

POLICING THE BATHURST MOTORCYCLE RACES

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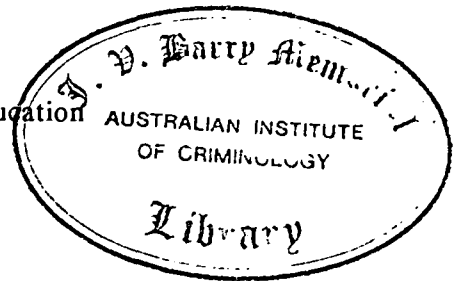
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POLICING THE BATHURST MOTORCYCLE RACES*

by

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OVERVIEW

The 1984 grant application specified four primary sources of data collection, namely:

- (a) content analysis of previous media coverage;
- (b) data on sociological context of bikers' activities at their recreational events;
- (c) review of other relevant literature; and
- (d) conducting further observational studies of the 1985 and 1986 Bathurst Motorcycle Races.

In a publication, titled the **Dynamics of Collective Conflict - 'Riots at the Bathurst Bike Races'** by Cunneen et. al., the findings relating to (a) and (c) are documented. Accordingly, these findings will not be addressed further in this report except where relevant to empirical data.

Category (b) data on the sociological context of biker activities is partially addressed in the Cunneen et. al. publication. However, their data source is restricted to the formal Bathurst observations in 1985. This report expands on this data and its implications for policing policy.

This document focuses on the findings from observational, questionnaire and other empirical data sources. Concrete policy level actions which can be taken to resolve the conflict at Bathurst are delineated.

The implications of our findings go far beyond the realm of police/biker relations at Bathurst and include:

- (a) the function of the police;
- (b) appropriate policing philosophy;
- (c) the need to develop integrated policing policy for crowd control at sporting/recreational events.

Our study has been predicated on the belief that **the function of police is to serve society.**

Report Structure

Our report is divided into discrete sections. The first presents the results of a questionnaire study designed to provide information about the biker culture. The second presents the findings of observational studies other than Bathurst. This aspect of the study was designed to give contextual meaning to Bathurst. The third section is devoted to understanding the dynamics of the conflict on the Mount at Bathurst. A fourth section details recommendations for the resolution of the violence at Bathurst. The final section details implications of the study.

SECTION ONE: THE SURVEY

Reasons for the Survey

Our reasons for surveying bikers attending recreational events in Victoria and New South Wales were to:

- (a) describe the bike riders of Victoria and New South Wales in terms of demographics and attitudes;
- (b) determine if there was a trend for New South Wales bikers to regard police more negatively than Victorian bikers; and
- (c) determine if the crowd attending the Bathurst Motorcycle Races (on the Mount) is representative of other biker event crowds.

Methods

To accomplish these goals, we designed a survey based upon strict scientific principles and pre-tested the instrument at a small rally in Victoria (ie. Mud Lark Rally) in early 1985. After determining the reliability and validity were acceptable from a scientific perspective, the questionnaires were printed. The questionnaire was finalised and distributed as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of Questionnaire

Event	Location	Date	Number
Genoa	Genoa, Vic.	July, 1985	355
Wombat Rally	Braidwood, N.S.W.	Sept., 1985	107
Sydney Show	Sydney, N.S.W.	Sept., 1985	73
H.A.M. Rally	Phillip Is., Vic.	Nov., 1985	287
		Sub-total	822
Bathurst*	Bathurst, N.S.W. (incl. Ben Chifley Dam)	March, 1986	180
		TOTAL	1002

*Bathurst questionnaire data is used to test the similarity of the Bathurst sample with the rest of the bikers. Questionnaires from Bathurst are not included in the reported results in this section.

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

Sex

81% of the respondents were males and 19% were females.

Age

The age of the respondents ranged from 11 to 62 years. Persons under the age of 17 were excluded from further analysis. This meant that .9% were so excluded. Of the remaining 99.1%, the average age was 27 years.

Occupation and Income

34% of the population were skilled workers/foremen and 16% were professionals. The remaining 50% were quite evenly divided amongst all occupational categories.

Income roughly reflected the occupational status of respondents. Just over 40% of respondents earned over \$350.00 per week. 14% earned less than \$200.00 per week.

Education

The education levels of respondents further confirms the picture of bikers as very different from the common stereotype. Over 11% have completed college or above. A further 27% have some tertiary and/or sub-professional training. A further 17% have completed secondary schooling. Of the remaining 45%, all but 1% had completed some secondary schooling.

Bike and Car Ownership

81% of respondents owned their own bike outright. 19% did not. A massive 70% were also car owners. About a third of the cars owned were valued above the \$5000.00 mark. While Holdens and Fords were the most popular makes, virtually all other makes were represented.

Average Weekly Spending on Biker Lifestyle

A third of the respondents admitted to spending over \$45.00 per week on their biker lifestyle. The average, however, was \$30.00 per week.

Average Spending at Weekend Meets

Alcohol - \$20.00 was the average **admitted** amount specified for spending on alcohol at weekend events.

Food - A figure of \$26.00 was the average amount specified for spending on food at weekend events.

Political Orientation

Table 2 sets out the stated voting pattern of the respondent population.

Table 2: Voting Intention

Intention/Party	Percent Voting
Labour	33.9
Liberal	19.6
Nuclear Disarmament	16.3
Democrat	5.3
Country Party	2.9
I would not vote	14.5
Other	7.6
Total	100.0

Table 3 presents the respondent's belief as to whether they feel that their civil liberties are being eroded by government actions.

Table 3: Erosion of Civil Liberties

Category	Percent
Yes	56.8
No	24.5
Unsure	18.7
Total	100.0

Threats to Biker Lifestyle

The biggest threat to the biker lifestyle seems to be the consolidation of three closely identifiable elements, eg. laws, government and police. Table 4 shows 55.6% of the respondents said these were the combined major source of societal discrimination that bikers faced.

Table 4: The Biggest Threat to the Biker Lifestyle

Threat	Percent
Laws	21.7
Government	19.3
Car Drivers	19.1
Police	14.6
Public Opinion	8.7
Other	16.7
Total	100.0

The major problem bikers saw with car drivers (keeping in mind that 70% of respondents also own cars) was simply unsafe driving practices on the part of car drivers. Ignorance of car drivers about the needs of bike riders and/or an uncaring attitude on the part of the car drivers toward bike riders as co-users of the roads were the second and third rated problems which respondents saw with the car drivers. Education of car drivers and education of all road users were seen as the solutions to this conflict by 71.4% of the respondents. A further 13% proposed, it should be a requirement to hold a bike license prior to obtaining a car license.

Police

On average, each respondent was stopped twice in the last year by police. The reasons for the most recent contact with police are set out in Table 5. 64% of the respondents had never been arrested, 31% had been arrested for a non-violent crime and 5% had been arrested for a violent crime.

Table 5: Reason for the Most Recent Contact with the Police

Reason	Percent
Traffic Violations	44.1
Equipment Check	23.9
Random Breath Test	12.8
Search	4.3
Non-violent Offence	2.8
Accident	2.7
Court/Summonses/etc.	2.0
Violent Offence	1.0
Other	6.4
Total	100.0

Summary of Survey Based Descriptions

This survey was and is very important as concrete, scientific evidence dispelling once and for all the myths of who the people of the bike culture are.

A high proportion of the bikers in New South Wales and Victoria are well educated, hold very respectable jobs and have a high amount of disposable income. They are car owners, by and large, as well as bike owners.

Bikers appear to be a little more politically oriented to the left rather than to the right. This is clearly opposed to the existing mythology about bikers. About a third appear to be solid labour supporters, but individual members vary. About 60% of the bikers feel their civil liberties are being eroded.

The bikers are bound together by a mutual love of motorcycling. The laws, government and police are seen as major obstacles to the enjoyment of this lifestyle. Police are the enforcing agents of the authority of the government and the laws. The police, then, are the logical focal point of the bike riders concern about the threats to their lifestyle.

The remainder of this section is devoted to an analysis of how different policing styles effect the views of the bikers as a **heavy consumer group** of police actions (36% have been arrested for either a non-violent or violent crime).

State Based Differences in Attitudes About Police

Policing in New South Wales and Victoria differs along some very important dimensions. The Victorian form of policing is much more community oriented, and more consensus based. Victoria is not so oriented to **letter of the law** enforcement style, but rather a **spirit of the law** enforcement style. **The central philosophy of Victorian policing is to represent the community interest rather than to police the community.** Naturally, along this dimension, the Queensland police would score even lower than the New South Wales police. This also seems to be the case when comparing how each of these police forces score on degree of respect by the public (Morgan-Gallup Polls, September, 1979; April, 1984).

In order to test our belief that there would be significant differences in the way police in each state are regarded by bikers, we cut our attitude data by the two states and compared how members of each state rated the police on 15 adjectives.

Table 6 presents the adjectives which are significantly different between the two states. Table 7 reveals the adjectives which were found not to be significantly different between the two states.

**Table 6: New South Wales Police vs. Victorian Police
Scores of Significant Difference**

Adjective	Chi Square Score	Direction of Difference
		NSW Police are seen as:
Friendly	.0313	less friendly
Dangerous	.0035	more dangerous
Aggressive	.0191	more aggressive
Placid	.0348	less placid
Hostile	.0155	more hostile
Corrupt	.0009	more corrupt
Ethical	.0461	less ethical
Honest	.0060	less honest

**Table 7: New South Wales Police vs. Victorian Police
Scores of NOT significant Difference**

Adjective	Chi Square Score
Smart	.0662
Polite	.2146
Useful	.0542
Necessary	.5962
Good	.9325
Respect	.6275

Interpretation: Neither police force is seen as more or less worse than the other on these adjectives.

Summary of State-Based Attitude Differences

One could expect one or two of these adjectives to be significantly different by chance. We are convinced these results confirm the hypothesis that the form of policing characteristic of each state earns the police the perception by the public that they deserve. New South Wales people see the police as **the outside repressive agent enforcing standards upon them**. Victorians see the police as **more like one of themselves helping to maintain community standards**.

The study has profound implications on the use and display of police power. Our results are supported by the most recent Morgan-Gallop Polls showing that people in New South Wales rate their police as significantly less honest than their counterparts in Victoria.

SURVEY CONCLUSIONS

Our survey data clearly shows that:

- (a) bikers seem to be spread across demographic variables such as class;
- (b) the negative stereotype of the bike rider depicted in the mass media seems inaccurate; and
- (c) the New South Wales police are particularly problematic with bikers of South Eastern Australia.

SECTION TWO: THE OBSERVATIONAL STUDY

Introduction

The preceding section reported the results of our survey of bikers in New South Wales and Victoria. We demonstrated how bikers' attitudes towards police varied by state. These differences were linked to stylistic differences in policing practice in each state.

In this section, we show how the policing style at various biker recreational events in New South Wales and Victoria affects the way people perceive the police. This information will be important in explaining anti-police sentiments reported in the third section of this report. Additionally, this information will have wider implications for line policing of all recreational events ... not just bikers'.

In this observational study phase, we focussed on gathering data on a category of behaviour linked to media defined riot at Bathurst ... crowd rowdiness (Cunneen et. al., 1986). Specifically, we were interested in both the relationship between alcohol consumption and crowd rowdiness - and in peer control of the crowd rowdiness. The reasons for investigating these relationships between alcohol consumption and crowd rowdiness was to make policy level recommendations about the way recreational events can be managed to minimise cost to police, public and the policed group.

Goals

The immediate goals of the study were to:

- (a) monitor the self and peer regulation of behaviour at biker recreational events;
- (b) monitor the games or gymkhana at each event;
- (c) study the biker-police interaction at each event.

Accomplishing these goals would enable us to understand Bathurst in the context of the Biker culture. Additionally, we felt that it was important to document police-biker interaction independent of the highly political and volatile context of Bathurst.

Method

To achieve these goals, the observational technique developed at Bathurst in 1984 was used at five biker recreational venues (other than Bathurst) in 1985. The observational

technique is essentially a structure for observations of crowds with the ratio of at least one observer for every 1,000 people. Briefing of observers to ensure they were all looking for the same thing in roughly the same way occurred. Observers were, except in one case, non-bike and non-police persons. In one instance, an official observer had to be drawn from the bike world (The Wombat Rally, N.S.W.). In order to ensure balance in this case, a person with a strong police background was recruited to be an observer at the same event.

Following the observations, a draft report of events was prepared. This draft report was sent to both police and bikers who attended the event with a request to tell the researchers if any inaccuracies existed in the reports in their opinions. Following their feedback, the report was finalised and regarded as a true and accurate record of events.

The five events observed were:

1. The Bike Rally (Genoa)
2. The Wombat Rally
3. The Sydney Bike Show
4. The Hundredth Anniversary of Motorcycling (HAM) Rally; and
5. Broadford

Results

Full descriptions of each event will be published elsewhere. Summaries of each event are contained in the following paragraphs.

Bike Rally

Venue:	Genoa, Victoria
Date:	26 - 28 July 1985
Organiser:	O'Nami Motorcycle Productions Peter Thoeming (Bear)
Number of Attendees:	850
Number of Observers:	3
Number of Police:	6
Other Policing:	None
Alcohol Restrictions:	None
Weather:	Fine and mild
Arrests:	One
Injuries due to Rowdiness:	Four

Description

The Genoa Meet was organised by a single individual (named Bear). It was strongly endorsed by the MRA (Vic), yet not actually sponsored by the MRA. The Bike Rally began in 1983; 1985 being the third year. For two days in late July, a crowd of some 800 bikers attended the event.

The venue is the tiny hamlet of Genoa (population 157) located approximately 12 kms south of the Victoria/New South Wales border on Highway 1. The social hub of the rally is the Genoa Hotel. The majority of people stay at a municipal caravan park located about 150 metres north of the Genoa Hotel.

There were no restrictions on alcohol sales and consumption other than a standard closing time for the hotel and peer control of inebriated people.

Policing was supervised by a Senior Constable from Cann River. The total police deployed for the Cann River District for the weekend was six persons. This figure, however, was no more than the normal number deployed on a regular weekend. An official police spokesperson indicated that no special arrangements were made for the policing of the event.

Incidents

There was one minor scuffle (fight) which occurred on Saturday (27/7/85) at approximately 3:00pm. It was between two males who were arguing over the attention of a female. It ended when one person yelled-out that he had enough.

The gymkhana was carefully supervised. No doughnuts, petrol bombs or other hazardous games were observed.

At approximately 10:30pm on 27/7/85 a police patrol (traffic) proceeded across the narrow bridge between the Genoa Hotel and the Genoa Caravan Park. The people crossing the bridge commenced to calling-out pigs and otherwise engaging in the game of pig-baiting. The police vehicle pulled in to the caravan park and more cat-calling/baiting occurred. This continued for twenty minutes and ended abruptly when the police vehicle pulled out.

Minor acts of vandalism were clearly evident. This included tearing strips of wood from the bridge and the breaking of a fence around a tennis court at the Caravan Park.

The night ended without major incident. In the early hours of the morning, all things vandalised were repaired by the bikers. The police reported no incidents and one arrest. The arrest was for .05 violation and the consensus of the crowd at the time was he deserved it. "A good trouble-free event" were the words used by the key players to describe the weekend.

The weather was intermittent rain, but sunny and warm conditions prevailed. Alcohol

consumption was copious by all accounts. The low visibility police profile was praised extensively by rally attenders. A breathalizer was made available on 28/7/85 by police for people to self-test prior to commencing their journey. This was very favourably received. Observers reported no anti-police commentary. (Throughout this study we defined anti-police commentary as the way police were spoken about in conversations heard on the cite. Thus, pig-baiting is not considered anti-police commentary.

Hundredth Anniversary of Motorcycling (HAM) Rally

Venue:	48 hectares of privately owned property on Phillip Island, Victoria (Len Lukey Race Track)
Date:	2 - 4 November 1985
Organiser:	H. & L. Enterprises (Allan & Mary Long & Dave Hornsby)
Number of Attendees:	5,000 (Approx.)
Number of Observers:	15
Number of Police:	350
Other Policing:	Hells Angels (back stage area), Newbreed Security (search at entry and ground security)
Alcohol Restrictions:	2 open cans or wine within restricted hours
Weather:	Fine and warm
Arrests:	9
Injuries due to Rowdiness:	6

Description

The HAM rally was organised to commemorate the first 100 years of the motorcycle. (Pat Hurley has written a description of this rally in the December, 1985 issue of REVS. The reader interested in a thorough description of the HAM rally is directed to Pat's article for an excellent and comprehensive analysis.)

The event was to be a once only event run over a holiday weekend in November, 1985.

The venue for the event was the historic Len Lukey race track located on scenic Phillip Island. Phillip Island is located approximately 130 kilometers south/south-east of Melbourne in Westernport Bay. It is accessible by passenger ferry and road-bridge. Camping was available at the race track and day passes were available. Rock bands were scheduled for entertainment for two of the three nights.

There were heavy restrictions on alcohol sales (a two can limit and restricted hours of sale). A ban on bringing any alcohol into the event was enforced. Submission to search was necessary for entry. Newbreed Security was responsible for searches. A sergeant from Melbourne was responsible for the police planning and administration of the event. However, the event was under the control of the Chief Superintendent of the District.

Back stage security was provided by the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club. A crowd of 25,000 was expected to attend the three day event approximately 5,000 attended. The reasons for this are unclear. The police suggested the reasons may be due to the poor marketing of the event (only 10% of the budget for the weekend was spent on advertising). Additionally, the inaugural running of the Adelaide Grand Prix was being held on that same weekend in Adelaide. Others blame the police for **over-policing** the event and still others blame the media for hysterical coverage linking members of the Banidido's and Comanchero's motorcycle clubs with the HAM rally. Reasons for the poor turn out probably lies in some combination of these factors. But the net effect of the low crowds with the high police turn-out resulted in a very low-key fizzle of an entertainment event terminated a day early to minimise financial loss to the organisers. All observers reported widespread anti-police commentary.

There were areas set aside for entertainment and games. These were not used. No bike rally style games were observed.

The high profile policing was notable and very similar to Bathurst. Traffic operations and procedures were virtually identical to Bathurst. The use of a police liaison officer and an organisers' liaison officer to confer on any perceived problems which may have occurred during the running of the event was highly commended.

Incidents

One incident worthy of note was that an outlaw club managed to break the security system and brought in a substantial amount of alcohol.

A second and final incident was the variations in the search procedure by Newbreed Security causing a lot of resentment amongst the crowd.

Police reported nine arrests - seven; of which were .05 or related, one drug charge and one driving whilst disqualified. The majority of the charges occurred on the Saturday. All injuries were minor.

Broadford Rock Concert

Venue:	25 hectares of privately owned property located 12kms east of Broadford
Date:	6 - 7 December 1985
Organiser:	Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club (Aust.)
Number of Attendees:	5,000 approx
Number of Observers:	7
Number of Police:	35
Other Policing:	Hell's Angels
Alcohol Restrictions:	None
Weather:	Rainy and Warm
Arrests:	10
Injuries due to Rowdiness:	12

Description

The organisers for the Broadford Rock Concert were the Hell's Angels (Aust.). Broadford is, incidentally, the world's longest running rock concert. It began in July, 1976 as a special concert for outlaw bikers. In that same year, the concert was re-scheduled for early December and opened to all wishing to attend except police. No police are permitted in the 52 acres of private property owned by the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club where the concert is held. The police, however, have the right to insist upon entry for a number of reasons. On this occasion - they chose not to exercise this option. (In 1986, the Special Operations Group chose to raid the property in the early hours of Friday.)

Each year since 1980, it is estimated approximately 5,000 people attend the rock concert ... with a large contingent being outlaw bikers.

Broadford is located 72 kilometers north of Melbourne on Sunday Creek. The 1984 census population figure for the township is 1,580 people.

Broadford hosts a moto-cross championship, a rodeo and a horse-riding cup as well as the rock concert. Each of these events draws from 5,000 to 7,000 people. The police establishment for the other events remains at the customary 6 - 10 persons - all of who are full-time members of the Seymour Inspector's District. For the 1985 concert the police establishment was swollen to 35. The police were composed of country assigned police. The operation was primarily a traffic operation. A roadblock was established at the main entry/exit point to the country property - the venue for the rock concert. On a second entry/exit road, a single police vehicle patrolled and searched those few bikers traversing this route.

Incidents

Inside the Hell's Angels property, it was three days of fun and relaxation. Three incidents other than people having a good time were observed.

The three incidents which occurred were:

(1) On the Saturday, (about 1.00pm) the God Squad reported a member's tyre had been slashed. This was announced over the public address system along with a warning from a HAMC official to the person who did it. No further action was taken by any party.

(2) A piece of equipment (a camera) was reported stolen, it was later found misplaced by its owner. This was also announced by Ball Bearing over the public address system at 1.00pm on the Saturday.

(3) On the Saturday night, at approximately 8.00pm, a group of people from one of the outlaw clubs were standing near the front of the stage. These people started jostling other non-club members in an aggressive manner. They carefully chose their targets of aggression, selecting people who were not wearing patch-club colours and who were neither large in stature nor aggressive in behaviour. The jostling went on for twenty minutes. This "game" was abruptly terminated with the commencement of a rain burst. The incident was not severe enough to warrant a complaint by any person to the Hell's Angels.

The only significant incident between police and bikers occurred at the breath-testing (PBT) station. Just after setting-up the station, one biker attempted to run through the police block. In fact, he was successful in this attempt. The person was asked to stop at the roadblock. He was travelling alone. That is, he arrived by himself.

The police signalled him over. He pulled up briefly then accelerated past the road block. Attempts were made to force him over; people tried to stay clear of the fully throttled bike. The bike and its rider cleared the PBT station and proceeded to a point about half a kilometre down the road. He turned around to face the PBT station. He proceeded to the PBT station at high speed.

The police heard him coming back and one officer went to the side of the operations caravan parked by the side of the road. There, the officer stood a very large tree branch (sapling size - about 3 to 4 metres long) on its end. One other officer went to the point where he could be seen by the approaching biker and took up position with the presumed intent of ordering the biker to stop on command.

As the biker approached, the officer closest to him signalled him to stop. The biker approached without slowing down. The officer holding the branch released it as the rider approached. The branch fell striking the bike at the front forks. This served to knock the biker off his bike. He travelled some 60 feet in the air and landed on his face in gravel. He was wearing a full-face helmet. His injuries were, fortunately, quite minor.

Witnesses to the event included people not associated with the biker or police sub-cultures. These witnesses were most adamant that the police had used excessive force.

Following this incident, both sides seemed to settle down. No further incidents were observed or reported for the duration of the concert. Observers reported widespread anti-police commentary just after the incident which had calmed down by the Saturday night. The mean rating by the observers was medium for the extent of anti-police commentary.

Ten arrests were made, all for .05 related offenses - the majority occurring on the last day of the event. The weather was rainy and warm. There was no alcohol restriction other than normal pub hours and conditions. Two semi-trailers full of supplies were dispensed. No bike rally style games were observed.

Policing in the Hell's Angels property was carried out by club members. They reported no incidents other than three fights settled on an individual basis. This coincided with observers statements. There was no observable vandalism except trees being broken for firewood, etc. All injuries were minor.

Wombat Rally

Venue:	Privately owned property located 29 kms north of Braidwood, NSW.
Date:	6 - 8 September 1985
Organiser:	MRA New South Wales
Number of Attendees:	700
Number of Observers:	3
Number of Police:	4
Other Policing:	None
Alcohol Restrictions:	None
Weather:	Fine and warm to hot
Arrests:	None
Injuries due to Rowdiness:	Five

Description

The Wombat Rally is organised by MRA New South Wales.

The venue is private property located 29 kms north of Braidwood. The site is located at the end of a dirt road intersected by a stream. Braidwood is located about 90 kms via road east of Canberra.

There was no restriction on alcohol sales and consumption.

Policing was supervised by a Senior Constable from Braidwood. The total police deployed for the weekend was four persons. This figure was the same number deployed on a regular weekend. An official police spokesperson stated that there were no special arrangements made for the policing of the event.

Incidents

No incidents were reported except for people having a good time in a beautiful bush setting (eg. using side-cars as canoes, sun-baking, etc.) Games were rowdy but injuries were quite minor. For example, one person had climbed a tree and refused to come down due to intoxication. His friends set fire to the tree

Alcohol consumption was copious. Vandalism of bush and trees did occur.

The low profile policing was praised extensively by rally attenders. Observers reported no anti-police commentary.

Sydney Bike Show

Venue:	Sydney Show Grounds
Date:	6 - 8 September 1985
Organiser:	Harley Davidson Riders Club of Australia
Number of Attendees:	1,700 (approx.)
Number of Observers:	3
Number of Police:	None
Other Policing:	None
Alcohol Restrictions:	Alcohol banned
Weather:	Fine and Warm
Arrests:	None
Injuries due to Rowdiness:	None

The Sydney Bike Show is not typical of the other events reported in this section. There were not planned games or place reserved for such activities. The Sydney Bike Show is also atypical in that it was not an overnight venue.

Nevertheless, it is a legitimate form of recreational event existing in the biker culture. As such, we felt it was important to formally observe this event.

Description

The venue for the Sydney Bike Show is the Sydney Show Grounds. Pavilions are filled with bikes and associated objects. Entertainment is provided in the form of bands and fashion shows.

Bikers arrive, in the main, in groups and stay in the groups to look at the various displays. No camping or overnight facilities are organised for the event by the Sydney Bike Show organisers.

No alcohol was on sale. No alcohol was allowed in the show.

An official police spokesperson indicated no special arrangements had been planned for the event. This is notable considering the presence of outlaw club members. No exceptional incidents occurred to alter the policing arrangements.

Incidents

The low profile policing was very favourably received by the crowd. There was no anti-police commentary reported by observers. No acts or signs of vandalism were reported.

The show passed without remarkable incident.

FINDINGS

Table 8 presents a summary of relevant information obtained from our observational study of biker recreational events.

Table 8: Summary of Information from Observational Study

Event	Estimated Attendance Figures	Alcohol Policy	Police Profile	Police Operations Group	Vandalism	Arrest Rate	*Injuries Due To Rowdiness	Anti Police Attitudes	Fight(s)	Event Approval Rating
Genoa	850	None	Low	Traffic	Yes	1	4	Low	Yes	High
Wombat	700	None	Low	Traffic	Yes	0	5	Low	Yes	High
Phillip Island	5,000	Two open cans & hours restriction	High	Major crime	No	9	6	High	No	Low
Broadford	5,000	None	Medium	Traffic	Yes	10	12	Medium	Yes	High
Sydney Bike	1,700	Ban	Low	Major crime	No	0	0	Low	No	High

* ALL REPORTED INJURIES WERE MINOR, ie. CUTS & ABRASIONS

Police Presence and Anti-Police Sentiment

The first important issue to be address from the information in Table 8 is the connection between the type of police presence and the amount of expressed anti-police sentiment.

We defined anti-police sentiment as the amount of anti-police comments and conversations heard in the crowd by observers. Observers were asked whether they thought the amount of anti-police commentary was low, medium or high. The average responses are reported in Table 8.

Higher police visibility results in higher anti-police sentiment. This has profound implication for the policing of the Bathurst Motorcycle Races, as we shall see in our subsequent sections.

Crowd Rowdiness

For the purpose of testing the existence of a relationship between crowd rowdiness and alcohol consumption, we defined crowd rowdiness as acts of:

- (1) vandalism;
- (2) numbers of injuries;
- (3) anti-police sentiment;
- (4) number of fights;
- (5) number of arrests.

To determine the relative level of crowd rowdiness we asked an observer with extensive crowd control and police experience with the NSW police to observe one event (the Wombat Rally). He reported the crowd rowdiness and vandalism levels were "probably lower than for similar aged gatherings of people ... including lecturers and police".

Crowd rowdiness is related to the alcohol policy. When alcohol is banned or heavily restricted, crowd rowdiness diminishes. This, again will be shown to have relevance in our discussion of findings about Bathurst in the next section. Generalisations from this data must be tempered due to the natural limitations of the sample size of observations.

OBSERVATIONAL CONCLUSIONS

Our findings indicate high visibility policing results in:

- (a) higher anti-police sentiment;
- (b) reduced crowd enjoyment levels;
- (c) lower attendance figures; and
- (d) lower financial reward for event organisers.

Lower police visibility may be marginally related to higher crowd rowdiness. More importantly, however, no alcohol restrictions seems to account more adequately for higher crowd rowdiness.

Another important finding of this research is, self-policing is clearly evident at biker events. Not only is self-policing evident; it seems to be the preferred and possibly the most effective way to police such events. Using Genoa as an example, the vandalism to the bridge was repaired by the bikers. This kind of action probably does not come about from a fear of prosecution as the authoritarian perspective would suggest. Rather, this kind of action stems from peer pressure. After all, it's in the bikers best interest if the event is clean & trouble-free. This form of self-policing is the preferred option for each of the interest groups.

The best management strategy to maximise biker enjoyment, stimulate economic gain for local communities and minimise cost to the general public (re police deployment) is to maintain a low visibility and friendly policing presence. The Genoa Rally typifies this policing policy. (The policing strategy employed by the Senior Constable during this event was most favourably received by the bikers.) This indicates that it is likely that anti-police sentiment may be minimised as well by low visibility and friendly policing presence.

SECTION 3: BATHURST - TOWARDS A SOLUTION

History of Bathurst

Since 1931, motorcycle races have been held on the Mount Panorama (The Mount) road racing circuit. The annual races are held at Easter and have featured the running of the Australian Grand Prix. The track for these races is located 1.8 km from the country town of Bathurst. The event is known as **Bathurst**.

The first acknowledged confrontation between police and a crowd (gathered in Kings Parade Park located in front of the Bathurst Court House) occurred in 1960. From 1960 to 1979, five police and media defined riots occurred.

In 1979, the Bathurst City Council provided the police with a compound located at the top of the Mount as a mechanism for maintaining public order and neutralising violence in the town. However, the last seven years have witnessed an intensification of reported large scale violence occurring between spectators camping on the Mount and police.

The 1983 Easter Races at Mt. Panorama were violent by any standard. 163 arrests and 93 police injured were the grim scores being announced by the media. It was in this context that the senior author and Dr. Jeff Sutton, Director of the N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, approached the then Mayor of Bathurst, Mr. Max Hanrahan, seeking Council approval for a study of the causes of the violence at the Motorcycling Races. The Bathurst City Council approved the study in June, 1983.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method we employed to proceed was to start a literature review, obtain preliminary interviews and establish perspectives of the event in the participants minds. We developed two perspectives... the bikers' and the police, based upon the events as told to us by people from both groups who had participated in the events of Bathurst 1983. The perspectives were circulated for comment to a few police and bikers who were known to have no preconceived ideas about the causes of the violence on the Mount. From their comments, it was clear the papers caused a polarisation of readers. Police who were relatively neutral in view about events on the Mount adopted the hard-line police perspective after reading the document. The same shift in attitude occurred when the document was read by relatively neutral bikers.

The idea of circulating the documents for comment was abandoned on the grounds that we wished to avoid increasing the polarisation between the two groups.

Search Conference

A Search Conference technique was then initiated to facilitate the process of conflict resolution. The concept involved all parties coming together to nut-out the concerns and issues contributing to the discontent. To this end, letters requesting support for the idea of a search conference were sent to the following groups:

- a) the Police;
- b) the Police Association;
- c) the Media-particularly the print media;
- d) the Motorcycle Riders Association (M.R.A.) (N.S.W.);
- e) the Bathurst City Council;
- f) the Bathurst Chamber of Commerce;
- g) the Auto Cycle Union (the race organizers).

The letters asked for support from each group in establishing a Search Conference organised by the researchers and led by an internationally known expert in the field of conflict resolution...Mr. Neil Watson. A three day social island technique was clearly specified as an absolutely necessary condition for the successful operation of the Conference (Emery, 1979).

The media sources declined to attend the Conference, stating that litigation for irresponsible journalism was pending. Evidently, the Bathurst City Council and the MRA (NSW) had existing legal proceedings against certain media groups. The Press Council of NSW indicated that they "might attend if the charges were dropped". The Bathurst City Council and the MRA were approached with the information; but both were unwilling to drop the charges. The police did not respond to the letter. No reasons for this were given. The Search Conference idea was abandoned on the basis that two central interest groups were not willing to participate.

A private company (The Planning Workshop) operating on a tender for property development from the Bathurst City Council decided to proceed with the Conference concept. This company underwrote the cost of the Conference. The Planning Workshop altered three significant features of the Search Conference format. The changes were:

- (i) the three day and night conference was reduced to a one day conference;
- (ii) the concept of a social island was abandoned;
- (iii) the experienced Search Conference operators were replaced by their own staff and a member of our research team.

Similar letters were sent to the same people and groups as previously stated. Notably, the police attended and the media did not. It is unclear why the police did not co-operate in the initial idea of a Search format. Perhaps State Government endorsement and/or political support should have been sought to bring the police to the bargaining table.

The main finding of this Conference was that privatisation should occur. This was seen as the most efficient way of handling the entire problem of the Mount. The alteration of the fundamental principles of the Search format yielded a solution where "the conflict was simply brushed under the table and not actually dealt with" according to Neil Watson (Watson, personal communication, 1984).

Observational Research Phase

The Search Conference by any standard was less than successful in addressing the issue of violence control. Following the limited success of the Conference, a third tactic was adopted by the researchers. We would become monitors of the event telling a neutral and unbiased account of the incidents as they occurred. This role, it was reasoned, was necessary to generate an information base from which solutions might be found. To consolidate this role, a two year grant from the Criminology Research Council was sought and was awarded in late 1984.

One reason the research team chose to establish our bona-fides through a prestigious granting body (the Criminology Research Council) was to legitimate our information requests in the participants eyes particularly the police and the media. A second reason, was to become a clearing-house for information about Bathurst. A third was to assist in underwriting costs. And finally, was to gain access to particular locations required for observations during the forthcoming Bathurst Motorcycle Races.

Formulation of Propositions

On the basis of the preliminary interviews, a review of the existing literature and an analysis of the media clippings of the Bathurst Motorcycle Races, a number of propositions were formulated. It was not expected that any single proposition would fully account for the presence or absence of violent confrontation between the police and bikers/spectators. Rather, it was postulated that all could contribute to the presence of violence between these groups at Bathurst.

Propositions relating to the actions of the principal groups on the Mount were to be tested by observational, participant observational, interview, archival and questionnaire data.

The eleven propositions were:

1. The weather conditions effected the likelihood of violence.
2. The bikers/spectators provoked the police (pig bating/missile throwing).
3. The police provoked the bikers/spectators on the Mount.
4. The police provoked the bikers/spectators during the preceding year.
5. Institutionalised violence existed at Bathurst.
6. Sensationalism by the media distorted the events.
7. Non-bike world agents provocateur were responsible for the violence.
8. The presence of the police compound increased the likelihood of violence.
9. The price of goods and services on the Mount contributed to the discontent.
10. The lack of entertainment increased anger.
11. The impact of our observation may interfere with the naturalcourse of events.

Observational Methods Used at Bathurst

A detailed observational technique was utilised. The technique was developed at Bathurst and tested on a number of other bike world recreational events (see Section 2 for details about the observational methods).

FINDINGS OF THE BATHURST STUDY

In the years 1960 - 1979 and prior to the construction of the police compound, there were five media defined riots (1960, 1965, 1966, 1972 & 1976). Since 1980, there have been four riots (1980, 1981, 1983 & 1985). In 1975, a shift in policing policy occurred. This shift was to centralise police operations at the top of the Mount. The location offered proximity to restrain the bikers on the Mount. It was at this point in time, the violence became institutionalised; and exaggerated with the erection of the police compound.

The results of the proposition testing are shown in Table 9.

Table 9 : SUMMARY OF THREE YEAR OBSERVATIONS AT BATHURST

<u>Proposition\Year</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>
Riot	NO	YES	NO
Weather	RAIN	FINE & WARM	FINE & WARM
Spectator Provocation	YES	YES	NO
Police Provocation at Bathurst	YES	YES	YES
Police Provocation prior to Bathurst	NOT TESTED	BY OBSERVATIONS	
Institutionalised Violence Exists	NOT TESTED	BY OBSERVATIONS	
Media Sensationalism	YES	YES	YES
Agents Provocateurs	YES	NO	NO
Police Compound	YES	YES	YES
Costs of Food & Drink	NO	NO	NO
Entertainment	NOT TESTED	BY OBSERVATIONS	
Observation Impact	YES	YES	YES

At the beginning of the police/biker confrontation in Bathurst, documented conflict already existed between the police and youth, (Cunneen, 1986). The bikers were a logical minority group for the media to identify and utilise to create public hysteria within the community ... particularly after the film, "The Wild One", appearing in Australia in 1965. The net effect of "The Wild One" was to sensationalise the marginally deviant sub-culture of the biker. This process is known in sociological terms as deviance amplification. It serves to make the biker more deviant to the non-biker world. The media is clearly guilty of inflaming the situation as our analysis shows that there is a continual distortion of the facts. Interested readers can read Cunneen et. al.(1986) for more details on media distortions at Bathurst.

In 1985, the findings about the proximate or immediate causes of the riot were released by the senior author to the Sydney Morning Herald. In that release, it was described how warm weather seemed to be related to an increased intake of alcohol; which in turn is related to a greater degree of crowd rowdiness. The greater levels of crowd rowdiness are translated into a greater degree of pig-baiting which may escalate to include the throwing of missiles at the police. The throwing of greater or lesser missiles is one of the few features differentiating between riot and non-riot conditions on the Mount. It is important to understand these features are secondary features of the violence only. That is, the preconditions for the violence are already established by the police presence on the Mount. Tables 9 and 10 show that the findings previously released are supported.

Table 10: SCORE CARD

Year	1 Defined as Riot	2 Anti-Police Activity	3 Vandalism	4 Number Arrested	5 Number Police	6 Weather	7 Number Attending
1960	Yes	Yes	Yes	40	40	Fine/19	-
1961	No	Yes	No	50	40	Fine/25	-
1962	No	No	Yes	57	48	Fine/23	-
1963	No	No	No	37	N/A	Fine/21	-
1964	No	Yes	Yes	80	45	Fine/25	-
1965	Yes	Yes	Yes	55	N/A	Fine/23	-
1966	Yes	Yes	Yes	176	70	Fine/22	-
1967	No	No	Yes	180	52	N/A	-
1968	No	Yes	Yes	130	60	Fine/27	-
1969	No	No	No	112	100	Fine/23	-
1970	No	Yes	No	130	80	Fine/26	-
1971	No	No	Yes	80	N/A	Fine/27	-
1972	Yes	Yes	Yes	100	80	Fine/20	-
1973	No	Yes	No	100	N/A	N/A	-
1974	No	No	Yes	33	80	Rain/18	-
1975	No	Yes	Yes	140	100	Rain/24	-
1976	Yes	Yes	Yes	250	110	Fine/24	13,171
1977	No	Yes	Yes	138	140	Rain/17	11,528
1978	No	Yes	No	118	392	Rain/18	10,194
1979	No	Yes	No	75	242	Fine/20	12,001
1980	Yes	Yes	Yes	91	300	Fine/26	13,776
1981	Yes	Yes	Yes	167	150	Fine/26	13,591
1982	No	Yes	Yes	53	340	Fine/21	13,920
1983	Yes	Yes	Yes	163	300	Fine/22	14,972
1984	No	No	No	20	300	Rain/NA	12,734
1985	Yes	Yes	Yes	164	300	Rain/22	13,701
1986	No	No	No	25	428	Fine/24	8,200

(Adapted from Cunneen et al, 1986)

Category 1: Confrontations defined by the media as riot.

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

Category 3: Complaints of vandalism.

Category 4: Number of arrests - from Western Advocate.

Category 5: Number of police - from Western Advocate.

Category 6: Weather conditions - from Bureau of Meteorology

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

Agents provocateur are also an interesting group in the context of the Bathurst Motorcycle Races. Such agents were observed in 1984, while none were observed in 1985 or 1986. Nevertheless, observations of the Mount and elsewhere indicate that the patterns of social behaviour in times of the riot call for individuals to take a fairly high profile in anti-police activities. These high profile anti-police leaders may or may not come from the biker culture.

Figures 1 and 2 present comparisons between persons surveyed on the Mount in 1986, persons surveyed at the Bathurst Rally (held at Ben Chifley Dam, approximately 10 kms. from Bathurst) and persons surveyed at all other observed biker events. Bathurst is, in fact, most atypical. The people who stay at the top of Mount Panorama are more likely to hold extremely negative views about the police; they are likely to have been in a little more trouble with the police; and they are a little more likely to be younger. On the whole, the crowd which attends the Bathurst Races is not at all characteristic of bikers in general.

Figure 1: Comparisons Of Attitudes (Dangerous, Aggressive, Corrupt and Hostile) About Police As A Function Of Distance From The Mount

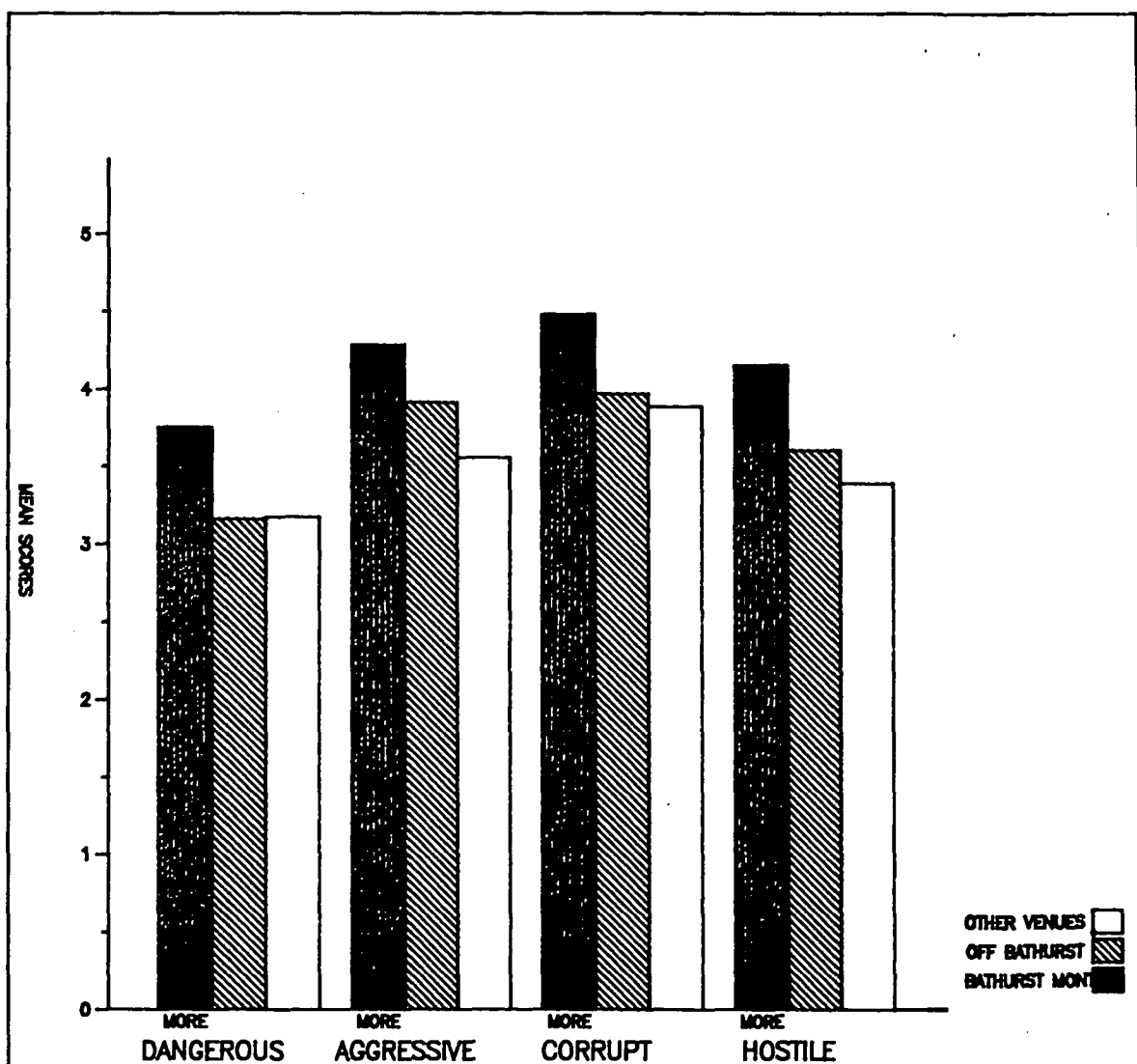
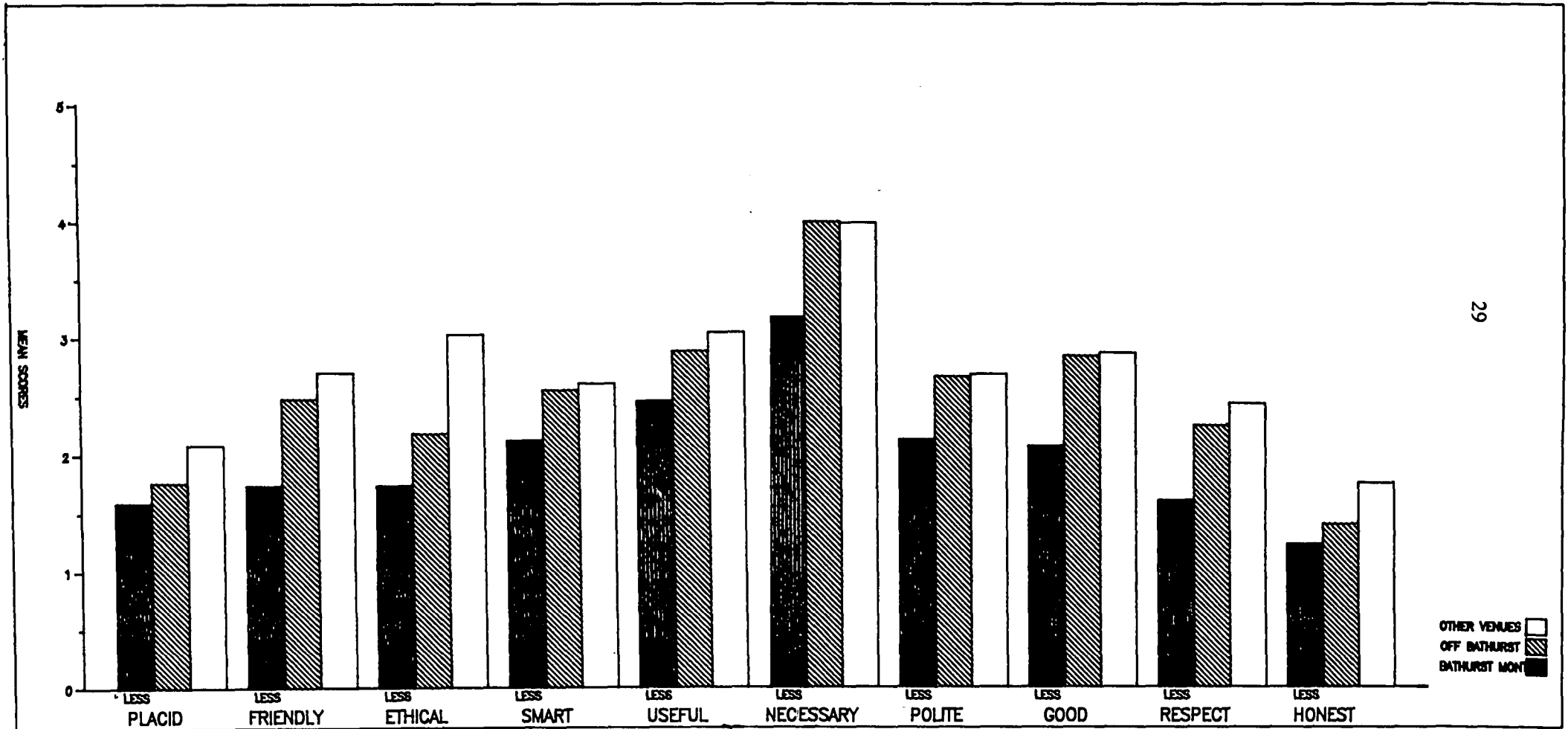


Figure 2: Comparisons Of Attitudes (Placid, Friendly, Ethical, Smart, Useful, Necessary, Polite Good, Respect And Honest) About Police As A Function Of Distance From The Mount.



The Decline of the Bathurst Motorcycling Races

Conditions have deteriorated with only two groups profiting from the Easter conflict. Namely, the police who use Bathurst to argue for stronger equipment (i.e. water cannon) and, some would suggest, as a training ground for civil disturbance control (Holloway, 1985). And secondly, the media who use the biker/police conflict for massive television coverage of the event and to sell newspapers. With such vested interest in the violence, is it little wonder that the conflict/confrontation is institutionalised?

The organisers of the New Year's celebrations at Cowes, Phillip Island (Victoria) in 1986, were fully aware of the need to avoid such institutionalisation of violence. A number of factors were identified as salient in preventing the violence from occurring. These included: (1) a high but friendly police profile using effective mingling tactics, (2) local, older and country experienced police, (3) tolerant enforcement by police of petty violations, (4) hidden back-up reserve, (5) the sale of non-bottled alcohol (minimising the ready supply of missiles), (6) enforcement of a standard closing time for liquor outlets (since no other alcohol restrictions were imposed); (7) provision of centralised entertainment. Whilst these features combined to form saturation policing tactics which resulted in reduced crowd attendance; the organisers must be commended. The next step to improve policing would be, of course, to reduce visibility.

In both 1984 and 1985, police at Bathurst employed a mingling tactic thus increasing the crowds sense of identity with the police as fellow human beings. The results showed that in 1984 there was little violence ... in 1985, there was large scale violence. The conclusion drawn from these observations strongly suggests that the policing tactic in itself is insufficient to predict a violent or non-violent year. That is, how the police act is not as important as presence or absence of the police once the violence has been institutionalised. **Prevention of the institutionalisation of violence must be the goal of law enforcement agencies considering the planning of overall policing strategies at such recreational events.**

Both the Motorcycle Rider's Association (MRA) and the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club (HAMC) were asked if they would consider controlling the policing of the Bathurst Motorcycle Races. Spokespersons for both organisations rejected the idea. It seems, that neither of these major biker groups want to inherit the institutionalised violence of Bathurst.

The devolution of policing to a local community or interest group is simply not tenable. In 1986, the Bathurst City Council banned all alcohol on the Mount (except for a two can open limit) and all weapons. Council workers and police conducted searches for alcohol and weapons of persons entering McPhillamy Park. **It is a step toward decreasing the FORMAL policing presence at the Mount.** Yet in 1986, there were more uniformed police than ever before. With the lack of a community group to whom policing could be devolved, the entire event begins to resemble the high visibility policing of the Hundredth Anniversary of Motorcycling Rally (described in Section 2).

Certainly one group who are emerging as the big losers in the event are the townspeople. The townspeople use Bathurst for economic gain (the car and bike races are worth 15 million dollars in revenue to Bathurst each year; personal communication Bathurst City Council, January, 1987). The attendance figures have decreased significantly, resulting in a measurable economic loss to the people of Bathurst community. During our last observation, we heard shopkeepers from as far away as Cowra and Albury complaining about the lack of

petrol and food sales. This is due to the massive police presence and the highly touted alcohol restrictions.

Table 10 reveals that the years 1976 - 1986 witnessed a growth in police presence of 400%. During the same period crowd numbers remained relatively static, until the introduction of saturation policing, 16 man squads, "no man's land", and severe alcohol restrictions.

Eroded Conditions Since the Study Began

In the three years since this study of the Bathurst Motorcycle Races began, the following conditions have changed at the McPhillamy Park complex:

- (i) alcohol limitations have been introduced;
- (ii) the police compound has increased to six times its original size;
- (iii) attendance figures dropped by 40% in 1986;
- (iv) the Grand Prix Race location has been moved to Phillip Island;
- (v) the MRA (Victoria) has black-banned Bathurst;
- (vi) over 100 police have been injured;
- (vii) nearly 400 arrests have been made of bikers/spectators at Bathurst.

SECTION 4: RECOMMENDED ACTIONS TO END THE VIOLENCE

The solutions to the conflict are complex and difficult. No single solution will suffice. What is called for is a package of changes. Listed below are our recommendations:

1. Coordinator Respected by all Groups (Town Council, Race Organiser, Bikers and Police)

Central to understanding the problem of Bathurst is understanding that no single individual has been provided with enough scope and/or power to control all the variables. **The first step in solving Bathurst is to establish a central person in charge of controlling the Mount independent of the police.** Perhaps this could be achieved through a levy paid by all interests groups.

2. The police headquarters should be based off the Mount.

The study has clearly shown the violence was institutionalised with the advent of police operations being based on the Mount.

3. The existing police compound should be converted to perform community services.

This building would be suitable as a first-aid station and fast-food/entertainment complex.

4. Community policing of the Mount.

In his book, *Community Policing*, the Commissioner of Police, New South Wales, Mr. John Avery, tells how community policing is generated from the public. That is, in a community policing structure the public see the police as their instrumentality, as their representatives. The police are part and parcel of the community. This study and many, many others have shown that New South Wales police are working on just the converse structure. John Avery must be allowed to implement his philosophies. Consistent with the community policing philosophy, Bathurst policing should be characterised by:

- (a) deployment of older, experienced country police;
- (b) use of Motorcycle/Mounted police;
- (c) an open, collaborative and friendly profile;
- (d) tolerant enforcement by police of petty violations;
- (e) sensitivity and appreciation of a minority culture;
- (f) no visible guns;
- (g) provide people with the opportunity to self-test themselves with breath testing devices prior to departing from the Mount;
- (h) significantly reduce operations interfering with the smooth progress of travellers to/from Bathurst;
- (i) increase the visibility of Council workers on the Mount (garbage disposal etc.) thus encouraging self-policing;
- (j) reserve police back-up located off the Mount.

Policing practice must be fluid and flexible responding to the mood of the biker/spectator crowd on the Mount. Biker/spectator self-policing should be encouraged. Mingling is the preferred tactic, but from time to time, may not be appropriate.

5. Alcohol Policy.

Our study has shown that elevated crowd rowdiness is positively related to high alcohol consumption. Crowd enjoyment levels are positively related to non-regulated alcohol restrictions, particularly in the context of gymkhana bike events. In light of these considerations, the following options are proposed:

- (1) Continue with the two open can limit, but extend the licensing hours;
- (2) Allow entry to the Mount with a limited quantity of alcohol, combined with a two can limit;
- (3) Unrestricted alcohol sales on the Mount with specified hours of trading (as per the Cowes example).

Non-glass contained alcohol should be the only dispensed alcohol in the entire Bathurst area. This would entail the Liquor Control Commission exerting pressure on the retailers to ban the sale of alcohol in glass containers. The alcohol policy should be well advertised. Plastic bottles should be made available at the gate thus avoiding confiscation of alcohol.

6. Searches as a condition of entry to the Mount

Searches to the Mount were instituted in 1986. These searches were primarily conducted by the Bathurst Council Workers. We strongly recommend the continuation of the practice of using Council workers to conduct the searches. The Council workers are perceived as neutral and therefore less threatening than police or private security firms. The following restrictions should apply for entry to the Mount:

- (a) no firearms allowed;
- (b) no hard drugs allowed;
- (c) no cans of petrol;
- (d) no glass containers.

The Popperwell Report demonstrates that the existing concern about the detection of weapons is probably not a viable concern. Soccer hooligans were using coins as weapons.

7. Entertainment on the Mount

In 1982 and 1983, a private company was contracted to provide rock band entertainment. In 1982, there was no riot; while in 1983, there was a riot. The venue for the rock bands was the amphitheatre located about 300 metres down the Mount from the Telecom tower. On the basis of our observations of biker-type events, we recommend entertainment be provided with the following conditions:

- (a) small scale rock concert utilising local bands;
- (b) experimental outdoor theatre with films such as past racing clips or bike oriented movies (eg. Mask);
- (c) the venue for the entertainment should be in close proximity to where the current police compound is situated (this is conditional upon the removal of the police from the compound);
- (d) providing a safe and appropriate area for formal bull-ring activities (eg. dough nut area);
- (e) organise a formal gymkhana event with a biker organisation formally responsible for its operation.

A Final Comment

All these points should be taken into consideration by any person or organisation seriously trying to resolve the institutionalised violence at the Bathurst Motorcycle races. We acknowledge a great many of the points shall be hotly debated by various vested interest groups as many recommendations could be seen as eroding the powers of the vested interest groups. This erosion of power may well be true; but what are all groups after? Isn't the conducting of a good, clean, trouble free event the goal?

One final comment must be made. The proposed solution is reliant upon the good-will of all the vested interest groups. If the solution is to be sabotaged, let's all save ourselves time and energy and find another mountain, in another state, for Easter 1987

SECTION 5: IMPLICATIONS

The implications of this research go far beyond police/biker relations at the Bathurst Motorcycle Races. The research highlights some fundamental questions:

- (a) What is the function of our Police Forces?
- (b) Should policing be organised more around the philosophy of community policing?
- (c) What are the criteria our decision makers use in the policing decisions about public order issues?

This research has shown the offenses police enforce at biker recreational events are public order offenses. There is no evidence of more substantial kinds of criminal activity occurring. The research also indicates effective community policing results in bikers self-policing. This form of self-regulation seems to be more effective than formal policing. The liaison concept of the Victorian Police vis a vis major event planning should serve as the model in assessing need for intrusive versus peer policing strategies.

From our preliminary studies of two youth oriented events, it appears that many of our observations at biker events hold validity across this minority group. Of particular note, the police tendency to use saturation policing and the imposition of severe alcohol restrictions in the belief that public order is at risk.

This observation is extremely relevant as the Bathurst public order problem was defined as a youth/police public order problem prior to the bikers (Cunneen et. al., 1986). The problem of youth/police public order was not solved through an authoritarian policing model. It is unlikely the authoritarian approach will solve the biker/police public order problem at Bathurst. It is imperative therefore, that a non-authoritarian solution be tried at Bathurst.

This research like all other research indicates further research is necessary to investigate these public order issues and to develop an integrated minority group policing strategy.

Anticipating that many of our recommendations will be loudly protested by certain sectors as dangerous and unworkable, a concluding case is presented. An annual event is held in Scarborough (Yorkshire, England) called Oliver's Mount. This event is a gathering of 5,000 - 10,000 bikers. The bikers organise and self-police the event with Marshals. Police numbers are between 6 and 12 persons. The event is trouble-free year after year due to the careful liaison between police and bikers. Outlaw clubs are in attendance. The police do not regard the event as a public order problem and do not deploy any extra officers (personal communication, Chief Inspector Hammond, 1987).

If the British Police can do this, why can't the Australian Police?