase
Dalma Smith
Mark Tutton
Reg Tutton
Steve Tutton

Woodchopping Les Appo
Greg Lovell

Wrestling John Kinsella

(Taken from Tatz, 1995, pp. 360-381 & Wilkinson, 1994, p. 14)

APPENDIX 6

Rationale Underlying the Selection of Goldthorpe's Schema of Social Class

Footscray Campus
Footscray
Victoria 3011
Australia

Facsimile
03. 688 4069

Footscray Campus
Telephone
03. 688 4470
(03) 688 4473
Facsimile
(03) 688 4891

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**

TECHNOLOGY

30 January 1991,
7 Central Avenue,
North Balwyn,
Victoria, 3104.

Professor John Western,
Department of Humanities,
The University of Queensland,
Queensland.

Dear Professor Western,

I am currently undertaking a Master of Arts at Victoria University of Technology in the Department of Physical Education and Recreation and I seek your assistance. In relation to our telephone conversation on the 29th. of January, please find a copy of the rationale underlying the research methodology that I intend to use to study the social mobility achieved by Australian Rules Footballers in the subsequent pages of this facsimile.

Given your expertise in this area I would greatly appreciate it if you could review this rationale and identifying any deficiencies and if possible offer suggestions as to how the research methodology could be improved.

My 2 supervisors, Dr. Terrence Seedsman and Mr. Hayden Power, are aware that I am seeking your assistance in the review of this rationale. I am extremely grateful for your assistance and permission to use the results related to rates of social mobility that were included in 'Class Analysis in Contemporary Australia' and look forward to receiving your insights and assistance in the near future.

Yours Sincerely

Andrew McAree.

Introduction.

The study of social class and the movement between social classes, otherwise known as social mobility, have become established areas of sociological inquiry over the past three decades (Goldthorpe, 1980, p.1). More recently, this field of study has grown to include the determination of whether participation in professional and amateur sports can serve as a route for the social mobility of individuals who are members of minority groupings. From an Australian perspective it is unfortunate however that a majority of these studies have been based on the experience of professional black athletes in North America. In addition a majority of these studies, despite their claims, have only obtained measures of the occupational status of athletes and their father thus providing a measure of occupational, rather than social mobility.

The aims of this study are not only to determine whether professional sport in Australia, or more specifically Australian Rules Football, can facilitate the upward social mobility of its participants, but also to adopt a theoretical stance and research methodology that moves beyond the scope of previous sociology of sport research to obtain recognised contemporary measures of social class and social mobility. Both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies will be employed to achieve these aims.

Discussion.

Research into class has led to the development of a variety of schemas which attempt to allocate individuals positions within the class structure of modern capitalist societies. Rather than the single measure of occupational status, these schemas make such allocations on the basis of the presence or absence of a variety of measures including occupational autonomy, the ownership or non-ownership of the production apparatus, the capacity that the employee has in the decision-making process, in addition to the market characteristics of the individual's occupation (Baxter et al 1991, Goldthorpe, 1980). Specifically the conceptualisations of Poulantzas (1975), Wright [I] (1980) and Wright [II] (1985), 'The Ehrenreichs' (1972), Carchedi (1977), and Goldthorpe (1980) have emerged as the most effective schemas for class analysis. This effectiveness stems from the ability of each of these schemas to locate the 'middle strata of non-manual, supervisory professional, technical, administrative and service workers associated

with the rise of monopoly capital, who cannot be identified as capitalists or workers' (Marks et al., 1989, p.411)

Given the class structure of Australian society (Baxter et al. 1991) and the crucial role that social mobility has played in the class structuration and class formation of modern capitalist societies (Goldthorpe 1980), it is essential when studying social mobility to adopt a conceptual framework that not only acknowledges the existence of social mobility but also bases any such measure on movements between the classes.

As such Goldthorpe's Weberian Class schema, which has recently been used and operationalised in major studies of class and social mobility in Australia and England (Baxter et al, 1991., Goldthorpe, 1980), appears to be the most effective and appropriate taxonomy of class to employ when looking at and comparing rates of social mobility.

This schema, "which groups occupations according to their objective work and market situations rather than perceived social desirability" (Baxter et al., 1991, p.40), effectively divides society's class structure into seven distinct classes by combining

... occupational categories whose members would appear, in light of the available evidence, to be typically comparable, on the one hand, in terms of their sources and levels of income, their degree of economic security and their chances of economic advancement; and on the other in terms of their location within the systems of authority and control governing the process of production in which they are engaged, and hence in their degree of autonomy in performing their work tasks and roles.

[Goldthorpe, 1980, p.39]

Due to the perceived existence of class boundaries and high levels of class inheritance and social closure [Wright 1989, Jones 1988], social mobility is seen as being unachievable in modern capitalist societies by a majority of Marxist theorists. As such the remainder of the schemas previously mentioned [Poulantzas, Wright (I and II), The Ehrenreichs and Carchedi], are seen as being inappropriate for use in the study of social mobility given their Marxist bases.

The operationalisation of Goldthorpe's schema.

The operationalisation of Goldthorpe's schema used by Baxter et. al., in their study 'Class Analysis and Contemporary Australia' (1991), consists of eight questions which are used to determine the respondents 'class of origin'. These questions are seen to effectively determine the objective work and market situation of the respondent (Baxter et al., 1991, p.362).

It is the intention of this study to change the tense of these questions to the first person so that a similar objective measure of class for the respondent can be obtained. Consistent with the analytic procedures employed by Goldthorpe (1980), these questions will be used to obtain a measure of absolute mobility, the rate of mobility that is actually observed via the research methodology employed, for each of the research groupings (Goldthorpe, 1980, p.29). These results will then be compared with the social mobility findings of Baxter et al. (1991, p.46-47) in order to gain an appreciation of the rate of social mobility for each of the research groupings relative to the rates of social mobility of the general population.

Furthermore, to establish a more comparative and extensive measure of educational attainment is obtained, two questions in the original format 'Do you hold a post-secondary qualification ?' and 'What is the name of this qualification ?' were substituted for item 8 in the list below. This item was taken from the original survey's demographic items. These modifications have been made to the original format for no other reason than to make them more relevant to the respondent. The original questions and their alterations are shown below.

a) Questions that will be used to determine 'class of origin' with the adaptations described above (Baxter et al., 1991, p.362).

1. Who provided the most financial support in your family while you were growing up ? (If unclear who provided the most financial support in your family when you were 16 ?)
2. What was (person in question 1)'s main occupation ? That is what kind of work did he/ she generally do ?
3. What kind of business was that in ? That is, what did they do or make ?

4. When you were growing up with your family, was (person in question 1) always self-employed, or did he/she always work for someone else, or some of each ?
5. If the (person in question 1) was self-employed did he/she have payed employees working for (him/her) or did (he/she) usually work by (himself/herself) ?
6. Did your (person in question 1) usually occupy a management or supervisory position while you were growing up ?
7. Most of the time was (he/she) self-employed or did (he/she) usually work for someone else ?
8. At what stage did your (person in question 1) finish (his/her) education ?
 - a. Still at school
 - b. Primary
 - c. Some secondary (specify level)
 - d. Secondary completed
 - e. Still at vocational training, or apprenticeship
 - f. Some vocational training or apprenticeship
 - g. other (specify)
 - h. Still at tertiary
 - i. Some tertiary
 - j. Tertiary completed (specify)
 - k. No formal education

b) Questions used to measure the social class of the respondent Modified from Baxter et al., 1991, p.362 by relating the original questions to the respondent.

1. What is your main occupation ? That is what kind of work do you generally do ?
2. What kind of business or industry is that in ? That is what do you make or do ?
3. Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else ?
4. If you are self employed, do you have paid employees working for you or do you generally work for yourself ?
5. Do you occupy a management or supervisory position ?
6. Most of the time have you been self-employed or do you usually work for someone else ?
8. At what stage did you finish your education ?
 - a. Still at school
 - b. Primary
 - c. Some secondary (specify level)
 - d. Secondary completed
 - e. Still at vocational training, or apprenticeship
 - f. Some vocational training or apprenticeship
 - g. other (specify)
 - h. Still at tertiary
 - i. Some tertiary

- j. Tertiary completed (specify)
- k. No formal education

9. What was your first full-time occupation prior to playing AFL football ?

Further questions to be included in the questionnaire.

In contrast to the above objective measures, respondents will also be questioned on their subjective beliefs, expectations and experiences of the effectiveness of Australian Rules Football as a means for social mobility. The questions asked will vary according to the experimental grouping to which the respondent is allocated so that only appropriate questions are asked: ie Group I: Aboriginal Footballer, Group II: Non-Aboriginal Footballer, or Group III: Aboriginal Non-Footballer.

Group I: Aboriginal Footballer and Group II: Non-Aboriginal Footballer

The first two research groupings (Aboriginal Footballers and Non-Aboriginal Footballers) will be asked the following questions related to their perceptions of the effectiveness and suitability of Football participation as a means for social mobility. The first three questions are included to illuminate the aspirations of the respondent, questions 4, 5, 6 and 7, were included to determine the experiences of racism of the respondent, and the final two questions were included to examine the post-football aspirations of respondents:

1. What are your main personal goals ? That is what do you hope to achieve in life ?
2. Has football will helped or hindered the achievement of these goals ? How ?
3. Why do you play football at this level ?
4. Why didn't you choose some other occupation ?
5. Do you think playing football helps you to fit into White Australian society ?
6. Have you experienced racism ? Where ?
7. By playing football are you sacrificing some aspect of your Aboriginality ? (Have you moved away from traditional Aboriginal Society)
9. What do you think you will do at the end of your football career ?
10. Do you think that because you have played football that you will be able to achieve these goals more readily ?

These two research groupings will then be compared in relation to rates of absolute and relative mobility, and their responses to those questions shown above.

Group III: Aboriginal Non-Footballers.

The third research grouping (Aboriginal Non-Footballers) will be asked questions related to whether they perceive football to be an effective means for social mobility. In addition to their personal experiences the questions aimed at this group will also relate to their beliefs and attitudes. These questions are shown below.

1. List the ways that are available for Aboriginals to improve their position in White Australian society ?
2. Do you think that by playing Australian Rules Football an individual can improve their position in Australian society ?
3. Do you think that those Aboriginals who play Australian Rules Football for an AFL club have improved their position in White Australian society ?
4. Do you believe that Australian society is racist ?
5. Do you think that by playing Australian Rules Football for an AFL club, Aboriginal footballers have lost some aspect of their Aboriginality ?

The absolute rate of social mobility for this research group will then be compared to their football playing counterparts and the rate of social mobility relative to the general population will be determined by comparison with the results of Baxter et al. (1991). Responses to the above questions will also be compared with the Aboriginal Footballer grouping and any differences that exist will be identified.

Demographic items.

In addition to the previously mentioned items each respondent will be asked the following demographic questions which were adapted from Baxter et al., (1991 p.368) to suit the purposes of this

study. Question 7 was made open ended so as to avoid placing any value judgement on the religious beliefs of the respondent.

1. Age years.
2. In which country were you born ?
3. In which country was your father born ?
4. In which country was your mother born ?
5. Are you an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander ? (Yes / No)
6. Do you consider yourself as having a religion ? (Yes / No)
7. What religion is that ? (please specify)

So that the playing experiences of the two footballer groupings can be established, these two groupings were also asked the following questions.

8. Which of the following best describes the area which you grew up ?
 - a. Rural Village (Up to 1000)
 - b. Small Town (Up to 25000)
 - c. Large Town / City (over 25000)
9. Which of the following describes the area in which you currently reside ?
 - a. Rural Village (Up to 1000)
 - b. Small Town (Up to 25000)
 - c. Large Town / City (over 25000)
10. Which team do you currently play for ?
11. Which competition were you recruited from ?
12. How many senior games did you play for your previous club ?
13. Have you played for any other V.F.L./AFL. clubs ? (Please list)
14. How many senior V.F.L./AFL. games have you played ?
15. How many reserve V.F.L./AFL. games have you played ?
16. In what year did you first play V.F.L./AFL. football ?

Thus, depending on the group that the respondent is said to belong to, the number of questions asked will vary from 32 (non-footballer) to 40 (two footballer groupings). These questions will be administered

personally in an interview format to each of the research groups. Interviews will be recorded and notes will be taken throughout the interview.

Sample Questionnaire (Group I: Aboriginal Footballers)

1. Age years.
2. In which country were you born ?
3. In which country was your father born ?
4. In which country was your mother born ?
5. Are you an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander ? (Yes / No)
6. Do you consider yourself as having a religion ? (Yes / No)
7. What religion is that ? (please specify)
8. Which of the following best describes the area which you grew up ?
 - a. Rural Village (Up to 1000)
 - b. Small Town (Up to 25000)
 - c. Large Town / City (over 25000)
9. Which of the following describes the area in which you currently reside ?
 - a. Rural Village (Up to 1000)
 - b. Small Town (Up to 25000)
 - c. Large Town / City (over 25000)
10. Which team do you currently play for ?
11. Which competition were you recruited from ?
12. How many senior games did you play for your previous club ?
13. Have you played for any other V.F.L./AFL. clubs ? (Please list)
14. How many senior V.F.L./AFL. games have you played ?
15. How many reserve V.F.L./AFL. games have you played ?
16. In what year did you first play V.F.L./AFL. football ?
17. What are your main personal goals ? That is what do you hope to achieve in life ?
18. Has football will helped or hindered the achievement of these goals ? How ?
19. Why do you play football at this level ?
20. Why didn't you choose some other occupation ?
21. Do you think playing football helps you to fit into White Australian society ? How /How not?

22. Have you experienced racism ? Where ?
23. By playing football are you sacrificing some aspect of your Aboriginality ? (Have you moved away from traditional Aboriginal Society)
24. What will you do at the end of your football career ?
25. Do you think that because you have played football that you will be able to achieve these goals more readily ?
26. Who provided the most financial support in your family while you were growing up ? (If unclear who provided the most financial support in your family when you were 16 ?)
27. What was (person in question 1)'s main occupation ? That is what kind of work did he/ she generally do?
28. What kind of business was that in ? That is, what did they do or make ?
28. When you were growing up with your family, was (person in question 1) always self-employed, or did he/she always work for someone else, or some of each ?
29. If the (person in question 1) was self-employed did he/she have payed employees working for (him/her) or did (he/she) usually work by (himself/herself) ?
30. Did your (person in question 1) usually occupy a management or supervisory position while you were growing up ?
31. Most of the time was (he/she) self-employed or did (he/she) usually work for someone else ? 32. At what stage did your (person in question 1) finish (his/her) education ?
- Still at school
 - Primary
 - Some secondary (specify level)
 - Secondary completed
 - Still at vocational training, or apprenticeship
 - Some vocational training or apprenticeship
 - other (specify)
 - Still at tertiary (specify)
 - Some tertiary
 - Tertiary completed (specify)
 - No formal education
33. What is your main occupation ? That is what kind of work do you generally do ?
34. What kind of business or industry is that in ? That is what do you make or do ?
35. Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else ?

36. If you are self employed, do you have paid employees working for you or do you generally work for yourself ?
37. Do you occupy a management or supervisory position ?
38. Most of the time have you been self-employed or do you usually work for someone else ?
39. At what stage did you finish your education ?
- a. Still at school
 - b. Primary
 - c. Some secondary (specify level)
 - d. Secondary completed
 - e. Still at vocational training, or apprenticeship
 - f. Some vocational training or apprenticeship
 - g. other (specify)
 - h. Still at tertiary
 - i. Some tertiary (specify)
 - j. Tertiary completed (specify)
 - k. No formal education
40. What was your first full-time occupation prior to playing AFL football ?

PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT
BRUCE RIGSBY
PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
JOHN WESTERN



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JSW/IS

Mr Andrew McAree,
Physical Education and Recreation,
Victoria University of Technology,
Footscray Campus,
P.O. Box 64,
FOOTSCRAY, Vic. 3011.

Dear Andrew,

Thank you for sending me your paper on Goldthorpe and mobility. I agree with most of what you say in the first part of the paper, although see the note on page 3. You have the questions confused re the construction of the Goldthorpe class model.

The questions you have identified are the basis for Erik Wright's model. Goldthorpe's class model is based entirely on occupation - you need ASCO codes. See the section on Goldthorpe starting on page 39 of Baxter *et al.*'s *Class Analysis and Contemporary Australia*.

I hope this is of some help.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN S. WESTERN,
Professor of Sociology.

APPENDIX 7

Breakdown of occupations allocated to each of the classes used in this study.

CLASS I:

1A Self-employed Professionals

- 1a1 Doctors
- 1a2 Lawyers
- 1a3 Accountants
- 1a4 Dentists
- 1a5 Surveyors
- 1a6 Architects
- 1a7 Pharmacists
- 1a8 Engineers
- 1a9 Stock and Insurance Brokers

1B Salaried Professionals

- 1b1 Engineers
- 1b2 Accountants/Company Secretaries
- 1b3 Surveyors
- 1b4 Doctors
- 1b5 Natural Scientists
- 1b6 Architects and Town Planners
- 1b7 University Lecturers
- 1b8 Lawyers
- 1b9 Airline Pilots

1C Administrators and Officials

- 1c1 Managers Large Commercial enterprises
- 1c2 Sales Managers
- 1c3 Senior civil servants
- 1c4 Local Authority senior officers
- 1c5 Company Directors

1D Industrial Managers

- 1d1 Engineering Managers
- 1d2 Extractive industry Manager
- 1d3 Manufacturing Manager
- 1d4 Construction Manager
- 1d5 Personnel Manager (Large)

1E Large Proprietors

- 1e1 Working owners of large Shops
- 1e2 Working owners of service agencies

CLASS II:

2A Administrators and Officials

- 2a1 Police Officers
- 2a2 Radio Officers
- 2a3 Telegraph Officers

2B Technicians Higher Grade

- 2b1 Work Study Engineer
- 2b2 Computer Programmers
- 2b3 Draughtsman
- 2b4 Laboratory Technicians

2C Industrial and Business Mangers

- 2c1 Commerce Managers
- 2c2 Public utilities managers
- 2c3 Engineering managers
- 2c4 Manager Extractive industries
- 2c5 General manufacturing managers
- 2c6 Construction managers
- 2c7 Personnel managers (small)

2D Self Employed Professionals

- 2d1 Parochial Clergy
- 2d2 Entertainers
- 2d3 Artists
- 2d4 Journalists

2E Salaried Professionals

- 2e1 Primary/Secondary Teachers
- 2e2 Civil Service executive officers
- 2e3 Social welfare workers
- 2e4 Male Nurses
- 2e5 Public health inspectors
- 2e6 Journalists
- 2e7 Commercial Artists

2F Supervisors non-manual

- 2f1 Supervisor of clerical employees

2G Managers in Service and Small Administration Units

- 2g1 Managers of Shops
- 2g2 Managers of Service Agencies
- 2g3 Office managers
- 2g4 Hotel/Restaurant Managers

2H Supervisors of Non-Manual Employees

- 2h1 Supervisors of Sales personnel

CLASS III:**3A Non-Manual Employees in Administration and Commerce.**

- 3a1 Clerical workers
- 3a2 Cashiers
- 3a3 Commercial travellers

3B Service Workers Higher Grade

- 3b1 Cooks
- 3b2 Stewards
- 3b3 Hairdressers

3C Service Workers (intermediate)

- 3c1 Shop Salesmen
- 3c2 Sales Assistants

3D Service Workers (lower)

- 3d1 Caretakers
- 3d2 Doormen
- 3d3 Guards and Attendants
- 3d4 Telephone operators
- 3d5 Waiters

CLASS IV

4A Farmers and Farm Managers

- 4a1 Farmer
- 4a2 Farm Manager

4B Small Proprietors

- 4b1 Working owners of small shops
- 4b2 Working Owners of Small Service Agencies
- 4b3 Small Builders
- 4b4 Painters
- 4b5 Decorators
- 4b6 Hoteliers
- 4b7 Boarding House Keepers
- 4b8 Restraunters
- 4b9 Publicans
- 4b0 Landscape Gardeners

4C Self-Employed Workers

- 4c1 Taxi Drivers
- 4c2 Carriers
- 4c3 Cafe Owners
- 4c4 Entertainers

4D Self employed Workers (Lower Grade)

- 4d1 Street Vendors
- 4d2 Jobbling Gardeners

CLASS V

5A Technicians (Lower Grade)

- 5a1 Linesmen
- 5a2 Electricians
- 5a3 Post-Office technicians
- 5a4 Auto-Engineers
- 5a5 Radio-Engineers
- 5a6 Fire-Brigade Officers
- 5a7 Traffic Officers

5B Supervisors of Manual Employees

- 5b1 Foremen in Engineering
- 5b2 Foremen in Construction
- 5b3 Foremen in Communications
- 5b4 Foremen in Mining
- 5b5 Football Coaches
- 5b6 Transport Supervisors
- 5b7 Football Managers

5c Supervisors of Manual Employees Lower Grade

- 5c1 Foremen in Warehousing
- 5c2 Foremen in Distribution
- 5c3 Foremen in Transport
- 5c4 Foremen in Chemical Production
- 5c5 Foremen in Food Products

CLASS VI

6A Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing (Higher Grade)

- 6a1 Maintenance and other fitters
- 6a2 Millwrights
- 6a3 Toolmakers
- 6a4 Pattern Makers
- 6a5 Boilermakers

6B Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing (Intermediate Grade)

- 6b1 Machine Setters
- 6b2 Sheetmetal Workers
- 6b3 Precision Instrument Makers
- 6b4 Printers and Compositors
- 6b5 Glass and Ceramic Formers
- 6b6 Armed Services (lower ranks)

6C Skilled Manual Workers in Construction

- 6c1 Carpenters and Joiners
- 6c2 Painters and Decorators
- 6c3 Bricklayers
- 6c4 Plumbers
- 6c5 Curators
- 6c6 Tradesman unspecified

6D Skilled Manual Workers in Transport, Communications and Extractive Industries

- 6d1 Coal miners
- 6d2 Operators of Cranes and Earth Moving Equipment
- 6d3 Engine Drivers
- 6d4 Steel Erectors and Riggers

6E Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing (Lower Grade)

- 6e1 Plant and Engine Operators
- 6e2 Locksmiths
- 6e3 Engravers and Other Metal Workers
- 6e4 Moulders
- 6e5 Furnacemen and Forgers
- 6e6 Sawyers and Wood Workers
- 6e7 Butchers
- 6e8 Bakers

CLASS VII

7A Semi-Skilled Workers in Manufacturing

- 7a1 Machine and Tool Operators
- 7a2 Press Operators
- 7a3 Assemblers and Routine Inspectors
- 7a4 Chemical Process Workers
- 7a5 Food Process Workers
- 7a6 Other Process Workers

7B Agricultural Workers

- 7b1 Shearers and other Agricultural Workers

7C Semi-Skilled Workers in Construction and Manufacturing Industries

- 7c1 Roofers
- 7c2 Asphelters and Cable Layers

- 7c3 Demolition Workers
- 7c4 Surface Workers in Mining and Quarrying

7D Semi-Skilled Workers in Transport, Communications and Services

- 7d1 Truck Drivers
- 7d2 Warehousemen
- 7d3 Packers and Labellers
- 7d4 Storekeepers
- 7d5 Postal Workers
- 7d6 Bus and Coach Drivers
- 7d7 Groundsmen
- 7d8 Ambulancemen
- 7d9 Railway workers
- 7d0 Gardeners

7E Unskilled Manual Workers

- 7e1 General Labourers
- 7e2 Factory Labourers
- 7e3 Building Site Labourers
- 7e4 Railway Workers
- 7e5 Kitchen Porters
- 7e6 Office and Industrial Cleaners
- 7e7 Messengers and Couriers
- 7e8 Fishermen

APPENDIX 8

Application to the Footscray Institute of Technology Ethics Committee for Approval of Methodology and Survey

FOOTSCRAY INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECT UTILIZING HUMAN SUBJECTS
IN FOOTSCRAY INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Applications to be typewritten

To: The Registrar (Secretary),
Institutional Ethics Committee.

I attached a proposal to use human subjects for the purposes specified on the attached sheets during the period 14/ 4 /92 to 30/5 /92 .

(Note: The Institutional Ethics Committee normally grants approval for periods of up to two years, subject to annual review. Consideration will be given to granting approval for a longer period in certain circumstances).

PROJECT TITLE: SOCIAL MOBILITY, AUSTRALIAN RULES FOOTBALL AND
THE ABORIGINAL ATHLETE; A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR/S:
MR HAYDEN POWER AND DR TERENCE SEEDSMAN

DEPARTMENT/S:
PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION

Received by Secretary, Institutional Ethics Committee - Date:

REGISTER NUMBER:

1. Title of Project:

SOCIAL MOBILITY, AUSTRALIAN RULES FOOTBALL AND THE ABORIGINAL ATHLETE : A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE.

2. Principal Investigator/s:

(Projects employing post-graduate students should list the Supervisor as the principal investigator.)

MR HAYDEN POWER
DR TERENCE SEEDSMAN

3. Department/s:

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION

4. Associate Investigator/s:

ANDREW McAREE

5. Source of External Funds (where applicable):

6. Aim of Project:

TO DETERMINE WHETHER AUSTRALIAN RULES FOOTBALL HAS SERVED AS A SIGNIFICANT ROUTE FOR THE SOCIAL MOBILITY OF PRESENT DAY ABORIGINES AT THE A.F.L. LEVEL RELATIVE TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC, ABORIGINAL NON-FOOTBALLERS AND NON-ABORIGINAL FOOTBALLERS.

7. Date of commencement of experiments:

APRIL 1992

8. Indicate duration of experiments:

EACH SURVEY WILL TAKE THE RESPONDENT APPROXIMATELY 15 MINUTES TO COMPLETE.

9. Period for which approval is sought:
(up to 2 years)

18 MONTHS

10. Number, type and age range of subjects:

- MALE ABORIGINAL NON-FOOTBALLERS AGED 17 - 35.
- MALE A.F.L. FOOTBALLERS AGED - 17-35.

11. Source of subjects, and means by which subjects are to be recruited:

MALE ABORIGINAL NON- FOOTBALLERS WILL BE RECRUITED THROUGH
A VARIETY OF ABORIGINAL AGENCIES IN VICTORIA.
MALE A.F.L. FOOTBALLERS RECRUITED THROUGH CONTACTS WITH CLUBS.

12. Is there any payment of subjects proposed? If so, how much?

NO

13. Premises on which experiments are to be conducted:

Copy of approval for use of subjects in non-affiliated institutions, to be attached.

THE SURVEYS WILL BE COMPLETED BY THE A.F.L. PLAYER GROUP IN
PREMISES OF EACH OF THE A.F.L. CLUBS.

THE ABORIGINAL NON-FOOTBALLER GROUPING WILL BE SURVEYED IN
A VARIETY OF EXTERNAL LOCATIONS.

14. Nature of experimentation, including a list of all procedures to be used on human subjects, with a description of those you consider beyond already established and accepted techniques:

(If, in the course of your research, procedures are significantly varied from those stated here, the Committee on Human Experimentation must be informed.

IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER SPORT IS A VIABLE MEANS FOR THE
SOCIAL MOBILITY OF ABORIGINAL FOOTBALLERS RELATIVE TO THE G.P.
ABORIGINAL NON-FOOTBALLERS AND NON-ABORIGINALS FOOTBALLERS,
A SURVEY METHODOLOGY SHALL BE USED. A COPY OF THE SURVEY TO
BE USED CAN BE FOUND AT THE BACK OF THIS SUBMISSION. THE ABORIGINAL
NON-FOOTBALLER GROUPING WILL BE SURVEYED WITH THE SAME QUESTIONNAIRE
MINUS THOSE QUESTIONS RELATED TO FOOTBALL PLAYING EXPERIENCE.

15. Please detail any ethical issues which, in your view, are associated with this project.

I BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN THIS SURVEY, ARE MORALLY AND ETHICALLY CORRECT. THEY RELATE ONLY TO FACTUAL, DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENT AND THEIR BELIEFS. IN ADDITION RESPONDENTS ARE SEEN AS BEING QUALIFIED TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN THIS SURVEY.

16. State any potential risks - physical psychological, social, legal, or other - connected with the proposed procedures and state means (including confidentiality safeguards) of protecting against or minimizing potential risks and an assessment of their likely effectiveness.

THE ONLY . . . RISK TO SUBJECTS IS THAT THEY MAY BE IDENTIFIED FROM THEIR RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS INCLUDED ON THE SURVEY. IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF SUBJECTS, RESPONSES TO THE SURVEY'S QUESTIONS WILL BE CODED AND ANALYSED IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY READER TO ASCERTAIN THE IDENTITY OF ANY RESPONDENT.

17. If you consider the subject to be "at risk", in what respect do the potential benefits to the subject or contributions to the general body of knowledge outweigh the risks?

- A. State how you will obtain documentation of informed consent. Answer even if you consider subjects not at risk. Do not use "inapplicable".
- B. If you consider subjects to be "at risk", state exactly what you tell him or her in lay language to obtain informed consent to each procedure wherein he or she is "at risk". This must be a form that is given or read to the subject particularly for this purpose. PLEASE ATTACH COPY OF FORM.

TO ENSURE THAT THE SUBJECT IS AWARE OF THE PROGRAMS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES THEY WILL BE GIVEN THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE SURVEY.

INSTRUCTIONS.

- *This survey is a part of a major study related to Australian Rules Football. It is being conducted through the Department of Physical Education and Recreation at Victoria University of Technology (Footscray Campus).*
- *All answers given will remain completely confidential and will only be used for statistical analysis. Your identity will remain anonymous.*
- *Please answer all questions as fully as possible.*

19. Any other relevant comments:

Declaration

I, the undersigned, have read the current NH&MRC Statement on Human Experimentation and the relevant Supplementary Notes to this Statement, and accept responsibility for the conduct of the experimental procedures detailed above in accordance with the principles contained in the Code and any other condition laid down by the Institute's Human Experimentation Committee.

Principal Investigator's/s' signature/s:

[Redacted signature]

Date: 27/4/92

Date:

*Associate Investigator's signature:

[Redacted signature]

Date: 27/4/92

If the investigator is a student,
Supervisor's signature:

Date:

Co-Investigator's/s' signatures/s:

1.

[Redacted signature]

Date: 22.5.92

2.

Date:

3.

Date:

4.

Date:

5.

Date:

Head of Department's signature:

[Redacted signature]

Date: 13.5.92

Dean of Faculty's signature:

[Redacted signature]

Date: 17-5-92

- * The Associate Investigator will assume responsibility for the project in the absence of the Principal Investigator.

27 April 1989

AA2704R01

PN:kp

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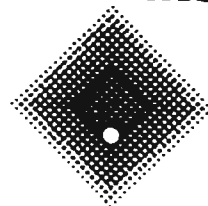
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and Recreation

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(03) 688 4473

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(03) 688 4891

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**



TECHNOLOGY

CONFIDENTIAL:

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION.

INSTRUCTIONS.

- *This survey is a part of a study related to Australian Rules Football.*
It is being conducted through the Department of Physical Education and Recreation at Victoria University of Technology (Footscray Campus).
- *All answers given will remain completely confidential and will only be used for statistical analysis. Your identity will remain anonymous.*
- *Please answer all questions as fully as possible.*

- Q.1 Age _____ years.
- Q.2 Which football competition were you first recruited to the V.F.L./A.F.L. from? _____
- Q.3 In what year did you first play V.F.L./A.F.L. football? _____
- Q.4 How many senior V.F.L./A.F.L. games have you played? _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following question.

- Q.5 Including your present club, how many A.F.L./V.F.L. clubs have you played senior football with ?

- ☐ 1.
- ☐ 2.
- ☐ 3 or more.

- Q.6 In which country were you born? _____
- Q.7 In which country was your father born? _____
- Q.8 In which country was your mother born? _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **TWO** questions

Q.9 **Are you an Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander?**

- ☐ *Yes* (*please specify*) _____
- ☐ *No*

Q.10 **Do you consider yourself as having a religion?**

- ☐ *Yes* [*Go to question 11*]
- ☐ *No* [*Go to question 12*]

Q.11 **What religion is that? (please specify) _____**

Q.12 **Which person provided the most financial support in your family while you were growing up? (If unclear, who provided the most financial support in your family when you were 16?) _____**

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following question

Q.13 **What level of education has the person listed in question 12 attained?**

- ☐ *No formal education*
- ☐ *Primary*
- ☐ *Some secondary (specify level: eg. Year 10) _____*
- ☐ *Still at secondary*
- ☐ *Completed secondary school*
- ☐ *Some vocational training or apprenticeship*
- ☐ *Completed vocational training or apprenticeship*
- ☐ *Still at tertiary (please specify the course being studied) _____*
- ☐ *Tertiary completed (specify the course studied) _____*
- ☐ *other (please specify) _____*
- _____

Q.14 **What was the main occupation of the person listed in question 12? That is what kind of work did he or she generally do?** _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **FOUR** questions.

Q.15 **Did the person listed in question 12 usually hold a management or supervisory position while you were growing up?**

☐ *Yes*

☐ *No*

Q.16 **When you were growing up with your family, was the person listed in question 12 self-employed?**

☐ *Yes*

☐ *No*

Q.17 **Did you have a full-time paid occupation immediately before you first played football in the A.F.L./V.F.L.**

☐ *Yes (Please indicate your pre-football occupation)* _____

☐ *No*

Q.18 **Do you currently have a full-time paid occupation other than playing football?**

☐ *Yes (Go to question 19)*

☐ *No (Go to question 22)*

Q.19 **Other than playing football what is your main occupation? That is what kind of work do you generally do?** _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **FIVE** questions.

Q.20 **Do you hold a management or supervisory position?**

- ☐ *Yes*
- ☐ *No*

Q.21 **Are you self-employed ?**

- ☐ *Yes*
- ☐ *No*

Q.22 **What level of education have you reached?**

- ☐ *No formal education*
- ☐ *Primary*
- ☐ *Some secondary (specify level: eg. Year 10) _____*
- ☐ *Still at secondary*
- ☐ *Completed secondary school*
- ☐ *Some vocational training or apprenticeship*
- ☐ *Completed vocational training or apprenticeship*
- ☐ *Still at tertiary (please specify the course being studied) _____*
- ☐ *Tertiary completed (specify the course studied) _____*
- ☐ *other (please specify) _____*

Q.23 **Which of the following best describes the approximate population of the city or town in which you grew up? (If unclear please indicate the population of the city or town where you lived for most of your time before the age of 16)**

- ☐ *Less than 10,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 10,000 but less than 25,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 25000 but less than 50,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 50,000 but less than 100,000 people*
- ☐ *Over 100,000 people*

Q.24 Which of the following best describes the approximate population of the city or town in which you currently reside?

- ☐
- ☐ *Less than 10,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 10,000 but less than 25,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 25000 but less than 50,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 50,000 but less than 100,000 people*
- ☐ *Over 100,000 people*

Q.25 If you wanted to improve your standing or position in Australian society, list three ways that are available for you to do so?

1.
2.
3.

Q.26 List (in order of priority) up to three of your most important long-term goals in life?

1.
2.
3.

Q.27 List the main factors that attracted you to play football in the A.F.L./V.F.L.?

Q.28 **What occupation / career do you think you will have when you finish playing football?** _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your reaction to the following **TWO** statements.

Q.29 **Playing football in the A.F.L./V.F.L. will enable me to obtain my desired post-football occupation more easily?**

<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Don't Know.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Disagree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Disagree.</i>

Q.30 **Playing football in the A.F.L./V.F.L. provides me with greater opportunities to be successful in life?**

<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Don't Know.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Disagree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Disagree.</i>

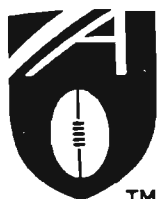
Q.31 **Success in life for me means (please comment)** _____

Q.32 Do you have any other comments related to the issues raised in this survey?

THANK-YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

APPENDIX 9

Letter of Introduction from the AFL to the AFL Clubs



TM

AUSTRALIAN
FOOTBALL
LEAGUE

AUSTRALIAN
FOOTBALL LEAGUE
A.C.N. 004 155 211
INSTITUTED 1896
INC. IN VIC. 1989

AFL House
120 Jolimont Road
Jolimont
Victoria, 3002
Telephone: (03) 654 124
Facsimile: (03) 654 1143

Address all
correspondence to:
Box 1449N
G.P.O., Melbourne, 3001

July 22, 1991.

Mr. B. Cook,
General Manager,
West Coast Eagles Football Club,
P.O. Box 508,
SUBIACO. W.A. 6008.

Dear Brian,

RE: ANDREW McAREE

I am writing this letter on behalf of Alan Schwab, who has asked me to introduce Andrew McAree to you. Andrew is a student at the Victoria University of Technology and is doing his thesis on Australian Rules football and the aboriginal athlete.

We will be giving Andrew all the assistance we can at AFL House and would appreciate it if you could do the same, particularly in regard to interviews with players.

Please don't hesitate to contact me if you have any further queries.

Yours sincerely,



Karen Phelan
PR Co-ordinator

cc General Manager
Football Manager

APPENDIX 10

Researchers Letter of Introduction to the AFL Clubs.

Victoria University of Technology

Ballarat Road Telephone
Footscray (03) 688 4000
PO Box 14428 Facsimile
MMC (03) 689 4069
Melbourne
Victoria 3000
Australia

10 April 1992,

Mr. B. Cook,
The General Manager,
West Coast Eagles Football Club,
P.O. Box 508,
Subiaco, Western Australia, 6008.

Dear Mr. Cook,

I am currently undertaking a Masters Degree at Victoria University of Technology that is related to Aboriginal involvement in Australian Rules Football. I am seeking your assistance and permission to survey the senior list of players at your club.

This study, which has been approved by, and gained the support of the A.F.L. and the Research and Graduate Studies Committee of Victoria University of Technology, relates to the experiences and perceptions of players to Aboriginal involvement in Australian Rules Football. It is essential for the purposes of this study that I obtain data from every club and from as many players as possible, so that a large and diverse sample of experiences and perceptions can be obtained.

The completion of the questionnaire by players would take approximately 15 minutes and occur at your convenience. It would be preferable, however, if data collection could be completed before July of this year. I also plan to be present at the time that the questionnaires are completed so that any misunderstandings can be addressed. I can assure you that the information obtained will remain completely confidential and will only be used for statistical analysis. It will not be possible for any reader of this thesis to ascertain the identity of any respondent. Upon completion, a copy of the final study will be forwarded to A.F.L. House and you will personally be provided with a brief synopsis of the studies results and findings.

Please find copies of my letter of introduction from the A.F.L. and the questionnaire that is to be used to obtain data. If you have any questions related to this letter I am available at the above address for future correspondence. I thank you in anticipation of your assistance and I will contact you within the next week to discuss my project with you.

Yours Sincerely : 


Andrew McAree.

cc: General Manager

Footscray Campus
Department of
Physical Education
and Recreation
Telephone
(03) 688 4470
(03) 688 4473
Facsimile
(03) 688 4891



APPENDIX 11

Instructions Read to Respondents Prior to Completing the Survey

Instructions to respondents.

Good Afternoon,

My name is Andrew McAree.

I am a post-graduate student in the department of Physical Education and Recreation at Victoria University of Technology, formerly known as Footscray Institute of Technology.

This survey is a critical part of a major research project that is currently being undertaken in the Department.

The University and I as their representative would greatly appreciate it if you could complete this survey as fully as possible.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be of interest to players, clubs and the AFL. Please note that every AFL club is involved in this study and that it has been approved by the AFL.

If you have any questions please raise your hand and I will come and speak to you.

Once you have completed the survey please place the clipboard, pen and survey in the box provided.

Please be assured that your responses will remain completely confidential.

APPENDIX 12

Letter of Thanks to Football Clubs for Assistance in this Study

Victoria University of Technology

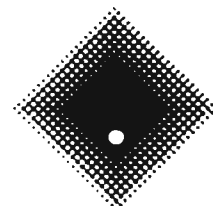
Ballarat Road Telephone
Footscray (03) 688 4000

PO Box 14428 Facsimile
MMC (03) 689 4069

Melbourne
Victoria 3000
Australia

Mr. Greg Miller,
Football Manager,
North Melbourne Football Club,
P.O. Box 158,
North Melbourne, 3051.

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**



TECHNOLOGY

Dear Greg,

On behalf of Victoria University of Technology and myself I would like to thank-you for allowing me to survey the players at your club. Your assistance was greatly appreciated and of critical importance to this study. The responses to the survey, although they are yet to be fully analysed, were extremely valuable, interesting, and were conscientiously completed by those players involved.

If you could please accept my personal thanks and that of the University and pass on my appreciation to the players for their assistance, I would be extremely grateful. When the results become available I will forward them to you as soon as is possible.

Once again thank-you for your time and assistance and I wish you luck for the remainder of the season. If you have any questions related to the study, do not hesitate to contact me at the above address or on 688 4162.

Yours Sincerely

Andrew McAree.

APPENDIX 13

Synopsis of Results Sent to AFL Clubs

PO Box 14428 Facsimile
MMC (03) 689 4069
Melbourne
Victoria 3000
Australia

Footscray Campus
Department of
Physical Education
and Recreation

Telephone
(03) 688 4470
(03) 688 4473

Facsimile
(03) 688 4891

23 August 1995,
112 Tope Street,
South Melbourne, 3205,
Phone: 9690 1689.

Mr Greg Miller,
The Football Manager,
North Melbourne Football Club,
P.O. Box 158,
North Melbourne, 3051.

Dear Greg,

Re: Study of Australian Rules Football Participation and Social Mobility of Participants

During the 1992 season players at your club completed a survey related to Aboriginal involvement in Australian Rules Football and whether participation in the AFL served as an alternate route for upward social mobility. This survey was used to provide information for my Master of Arts Thesis, undertaken at Victoria University of Technology in the Department of Physical Education and Recreation..

This thesis addressed two major research questions. The first question concerned whether there was ever a period during the history of the Victorian Football League or Australian Football League that witnessed an over-representation of Aborigines relative to their proportion in the general population. The second research question was concerned with whether or not the research group comprising *Aboriginal Footballers* in the Australian Football League had achieved a greater degree of social mobility when compared to *Non-Aboriginal Footballers*, *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *General Public*.

The first research question was addressed by undertaking an analysis of the participation of Aborigines in Victorian Football League/Australian Football League from 1898 to the present-day. Past and present Aboriginal players were identified through a review of literature related to Aboriginal participation in sport and by contact with the Australian Football League and member clubs. As a result, the names and career details of 78 Aboriginal Footballers in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League were obtained. In addition, census data related to both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations of Australia was obtained so that comparisons could be made. As a result of these investigations it was possible to examine the patterns of participation and involvement of Aborigines in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League and to compare these patterns with figures related to the proportion of Aboriginal males within the Australian population.



To examine the second research question a representative sample of Australian Football League players was obtained by surveying 12 of the 15 Australian Football League clubs. The questionnaire employed consisted of items related to football experience, social class, class of origin, descriptive characteristics, perceptions of success and the respondent's perceptions of available routes for social mobility. As a result of employing this methodology a sample of 447 *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and 24 *Aboriginal Footballers* was obtained. An age matched sample of 22 *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* was subsequently obtained by approaching various Aboriginal agencies for assistance in identifying Aboriginal males aged 18-34. A similar questionnaire was used for the *Aboriginal Non-Footballer* research grouping. Survey responses were coded with due recognition of the methods employed by contemporary sociologists in the analysis of social class and social mobility [Goldthorpe, 1980; Baxter, Emmison, Western, & Western, 1991]. Results were then tabulated and compared between the four research groupings.

The two major conclusions of this thesis were:

1. The years 1982 to the present-day constituted the third domain of Aboriginal over-representation in post colonial sport by way of involvement in the Victorian Football League/Australian Football League.
2. A significantly greater proportion of the *Aboriginal Footballer* group achieved upward social mobility when compared to the groups comprising *Aboriginal Non-Footballers* and the *General Public*.

In addition, tentative support was also offered to the following conclusions:

1. *Aboriginal Footballers* were found to differ from their non-athletic peers in relation to the education level of their financial supporter, their level of education and their perceived means for upward social mobility.
2. A significantly greater proportion of the *Non-Aboriginal Footballer* grouping are Australian Born, when compared to the *General Public* while a greater proportion of the *General Public* have religious beliefs when compared to the *Aboriginal Footballers*, *Non-Aboriginal Footballers* and *Aboriginal Non-Footballers*.
3. Aboriginal participation in post-colonial sport can be divided into three domains of over-representation. The first, spanning the years 1880-1930, is characterised by the over-representation of Aboriginals in the sports of cricket and athletics. The second domain, which spanned the years 1930-1979, involved the over-representation of Aborigines in the sport of boxing. The third domain,

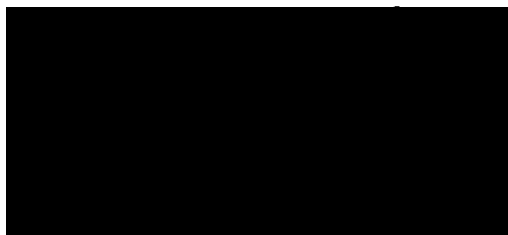
as identified in this thesis spans the years 1982 to 1994 and is characterised by the over-representation of Aborigines in Australian Rules Football. In addition, preliminary analysis of Aboriginal participation in the NSWRL also offers tentative support to belief that Aboriginal over-representation in this domain may also include Rugby League.

The major recommendations emanating from this study were:

1. Further research related the social mobility and involvement of racial, ethnic and religious minority groupings in Australian sport is warranted in support of the principle of social justice.
2. Detailed examinations of the social characteristics of elite sportspeople are required that employ recognised, contemporary measures of social class and social mobility and include the analysis of the race, gender, ethnicity and religion of participants.
3. Encouragement of further studies into the intra-generational social mobility experienced by elite Aboriginal athletes during and at the cessation of their sporting careers should be undertaken to examine whether any social mobility achieved by such athletes during their playing careers is sustained at the cessation of their respective sporting careers.
4. The patterns of involvement and experiences of male and female Aborigines in Australian sport also requires immediate examination in order to better appreciate a range of equity, access and lifestyle related issues and outcomes.

I would welcome the opportunity to discuss the information contained within this letter and other findings that emerged from this study. If you have any questions related to the information presented in this letter I would be happy to meet with you at any time.

Yours Sincerely



Andrew McAree

APPENDIX 14

Footballer Survey

INSTRUCTIONS.

- *This survey is a part of a study related to Australian Rules Football. It is being conducted through the Department of Physical Education and Recreation at Victoria University of Technology (Footscray Campus).*
- *All answers given will remain completely confidential and will only be used for statistical analysis. Your identity will remain anonymous.*
- *Please answer all questions as fully as possible.*

Q.1 Age _____ years.

Q.2 Which football competition were you first recruited to the V.F.L./A.F.L. from? _____

Q.3 In what year did you first play V.F.L./A.F.L. football? _____

Q.4 How many senior V.F.L./A.F.L. games have you played? _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following question.

Q.5 Including your present club, how many A.F.L./V.F.L. clubs have you played senior football with ?

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | 1. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 or more. |

Q.6 In which country were you born? _____

Q.7 In which country was your father born? _____

Q.8 In which country was your mother born? _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **TWO** questions

- Q.9

Are you an Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander?

☐

Yes

(please specify)

☐

No
- Q.10

Do you consider yourself as having a religion?

☐

Yes

[Go to question 11]

☐

No

[Go to question 12]
- Q.11

What religion is that? (please specify)
- Q.12

Which person provided the most financial support in your family while you were growing up? (If unclear, who provided the most financial support in your family when you were 16?)

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following question

- Q.13

What level of education has the person listed in question 12 attained?

☐

No formal education

☐

Primary

☐

Some secondary (specify level: eg. Year 10)

☐

Still at secondary

☐

Completed secondary school

☐

Some vocational training or apprenticeship

☐

Completed vocational training or apprenticeship

☐

Still at tertiary (please specify the course being studied)

☐

Tertiary completed (specify the course studied)

☐

other (please specify)
-

Q.14 **What was the main occupation of the person listed in question 12? That is what kind of work did he or she generally do?** _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **FOUR** questions.

Q.15 **Did the person listed in question 12 usually hold a management or supervisory position while you were growing up?**
☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

Q.16 **When you were growing up with your family, was the person listed in question 12 self-employed?**
☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

Q.17 **Did you have a full-time paid occupation immediately before you first played football in the A.F.L./V.F.L.**
☐ *Yes (Please indicate your pre-football occupation)* _____

☐ *No*

Q.18 **Do you currently have a full-time paid occupation other than playing football?**
☐ *Yes (Go to question 19)*
☐ *No (Go to question 22)*

Q.19 **Other than playing football what is your main occupation? That is what kind of work do you generally do?** _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **FIVE** questions.

Q.20 **Do you hold a management or supervisory position?**
☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

Q.21 **Are you self-employed ?**
☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

Q.22 **What level of education have you reached?**
☐ *No formal education*
☐ *Primary*
☐ *Some secondary (specify level: eg. Year 10) _____*
☐ *Still at secondary*
☐ *Completed secondary school*
☐ *Some vocational training or apprenticeship*
☐ *Completed vocational training or apprenticeship*
☐ *Still at tertiary (please specify the course being studied) _____*
☐ *Tertiary completed (specify the course studied) _____*
☐ *other (please specify) _____*

Q.23 **Which of the following best describes the approximate population of the city or town in which you grew up? (If unclear please indicate the population of the city or town where you lived for most of your time before the age of 16)**
☐ *Less than 10,000 people*
☐ *More than 10,000 but less than 25,000 people*
☐ *More than 25000 but less than 50,000 people*
☐ *More than 50,000 but less than 100,000 people*
☐ *Over 100,000 people*

Q.24 Which of the following best describes the approximate population of the city or town in which you currently reside?

- ☐
- ☐ *Less than 10,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 10,000 but less than 25,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 25000 but less than 50,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 50,000 but less than 100,000 people*
- ☐ *Over 100,000 people*

Q.25 If you wanted to improve your standing or position in Australian society, list three ways that are available for you to do so?

1.
2.
3.

Q.26 List (in order of priority) up to three of your most important long-term goals in life?

1.
2.
3.

Q.27 List the main factors that attracted you to play football in the A.F.L./V.F.L.?

Q.28 **What occupation / career do you think you will have when you finish playing football?** _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your reaction to the following **TWO** statements.

Q.29 **Playing football in the A.F.L./V.F.L. will enable me to obtain my desired post-football occupation more easily?**

<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Don't Know.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Disagree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Disagree.</i>

Q.30 **Playing football in the A.F.L./V.F.L. provides me with greater opportunities to be successful in life?**

<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Agree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Don't Know.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Disagree.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Strongly Disagree.</i>

Q.31 **Success in life for me means (please comment)** _____

Q.32 Do you have any other comments related to the issues raised in this survey?

THANK-YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

APPENDIX 15

Non-Footballer Survey

General Road
Footscray
Telephone
(03) 688 4000
PO Box 14428
MMC
Melbourne
Victoria 3000
Australia
Facsimile
(03) 689 4069

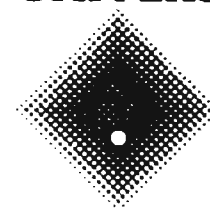
Department of
Physical Education
and Recreation

Telephone
(03) 688 4470
(03) 688 4473

Facsimile
(03) 688 4891

CONFIDENTIAL

**VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY**



TECHNOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION.

INSTRUCTIONS.

- This survey is a part of a study related to Australian Rules Football.
- It is being conducted through the Department of Physical Education and Recreation at Victoria University of Technology (Footscray Campus).
- All answers given will remain completely confidential and will only be used for statistical analysis. Your identity will remain anonymous.
- Please answer each question as fully as possible.

Q.1 Age _____ years.

Q.2 In which country were you born? _____

Q.3 In which country was your father born? _____

Q.4 In which country was your mother born? _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **TWO** questions

Q.5 Are you an Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander?

☐ Yes (*please specify*) _____

☐ No

Q.6 Do you consider yourself as having a religion?

☐ Yes [*Go to question 7*]

☐ No [*Go to question 8*]

Q.7 What religion is that? (please specify) _____

Q.8 Which person provided the most financial support in your family while you were growing up? (If unclear, who provided the most financial support in your family when you were 16?) _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following question

Q.9 **What level has the person listed in question 8 reached in their education?**

- ☐ *No formal education.*
- ☐ *Primary.*
- ☐ *Some secondary (specify level: eg. Year 10) _____*
- ☐ *Still at secondary.*
- ☐ *Completed secondary school.*
- ☐ *Some vocational training or apprenticeship.*
- ☐ *Completed vocational training or apprenticeship.*
- ☐ *Still at tertiary. (please specify the course being studied) _____*
- ☐ *Tertiary completed. (specify the course studied) _____*
- ☐ *other (please specify) _____*

Q.10 **What was the main occupation of the person listed in question 8? That is what kind of work did he or she generally do? _____**

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **FOUR** questions.

Q.11 **Did the person listed in question 8 usually hold a management or supervisory position while you were growing up?**

- ☐ *Yes.*
- ☐ *No.*

Q.12 **When you were growing up with your family, was the person listed in question 8 self-employed?**

- ☐ *Yes.*
- ☐ *No.*

- Q.13** **Do you currently have a full-time paid occupation?**
- ☐ *Yes. (Go to question 14)*
- ☐ *No. (Go to question 15)*
-
- Q.14** **What is your main occupation? That is what kind of work do you generally do?**
- _____
- _____

Please **TICK** the box next to your response choice for the following **FIVE** questions.

- Q.15** **Do you hold a management or supervisory position?**
- ☐ *Yes*
- ☐ *No*
-
- Q.16** **Are you self-employed ?**
- ☐ *Yes*
- ☐ *No*
-
- Q.17** **What level have you reached in your education?**
- ☐ *No formal education*
- ☐ *Primary*
- ☐ *Some secondary (specify level: eg. Year 10) _____*
- ☐ *Still at secondary*
- ☐ *Completed secondary school*
- ☐ *Some vocational training or apprenticeship*
- ☐ *Completed vocational training or apprenticeship*
- ☐ *Still at tertiary (please specify the course being studied)*
- ☐ *Tertiary completed (specify the course studied) _____*
- ☐ *other (please specify) _____*
- _____

Q.18 Which of the following best describes the population of the city or town in which you grew up? (If unclear please indicate the population of the city town where you spent most of your time before the age of 16?)

- ☐ *Less than 10,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 10,000 but less than 25,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 25000 but less than 50,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 50,000 but less than 100,000 people*
- ☐ *Over 100,000 people*

Q.19 Which of the following best describes the population of the city or town in which you currently reside?

- ☐ *Less than 10,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 10,000 but less than 25,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 25000 but less than 50,000 people*
- ☐ *More than 50,000 but less than 100,000 people*
- ☐ *Over 100,000 people*

Q.20 If you wanted to improve YOUR standing or position in Australian society, list three ways that are available for YOU to do so?

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

Q.21 List (in order of priority) upto three of YOUR most important long-term goals in life?

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

Q.22 What occupation / career do you think you will have in 5 years time?

Please **TICK** the box next to your reaction to the following **THREE** statements.

Q.23 Individuals who play football in the A.F.L./V.F.L. are able to obtain their desired post-football occupation more easily?

- ☐ *Strongly Agree.*
- ☐ *Agree.*
- ☐ *Don't Know.*
- ☐ *Disagree.*
- ☐ *Strongly Disagree.*

Q.24 Individuals who play football in the A.F.L./V.F.L. are provided me with greater opportunities to be successful in life?

- ☐ *Strongly Agree.*
- ☐ *Agree.*
- ☐ *Don't Know.*
- ☐ *Disagree.*
- ☐ *Strongly Disagree.*

Q.25 Have you ever participated in a competitive sport(s) ?

☐ Yes. (Please specify the sport(s) and the level(s) of participation).

Sport: _____ Level: _____

Sport: _____ Level: _____

Sport: _____ Level: _____

☐ No.

Q.26 **Success in life for me means (please comment)** _____

Q.27 **Do you have any other comments related to the issues raised in this survey?**

THANK-YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

APPENDIX 16

Coded Survey Responses (Sample Only)

0011801910231010101110110725322311122222055500000001000001020334112010200
0022602920021010101110210042122000175222031501020302030404000000022030000
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0221804900001010101220010727212000200022115516112628290217051825122060000
0231911910001010103220011125122001200122103527281720302204050912221130000
0241704900001010201220010274212000164322043314000003070419200500031150900
0251904900001010101220010842411000200022113314110017070419050925822070900
0262012900111010101210230742611625200022051125000027102803000000031000000
0272508890521010101220010762411624162411091514293028310404030562421161503
0282703831491010101210210531212311133112053431133204320703210033122020109
0292003880002010104210410942111514151422095512333428193204220033122090000
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0313404743761010101210226331112000125112115507302432092203250020411170418
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APPENDIX 17

Group Listing of Perceived Means for Social Mobility

Traditional Routes for Social Mobility

- Attain a good standard of living
- Become an Aboriginal adviser
- Become an Aboriginal Manager
- Become self-employed
- Change occupations
- Charity Work
- Community work
- Complete Apprenticeship
- Complete year 12
- Education
- Fame or be well known
- Family
- Financial security
- Get rich
- Good career
- Happy healthy family
- High income less tax
- Honesty and Compassion
- Improve skills
- Investments
- Know important people
- Know the right people
- Knowledge
- Luck
- Marriage
- Money
- Night school and training courses
- Occupation promotion
- Own my own house
- Post football occupation
- Save money
- Schooling and intelligence
- Secure and permanent job
- Social status
- Spouse
- Study
- Succeed in chosen occupation
- Tertiary degree
- University degree
- Use both my football and education to rise
- Vocational training
- Work and occupation
- Work harder

Alternate Routes for Social Mobility

- AFL football career
- AFL football success
- Always do what is right
- Be a liar and a cheat
- Be happy
- Be positive and confident
- Be successful at whatever I do
- Become a celebrity
- Become a role model
- Become a sports personality
- Captain an AFL club
- Coaching
- Communication
- Creativity
- Crime
- Decreased immigration
- Desire dedication
- Entertainment
- Exposure to different people
- Football
- Gain Australian citizenship
- Gain the respect of my peers
- Gambling
- Have good image
- Health
- I am happy with my position
- Keep playing football
- Life in general
- Live my life the way I want
- Lower food prices
- Media Coverage
- Media position
- Mix work and football better
- No response
- None that I know of
- Plan my life
- Play 100 or more senior games
- Play better Football
- Play football as well as I can
- Play in a Grand Final
- Play other sports at an elite level
- Play senior football
- Play state football
- Politics
- Promote football
- Promote myself
- Publicity
- Put something back into the game
- Religion and spirituality
- Social Interaction
- Social scene
- Sports participation
- Success and achievement in sport
- Take advantage of profile
- Travel
- Utilise football contacts
- Win a Brownlow
- Win a club Best and Fairest

APPENDIX 18

Group Listing of Respondent’s ‘Life Goals’

Goals Related to Traditional Routes for Social Mobility

- Attain a good standard of living
- Become an Aboriginal adviser
- Become an Aboriginal Manager
- Become self-employed
- Change occupations
- Charity Work
- Community work
- Complete Apprenticeship
- Complete year 12
- Education
- Fame or be well known
- Family
- Financial security
- Get rich
- Good career
- Happy healthy family
- High income less tax
- Honesty and Compassion
- Improve skills
- Investments
- Know important people
- Know the right people
- Knowledge
- Luck
- Marriage
- Money
- Night school and training courses
- Occupation promotion
- Own my own house
- Post football occupation
- Save money
- Schooling and intelligence
- Secure and permanent job
- Social status
- Spouse
- Study
- Succeed in chosen occupation
- Tertiary degree
- University degree
- Use both my football and education to rise
- Vocational training
- Work and occupation
- Work harder

Goals related to Non-Traditional Routes for Social Mobility

- AFL football career
- AFL football success
- Always do what is right
- Be a liar and a cheat
- Be happy
- Be positive and confident
- Be successful at whatever I do
- Become a celebrity
- Become a role model
- Become a sports personality
- Captain an AFL club
- Coaching
- Communication
- Creativity
- Crime
- Decreased immigration
- Desire dedication
- Entertainment
- Exposure to different people
- Football
- Gain Australian citizenship
- Gain the respect of my peers
- Gambling
- Have good image
- Health
- I am happy with my position
- Keep playing football
- Life in general
- Live my life the way I want
- Lower food prices
- Media Coverage
- Mix work and football better
- No response
- None that I know of
- Plan my life
- Play 100 or more senior games
- Play better Football
- Play football as well as I can
- Play in a Grand Final
- Play other sports at an elite level
- Play senior football
- Play state football
- Politics
- Promote football
- Promote myself
- Put something back into the game
- Religion and spirituality
- Social Interaction
- Social scene
- Sports participation
- Success and achievement in sport
- Take advantage of profile
- Travel
- Utilise football contacts
- Win a Brownlow
- Win a club Best and Fairest
- Wouldn't know how to improve my position

APPENDIX 19

Group Listing of respondents Perceptions of ‘Success in Life’

Criteria Related to Traditional Routes for Social Mobility

- Being a good parent
- Climb the corporate ladder
- Comfortable existence
- Commitment to work
- Fame
- Family
- Financial security
- Finishing tertiary education
- Good Job
- Hold a high position at work
- Job promotion
- Job security
- Marriage
- Money
- Opens other avenues
- Owning my own home
- Provide for myself and my family
- Retire early
- Self-employment
- Stable career
- Status
- Tangible assets
- The love of my family
- Work hard

Other Criteria Unrelated to Traditional Routes for Social Mobility

- No response
- A great deal
- Achievement
- Be a good footballer
- Be the best person I can
- Being competitive
- Being myself
- Commitment to football
- Content
- Doing everything to the best of my ability
- Doing what I want when I want
- Don't know
- Enjoyment
- Everything
- Fortunate to learn and play an elite sport
- Friendships
- Fulfilment
- Happy
- Happy family relations
- Having a good time
- Health
- Healthy mind and body
- Helping my people
- Honesty
- Independence
- Life
- Live life to the fullest
- Long and successful AFL career
- Maintaining morals
- Making the most of football ability
- No regrets
- No regrets
- Play good football
- Play well
- Playing football
- Reaching goals or standards
- Recognition
- Respect from football playing peers
- Satisfaction
- Satisfied with achievements
- Self-determination
- Self-fulfilment
- Social life
- Strong character
- Strong character
- Success
- To be remembered
- To have no worries
- Travel
- Using football to achieve my goals.
- Winning
- Wise

APPENDIX 20

Full List of Additional Comments Made by Respondents

- AFL football is not a means to an ends but a part of life which one chance is given to bring out the best in yourself. There is no other situation which enables you to control a situation as football does.
- AFL football only helps the top 3-5 players. It can f.k up the future of other players because of the time they put into training. No one will employ them in a full-time job.
- Football can and has opened up many opportunities for me both socially and vocationally. It is a great way of teaching people the ups and downs of life.
- Football dominates the life of most players. For young players this can direct their lives in directions they may not be happy unless they have sound advice ie occupations. Also, football provides you with opportunities, whether an individual is "successful in life" is up to the individual.
- Sport in Australian society is held in such high esteem that elite sportsmen and women such as AFL footballers are given advantages over the average citizen. This can be done by the club pulling 'strings' when needed or getting by on who you are on the weekend.
- Success in your football life can bring success in your domestic life. Both in your character and with finance and opportunity.
- A lot of answers were given on the spur of the moment. Given more time and thought the answers could change.
- As this is my first year, things or my assumptions of the future may greatly change.
- Football can provide a better way of life for those prepared to work for it.
- Football created self-satisfaction and character.
- Football is a fantastic opportunity to set oneself up for life.
- Football is an occupation with high status and high commitment. One can not guarantee success but must give it a go.
- Football is hard tucker.
- Football is important but not the most important thing in my life.
- Football will hopefully set me up in a career.
- For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only son that whoever believes in (cleaves to trusts in and relies on) him shall not perish in hell but has eternal life.
- For one thing it doesn't come on a plate like everyone makes it out to be. It takes lots and lots of hard work

- Get some decent people to run football so as it is enjoyable for everyone. At the moment the players and the supporters are suffering. The only people getting something are the wrong ones (The officials and administrators).
- Having not played senior football and being young, much of it wasn't relevant.
- Hopefully football will set me up in a career that involved football and the course I'm studying
- How can confidentiality be attained given questions 1 to 4. Aspects of survey research should be questioned due to lack of validity and reliability. these being the least significant ways to gain opinions and knowledge.
- I appreciate this survey. I hope a few of my answers become reality.
- I believe AFL football and the income it provides can improve the quality of the player's life if he is a star. If that person is not a big star the quality of one's life is reduced. Football is an extremely risky business.
- I believe any professional sportsperson has avenues opened up to them via their 'on field performance' ie career boost.
- I believe that in order to be successful in anything you need to look beyond your physical attributes. You need to understand yourself and the circles in which football clubs, businesses and the world operate. Most importantly do it with a smile on your face and enjoy life.
- I think that they are good and sensible questions and it is a reasonable survey.
- I think the ability of players to all be able to work outside of football needs to be seriously looked at. Players need to know that they are secure (career-wise) at any stage of their football career outside of football.
- I thought you may have been interested in father's footballing ability, given that most would have nominated him as providing financial assistance in raising.
- I'm interested in the reason for this and I think research into player injuries/causes and prevention's would be good for your next thesis.
- If you have kids give them a tennis racquet or golf club - forget about football.
- In the end it's still only a game.
- It helps you to map out where you are heading in life.

- Maybe a more responsible program by the AFL to help educate players with contractual problems. Also with selling the players own personal attributes. Having it more as a free market and not run exclusively by and for the AFL. Players interests should be looked at more thoroughly.
- More support for younger players.
- Reword or redefine question 25 (If you wanted to improve your position in Australian society, list three ways that are available for you to do so).
- Superannuation and payouts for people with debilitating injuries received throughout their football playing careers should be dealt with and more notice taken of players need and wants. We shouldn't just be used by the AFL.
- The fact that I have attained a degree will help my future business/career more so than AFL. However the social structures contacts (etc) made through football will contribute.
- The harder you work, the luckier you get.
- The majority of AFL players take themselves too seriously and expect people to make exceptions for them. members of the public judge you because of the fact you play AFL and not for who you are.
- The money in the AFL doesn't justify the amount of long term effects that a player will usually endure
- The question relating to family and breadwinners at the beginning are superficial. I think it would be interesting to find out information relating to players perceptions of the need for a worthwhile job during their playing days and the opportunities to build a financial base from football.
- There are too many and varied reasons why one chooses to play league football. Many things motivate individuals to achieve. Also many people would interpret success differently.
- Trends and fashion is a man made epidemic
- When are we the average footballers going to earn a decent wage from football because at the moment it is a disgrace.
- Yes, but I don't have the time.
- You are trying to relate success to football, which is a fair enough question. It is hard to relate because people have different perceptions of what it success is.
- You haven't raised the question of morality.

- You should have asked how football would help them latter in life. Also do they think long-term when they play,. I would have thought that most don't. They tend to give up other avenues while they play.

APPENDIX 21

Group Listing of Factors that ‘Attracted Football Participation’

Factors related to the Achievement of Social Mobility

- Chance of opportunities
- chance to be someone
- Chance to make a name
- attractive prospects
- fame/celebrity/glamour/status
- good way to earn a living give me status in the community
- helped me to get through university
- meet a lot of people
- money/financial rewards/future
- Occupational opportunities
- opportunities for employment
- Opportunity to improve myself
- own a house
- Playing AFL opens doors
- playing AFL opens doors
- prestige and social standing
- recognition
- scholarship offer jobs
- secure a future
- set myself up for life
- The rewards (social and financial)
- use money and people met to benefit and move ahead in life

Personal and Situational Factors

- Achievement of a goal that many may not achieve
- always wanted to
- ambition
- Australian rules is a new experience
- because I had to
- boyhood dream/dreamt of playing
- change of direction
- change of environment
- club traditions/a team in home state
- companionship/friendship
- competition/competitive nature
- cultural and environmental influences
- dedication
- desire to play the highest level
- ego
- enabled the move from country to city
- enjoyment/love of the game
- excitement/crowds/popularity of game
- facilities
- fitness/well being
- football is the only thing I am good at
- fun
- grew up playing
- happiness
- highest/top/elite level
- honour of playing AFL football
- I knew I could be good
- I was drafted
- idols played/idolisation of AFL players
- in the family/father played/friends
- invited by the club
- leisure
- life-time dream
- luck
- motivation
- my favourite sport
- natural challenge and progression
- naturally good/talented
- no response
- opportunity to learn more about the game
- played football all my life
- professionalism
- prove to myself that I could play elite sport
- reaching potential
- school coach
- self-fulfilment/satisfaction
- social life/outlet
- success
- supporters
- take a chance
- test of my ability
- the physical side of the game
- the sport itself
- to be the best I could be
- travel
- ultimate way of expressing myself
- worked hard

