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LEISURE CO-OPERATIVES: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION  
OF GAMBLING AND THE GROWTH OF LARGE LEISURE  
ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW SOUTH WALES

by

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Geoffrey Thomas Caldwell

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## Abstract

This thesis represents one of the first steps in the study of large leisure organizations. In the last quarter century, licenced or registered clubs in New South Wales have increasingly become the locales for eating, drinking, gambling, entertainment and the pursuit of sports and hobbies. Some registered clubs are large, with memberships numbering in the thousands, and their activities have been financed by the profits from gambling slot machines of which the clubs have exclusive legal use.

In the first part, the historical reasons for the emergence of the registered clubs will be documented. While the strength of the Temperance movement prevented liquor reform before the Second World War, wartime restrictions, especially the shortage of beer and early closing of hotels, led to intolerable drinking conditions for the general public. So great was the discontent, that the N.S.W. Labour Government made provision for co-operative functional alternatives - registered clubs and community hotels.

In the following decade the registered clubs, sustained financially by illegal poker machine profits grew in strength at the expense of the hotels. Because hotels could not satisfy the needs of the drinking public, further expansion in clubs took place in the mid-1950s, and as a result of hotels' action in 1956 poker machines were legalized, thus ensuring the financial success of the clubs. Only in the late 1960s, have significant government curbs been placed on the growth of the registered clubs.

In the second part of the thesis, consideration is given to the importance of poker machine finances in club growth. It will be shown that both the clubs and the State depend heavily upon poker machine profits. Reasons why New South Welshmen play the poker machines with such persistence will be examined.

The final part of the thesis is devoted to a case study of a large registered club with 12,600 members. Like consumer co-operatives the club has an open membership, and a formal democratic structure. However, an oligarchy dominates the club and the membership is happy to accept this situation largely because of the competence of the club's executive.

Members visit the club in groups usually consisting of spouses, relatives, work colleagues, friends and neighbours who participate in a variety of activities - eating, drinking, playing poker machines, dancing, watching entertainment and attending intraclub meetings. While the great bulk of the club's facilities are concerned with provisions for recuperation, relaxation and entertainment, a small number of intraclubs satisfy the self-development leisure functions of about 5 per cent of the membership. Generally speaking, clubs neglect the self-development functions that intraclubs serve.

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## Chapter 1

### THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

This dissertation is an analysis of the growth and functioning of those leisure organizations in New South Wales known as registered clubs.<sup>1</sup> The expansion of these clubs, each with their own premises, in number, size, function and social influence on leisure behaviour is a phenomenon requiring sociological analysis and explanation. In this research, particular emphasis is given to large clubs, and one such organization with a current membership of 12,600 has been chosen as the subject for a case study.

A few simple statistics illustrate the pervasiveness of these leisure organizations in New South Wales (hereafter N.S.W.). In 1945, there were only 85 registered clubs, but by January 1971 the number of clubs had increased to 1,465 (Licensing Bench and Licences Reduction Board Report, 1970: 26) and the total 1969 membership of the clubs had reached 1,422,822 adults (The Club Managers' Journal, October, 1969: 7). Allowing for multiple membership, the actual individual membership was estimated at 900,000 (Club Management in Australia, October, 1970: 7) from a 1969 estimated adult population of 2,763,250.<sup>2</sup>

This expansion has been financed from the very substantial profits of gambling slot machines (poker machines) of which the registered clubs have exclusive legal use. In the last twelve month period for which figures are available (June 1, 1969 to May 30, 1970) profits from the club poker machines amounted to \$138,985,116 (Chief Secretary's Department, August 26, 1970; August 27, 1971) - after taxes of \$30,425,825 had been paid to the State Government.

As defined in the N.S.W. Liquor Act, a registered club is one that applies for liquor and poker machine licences and must be a body, association or company formed for social, literary, political, sporting, athletic or other lawful purposes. Other specific conditions are that the club must be established with premises already erected or in the

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis, the registered clubs will occasionally be referred to as licensed or non-proprietary clubs.

<sup>2</sup> At the 1966 Census, 61 per cent of the N.S.W. population of 4,223,833 was 21 years of age and over. The 1969 N.S.W. population was estimated at 4,529,918 - 61 per cent of this total is 2,763,250.

course of erection, or have land in the association's name upon which premises shall be built. The buildings must contain a properly constructed bar-room and other accommodation suitable for the club's purposes. In addition, a club must be non-proprietary and therefore any profits or income from the club are to be used for the promotion of the club's purposes. The business and affairs of the club are to be run by a committee elected annually from the general body of members (A Manual for Registered Clubs, 1968: 1).

Many kinds of leisure organizations are included among the 1,465 N.S.W. clubs. Some 550 are lawn bowling clubs, 250 are golf clubs, and there are over 300 Returned Soldiers' and Ex-Servicemen's clubs. In addition, Fishing, Musicians, Dance, Catholic, Football, Masonic, Ethnic and Political clubs can and do operate as registered clubs. Not only is there diversity in the interest around which the various clubs are established, but the size of club membership is variable. In 1969, 883 clubs had memberships less than 600. On the other hand, 130 organizations had memberships above 2,000 and 36 clubs had more than 5,000 members.

Large leisure organizations, such as the Workmen's, the Returned Soldiers' and the Leagues' clubs are a phenomenon unique to the State of N.S.W. Some indication of the size of these clubs can be gleaned from reference to the Leagues' clubs, which were originally formed to support the professional football code of rugby league. At the time of writing, there are 40 Leagues' clubs with a total membership of 400,000 people. The largest has a mammoth membership of 53,000. In fact, if this club were to become a city, it would be the fourth largest city in N.S.W. One of the aims of this research has been to isolate the social, legal, political and demographic conditions which encouraged the establishment and growth of such organizations, an exercise largely in social history.

At least two major reasons can be given for choosing the large registered clubs of N.S.W. as an appropriate subject for sociological research. Most importantly, very little is known about the structure and activities of these leisure organizations, despite their large inclusive memberships. Organizational studies have concentrated on social institutions such as industrial firms, government departments, trade unions, military organizations, agencies of mass communications, hospitals, schools, but clubs and expressive voluntary organizations have received little attention, despite the growing importance of leisure

in industrial society.

In order to show the sparseness of sociological studies of large leisure organizations, I shall refer briefly to existing studies. Most descriptions of contemporary leisure organizations are found in newspapers and magazines.<sup>1</sup> Jackson devoted one chapter of his book on working class community to a description of the functioning of the Working Men's clubs in industrial Northern England (Jackson, 1968: 39-68). In another community study, the authors describe the crucial role that the Working Men's clubs and pubs play in the leisure life of Ashton miners (Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1956, 1969: 141-165). The patterns of behaviour and the type of activities that take place within these Working Men's clubs bear striking resemblance to the functioning of the larger social clubs in N.S.W. A pre-war study of the English pub has some useful subjective insights, but as a social scientific study, it lacks methodological rigour (Mass Observation, 1954). Newman, in a study of a British betting shop, rejects the embourgeoisement thesis and describes the working class culture of the betting shop as homogeneous, viable, precious, satisfying, and rational (Newman, 1968: 17-35).

Just as the British studies of leisure organizations have been concerned largely with drinking establishments, so have North American analyses. Clinard, in drawing together material on the tavern, presents a taxonomy of taverns (skid-row, downtown, drink and dine, nightclub and neighbourhood taverns) and lists four major social functions of the tavern - drinking, establishing social relationships, recreation and a place to talk over personal problems (Clinard, 1962). Sherri Cavan, in participant observation of one hundred bars in San Francisco from 1962-65, concerned herself with delineating the stable recurring features of bar behaviour. Unlike Clinard, she developed a

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance - "Very Clubable Men. A Survey of English Working Men's Clubs", The Economist, December 30, 1961; "Clubs for the Country", The Economist, August 31, 1963; "Clubs for Commoners", Newsweek, January 3, 1966; "How to Make Millions Without Really Working", Time, April 11, 1969. In New South Wales, there have been frequent analyses of the clubs and their effect on social behaviour. See The Daily Mirror, July 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 1969; The Sydney Morning Herald, April 12, 1958; May 12, 13, 14, 15, 1969 and "A Guide to Club-land", The Bulletin, September 2, 1961.

functional rather than a locational classification of bars (Cavan, 1966). Roebuck and Spray concluded that the major function of a cocktail lounge they studied was the facilitation of casual sexual affairs between high status married men and unattached women (Roebuck and Spray, 1967: 388-395). Polsky, in an article on poolrooms speculates on the reasons for their decline in popularity. He concluded that the poolrooms used to be the keystone of that heterosexual but all male sub-culture which required sacrosanct refuges from women. Besides the poolrooms, Polsky lists clubs, barber shops and taverns as other male refuges (Polsky, 1967: 31).

Jupp came to similar conclusions about the role and function of the all-male taverns in Montreal. From an analysis of questionnaires and participant behaviour in four taverns (selected on the bases of the social class and ethnic origin of the clientele), Jupp stated that the leading functions for the clientele were to be with friends, to avoid women and, of course, to drink (Jupp, 1969: 97).

While there have been very few cross-cultural comparisons of leisure organizations, Csikszentmihalyi (1968: 201-206) has commented upon the spatial characteristics of wine shops on the Mediterranean coast, the French café, the German beer hall, the English pub, the American tavern and the effects of such spatial arrangements upon the interaction of customers.

Analyses of leisure organizations in Australia are few indeed. Freeland's The Australian Pub is one major contribution - even though its specific focus is the architectural history of the hotel. Freeland demonstrates how changing legal provisions have shaped the functions and operation of the Australian pub. He asserts that the Australian drinking house is "one of the most socially significant, historically valuable, architecturally interesting and colourful features of Australian society" (Freeland, 1966: 1).

Two studies have dealt in part or in whole with the registered clubs in N.S.W.. Vinson and Robinson (1970: 63-66) studied registered and non-registered clubs in Sydney and their use by members. They obtained an occupational status distribution of a sample of club members and a scale of the most popular activities members engaged in while at their favourite club.

Hogan (1970) has recently completed a study of three registered

clubs in a suburban area of Sydney, examining their economic, geographic, political, leisure, social welfare and integrative functions as well as their social welfare dysfunctions. More detailed attention will be given to these studies in Chapter 2.

Existing studies of leisure organizations relate mainly to small-scale organizations. The emergence of large leisure organizations is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Nevada's casinos, Disneyland, England's Billy Butlin holiday camps and international cruise ships are all large leisure organizations (and there are significant similarities between these and the large registered clubs in N.S.W.), but to my knowledge, no sociologist has undertaken research on these subjects.

Most of the existing studies are of leisure organizations with no more than 200 or 300 patrons at any one time. Large N.S.W. clubs frequently have up to 4,000 members on the club premises participating simultaneously in a variety of activities. An analysis of such large organizations not only adds to existing studies on leisure, but represents the first steps in the study of large leisure organizations.

There is a second major reason why the N.S.W. registered clubs have been chosen for study. According to Etzioni (1966: 317-318) what is missing in sociology is "social analysis". The focus and *raison d'être* of social analysis are "the problems of the age, the application of sociology to the understanding of society, its major subcollectives, and a society's place in more encompassing communities". Social analysis, or the systematic exploration of societal issues, requires macroscopic analysis (*ibid.*: 320).

Each society has its problems and issues that burst into prominence and then subside. If sociologists in Australia were to follow Etzioni's dictum, some would sensitize themselves to those problems and issues which have troubled and concerned Australian society and study them using the usual sociological methods. While there are social problems and issues common to all industrial societies, the emphasis placed upon specific issues varies from time to time, from society to society. In Australia, for instance, the clash of puritan and hedonistic values has been fought on several battlefields. The theatre of operations that will concern us here is the State of N.S.W., where in the last twenty-five years the number of clubs and their membership have expanded enormously. The growth of these hedonistic institutions has been accompanied by criticism and protest - often from church

people who hold puritan values. In pre-war years, access to club activities was open only to a small percentage of the adult population. This is no longer so. In clubs, social drinking, gambling, the pursuit of entertainment and leisure are major activities. Such pastimes have continually been targets for puritan condemnation.

Since these activities have been pursued so vigorously in the clubs, the controversy has been correspondingly intense. Because registered clubs, especially large ones, have cut into the business of hotels, restaurants and nightclubs, major organizations in the society have viewed the expansion of the clubs with misgiving. Some statements about clubs by antagonists and protagonists of club life have been uttered without reference to any substantial body of knowledge. This thesis attempts to draw together the available knowledge from a wide range of sources, provide additional data and interpretation, and assess the actual role, functions and dysfunctions of these registered clubs.

Perhaps the most obvious theoretical approach to the study of large clubs is to treat them as formal organizations. Three significant distinctions can be drawn among different organizations. The first is that some are concerned primarily with things, others primarily with human beings (Emery, 1970: 2). Emery calls organizations dealing with things socio-technical systems and those dealing with human beings, socio-psychological systems. Lefton and Rosengren (1971: 200) would include amongst socio-psychological systems those organizations in which the clients of the organization are integral factors influencing the structure and functioning of such systems.

The second distinction concerns the relationship existing between the system and its parts. Homogeneous organizations are those in which the organization has greater control over its members than they have over it. In other words, the members serve the organization's objectives. Heterogeneous organizations are those in which the members have greater control over the organization than the organization has over its members. Usually, the goals and needs of the members have been determined through the operation of the market place, the ballot box, surveys, the actual participation of members in decision-making, or informal reference to strategic members. When an organization functions to serve the needs of individual members, enabling them to do things that they would not otherwise be able to do,

the organization increases the variety of experiences of the members (Ackoff, 1970: 24; Ackoff and Emery, 1972: 13, 35-36). By contrast, the homogeneous organization tends to be variety-reducing.

The third distinction concerns the government or authority structure. A uninodal system, is one in which authority is hierarchically structured, with an ultimate decision-maker at the peak of the pyramid of authority. A multinodal organization lacks this ultimate authority, and decision-making involves the agreement between two or more autonomous decision-makers. Ackoff and Emery suggest that practically all organizations are both homogeneous and heterogeneous, uninodal and multinodal but that on each distinction of geneity and nodality, one predominates (Ackoff and Emery, 1972: 13-36). In terms of this framework, it can be argued that the leisure clubs in N.S.W. are heterogeneous, multinodal, socio-psychological systems.

Two types of organizations similar to clubs are co-operatives and trade unions, although in modern industrial nations membership of trade unions is becoming less a voluntary choice for the individual.

The social scientific literature on co-operatives is not extensive, and for the past ten years there has been a virtual neglect of the subject. Most books dealing with co-operatives have been apologias, with descriptive and historical detail included.<sup>1</sup> Only four reports appear to be evaluative and analytical - that of Carr-Saunders, Florence and Peers (1942), the Co-operative Independent Commission (1958), Stephenson (1963) and Florence (1968).

Two types of co-operatives can be distinguished (producer and consumer), and our interest is mainly in the latter. According to Florence (1968) consumer co-operatives have proved successful in many countries, notably Great Britain and Sweden; apart from farm marketing co-operatives, producer co-operatives have not proved successful unless some outside individuals or organizations (such as consumer co-operatives) have helped substantially by providing capital and supervising production.

What are the characteristics of consumer co-operatives? The main economic characteristic of the British consumer co-operatives is the payment (after provision for depreciation and a fixed interest

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<sup>1</sup> See Fay (1948), Bailey (1955), Gide (1921), Cole (1951) and Barou (1948).

on the limited amount of shares held by consumer members) of a dividend on member purchases. Its main organizational characteristic is that it is controlled by the consumers in place of the non-existent capitalist. The members have equal voting rights in the election of the management committee or Board of Directors (which are usually unpaid positions). Such co-operative committees appoint paid managers and generally meet every week to exercise general supervision over the conduct of business. In form, the organization of co-operatives is democratic, although only a minute fraction of members attend their retail society meetings (Florence, 1968: 391).

According to Bailey (1955: 23) there has been some dispute as to the essential principles of the co-operative movement. Cole (1955) enumerates eight: democratic control (i.e. one man, one vote); open membership; a fixed or limited return on capital; the use of cash; the distribution of surplus (after meeting interest on capital and all operating expenses) as a dividend on purchases; the sale of pure and unadulterated goods; the education of the membership; and political and religious neutrality.

Because the N.S.W. registered clubs are concerned with the consumption of leisure rather than the consumption of goods, some of the above principles are obviously inapplicable. But democratic control, open membership and political and religious neutrality are key characteristics of the large N.S.W. clubs. The profits from these clubs are not returned to the members in the form of individual dividends; rather they are used to subsidise the cost of entertainment and meals, the construction of luxurious premises and community development.

There are some significant parallels and differences between the British consumer co-operatives and the N.S.W. clubs as reflected in the history of both movements. The British co-operative was very much a working class phenomenon with ideological and proselytizing characteristics. The movement was a response to the new industrial order of the nineteenth century which stressed conflict and competition as principles of economic progress and the consequent social problems which followed from the institutionalization of such principles. Carr-Saunders et al. comment (1942: 24-25):



The new methods of production had greatly increased the power of human effort; but it was felt by many that the system of production for profit had diverted this increased power from what should have been its true purpose, the better satisfaction of the wants of the people. The growth of wealth in the hands of the few was accompanied by mass poverty and increasing economic insecurity. The labour of women and children was exploited, while men were thrown into unemployment by the new methods of production; and competition for the right to work kept down to a low level the wages of those who were employed. Standards of living deteriorated in more senses than one in the sordid manufacturing towns of the early nineteenth century.

The early co-operative movement was a reaction against this new order - and other expressions of reaction of the depressed classes were manifested in the early growth of trade unionism, in the battle for parliamentary reform, and in the evolution of socialist ideas in opposition to the doctrines of individualism. The first co-operative experiments were isolated attempts on the part of groups of people to provide themselves with necessaries at a reasonable price.

At first glance it might seem strange to compare the emergence of large leisure voluntary organizations in N.S.W. after 1945, with the development of the British co-operative movement in the nineteenth century. For one thing, Australian society was a much more affluent one. But the expansion in the number, size and influence of these N.S.W. leisure organizations took place under a Labour Government; further it was the same Government which legalized the poker machines in 1956, giving these voluntary associations a lucrative, continuing source of income.

It is my thesis that the N.S.W. clubs are essentially consumer co-operative organizations in the emerging market of leisure, although club leaders have not viewed their organizations in this light nor had the same ideological fervour and the vision of a new social order as did the leaders of the British co-operative movement. Nevertheless, the similarity can be drawn and a major part of this dissertation is devoted to an examination of the historical and environmental factors which gave birth to these leisure consumer co-operatives in N.S.W.

I shall treat the large clubs as formal organizations (specifically as consumer co-operatives) and their relationship with the environment in which they are located.

The first part of this thesis (Chapters 3-6) is concerned with an historical overview of the growth of the N.S.W. registered clubs and an account of their social functions. Originally it was not intended to devote much time to historical analysis of the growth of the N.S.W. club movement, for it was erroneously anticipated that social historians would have sufficiently researched Australian values and leisure practices to help explain why these large N.S.W. clubs have emerged. In fact, I was moving into virgin territory, and a great deal of time and labour has been expended in an examination of documentary material culled from a variety of sources - official statistics and reports from government agencies (the N.S.W. Chief Secretary's Department, the Department of Justice and the Licences Reduction Board); magazines and newspapers, especially The Sydney Morning Herald; representative association publications such as Club Management in Australia and The Club Managers' Journal; studies and Gallup Polls commissioned by such associations; Hansard reports of N.S.W. Parliamentary debates; and the Liquor Royal Commission Report of 1954. But the role of the clubs would have been inadequately defined and understood without this social history.

The second part (Chapter 7) concentrates on the central importance of poker machines in providing clubs with a substantial and expanding source of income to finance their activities. As poker machine profits have increased, the State Government has taxed poker machines more heavily to the point where it is now dependent for just under 10 per cent of its internal income from that source. But large poker machine profits would not have occurred if New South Welshmen had not played the poker machines with such consistency. This passion for gambling can perhaps be explained in terms of some Australian values and national characteristics. Various writers have commented on the classlessness and equalitarian nature of Australian social mores; additionally, Australians are a fatalistic people. It will be argued that both fatalism and equalitarianism are values conducive to gambling - especially with gambling forms which require no skill (lotteries, poker machines, raffles, sweepstakes and even with betting on the T.A.B. - all of which are popular, legalized forms of gambling in Australia). As Caillois (1962) indicates, gambling creates a different sort of equality to

the usual competitive ethos of Western society, for it mocks skill, merit, qualifications and ability because the gambler submits himself to the judgement of chance (alea). Poker machines can be characterised as the ideal aleatory device.

The third part (Chapters 8-13) is devoted to a case study of one large club, with the view of specifying in a more analytic way, the structure and functioning of large leisure organizations, and to determine if such a club is homogeneous or heterogeneous, uninodal or multinodal.

Among the more specific questions which I set out to explore were:

1. Macroscopic analysis

- a) Why have the registered clubs emerged in this co-operative form, at this time in this particular society? What specific needs of the community led to the establishment of these organizations? Did the leadership and membership come from one rather than another section of the community (for example, the working class)? What conditions precipitated legislative changes which permitted clubs to grow in size and number?
- b) In view of the strength of puritan values in Australian social history, does the institutionalization of the clubs represent a victory for hedonistic values over Protestant ethic values? In what ways have values changed to create greater and more varied leisure needs?
- c) How have other organizations and groups such as competitors (hotels, cinemas, restaurants, churches), regulators (governments, licensing courts, etc.), customers (members of the community) and suppliers (retail organizations) reacted to the expanding role of clubs in the leisure environment? Have they stimulated or constrained the growth and role of the large clubs?
- d) What have been the aims and goals of the clubs, especially the large ones, and have these goals increased in complexity? What tactics, strategies and operations have the clubs adopted in adapting to changes in the leisure environment?
- e) What are the dimensions of the club phenomenon - in terms of the number, variety, geographical distribution, and membership since the Second World War?

- f) How significant has the legalization of poker machines been in the development of these leisure organizations? Can the contributions by club members through poker machines be viewed as a culturally accepted way of raising income?
- g) What are the usual activities that take place within these large leisure organizations and what are the norms of behaviour? Is there evidence of behaviour change coincident with the growth of the clubs? Are the standards of behaviour predominantly middle or working class?

## 2. Microscopic analysis

In the case study of one large registered club, the following questions are dealt with -

- a) Membership characteristics. What segments of the local population join and make use of the club? How open is the membership? Since the club has thousands of members, how does it communicate with them?
- b) Distribution of profits. In what way does the organization distribute its profits, and what are the benefits that members and the community receive? Does it have all the characteristics of a co-operative organization?
- c) Authority and control structure. What is the authority and control structure of the club? Is it primarily homogeneous or heterogeneous, uninodal or multinodal? To what extent do members participate in decision-making and what opportunities are available to members to determine action within the club?
- d) Aims, goals. What are the manifest and latent aims of the club and how have they changed over time?
- e) Problems of social control. With a large membership, what problems of social control emerge? Is there evidence of excessive drinking or gambling, or abuse of membership, and if so, how does the club handle these problems?
- f) Pattern of visitation and interaction. What is the pattern of visitation by members to the club - i.e. when, how often, and with whom do they come to the club and how long do they stay? What is the pattern of interaction? What are the most popular activities at the club and what proportion of the membership uses the club's facilities?

g) Relations with the environment. How does the community react to its expanding economic and political power? What steps have other organizations taken to curb the club's power? How does the club respond to criticism from outside the organization, especially in reference to drinking and gambling excesses?

## Chapter 2

## LITERATURE ON LEISURE ORGANIZATIONS

This thesis focusses on large registered clubs because they represent a development that appears to be unique to N.S.W. A majority of registered clubs (mostly golf and lawn bowling clubs) are small with memberships of less than 600; golf clubs are common throughout the world, and small clubs are not unique to N.S.W. However, as a summary of the sociological literature will demonstrate, a combination of characteristics gives the large N.S.W. registered clubs claim to singularity.

Large clubs are voluntary multifunctional associations offering a variety of activities and facilities to members. Meals, liquor, entertainment, indoor and outdoor sports facilities, special interest leisure clubs, and gambling on poker machines are facilities available at virtually all large N.S.W. registered clubs. Members do not normally interact with members who are strangers to them because individual club memberships number in the thousands. Most members visit the club in the company of work colleagues, spouses, family, business acquaintances, or friends who may or may not be members. Interaction occurs almost entirely within that group.

Although Boards of Directors, managements and memberships of N.S.W. registered clubs do not conceive of their organizations as being consumer co-operatives, in reality the clubs are closer to this form of organization than any other. The formal structure of the large clubs is democratic; a Board of Directors or a committee is elected by the membership; because the clubs are non-proprietary, profits are poured back into the club for the benefit of members. Membership of large clubs is not usually confined to working or middle class individuals, but draws substantially from both strata.

In the first chapter, I pointed to the dearth of studies dealing with leisure organizations - a view echoed by the Astors who suggest that although leisure activity through private associations and commercial agencies represents one of the major segments of the recreation movement, the subject is given "as little academic attention as a church organist gives to calypso music" (1957: 92). Such private associations and commercial agencies operate without

tax support, provide their own personnel, salaries and pensions, maintain their own standards and serve a vast public. The registered clubs of N.S.W. are examples of such private associations operating on a very substantial commercial scale.

Weiss and Reisman refer to the same deficiency but diagnose it rather differently. They argue that compared with the organizational forms developed for the integration of the work effort, there barely exist social forms for the utilization of leisure or organizations within which "the energies of leisure might be developed or even illustrated" (1963: 175).

Not surprisingly, then, within the vast bureau of the sociological enterprise, there is no pigeonhole for studies on leisure organizations. Because the clubs are in the broadest sense voluntary associations, reference will be made to the considerable body of literature on that subject; on specific types of leisure organizations, there are analyses and descriptions of taverns, cocktail lounges and pubs, betting shops and clubs, which are summarised in this chapter.

In reviewing the North American, British and Australian studies of leisure organizations, attention is given to the following themes -

- a) the type and structure of the organization; whether it is a voluntary association or commercial establishment, and the style and decor of the premises,
- b) the range and variety of functions that the organization serves for its clientele,
- c) the social class and sex of the clientele,
- d) the pattern of interaction and participation by members or clientele, and
- e) the manner in which social control is exercised.

#### Voluntary Associations

Unfortunately the literature on voluntary associations does not provide many useful guidelines for this study. Analyses of voluntary associations have tended to be macrosociological and even then such descriptions are not very plentiful. Some have focussed on a taxonomy based on functions (Lundberg *et al.*, 1934; Gordon and Babchuk, 1959; Rose, 1954; Babchuk and Edwards, 1965); others on the extent of voluntary association membership and socio-economic status of the members of American voluntary associations (Scott, 1957; Wright and Hyman, 1958, 1971; Hausknecht, 1962); and one on the place

of voluntary associations in the power structure of British and American societies (Morris, 1965).

The most common taxonomic distinction drawn is that between the "instrumental" or "social influence" association, and the "expressive" organization (Lundberg *et al.*, 1934: 126-127; Gordon and Babchuk, 1959: 27-28; Rose, 1954: 52). Instrumental associations try to maintain the status quo or bring about change in the social order; insure that vital services will be available to persons in the society; help distribute power at different levels; and educate and persuade. Expressive associations, on the other hand, pursue the objective of immediate gratification, providing opportunity for participation in recreational activities and the cultivation of friendship. The orientation of the group is not to the attainment of a goal anticipated for the future, but to satisfactions provided in the present (Babchuk and Edwards, 1965: 154-155). A third type of voluntary association is one that combines elements common to both instrumental and expressive groups. Babchuk and Edwards comment that no matter how these different functional associations are titled, at one end of the continuum there are organizations with objectives which emphasize integration on a broad societal level, and at the other end, there are organizations which are integrative for the personality system.

A detailed review of research on voluntary associations is not necessary here, as a more relevant perspective for the study of large registered clubs can be gained from studies of co-operative organizations rather than voluntary associations. Moreover, the United States studies appear to be largely concerned with instrumental organizations, which may indicate their predominance in that country. In fact, if we were to adopt the "rather narrow" definition of voluntary associations used by Morris (1965: 186), of groups having formal constitutions with non-obligatory membership and no paid officials at the local level, then the N.S.W. registered clubs could not be viewed as voluntary associations; virtually all such clubs have paid officials. However, Glaser and Sills (1966: x) stress an important difference between voluntary associations and formal organizations such as business and industrial firms: leadership in voluntary associations is based upon the consent of the participants and are in that sense "private governments". To this extent, the registered clubs in N.S.W. can clearly be classified as



expressive voluntary associations, for the clubs satisfy some of the leisure and fellowship needs of the club members, their Directors are elected by the members themselves, and paid officials are employed.

British and North American Studies of Leisure Organizations

1. Taverns, Cocktail Lounges and Hotels

Marshall Clinard and his students have provided much of the existing systematic data on the public drinking house in America of which there were conservatively 200,000 in 1962 (Clinard, 1962: 172).

According to Clinard, the three chief functions of the tavern, in addition to its obvious role as a location for drinking, are:

- a) a meeting place where relationships with other persons can be established,
- b) a place for recreation, especially games, and
- c) a location to talk over personal problems with the tavern-keeper or others (ibid.: 273).

Clinard offers a tentative classification of five types of taverns based on function and the social class of the clientele. The Skid Row taverns are patronised largely by single and homeless men, migrant labourers and alcoholics. In addition to their primary purpose of providing an outlet for cheap drinking, the Skid Row taverns are often the sites for gambling and soliciting for prostitution.

The second type is the downtown bar and cocktail lounge, predominantly patronised by white-collar and business class males and some unaccompanied women. Located in business and shopping areas of cities, such lounges usually have long bars, booths, and attractive decor. Most customers are transients and accordingly, little emphasis is placed on social and recreational activities.

Drink and dine taverns are located in business districts, and near city limits along main highways. As the name implies, the patrons (frequently businessmen and often women) come to drink and dine. Because patrons tend to come in small groups, there is little interaction between groups.

The fourth type that Clinard describes is the nightclub and road-house. The clientele are predominantly urban couples who attend chiefly at weekends. In addition to drinking, the primary activities of the nightclubs are dancing, consuming a good meal, watching the floor show and listening to the music. The patrons are essentially

spectators and little interaction occurs between unacquainted members of the clientele.

Finally, the most important functional type is the neighbourhood tavern situated in rural, village, suburban or city areas, to which people come to drink, converse, play cards or games, watch television, and listen to juke box records. These taverns cater to a local clientele, and the bulk of the patrons are regulars who are often on close terms with one another, the bartenders and the owners (Clinard, 1962: 276-277).

Sherri Cavan, a student of Erving Goffman, studied a hundred bars in San Francisco from the spring of 1962 to early in 1965. She visited each bar as a typical patron (occasionally with her husband), in some cases for as little as half an hour, in others, as an intermittent visitor over a three-week period (Cavan, 1966: 15). Cavan does not specify her criteria for selecting the one hundred bars (from an approximate 2,000 outlets) for participant observation, or why the frequency and extent of visitation to the chosen bars varied.

Her major sociological preoccupations are expressed in the following questions which she posed -

- a) what are the courses of action that take place and are expected to take place in such settings as a matter of course and without question? (i.e. what do such settings look like?);
  - b) what kinds of assumptions would be required to generate these courses of action as regular and recurrent phenomena? (i.e. how is it that they could look like that in the first place?)
- (ibid.: 8).

She directed her attention to the seating and spatial distribution, the internal movement of the participants and the nature of face-to-face interaction. Essentially she was concerned with the stable, recurrent behaviour patterns exhibited in the public drinking place (ibid.: 17).

Cavan states that these bars are "open regions". The patrons present in a bar, unacquainted or not, have the right to engage others in conversational interaction, and conversely must accept the overtures of sociability offered to them. Sociability is, then, the most general rule in these taverns (ibid.: 49).

Cavan does not view Clinard's typology of taverns (based on ecological location and characteristics of patrons) as being entirely

satisfactory. She argues that the various ways in which these settings are used by patrons are more realistic criteria on which to develop a taxonomy of taverns. As ideal types, she names the Convenience Bar, the Nightspot, the Marketplace and the Home Territory Bars.

The Convenience Bar is a setting where drinks can be purchased and consumed when the need or desire arises, without much other activity taking place. Typically, customers come either singly or in groups and once the drink is consumed they leave. People patronise these bars to use up loosely scheduled time, mark an occasion or an unexpected meeting, unwind with a friend after work or a sporting event, and terminate an evening after a night out (ibid.: 145-153).

At the Nightspot, the patrons engage in a variety of activities and drinking is normally subordinate to dancing and watching entertainment (ibid.: 154).

Marketplace Bars are centres for the exchange of various goods and clearing houses for certain kinds of information. Apart from the sale of liquor, commercial or non-commercial sex is the most frequently sought after arrangement. Other dealings in narcotics, stimulants, gambling, stolen merchandise and a variety of illicit goods may take place within the marketplace bars, which are second only in number to the neighbourhood bars (ibid.: 171-174).

The Home Territory Bar becomes in effect not a public place, but a private retreat for some special group which stakes out proprietary claims, and activities indigenous to that particular establishment may develop. The maintenance of a particular bar as a home territory may have to be defended against the intrusions of others, and Cavan describes some of the techniques used to resist intrusion (ibid.: 205-226).

In her final chapter, Cavan comments rather tentatively about the "need for 'time-out' periods when the constraints and respectability the ordinary social world requires are no longer demanded". Cavan sees the public drinking place as one of the many settings in American life in which "unserious" rather than serious behaviour is permissible. Although it might be expected that middle class bar behaviour might be more "tightly" defined than lower class behaviour, Cavan remarks that "in the time-out atmosphere of the bar a display of social licentiousness is apparently just as appropriate for the middle class as it is

for those below them in the social hierarchy". Cavan reflects upon the precarious moral status of the public drinking place, observing that this may be partly due to the kind of reputation attributed to a time-out setting which, by being available in most places and most of the time, is a little too available. Somewhat cryptically, she adds that for the participants who see bars as unserious settings without consequences, the discovery may come that what occurred in bars was serious after all (*ibid.*: 236-241).

Roebuck and Spray (1967), over a two-year period, studied an upper and upper-middle class cocktail lounge in a West Coast American city with a population of a quarter of a million people. The cocktail lounge was chosen for three reasons - the quality of the service was polite and attentive; the clientele included successful business and professional men who visited the lounge not only during the cocktail hour, but later; and young, attractive, sociable females were generally present. Using the information offered by seven employees of the lounge, a sample of 60 patrons was selected - twenty male and twenty female "regulars" (a regular was defined as one who frequented the lounge at least once a week) and ten male and ten female "irregulars" (a patron who visited the lounge at least once every three weeks) (*ibid.*: 388-389).

The men who frequented the cocktail lounge tended to be older, married men of high-class position while the women were young, attractive, unattached and lower on the social class scale. None of the women were considered by employees or patrons to be call-girls or prostitutes. Although the major role of the high-class cocktail lounge studied was to facilitate casual sexual affairs in the context of respectability, these affairs were not conducted between strangers. The regular patrons of the lounge consisted of a highly stable group of persons who visited the lounge because it was a preferred recreational pattern. The authors concluded that the relationships established in the cocktail lounge may have served to maintain marital ties that might have otherwise dissolved (*ibid.*: 392, 395).

Gottlieb (1957) differentiates between the neighbourhood tavern and the cocktail lounge. In his view, the latter caters to a transient clientele which does not form a cohesive group, thus contradicting Roebuck and Spray's conclusion. Gottlieb conducted

interviews with patrons and bartenders in twenty-four neighbourhood taverns (60 respondents) and twenty-two cocktail lounges (48 respondents). He found that the upper-middle class respondents tended to patronise cocktail lounges while the lower-middle class respondents patronised taverns; that patrons of a specific tavern were usually similar in religion, ethnic background and social class; and that the tavern, a product of the neighbourhood and catering to individuals with similar backgrounds, acted as a scenario for a type of voluntary association, enforcing group norms and excluding certain groups such as negroes. Each tavern developed its own norms, especially the tolerance of inebriation; and in four taverns, where population change of the neighbourhood was taking place, the characteristics and tactics of a closed club were being adopted. The average length of time spent in the taverns increased as the population change became more complete, the members uniting in what seemed to be a last stand (ibid.: 559-562).

While American studies tend to concentrate on middle class cocktail lounges, Canadian studies are more concerned with working class taverns or pubs. Ossenberg studied bar behaviour during an urban festival in the city of Calgary in 1966. Marked differences were evident between middle class and lower class behaviour with most of the noise and revelry being confined to hotels patronised by middle class individuals. During the year, beer parlours are divided by law into rooms for "men" and for "ladies and escorts", but during this festival (the Calgary Stampede), the legal ban enforcing such segregation is lifted. However, in three of the four lower class establishments sampled, segregated drinking was maintained and it was "business as usual" (Ossenberg, 1969: 29-34).

Another Calgary study centred on beer parlours in the city's east-end, and the role that they played in the lives of the "lower classes". Commenting upon the bond that existed between the members of deprived populations, Farley (1967: 91) argues that beer parlours served as a focal point for the socially disadvantaged to meet together and ventilate their frustrations against the larger society.

Mann's study of the east-end slums of Toronto included an examination of the role of the "pub" for the older residents (Mann, 1961: 48-68). Of the seventeen drinking establishments in the area, fourteen were locales for neighbourhood social activity. Although

four of the modern cocktail bars could seat from 200 to 300 persons, the total seating capacity of all seventeen establishments was only about 1,800. Mann noted the concentration of ethnic groups in certain pubs, with one serving mainly Finns, another Central Europeans, and another "old Canadians". Despite these distinctions, all fourteen pubs seemed to possess a common culture, atmosphere and web of social functions. This culture was characterised by lower class standards of furnishings, dress, manners, language, directness of personal interaction, a strong interest in sports (especially boxing and wrestling), sex, and drinking, and a strong emphasis on the informal primary group and particularistic relationships. Not only was there a permissive atmosphere in the pubs but they were places where men could read, sleep, swear noisily, participate in a fight, talk to strangers, and begin and cease conversation at will (ibid.: 62-63).

Mann saw the pubs serving a number of functions; as workingmen's social clubs and male recreational centres where men involved themselves in uninhibited conversation; watching television and gambling; as substitutes for formal associations, in which a sense of integration and status for the regulars was promoted, allowing patrons a release from pressures, restrictions, drabness and crowdedness, giving them a lift by participating; and as settings for the coming together of legitimate and illegitimate society - where a man could buy or sell stolen goods, place a bet, or pick up a woman (ibid.: 62-65).

Finally, Mann suggests that pubs played a crucial role for certain specific groups - for example, single men who rented accommodation in rooms above the beer parlour using the beer parlour as their living room; for the "winos" as a sort of home, especially in cold weather; for professional deviants such as bootleggers, book-makers and prostitutes as a base for operations; and for old age pensioners, the unemployed, local workers, newcomers to the area and the lonely, to while away time, assuage loneliness, gain acceptance and have meals (ibid.: 66-67).

Jupp explored the role and functions of the taverns in Montreal, which by law, exclude women and the serving of any alcohol but beer. From questionnaire results and participant observation of four taverns (selected on the bases of the social class and ethnicity of their clientele), Jupp stated that the leading functions of these

taverns for their clientele were to be with friends, to avoid women, and, of course, to drink (Jupp, 1969: 97).

Jupp agrees with Gottlieb (1957) that some taverns are considered by many of their patrons to be social clubs, for regular patrons take on a possessive attitude toward their tavern (*ibid.*: 43-44). Jupp considers that three of the four taverns studied could be described in Cavan's terms as "home territory" bars (*ibid.*: 79).

Other characteristics of the taverns and their patrons which caught Jupp's attention were the topics of conversation (sports, news events, women, work problems, job opportunities, politics and numerous items of inconsequential talk such as the weather); the rituals of tipping, extending of credit, and "treating",<sup>1</sup> and the expressed determination of both tavern-keepers and patrons to exclude women from intrusion into these male bastions. Of the 231 tavern respondents interviewed, 197 favoured the exclusion of women (*ibid.*: 50-61; 93-96). However, a recent magazine article suggests that in the same province there is a move to allow women to be patrons and the serving of other alcoholic beverages (The Globe Magazine, June 14, 1969: 2).

The British functional alternative to the tavern is the pub, an institution celebrated in journalistic literature. An English study undertaken thirty years ago examined the role of the pub in an industrial community (Mass Observation, 1943). The authors found that people spent more time in the public drinking house than in any other buildings except private homes and places of employment. In that community of 180,000 people, about 20,000 pub-goers made approximately 140,000 visits to pubs each week. From this and other data, the researchers concluded that about one-twelfth of the population in England consumed alcohol in pubs on Saturday evenings (*ibid.*: 17, 111).

Most British pubs at that time had three rooms - the vault, the taproom and the lounge. The vault contained a bar or counter where an exclusively male patronage stood drinking. In the taproom, akin to a clubroom, drinking was again confined to men who sat around plain wooden tables and benches. Strangers were not welcome, and games were played in this room. In the lounge or "best room", the decor was more attractive, comfortably furnished with tables, chairs

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<sup>1</sup> In the Australian vernacular, "shouting".

and a piano - creating a milieu amenable to mixed sex, middle class groups.

These researchers suggest that for the pub-goer, the pub was the centre of social activities (ibid.: 31), and "the only free, non-esoteric, non-exclusive, weatherproof meeting place for the ordinary worker" (ibid.: 165). The working people of that community rarely met in each other's homes for social activities in the style of the middle class; rather they used the pub to meet friends and acquaintances. A drink was the only price of admission to this society, and drinking was inseparably linked with social activity, relaxation and pleasure. The picnic, the outing, the angling competition, the bowls match, the savings club, games of darts and cards and betting - all of these activities became connected with the pub and were "incomplete" without drink (ibid.: 311-312).

## 2. Betting Shops

Although gambling has increasingly occupied the attention of social scientists there are few studies of organizations where betting takes place. Symbolic interactionists such as Goffman (1969) and Scott (1968) have dealt with the meanings of gambling in social settings such as the casino and the race track.

Two studies deal specifically with the functions of working class betting organizations - one in the United States and the other in Britain. Zola (1963) studied betting activity in a bar and grill establishment frequented mostly by Italians and Poles in a working class area of a large New England city (1963, 1967: 19-32). He found that betting activity delineated the in-group from the out-group members; that in the pursuit of betting, expressive and emotional involvement, monetary gain, and competition were de-emphasised, thus eliminating sources of hostility and re-affirming attachment to the group; that the bookie represented "the system" to be beaten; and that there was a hierarchy of horse selection procedures (ibid.: 23-29).

Zola concluded that these bettors, aware of their very limited life chances, could by "beating the system" demonstrate control, however briefly, over their fate. For these men, gambling may have been an outlet for harnessing or channelling their potentially destructive frustrations. Instead of lashing out at society, they lashed out at "the system". The social milieu of this lower class



gambling setting provided for success and its recognition - opportunities denied these gamblers in the larger society (ibid.: 29-31).

Newman (1968) studied behaviour in a London betting shop to refute the assumption in the embourgeoisement thesis that "social integration into the middle classes is the ultimate goal to which the working class do aspire" (ibid.: 18). Newman characterises behaviour in the betting shop as being persistent, homogeneous, viable, precious, and satisfying, and commented that the hypothesis claiming embourgeoisement of the working class was either premature or wrong (ibid.: 19, 31).

Newman's research is a study not of the structure of a formal organization but of the sociable behaviour that takes place within it. The betting shop had its own loyal core of "regulars" who were referred to by their first names (or more frequently, their nicknames) and "their foibles, preferences, idiosyncrasies are known and taken account of, their moments of glory, their splendid exploits are fully recalled in surroundings familiar; their near-misses given a sympathetic ear, their prestige firmly established and regularly reinforced by new deeds of valour - the successful bet, irrespective of volume of winnings, made in the face of overwhelming odds, in defiance of expert opinion, the result of personal courage and of firm resolve" (ibid.: 23).

Rigid sex differentiation was apparent in the way in which females placed bets in the morning and the men in the afternoon. Female conversation was lively and intense, concerned chiefly with matters of family life and occasionally a slight sexual innuendo. Males studied the racing form, made selections privately and retained all winnings; nevertheless "each triumph belongs to the unit, the entire group of which paradoxically the bookmaker - after all the owner who is footing the bill - forms an integral part" (ibid.: 24,25).

Newman concludes there was only very slight evidence of middle class values; rather almost total correspondence with the traditional working class community values was expressed (ibid.: 31).

### 3. Journalistic Analyses and Descriptions of Leisure Organizations

Unfortunately no macrosociological studies have been made of the role of clubs and large leisure organizations in Anglo-American life. Journalists have tackled this task with more enthusiasm but less skill than sociologists.

According to one British journalist (The Economist, August 31, 1963) there were 2,500 "elite" country clubs in the United States, with a membership of 3 per cent of the American population. His description of country club leisure activity resembles closely the activities of the New York Country clubs described by Lundberg in the 1930s (Lundberg, 1934: 162). The modern country club caters for the whole family, by providing facilities for indoor bowling, squash, tennis and ice-skating. Members are encouraged not only to patronise parties at the club, but to entertain there. The golf course is the country club's principal asset. Membership fees usually start at \$1,000 (one in California is reputed to charge \$17,000) and there are more candidates for membership than can be accommodated.

In addition, there were 1,800 prestigious men's clubs corresponding to elite clubs in Britain, but their popularity appears to be declining relative to the country clubs. In an attempt to meet this challenge, most clubs have begun to open their doors to women - a view supported by an Australian architect who visited several New York clubs (Club Management in Australia, November 1963: 27).

Another type of American club is the Athletics Club, which provides gymnasias, squash and bowling facilities for 1,500 or more members in a hotel-like atmosphere of barber shops, steam baths, bars and banqueting rooms (The Economist, August 31, 1963: 747). Businessmen's Lunch Clubs, usually located at the top of newly-built skyscrapers, have proliferated in New York and elsewhere to provide the prompt service, plentiful space and quietness for private discussion. In 1963, joining fees were about \$200 and annual subscriptions about \$300. Most clubs have a ceiling membership of 500, with provision for up to 200 out-of-town members (Club Management in Australia, November 1963: 29-31).

An Australian tennis professional writing in The Australian newspaper during 1969 stated that the number of indoor tennis clubs in the United States has expanded from 127 to 600. The writer describes two tennis centres - one at a dude ranch with facilities for tennis instruction, swimming, riding and holiday accommodation set in 115 acres. A projected tennis club at Dallas, Texas, will have twenty outdoor tennis courts, a clubhouse and a swimming pool. Family membership is \$1,000 for the first 100 members, \$1,500 for the second 100 and \$2,000 for the third. Dues are \$25 a month.

Two very large leisure organizations, one in Canada and the other in South Africa have been described in magazine articles. The Ottawa Civil Service Recreation Association with 25,000 members, (and 9,000 spouses and 19,000 children) has a \$1,600,000 clubhouse and two swimming pools, a 10-lane bowling alley, two gymnasia, a curling rink, outdoor playing fields, archery and rifle ranges, two liquor lounges, dozens of games and hobby rooms, a convention hall that serves as a ballroom or theatre, and a wide range of sporting, recreational and social activities. Although membership costs only 75 cents per individual, there are additional rates for each activity - for instance, \$20 for a family season ticket for swimming, \$17 a couple for badminton, and \$2.50 per hour for riding lessons. About 800 - 1,300 people use the club nightly participating in activities such as painting, photography, drama, opera, bridge, table tennis, and stamp collecting. The club's income amounts to \$200,000 derived from membership fees and cafeteria profits (Weekend, approx. December, 1968).

The Wanderers' Club in Johannesburg is unquestionably a large leisure organization. With 10,000 members, it boasts a golf course with clubhouse, swimming baths, seven squash courts, three rugby fields, twenty-five tennis courts, four large lawn bowling greens, a clubhouse with dining, bar and entertainment facilities. Soccer, athletics, baseball, grass hockey and badminton are other sports that are catered for in the Wanderers' Club (South African Panorama, March 1970: 30-35).

In Britain, in 1966, there were some 3,750 Working Men's clubs to which one adult Briton in every thirteen belonged. Doctors, lawyers, civil servants and many others who would never admit to being members of the "working class" were active members of Working Men's clubs and the decor of the clubs is becoming more luxurious (Newsweek, January 3, 1966: 16) - partly because of profits drawn from the limited number of slot machines that each British club is now permitted to operate.

Another development in the British leisure field is the Clubman's Club. These organizations were initiated to take advantage of the proliferation of "private" clubs which had been established to circumvent Britain's licensing laws. Individuals who join Clubman's are provided with full membership in "400 not-so-choosy gambling, drinking,

golf, tennis, striptease and other clubs", each of which charge a nominal yearly fee of \$2.40 or more. Clubman's members, who pay \$15 a year, receive red booklets that list the clubs that they can enter as members. In return, the clubs get the extra business from 50,000 members of Clubman's. Though the exclusive British clubs have refrained from participation in such a scheme, Clubman's members still have a wide range of choice - from Soho discotheques, roulette parlours and spots where hostesses double as dining partners and "occasionally something more" (Time, April 11, 1969: 61B).

The Billy Butlin camps are very popular vacation and leisure organizations with British working class people, but few descriptions or analyses of them exist. Over one million holidaymakers visit the nine camps and three resort hotels each year. The camps are in effect complete towns, up to 200 acres in area. Each camp is designed to house, feed and entertain sometimes as many as 10,000 people. The camps contain fun fairs, and village main streets with fish and chip shops, theatres, pubs, tea-shops, dance floors, cricket pitches, football fields, tennis courts, swimming pools, infant-care centres, and rows of brightly painted one and two-room "chalets", all arranged under an umbrella of roofs and arcades to prevent the weather from curtailing activity (Stewart Gordon, 1968: 58). Despite the incompleteness of these journalistic descriptions they point to the range and variety of existing leisure organizations.

#### 4. Clubs

One of the most comprehensive community studies on leisure was carried out by Lundberg and his associates in the early 1930s, in a suburban area near New York (Lundberg et al., 1934). They found that the predominance of women was one of the most outstanding features of suburban club membership; that the higher the income, the greater tended to be the participation of both men and women in local organizations; and that while leisure organizations constituted 95 per cent of the club membership in the well-to-do suburbs, 62 per cent of the membership in the poorer and more heterogeneous suburbs were in instrumental or mixed organizations (ibid.: 129-142).

They include in their analysis case studies of seven suburban organizations. Only two were multi-functional, with their own premises and continuous day to day operation - the Women's Club and the Country Club. The Women's Club was in reality a federation of

clubs. Twenty specialised "interest" clubs each with their own officers, dues and programmes operated within this umbrella organization. These intraclubs fell into three classes: cultural (art, drama, poetry, music, travel, French, literature, history and parliamentary procedure); applied arts (arts and crafts, pottery, gardening, cookery); and philanthropic (raising funds, time and personnel for local charities and social services). Although much of the emphasis on club activities centred around community service and adult education, the Women's Club was also a significant venue for sociability, "social climbing" and a luxurious place to entertain friends (ibid.: 148-155).

The Country Club, one of the most exclusive clubs, served a number of functions. Increasingly, the club was replacing the home as a locale for entertainment and the repayment of social obligations; most members viewed membership as a means of "solidifying, defining and protecting their status by safeguarding them against undesirable elements" (ibid.: 162). Facilities included a \$200,000 clubhouse, a golf course, swimming pool, tennis courts, stables and twenty guest rooms. Apart from the small 60-member, highly exclusive literary Club (which met only monthly), the other clubs described by Lundberg and his collaborators are instrumental rather than expressive organizations.

Two British community studies of working class areas have analysed the role of Working Men's clubs. In addition Jackson (1968) gives attention to the importance of crown bowls, the jazz club and brass bands in satisfying leisure and sociable needs of working men. Jackson remarks that it is a measure of "dissociation in British society that so little is known about working men's clubs". With over two million members, the clubs appear to exercise a far more immediate influence on working class behaviour and standards than do other institutions such as the more conspicuous co-operative societies or the daily press. The clubs are organizations of working men, "embodying, strengthening and passing on their style of living" (ibid.: 67-68).

With two associates, Jackson visited sixteen of Huddersfield's seventy clubs and interviewed 100 club members, nearly all of whom were working class individuals. Usually their relatives, neighbours, work-mates and ex-school friends were members of the same club. While the

pubs were regarded as "society", where a person mixed with strangers, observed one's manners and dressed more smartly, the clubs had the atmosphere of home for members, and dress was consequently much more casual. Clubs hours were moulded to fit the needs of members and the cycle of work and leisure in the locality (ibid.: 44-46).

The clubs were most active at weekends, when the ablutions facilities were used extensively by members. While drunkenness was evident in Huddersfield's pubs, it occurred rarely in the clubs, and there was no evidence of pressure to purchase drinks (ibid.: 48-49). Small-stakes gambling was prevalent except when women were present. Professional bookmakers were usually club members and conducted business within the relative seclusion of the club, to which police did not easily gain access. Bingo, which was not regarded by members as gambling, yielded sufficient profits to build new additions. Although stolen goods were bought and sold within the clubs, workmen's clubs were "probably more free from crime than the London clubs subscribed to by bishops, members of parliament, and leaders of industry" (ibid.: 45-52).

The chief organized entertainments were concerts, although the artists were of only moderate quality. While women were admitted to concerts, they were excluded from the organized coach trips to Blackpool and race meetings. Much time was spent in playing games such as cribbage and dominoes - activities which the old men enjoyed. Rather than disrupting the family relationships of old members, the clubs helped them to readjust themselves to the sudden increase of leisure time (ibid.: 52-65).

As for welfare, many of the coalfields clubs built bungalows for retired miners - benefits which the Huddersfield clubs could not provide owing to limited finances. The disruptions caused by accident, illness, bereavement and retirement impinged so frequently on the lives of club members that the clubs could not ignore them. Circumstances permitting, help was organized for members when misfortune befell them (ibid.: 55-56).

Jackson describes briefly the structure of management and authority. Election of officials took place annually. Open meetings were held mid-weekly, and attendance appeared never to fall below 20 per cent of the membership. Secretaries of all the Huddersfield clubs met quarterly, and concert secretaries had their own inter-club

organization. The authority of club officials was derived not from superior social status, or assertive personal qualities but from the offices they held. While Working Men's clubs were non-political, there were natural links with the Left, including local trade unions. Club leaders belonged to a network of leaders throughout the working class community (ibid.: 57-61).

Most clubs had reached the state of admitting women, and their penetration into club life had both increased the pleasantness of the premises and multiplied the range of social activities. Nevertheless, members were aware of opposing personal needs - on the one hand, the privacies and extensions of masculine life required from clubs, and on the other hand, their obligations toward the world of women and children, and the world of "home" (ibid.: 61-62).

Jackson suggests that the Working Men's clubs succeed in transforming "kinship groups into neighbourhood groups, and from a basis of relaxation and pleasure serve innumerable human needs in a community under the common pressures of accident, age, and that sudden drop into deprivation which the working-class household fears and seldom forgets" (ibid.: 68).

Crown bowling clubs were also significant leisure organizations in the life of Huddersfield working class people. There were thirty-three institutionalised bowling clubs in Huddersfield with "many more ephemeral ones". The strongest were usually bowling clubs, whose *raison d'être* was built around the green. Next were the Working Men's clubs which had a bowling green attached to them, then the Liberal and Conservative clubs with greens, and finally, the least organized structurally were the clubs associated with factories, mills or a public park (ibid.: 100). The prime significance of bowls was that it provided a place for the retired man. As Jackson says:

Retirement for a working man is automatic and sudden, his body is more physically used-up, his home - dominated for so long by 'mum' - less easily accommodates him. Bowls gives him both activity and company, which is not confined to the old: the greens are full of young men and he may compete and excel against teams from his old mill. And it gives him an activity which is held in esteem. This was a very special setting for the old: the smooth running of the woods, the brilliance of the green, the sense of 'stage' and audience (ibid.: 150).

Jackson looked also at the role of the jazz club, which was more an informal group than a formal organization. In an anecdotal chapter on the activities of brass bands in the area, Jackson compares them to the Working Men's clubs. Both clubs and bands had idealist and temperance beginnings. Despite the similarity of their original conceptions the Working Men's clubs had diversified their activities, while brass band organizations have concentrated almost entirely on playing in brass band contests (ibid.: 36-37).

Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter's earlier analysis of a Yorkshire mining community includes an examination of the leisure activities and leisure organizations in Ashton (Dennis et al., 1956, 1969: 117-170). Although the descriptions of Working Men's clubs in Huddersfield and Ashton bear many similarities, Dennis and his colleagues are more critical of the clubs' lack of success in stimulating intellectual interests, wider horizons, mutual helpfulness, mental and moral improvement and rational recreation - all of which were embodied in the stated aims of Working Men's clubs. These authors agree with Jackson that the insecurity of life, work and wages were vital considerations affecting the workers' conception of leisure which was characterised by its vigour and frivolousness - frivolous in the sense of "giving no thought for the morrow, but living from day to day and instead of saving surplus income, the miners spend it on pleasure". In Ashton these pleasures were drinking and gambling, and the latter dominated almost every form of leisure activity (ibid.: 130-158).

The six Ashton Working Men's clubs (and two smaller similar social clubs), had a total membership of 6,844 members in a town with 4,824 males aged over 18 years. Only one club admitted women to membership. The prosperity of clubs fluctuated with the fortunes of the miners, who constituted the majority of club members. The bar was the social axis, and bar takings represented the only real source of income (ibid.: 142-143).

Drinking, talking, gambling and attending concerts dominated club life. Work and sport (especially rugby league) were the major topics of conversation, although in the "Best Room" more cosmopolitan topics were discussed at greater length. Those who participated in these "Best Room" discussions represented Ashton's intelligentsia and the town's more important opinion leaders. After drinking and talking, concerts were the most popular activity. At the three largest



clubs, concerts were held on Saturday and Sunday nights and at Sunday mid-day. Women attended these in considerable numbers. In a description of a typical concert, Dennis and his colleagues remark that as the entertainment progressed the isolation of the groups and couples gave way to a more unified, interacting audience. The entertainment was subsidiary to social intercourse but it facilitated conversation by filling conversational lulls. Clubs without concerts had instead bingo or housie sessions which both men and women attended. Although some clubs' rules specifically prohibited gambling, gambling was conducted in all of them. In fact, one third of Ashton's adult males gambled on the club pool each Sunday morning. Further, small-stake gambling took place on the results of darts, cards and dominoes matches in these clubs (*ibid.*: 143-149).

In addition to facilities for billiards, snooker, radio and television, each club had a matrix of subsidiary organizations. The Angling Club had thirty-six members and held twenty fishing competitions annually. It had its own badge and raised competition prizes from lottery sweepstakes. The Tourist Club had a more heterogeneous and shifting membership. Monthly excursions, generally to nearby Working Men's clubs were held, in addition to the major annual excursion to Wembley Stadium in London for the Rugby League Cup Final. Normally about thirty husbands and wives went on the monthly trip, with about fifty attending the Cup Final (*ibid.*: 150-152).

I have indicated earlier that the N.S.W. registered clubs are essentially consumer co-operatives. Dennis *et al.* arrive at much the same conclusion in analysing the Yorkshire Working Men's clubs, which they describe as co-operative societies for the purchase and sale of beer. The profits were used mainly to supply members with free or below-cost beer, to provide concerts, or to purchase games, equipment, newspapers and television sets for the club. Dennis and his associates did not see the role of Working Men's clubs as being substantially different from that of the hotels. While the pubs refrained from organizing gambling pools, concerts and distribution of free beer to members at holiday seasons, the publicans, according to these researchers, were more sensitive to the clientele's needs than club committees (*ibid.*: 153-155).

The other leisure organizations described (the Ashton Workmen's Band, the St John Ambulance Brigade, the Miners' Welfare Institute, the

cinema, the bookmakers' offices and the churches) played a less important, but more specialised role in Ashton leisure activity than the Working Men's clubs. Dennis *et al.* concluded that all these leisure institutions were influenced by the character of the coal-mining industry, in that the essentially frivolous character of leisure in Ashton was closely related to the physical and social insecurity associated with coalmining as an occupation in Britain. Furthermore, institutional leisure activities were predominantly for males, with near total exclusion of women (*ibid.*: 248).

#### Australian Studies

There are only four Australian studies relevant to this study of leisure organizations. Freeland's The Australian Pub (1966), an architectural and social history of the Australian public drinking house, will be used extensively in Chapter 3 detailing the history of the hotel, clubs and drinking laws until 1945. Freeland demonstrates how changing legal provisions and the social problems arising from the distribution and consumption of liquor have shaped the functions and operations of the Australian pub.

Daly, in a general study of life in New South Wales country towns suggested that the licensed social and sporting clubs now provide most of the entertainment needs of the local population by offering live entertainment, cinema and sporting facilities (Daly, 1968: 6, 14, 30). In his survey of about 6 per cent of households (with over 3,000 completed returns) in twelve of the State's largest country towns, Daly found that 64 per cent of the respondents reported belonging to a club;<sup>1</sup> 29 per cent belonged to two clubs, 15 per cent to three, and a further 20 per cent were members of four or five clubs. According to Daly preliminary figures from a Sydney survey indicated that only 50 per cent of respondents were club members of whom only 18 per cent were members of two or more clubs.

Vinson and Robinson's research on Sydney metropolitan clubs and their membership cast doubt on Daly's results (Vinson and Robinson, 1970: 63-66). Using an area probability sample of 755 Sydney adults, 182 or 24 per cent of the sample were members of one or more registered clubs - compared to Daly's 50 per cent. Two of every five men in the sample belonged to a registered club compared with one out of every

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<sup>1</sup> Daly does not make it perfectly clear whether these results refer only to registered clubs or not.

eight women. Since this survey was carried out in 1965 and the Daly study in 1968, the difference in metropolitan membership rates (Vinson, 24 per cent; Daly, 50 per cent) in the two studies may be partly due to a rapid increase in membership since 1965. For the moment, however, this substantial twenty-five per cent difference must remain unexplained.

Using Congalton's occupational classification (1963), Vinson and Robinson stratified their sample into status groups and calculated the percentage of each group belonging to one or more registered clubs (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Occupational Status Distribution of Club Members

| Status group | No. in Sample | Percentage Belonging to a Registered Club |
|--------------|---------------|---|
| A (high)     | 79            | 34  |
| B            | 68            | 24  |
| C            | 116           | 26  |
| D            | 226           | 25  |
| E (low)      | 266           | 17  |
| Total        | 755           | 24  |

Source: Vinson and Robinson, 1970: 64

Of the five status groups, the three middle groups each have a quarter belonging to a registered club. However, while the highest status group has about a third of its membership belonging to a registered club, only one-sixth of the lowest group are members. Using Vinson and Robinson's figures, I have calculated how many individuals there are in each status group - 27 in A (high), 16 in B, 30 in C, 57 in D, and 45 in E (low) - a total of 175 compared to Vinson and Robinson's stated number of 182. Despite this discrepancy it is clear that a majority of members come from the two lowest status groups.

Besides collecting data on club membership, Vinson and Robinson referred to changes in club goals, the most popular activities at both registered and non-registered clubs, members' responses to design improvements within the licensed clubs, and a description of the structure and functioning of one club that gave prime emphasis to the development of subsidiary clubs within it.

As evidence of goal displacement, Vinson and Robinson state that

whereas these clubs originally emphasised informal social interaction within moderately furnished premises of restricted size, they now emphasised physical expansion, and substantial increases in income and membership (ibid.: 63). While this is undoubtedly true of the large clubs such as the Leagues', the Returned Soldiers' and Workmen's clubs, Vinson and Robinson fail to make it clear that this is far less true of the golf and bowling clubs, which constitute about 55 per cent of the total number of registered clubs.

In twenty-two of the thirty registered clubs visited by Vinson and Robinson, officials volunteered that members reacted favourably to design improvements within the club by "improving" their behaviour. When officials specified these normative changes, they referred to middle class patterns of behaviour, such as conservative dress, restrained, non-expressive behaviour and the like. At a more practical level, members showed greater respect for club property with a consequent drop in breakages and maintenance problems (ibid.: 64).

As to the extent of participation by club members and the friendship ties established within the club, Vinson and Robinson found that almost half the sample specified drinking (26 per cent) or playing the poker machines (23 per cent), as their prime interest. Twenty-nine per cent of the sample indicated that "meeting and talking with friends" was the activity which occupied the major share of their time; watching entertainment was indicated by eight per cent, five per cent dining out with the family or friends; and nine per cent attending meetings, discussion groups or participating in games and hobbies (ibid.: 64, 65). A comparison with the activities of members at non-registered clubs was also given (see Table 2.2).

Members of both registered and non-registered clubs were asked if they had a particular group of friends at their preferred club. Approximately 50 per cent of members of both types of clubs answered in the affirmative. The more frequently a member visited his registered club, the more likely he was to answer "yes", although no such pattern emerged with non-registered club members. While a quarter of married registered club members were never accompanied by their spouses to a registered club, two-fifths said that they always or fairly frequently visited the club with their spouses (ibid.: 65).

Table 2.2  
Type of Activity Occupying Greatest  
Time within Favoured Club

| Type of Activity                        | Percentage Register-<br>ed Club Members<br>Mentioning Activity | Percentage non-<br>Registered Club<br>Members Mentioning<br>Activity |
|---|--|--|
| Playing poker machines                  | 23   | -  |
| Drinking                                | 26   | 12   |
| Meeting, talking with friends           | 29   | 29   |
| Dining with family and friends          | 5  | 11   |
| Watching entertainment                  | 8  | 4  |
| Attending meetings/discussion<br>groups | 5  | 24   |
| Participation in games and<br>hobbies   | 4  | 20   |
| Total                                   | 100  | 100  |

Source: Vinson and Robinson, 1970: 65

Concerned about the passive participation of registered club members and the relative absence of challenging leisure pursuits within the registered clubs, Vinson and Robinson describe the Metropolitan Club, a registered club with over 43 subsidiary clubs. In this organization, the emphasis is on member participation in specific leisure activities. Members spent less time drinking and playing poker machines, leaving the club's financial standing in a sometimes precarious position. Instead of providing funds for the subsidiary clubs, the umbrella club expected most of them to be self-sufficient. While some club officials saw the club as being a commercial operation with a profit motive, a large part of the policy-making rested with the members and their twenty committees, who preferred to see money spent rather than saved. The aim of the club, conclude Vinson and Robinson, appears to be to encourage personal growth and development (*ibid.*: 66).

Hogan (1970) investigated the economic, geographical, political, leisure, social welfare and integrative functions and the social welfare dysfunctions of three registered clubs in a Sydney suburban area. His study, while exploratory and impressionistic, is valuable because of its insightful observations.

The clubs studied were the Canterbury-Bankstown Leagues' Club

with 13,260 members and assets of \$1,500,000; the Belmore Returned Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmens' Memorial Club with 1,653 members and assets of \$690,971; and the Belmore Bowling and Recreation Club with 330 members and assets of \$229,124. The largest club was established in 1957, the Returned Soldiers' in 1955 and the Bowling Club in 1948. The three clubs employed 210 people and paid annual State and Federal taxes amounting to over \$300,000 (ibid.: 5).

The clubs are used by businessmen for leisure, relaxation and the cementing of friendship and co-operation ties so necessary for trade and business at the suburban level (ibid.: 7, 8). Additionally, the clubs served political functions. First, the clubs act as a setting where Federal and State parliamentarians meet their constituents informally; second, elected club committees make decisions which are changing the physical and social shape of the suburb; third, club committees serve as a "kindergarten" or apprenticeship, for persons embarking on political careers - (half the committee members of the three clubs admitted to political ambitions, and slightly less than a third had been encouraged informally to stand as candidates in local elections); finally, the various club associations (the Registered Clubs' Association, the Club Managers' Association and the Returned Soldiers' League) use the local club journals to propagandise their political aims and comment on government policy towards clubs (ibid.: 9, 10).

Hogan identifies the prime recreational interest of the regulars of the Leagues' Club as entertainment, the Returned Soldiers' Club as sociable drinking, and the Bowling Club as lawn bowling. Although sociable drinking is a major attraction at each club, the main bar at the Leagues' Club, the "engine-room" of the club, caters for efficient rather than companionable drinking. Hogan recognises that the playing of poker machines can serve a legitimate leisure function for many members, but hints that for approximately 25 per cent of the club membership, poker machine playing may be compulsive (ibid.: 11, 12).

Each club offers cabaret-style entertainment, and approximately one thousand people attend this type of club entertainment each Saturday night. In Hogan's view the clubs "gauge very accurately the tastes of the people who use the entertainment opportunities in the Belmore district". The offering of popular entertainment and food at

very reasonable prices has meant that people no longer have to travel to the city, but can remain in the suburbs for evening entertainment (ibid.: 12).

The two largest clubs, the Leagues' and the Returned Soldiers' both have a number of sporting and hobby intraclubs, but fewer than 10 per cent of the membership appear to be involved. Leisure facilities in the clubs, while plentiful are almost completely imitative, and are repeated in hundreds of similar clubs in Sydney. Hogan argues that this situation is unlikely to change as virtually all Directors regard the efficient administration of the club as their prime concern. He laments that apart from the potentially harmful outlets of poker machines and drinking, very little provision is made for casual leisure in the clubs, where residents and members can spend a couple of hours daily, "reading, talking, playing cards and drinking only very moderately" (ibid.: 13-14).

According to 1969 figures the Leagues' Club spent 0.2 per cent of its gross expenditure on charitable gifts (15 cents per member), the Returned Soldiers' 3 per cent (\$5.00 per member) and the Bowling Club 2 per cent (\$5.60 per member). Although the Returned Soldiers' Club expends a very considerable part of its resources on social welfare, the Leagues' Club makes only token gestures to the social welfare principle. Hogan warns that unless the clubs can convince the community "that they really are a benefit to the whole community, then those clubs will have only the thinnest of political defences against a State Government eager for more and more taxation" (ibid.: 15-17).

In Hogan's view social pressure in clubs operates dysfunctionally for individuals in two ways: first, there is a vague but real pressure to play machines to support the club (leading often to compulsive playing), and second, members are encouraged to have more than one or two drinks at the bar, especially in a school of drinkers. Because clubs provide conditions where heavy drinking is approved, "they exercise a function as the main institutional cause of alcoholism in Belmore" (ibid.: 18). Perhaps Hogan's chief criticism of club officials and members is that they regard clubs as pubs with "extras" (ibid.: 18-22).

Hogan attempts to assess the extent of the democratic leisure revolution in the clubs and their integrative functions. Because

women are denied full membership, voting rights, representation on committees and completely open access to all parts of the club, Hogan concludes that the clubs reinforce sex segregation - although he acknowledges the improvement upon the traditional Australian pattern of leisure apartheid (ibid.: 21-23).

The Returned Soldiers' Club boasts that it is a "family club", and while all members of the family are catered for as individuals, there is practically no provision for leisure activity in which the total family group can participate. No formal discrimination against New Australians exists, but their representation is negligible in the two smaller clubs and only slight in the large Leagues' club - probably because the style of leisure behaviour in clubs is clearly Australian and not European and no concessions to immigrant cultural styles have been made (ibid.: 23-25).

Hogan raises the issue of sectarianism in the clubs, an issue which has received virtually no publicity in the mass media. In 1969, the Mason-dominated Board of Directors of the Leagues' club was defeated at the annual elections and replaced by a completely new Catholic-dominated Board. Hogan suggests that Mason-Catholic rivalry is common among the elites of all the major types of clubs in Sydney, and that perhaps the issue of sectarianism has found a new home in the clubs (ibid.: 27-29).

In his concluding evaluation, Hogan states that in some respects, the clubs are dysfunctional for a well-integrated society. Although the clubs have blurred the lines of the leisure segregation of men and women, the principle has been retained. The Returned Soldiers' League prides itself on its exclusiveness and its community consciousness; yet it is the strongest fortress of male superiority, and the most impregnable bastion of Australian traditional values against those of young and new Australians. The most outstanding characteristic of club leadership is the remarkable homogeneity in their values, with highest priority being given to efficient administration followed by the preservation of an atmosphere fostering male comradeship (ibid.: 29-30).

### Conclusions

Several comments should be made about the diverse leisure organizations described in the literature. Most studies have given attention to the functions of these expressive organizations for the participants,



some characteristics of the clientele (in terms of social class, regularity, or transitoriness of attendance and whether or not females are patrons), the range of activities within the organizations and the nature of the interaction within them (whether or not individuals come in groups and interact with members of other groups or the total clientele). Some have speculated on the place of the leisure organization in the society as a whole - for instance Cavan considers that the San Francisco bars were settings for "time out", and there is social uneasiness about such settings; Mann views the Toronto taverns as refuges from the insistent demands of modern urban life - a view reiterated in Zola's study of gambling in a lower-class setting, where individuals draw sympathy and admiration for betting failure and success - responses denied to them in ordinary life; in Farley's study of beer parlours in East Calgary where the socially disadvantaged ventilated their frustrations against the larger society and in Roebuck and Spray's analysis of the cocktail lounge where the arrangement of casual sexual affairs propped up rather than threatened the marriages of the male clientele.

A few studies refer to the fact that some taverns or public drinking places take on the characteristics of a private territory or club. Obvious examples are the home territory bars described by Cavan where special groups stake out proprietary claims on certain taverns which then develop indigenous cultures; Clinard's neighbourhood taverns where the bulk of the patronage are on close terms with one another and the bartenders; the neighbourhood taverns described by Gottleib, specifically those located in areas marked by significant population change in which the characteristics and tactics of a closed club were adopted; and the Canadian taverns analysed by Jupp and Mann which acted as social or Working Men's clubs for their clientele.

Apart from Freeland's history of the Australian pub, the studies cited have given only passing reference to the historical and sociological conditions which gave birth and shape to these leisure organizations. Most of the researchers have been concerned with describing and analysing the leisure organization at one point in time, rather than looking at the organization longitudinally, observing the stresses that the environment places upon the organization, and the changing needs and values of its clientele.

It has been recognised that participants in a public leisure organization tend to create a club in which primary group attachments develop. What is unrecognised is that there appears to be a great demand for large centralised leisure organizations that offer a variety of leisure activities. Participants in such organizations do not seek to mix with other patrons of that organization; rather they come in a group and make use of the organization's facilities without interacting directly with other participants. It will be shown in this research that large registered clubs in N.S.W. provide opportunities for their members to participate within groups in sampling a wide variety of leisure activities.

Finally, only Dennis and his associates recognise that clubs can be viewed as consumer co-operatives in the field of leisure. These two central strands, woven together, provide the basic design of this thesis.

## Chapter 3

THE HISTORY OF DRINKING, HOTELS AND  
CLUBS IN N.S.W., 1788 - 1945

The historian Asa Briggs has said that historical sociology is a sociology which makes use of historical materials and accepts as a basic premise that all contemporary social structures have historical foundations. He quotes from C. Wright Mills who maintained that history "is and must be the very shank of social science" (Briggs, 1962: 92). Briggs continues that "contemporary forms are themselves historical products and they can be understood neither singly nor comparatively without attention being paid to their historical dimension" (*ibid.*: 94). For our purposes this historical dimension is very important but also very compact: the significant growth of the N.S.W. registered clubs dates almost entirely from the Second World War. Moreover, the large clubs have emerged only in the last fifteen years. The role of clubs has been changing so dynamically in this quarter century that not only would it be difficult to discuss their current role without reference to their earlier history, but sociologically negligent.

To understand the situation at the end of the war we need to analyse the conditions that led up to this period. For instance, some indications of Australian attitudes to leisure should be given. Three of the most important forms of recreation in Australian history have been gambling, drinking and sport - and these are three of the most popular activities in the N.S.W. registered clubs. Unfortunately it is beyond the resources of this researcher to undertake a comprehensive historical analysis of the role of these three facets of Australian leisure. In the first part of this chapter brief references will be made to the historical significance of sport, drinking and gambling in Australian life. In the following section, a chronological and more detailed account of attitudes towards drinking, hotels and clubs will be given.

#### General Australian Attitudes towards Sport, Drinking and Gambling

Why isolate sport, drinking and gambling? Several commentators have chosen these facets of Australian leisure as being of prime significance. Taft and Walker (1958: 131) suggest that Australians take their right to leisure seriously - a view reiterated by Waters

(1963: 415). The former authors report that sport, drinking and gambling play a larger role in Australia than in other comparable societies (and a host of popular commentators on the Australian way of life are virtually unanimous on this point).

Australian academics have not yet tackled the study of leisure, and Spate (1968: 10) criticises one of the first sociological collections of readings on Australian society (Davies and Encel, 1965) for ignoring the role of gambling, sport, drinking and trade unions in shaping Australian life.

In fact, Australian social history reflects an important and divisive tension between individuals and groups practising hedonistic values and those who have supported Puritan morality - commonly known by the hedonists as "wowers". Duncan (1968: 2) in an interesting journalistic account provides munificent historical and anecdotal evidence of the power and influence of the wowers in Australian life. He gives two definitions of wowers - one by H.L. Mencken in The American Language and another from The Bulletin in 1911. Mencken said that a wower was

...a drab souled Philistine haunted by the mockery of others' happiness. Every Puritan is not necessarily a wower; to be one he must devote himself zealously to reforming the morals of his neighbours, and, in particular, to throwing obstacles in their way of enjoyment of what they choose to regard as pleasures.

The Bulletin described the wower as a "professor of false wonderment".

...He shrieks at vice as though it were unnatural, whereas nothing on earth is really unnatural save Wowerism ...no excuse is possible for the person who looks through the keyhole of a locked door as it were, and then tells the members of his congregation that they would faint with horror if he told them what he saw. He's a false purist, an apostle of prudery, a common wower (The Bulletin, April 20, 1911).

As for the importance of hedonism in Australian life, Taft (1962: 191) details a study of national stereotypes which he conducted and the results testify to the extent of Australian hedonism. A sample of Australian born persons were asked to indicate from a long list of traits which ones they thought were typical of most Australians, and which were typical of seventeen other nationalities. The Australian traits chosen by these informants were chosen more frequently and with more agreement than for the other seventeen

nations and were as follows - sportsmanlike, happy-go-lucky, generous, pleasure-loving, heavy-drinking, tolerant, argumentative, boastful, jovial, warm, straightforward, lazy, practical, materialistic, individualistic and gregarious. Brown (1965: 118) quotes from a study on national character using Sydney University students as a sample, sixty-one per cent of whom described themselves as devoted to horse-racing, beer and football. John Forster (1967: 156-163), writing in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on the Australian national character discusses the "male mystique" which he feels has helped to shape the national character. The characteristics of this mystique rest on high valuation of a rugged physique, dedication to sport, a vast capacity for beer, and a strong sense of obligation to workmates.

Waters, in one of the few articles on leisure in Australia, says that if Australians do indeed place a rather remarkable emphasis upon abundant leisure as an element of a high standard of living or a desired way of life, the reasons can probably be found within Australian history as much as in the present social conduct of Australian life (Waters, 1963: 414). For instance, Russel Ward (1958, 1966: 15-70) in his classic volume The Australian Legend argues that the working and lower class cultures of the convicts and Irish immigrants were major influences on the development of the early Australian character. The convict culture was characterised by egalitarian class solidarity, a facility for improvisation and resourcefulness; the Irish working class culture by anti-British sentiment, and a feeling that Australia was "their" country. The resulting "currency" or native culture that emerged was

expressed mainly in a very high valuation of 'practical' virtues so necessary for pioneering a new country, in a marked dislike of authority, particularly of soldiers and policemen, in contempt rather than hatred of 'new-chums', especially of those with polished or pretentious manners, and in the ancestral form of what later came to be known as larrikinism (Ward, 1958, 1966: 62-63).

Ward also refers to the wealth of testimony to the passion for gambling, and notes that according to contemporary accounts, no people on the face of the earth ever absorbed more alcohol per head of population, or swore so violently or fluently; that artisans and labourers in Australia had leisure as well as work - unlike their counterparts in England and Ireland who were happy just to get a job;

Australian cricketers in England but the total indifference shown towards the triumphs of Australian genius in other more ennobling spheres (*ibid.*: 137).

Even in 1907, the Australians had shown little signs of improvement. Archibald described the Australian man as lazy and "ever inclined against a post. He is so devoted to pleasure and to gambling as to be incapable of serious, self-sacrificing national work" (*ibid.*: 267).

In the late nineteenth century Australians began playing England in cricket matches. As the twentieth century progressed, Australia's participation in international sporting competition expanded. Elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> I have argued that Australia's successful participation in international sport has contributed substantially to the development of the Australian national identity. Horne (1964: 40) states that Australia's success at international sporting competitions is considered an important part of its foreign policy. He suggests that sport is the one national institution of which Australians are uncritical, and that to play, watch, read and talk sport is regarded as upholding the character of the nation. America's leading sports magazine "Sports Illustrated" (May 16, 23, 1960) stated at the beginning of the 1960s that Australia was the world's leading sports nation.

More recently, journalists like John Hallows (1970) and Keith Dunstan (1971) have referred to this Australian sporting obsession. Dunstan argues that without question, Australians have provided more world champions than any other country - a view that Hallows does not entirely agree with. Even though Hallows' book is iconoclastic, he says that the total availability of sport in Australia is unmatched anywhere else in the world.

The above testaments to the role of leisure, sport, gambling and drinking in Australian life represent only a few of the statements made by observers of the Australian scene. Given the Australian passion for these recreational forms, it is not surprising that the N.S.W. registered clubs have become so popular - for in nearly all of them drinking, gambling and sport are major activities. Historical Analysis of Changes in N.S.W. towards Drinking, Hotels and Clubs, 1788 - 1945

The next three chapters attempt to bring together answers to

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<sup>1</sup> "Sport and Canadian Nationhood", Canadian Dimension, November 1966, Vol. 4, No. 1: 37-38 and Hemisphere: An Australian-Asian Monthly, forthcoming.

these questions - why was it that in N.S.W., registered clubs were allowed to proliferate? Have these clubs grown as a result of historical accidents? What social conditions allowed for these types of organizations to emerge rather than others? Has their growth been planned or haphazard? Why have the clubs emerged in the form that they have?

In N.S.W., the pub has been virtually the sole public organization existing for the social consumption of alcohol - at least until 1945. Freeland (1966) documents the importance of the pub in Australia's social history, although his work is primarily an architectural history. According to Freeland (1966: 4) and Dunstan (1968: 49), when new settlements were being established around Sydney's coastline after the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788, almost invariably a public house was built before churches or other public gathering places - indeed, often the public houses were the churches. In the first years of settlement taverns were centres for public congregation, leisure and entertainment in an otherwise grim environment.<sup>1</sup>

The early N.S.W. governors had enormous difficulty in handling the distribution of liquor. As one of his initial acts, Governor Phillip ordered a prohibition on liquor trading and the transfer of liquor from ship to shore. This act was the first of a long procession of orders, regulations, laws and acts aimed at controlling the availability of alcoholic drink to Australians. Both Joel (1957: 14) and Freeland (1966: 10-14) comment that the thirst for spirits of the early settlers was unquenchable - which, as Freeland says, was not surprising considering the number of convicts who were more used to idleness, gambling and debauchery.

Convicts were required to work fifty hours a week; in 1793, the Army Officer-in-Charge of the colony, Major Francis Grose, tried to encourage agricultural development by making land grants to army officers, offering them convict labour and a Government market for their produce. Outside their prescribed hours, convicts were allowed to work for extra remuneration, and Grose permitted such wages to be paid in rum. Because it suited the needs of both employers and convicts, rum became the acceptable medium of exchange - a situation which continued until transportation of convicts ceased in the 1840s. Thus liquor was, during the first half of the nineteenth century, a

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<sup>1</sup> Saint (1970: 550) says that to a majority of the First Fleeters the "ephemeral" and rowdy life of taverns constituted the total of life's experience.

keystone of the structure of Australian society (Freeland, 1966: 14-16).

Captain John Hunter became Governor of N.S.W. in September 1795, with instructions from the British Government which read:

...whereas it has been represented to us that great evils have arisen on the unrestrained importation of spirituous liquors into our said settlement from vessels touching there, whereby both the settlers and the convicts have been induced to barter and exchange their livestock and other necessary articles for the said spirits to their particular loss, ...We do, therefore, strictly enjoin upon you on pain of our utmost displeasure, to order and direct that no spirits shall be landed from any vessel coming to our said settlement without your consent (quoted in Joel, 1957: 15).

Hunter found himself unable to control the liquor traffic. Liquor was being retailed in unlicensed "grog" shops as well as in huts, shanties, stores and private homes. He was unable to prevent the smuggling of spirits from ships and eventually was forced to grant a limited number of licences for the retailing of spirits under strict regulations (Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol. 1: 593).

In January 1816, Governor Macquarie introduced liquor regulations that largely determined the nature and structure of the Australian public house "for ever after". These regulations eliminated the ale-house and the private inn, and created the public house. No longer was the drinker forced to frequent one type of public drinking house in order to buy wines or spirits, and another to buy beer. His choice of drinking house was now based on consideration of service, atmosphere and location rather than on what he wanted to drink (Freeland, 1966: 43).

Between 1825 and 1884 a series of liquor acts forced changes in the nature of N.S.W. public drinking establishments. The most important was the 1830 Act, which in effect killed the taverns and left the town inns as the sole surviving branch of the evolutionary tree. This Act stipulated that every licensed public house should provide accommodation apart from the private quarters of the publican's family. An immediate decrease in the number of licensed houses and improvement in the standards of those that remained was the result. For the rest of the nineteenth century, public drinking houses offered accommodation, food and drink in private rooms to resident guests, and a variety of alcoholic drinks to non-resident customers in public bars (Freeland, 1966: 54-55).



In the 1830s, most pubs functioned as centres of relaxation and entertainment for their clientele. Besides the entertainment provided by balladists and minstrels, at some hotels skittles were played in the cellar or at the rear of the hotel (Freeland, 1966: 63).

During the mid-Victorian period, a variety of attractions were offered to induce the customer to spend his time and money at the hotel. Although gambling was outlawed, dog, cock and rat fights could be found by those who were regulars. In fact, many types of sports were organized from the pubs - for example, football, cricket, pig and horse-racing, and skittles. The long room, part of the usual accommodation at the best hotels in the town, increasingly became the centre of a community's life, being used for public meetings, court sessions, schoolrooms, dances, dinners, concerts, dramatic presentations and church services (Freeland, 1966: 37).

In 1862, the N.S.W. Government introduced long trading hours from 4 a.m. to midnight for six days a week - in spite of the outcries from temperance movements, newspapers and the pulpit. As the economy expanded, the number of hotels rose from 2,182 in 1870 to 3,829 in 1880 - an increase of eighty per cent (Freeland, 1966: 141).

By 1880, N.S.W. was ninety-two years old and laws had been enacted in the State for 56 years. Twenty-two Acts had been passed relating directly to the making and selling of liquor. The Liquor Law was thus added to or altered on an average once every two and a half years which as Joel (1957: 28) remarked, was "fair statistical proof that the trade was always worrying someone".

However, public concern about pubs had become widespread, and legislators took steps to try and curb the growth in the number of drinking outlets by introducing local option clauses. The first such provisions of 1881 allowed ratepayers to vote every three years against the establishment of new publicans' licences or the transfer of a licence into their area. However, the number of licences continued to climb, and by 1889, another fifty-eight licences had been granted (Joel, 1957: 28-31).

In the expanded local option provisions of the 1905 Liquor Amendment Act, ratepayers were given new powers. Not only could ratepayers vote for the reduction of existing publicans' licences, but new licences could only be issued if electors in an area raised a petition based on acceptable grounds - for example, a large increase in population. Moreover, the Act froze the number of hotel, wine and club licences. For over forty years, the maximum number of clubs permitted

in N.S.W. was eighty-five (Joel, 1957: 42-43).

From 1907 to 1913, three local option polls were held, and 344 hotels were closed as a result - a drop of 12 per cent (Freeland, 1966: 171-172). During World War I, the trading of the hotels was further restricted by a reduction in the hours that pubs could remain open. All State Governments in Australia, as part of the War effort, reduced the hotels' closing time first to 9 o'clock or 9.30 p.m. Freeland says that:

...the long and unrelenting work of the dedicated temperance forces, the increasingly effective influence of the churches, particularly the non-conformist churches, and the memory of the depression, had prepared a lot of the common people of the worst-affected States, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, to accept 6 o'clock closing of hotels as a progressive and desirable step (Freeland, 1966: 173).

A military riot on February 14, 1916 led to the introduction of 6 p.m. closing of hotels in N.S.W. Australian infantry troops stationed near Liverpool had been informed that their training was to be increased from 36 to  $40\frac{1}{2}$  hours per week. Five thousand soldiers responded by refusing duty and marched on Liverpool. Eventually the number of troops swelled to 15,000. With a few half-inebriated leaders they took possession of the railway station and stormed through a local hotel wrecking bars and stealing liquor. A scuffle between rioters and staff of the railway station escalated and in subsequent shooting one man was killed and seven injured. The rioters drove trains to downtown Sydney, marched drunkenly and noisily in rough formation through the streets, occasionally breaking ranks in order to upturn fruit barrows, smash and loot shop windows and to throw bottles at the police (Freeland, 1966: 173). While the riot continued, the N.S.W. Cabinet held a hurried meeting. A statement attaching blame to enemy agents was issued and a proclamation was rushed through which shut every hotel and wine shop in Sydney, Glebe, Balmain and Redfern areas until 6 a.m. the next day (Joel, 1957: 45).

Extensive public feeling against hotels and the A.I.F. was engendered by this incident and Premier Holman thought it prudent to let the people decide about the hotel closing hour. In a referendum held on June 10, 1916, electors were to choose one of six hours as the wartime closing time. Only 54 per cent of 1,071,916 electors voted, yet 6 p.m. closing won resoundingly and was supported by 62.4 per cent.

of voters, 7 p.m. by 0.9 per cent, 8 p.m. by 3.8 per cent, 9 p.m. by 32.1 per cent, 10 p.m. by 0.3 per cent and 11 p.m. by 0.6 per cent. Six p.m. closing was duly proclaimed by the Governor on July 21, 1916 (Joel, 1957: 48).

The national reduction of trading hours of public hotels was a reflection of patriotic sentiment. Before the Liquor Act referendum in N.S.W., one Sydney morning newspaper editorialised that "Six o'clock is the patriotic hour. The call for the greater restriction of the liquor traffic comes for the same reason as the call for recruits. Both are needed to win the War" (The Sydney Morning Herald, May 27, 1916).<sup>1</sup> In Britain, similar patriotic sacrifices were made. In April 1916 King George V banned wines, spirits and beer from the Royal Household for the duration of the War, an example that caused a remarkable rejection of liquor throughout the United Kingdom (Dunstan, 1968: 109).

Under these war conditions, the anti-liquor interests had won substantial gains. In N.S.W., Victoria and South Australia, 6 p.m. closing of hotels, a temporary war-time measure, achieved a near-permanent status. Its institutionalisation had unfortunate consequences for public drinking behaviour leading to hurried drinking and the "6 o'clock swill". It has been estimated that 90 per cent of the alcohol consumed in hotels at that time was drunk between the hours of 5 p.m. and 6 p.m.. Every part of the hotel that could be used for either public, private or saloon bar space was annexed to accommodate this avalanche of drinkers in the hour before closing time - and areas normally available for dart games and the like were the first to disappear. From 1920 to 1925, the Australian pub changed its structure from one in which bars were physically only a small part of the establishment to one where the bar occupied practically the whole of the ground floor and often a basement area as well. Early closing forced hotels to become high-pressure drinking houses with little pretence of service, amiability and personal contact between publican, barman and customers. Home drinking increased together with sales of bottled beer. The pub's place as the centre of community life was thus destroyed (Freeland, 1966: 175-178).

While wartime patriotic sentiment led to the earlier closing of

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter - SMH

hotels, it seems to have acted as a fillip for gambling. For example, raffles were permitted in schools in order to raise funds for sick and wounded soldiers, a practice which led to protests from church bodies. The Sydney Presbytery in August 1915 protested against raffling in State public schools on the grounds

...that it is certain to contaminate the child and make it an easier prey to the gambling spirit on leaving school. Further, raffling in connection with the schools raises a great moral issue in the child mind, when on the one hand many parents and all the Evangelical Churches condemn raffling, and departmental regulations forbid it, and yet, on the other hand, teachers may be regarded as approving it, or at least conniving at it, leaving the impression on the child that it is right (Daily Telegraph, August 12, 1915).<sup>1</sup>

In July 1918 a similar protest was made by a deputation from the university and secondary schools to the Premier expressing disapproval of school gambling for patriotic purposes. One member of the deputation, Professor Meredith, argued that gambling debased the child's mind, produced undue excitement and inculcated the idea of getting something for nothing (SMH, July 5, 1918).

Chocolate wheels had been permitted on various days for similar patriotic purposes. However, in July 1918 the N.S.W. Repatriation Board prohibited chocolate wheels on the grounds that nearly 80 per cent of the takings were absorbed in the purchase of chocolate prizes (SMH, July 10, 1918). In the same year, at the Women's Christian Temperance Union Conference, a resolution was passed and sent to the Repatriation Department, the Chief Secretary and the Attorney General. The resolution said:

...that this conference of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales, having heard that permission has been given by the Repatriation Department for the holding of a raffle by the police and firemen of the city, in aid of Jack's Day, calls to mind that the Department of Repatriation recently announced that no raffles would be allowed for patriotic purposes - which announcement gave much satisfaction to all concerned with the moral well-being of society. We now regard with very grave concern the departure from the recent announcement of the department. We most respectfully enter our emphatic protest against the illegal traffic being allowed ... (DT, October 18, 1918).

But the most prevalent form of gambling in N.S.W. appeared to be betting with Starting Price (S.P.) bookmakers. One report in 1921 indicated that such gambling was rife in and about Sydney and that

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter - DT

practically every factory had its own S.P. bookmaker. The S.P. business was described as the worst form of gambling, since it allowed women, girls and youths to bet, and such people were no match for the evil skill of the S.P. bookie (SMH, June 6, 7, 1921).

Ample opportunities existed for punters to bet with S.P. bookmakers. In 1923 there were 200 racing days in the Sydney area alone. According to a professorial cleric, although Australians were remarkably sober compared with populations of some other countries, gambling was Australia's worst evil (SMH, November 12, 1923). Such views were not confined to clergymen. In 1924, the Attorney General said that, although he did not believe that there was anything inherently wrong in a modest bet, the general effect of gambling in the community was such that it was one of the worst, if not the worst of the evils which disfigured Australian life. Gambling was the direct cause of a very large amount of dishonesty, crime and the ruin of a large number of promising careers, and was antithetical to work (SMH, October 28, 1924).

#### 1. The Licences Reduction Board

After World War I a number of provisions were enacted mirroring a hardening of attitudes in N.S.W. towards the consumption of liquor. A 1919 Act provided for the continuance of six o'clock closing until the holding of another referendum, and provision was made for a future prohibition referendum (The Australian Encyclopaedia, 1965: Vol. 5: 310). The Act suspended the local option provisions for three years and established the Licences Reduction Board consisting of three members. The Board's duties were to reduce the number of publicans' licences in N.S.W. within the Board's jurisdiction; to determine which premises should lose licences; and finally, to assess the amount of compensation payable in respect of any premises deprived of a licence. The Act specified that the Board was to reduce by a number not exceeding one-fourth publicans' licences in any one electorate. The Board became operative on January 1, 1920 with a scheduled three-year life span (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1922: 1-5). A 1922 Act extended the Board's operation for another three years and additional duties were imposed upon the Board. The reduction of wine licences and the assessment and fixing of licence fees on a percentage basis were the most important features of these additional duties. At the end of the year 1922, 212 hotels

had either lost or surrendered their licences leaving a total of 2,333 hotels.

At the end of 1923 compensation amounting to £106,373 had been awarded to persons deprived of licences (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1923: 5). After 1923 the Licences Reduction Board's duties were broadened again to that of a State Licensing Bench. The objects of the 1923 Liquor (Amendment) Act were to:

...vest in licensing magistrates to be appointed the powers and duties of the Licensing Courts and of the Licences Reduction Board; to provide for the submission of the question of prohibition with compensation to the popular vote; to amend the Liquor Act of 1912, the Liquor (Amendment) Act of 1919 and certain other Acts; and for purposes connected therewith (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1928: 5, 6).

The Licences Reduction Board continues to the present day, and amongst its functions is the power to grant new and renewal certificates of registration to clubs, hotels and other liquor distribution outlets.

## 2. Temperance Pressure Group Activity and Liquor Reform, 1920-1929

Temperance organizations and the churches capitalised on their wartime gains and their pressure group tactics were instrumental in suppressing liquor reform until 1946. A multiplicity of temperance bodies existed, for example, the Prohibition Alliance (renamed the Temperance Alliance in 1933), the International Order of Good Templars, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Business-women's Prohibition League. Other organizations that expressed anti-liquor sentiments were the Christian Endeavour Union, the Rechabites, the Council of Churches and the Y.W.C.A. At one prohibition campaign meeting in May 1928, the Ladies Home Mission, the Society of Friends, the Girls' Friendly Society, the National Council of Women, the Women's Missionary Association (Presbyterian), Housewives' Association, the Salvation Army, the Feminists' Club, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Church of Christ, the Women's National Club and the Deaconess' Institution were represented (SMH, May 8, 1928).

In the United States, the militancy of the nineteenth century temperance groups resulted in the introduction of national prohibition after the First World War. Spurred on by such an example, Australian temperance organizations succeeded in forcing prohibition

and local option polls in Australia. In September 1928, the electors in N.S.W. were asked to determine whether or not they wanted State prohibition. In the event of a prohibition victory, compensation was to be paid for the depreciation of the value of lands and buildings occupied and used as breweries, and machinery used in the trade. Similar compensations were to be paid to maltsters, distillers, wine makers, licensed publicans, owners, lessees and sub-lessees of vineyards, and other employees within the liquor trade. The cost of such compensation was expected to amount to £10 million (SMH, March 21, 1928).

It would be sociologically rewarding to analyse the value orientations, social backgrounds and psychological needs of those who supported such temperance movements between the Wars. Tempting though such an exercise is, only brief reference can be made to the arguments, methods and psychological attributes of such groups. There are many speeches similar to the one made at a prohibition meeting in May 1928. Miss Preston Stanley impressed upon her audience that campaigning for prohibition would pave the way for a nobler civilization, better laws and social order, finer men, women and children, cleaner homes and cleaner politics. She demanded that her listeners pledge their word, power and sacred honour to free the State from the gigantic evil of the liquor trade which carried on its abominable traffic under the protection of the flag and the legislature (SMH, May 22, 1928).

At other meetings and conventions, the prohibition group argued that liquor interests were able to corrupt, influence and control parliamentarians and the State Government; that wine bars were a menace to young womanhood (SMH, February 3, 1927); that drunkenness was worse in Sydney and N.S.W. than in New York and the United States (SMH, April 5, May 27, 1927); that drink undermined the state of the nation and the empire (SMH, April 5, 1927); and that prohibition was the greatest health and child welfare measure enacted in the history of the United States (SMH, May 8, 1928).

The prohibitionists were especially sensitive about protecting children from the dangers of alcohol. At a 1928 meeting of the All Australia Prohibition Congress, addresses were delivered on prohibition and the child, drink and the home environment, alcohol and child health,

temperance teaching for young people, and drink and juvenile delinquency (SMH, June 12, 1928). A day later, a resolution was passed urging that all cookery books containing recipes mentioning intoxicating liquors should be banned from State, High and Technical schools, as they were offensive to teachers, pupils, parents and the majority of the community (SMH, June 13, 1928).

While many citizens in N.S.W. were obviously receptive to prohibition arguments, many considered their statements too extreme. One reporter noted that prohibition crusaders became fanatically devoted to their ideas, and were unshakable in their paternalistic belief that they could reform all mankind by compelling people not to drink. The same correspondent lamented that prohibitionists exaggerated any evidence in support of prohibition and ignored all other evidence as unworthy (SMH, May 31, 1928).

The mass of the N.S.W. electorate rejected the exhortations and warnings of the prohibitionists. The referendum on the question of prohibition with compensation was held on September 5, 1928. 357,684 voted in favour of prohibition, while 896,752 voted against it (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1928: 5, 6). Electors in other Australian States also rejected prohibition. Queensland voted against it in 1920, 1923, 1925 and 1928; Victoria in 1920; Western Australia in 1925 and South Australia in 1927 (SMH, May 23, 1928).

How much the failure of the prohibition polls scuttled the effectiveness of anti-liquor interests is problematic. At the N.S.W. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church the year after the poll, reasons for the loss were reviewed. The press, normally neutral, was adjudged as being unfair on this occasion, but the compensation clause was seen as the basic cause of defeat (SMH, May 16, 1929).

In May 1933 the N.S.W. Prohibition Alliance changed its name to the N.S.W. Temperance Alliance on the grounds that the term temperance was more comprehensive covering all classes of temperance work including "the great ideal of prohibition" (SMH, May 30, 1933). Such a move, while reluctantly taken, reflected a more moderate stand on the liquor issue.

Despite the prohibition setback, pressure continued for reforms such as Saturday afternoon closing, re-introduction of local option polls, abolition of wine bars, better enforcement of 6 o'clock closing,



and the granting of new licences only when a vote by the people in the affected area had been taken (SMH, May 16, June 27, 1927).

In addition, anti-liquor groups found plenty of social problems which they felt could be attributed to drinking alcohol. Deputations to government leaders, conventions, pledge-signing campaigns and the issuing of public statements were tactics employed during the late 1920s and 1930s to combat the liquor traffic.

During the depression, such groups called for increased thriftiness and decreased expenditure on alcohol, thus accentuating the economic difficulties of the period (SMH, February 26, April 7, 1931). It was argued that the liquor habit was taking a tremendous toll of health and the lives of ordinary citizens (SMH, October 13, 1931).

Not only were temperance groups intent on protecting children from the evils of alcohol, but also young men and women. Over the decade preceding the Second World War, cocktail parties were the targets for temperance criticism. Hosts and hostesses in 1931 and 1935 were urged to serve fruit juice instead of cocktails at such gatherings, for the potency of cocktails was a dangerous threat to those who were to be future parents of the race (SMH, February 26, 1931; February 8, 1935). The All-Australian Temperance Convention viewed with alarm the increase in the cocktail habit and the consequent loosening of healthy restraints (SMH, September 7, 1937). At another temperance demonstration in 1938, complaints were made that society ladies were participating in cocktail drinking which was described as a disgusting habit and an offence to God (SMH, March 14, 1938). Cocktail parties were still the source of criticism a year later (SMH, June 21, 1939).

Unable to convince the electorate that all should give up the drinking of liquor, temperance groups encouraged individuals to sign the pledge and refrain from imbibing. In September 1932, the N.S.W. Temperance Alliance launched a State-wide pledge-signing campaign through its young people's department (SMH, August 19, 1932). Nor were the fallen ignored. In 1929 and 1930, 16,692 people were brought before the Central Police Court on drunkenness charges, of whom 4,216 signed the pledge in response to the direct appeals of the Temperance Alliance representatives. This pledge was, however, broken by 784 recidivists (SMH, January 13, 1931).

Temperance groups employed other techniques to combat the consumption of liquor. In 1931, an ex-member of the Federal House of Representatives accepted an invitation from the Good Templars to conduct a six-month prohibition campaign in N.S.W. (SMH, January 16, 1931). At a Good Templars meeting in April 1931, it was moved that advertisements containing references to alcohol in sweets should not be permitted (SMH, January 16, 1931). In 1936, the same society organized separate lodges for boys and girls, with the former receiving training along scouting lines (SMH, April 14, 1936). The Women's Christian Temperance Union encouraged women to join temperance unions because it was the women that suffered first from the insidious pastimes of cocktail drinking and gambling (SMH, April 1, 1936).

### 3. Inadequacies of the Liquor Laws and the Changing Role of Hotels in N.S.W., 1930-1939

The decade before World War II was not characterised by the competition between hotels and clubs that marked the two decades after the War - largely because the number of clubs was very small (by law limited to 85) and the two types of organizations were apparently catering to different social strata. In an articulate letter to The Sydney Morning Herald a hotel licensee contended that the privilege of club membership enabled the well-to-do to secure ample provisions of liquor, but the humble workman was denied the same privileges (SMH, March 4, 1930).

Hotelkeepers carried on their trade with some severe problems. Hotels were not immune from the disastrous effects of the depression. One report indicated that close to half the hotelkeepers were on the verge of bankruptcy (SMH, June 17, 1931). Moreover, the new mobility afforded by the automobile worked to the advantage of some hotels but not others. Motorists tended not to drink at small country hotels, preferring to patronise hotels at larger towns (SMH, June 10, 1932).

Hotelkeepers and some members of the general public smarted under the restrictions of 6 p.m. closing, although illegal practices sometimes circumvented the legal restrictions. One licensee, in commenting upon the absurdity of hotels being permitted to operate between the hours of 6 a.m. and 8 a.m. but not during the evening meal and recreation hours of 6 p.m. to 8 p.m., observed that the existence of sly-grog shops in Sydney made the Liquor Act ludicrous (SMH, March 4, 1930). Another individual with considerable experience of country

hotels commented that 6 o'clock closing in the country was often not adhered to (SMH, February 1, 1932).<sup>1</sup>

From 1935, the association of hotelkeepers, united in a body known as the United Licensed Victuallers' Association (hereafter the ULVA), through its conferences, deputations to Government members and Cabinet ministers, and election propaganda pushed its case for 10 p.m. closing and the repeal of the provision forcing hotels to close on election days (SMH, January 31, 1935; April 22, 1935; September 23, 1937; March 9, 1938; October 12, 1938). The demand for evening trading hours stemmed from motivations other than the possibility of reaping greater profits. The President of the ULVA stated on more than one occasion that the nature of Australian hotels would gradually change. He foresaw that hotel bars would give place to lounges; that people would sit down instead of standing; that men and women would mingle, drinking quietly in comfort; that the granting of lounge licences would accelerate such changes, lead major licensees to remodel their premises eliminating dingy back parlours and reduce even further the little drunkenness that existed (SMH, September 23, 28, 1937).

Several actions in 1937 and 1938 mitigated against the incipient development of public hotels as community organizations. First, it was against the law not only to consume alcoholic liquors after hours on licensed premises, but also such beverages as tea, coffee, or soft drinks. In August 1937 six major Sydney hotels were raided and the licensees were charged for allowing the consumption of tea and coffee on licensed premises (SMH, September 21, 1937; July 11, 1938). Second, it was the custom at many city and country hotels to broadcast descriptions of Saturday afternoon horse races. Not surprisingly, S.P. betting flourished in the hotels. In 1938, the police, with the co-operation of hotelkeepers, took action against this practice and a meeting of 500 hotelkeepers decided to stamp out S.P. betting on hotel premises and to restrict race broadcasts to a description of the running (SMH, May 18, 1938). Finally, in 1937, fishmongers and restaurant-keepers complained to the ULVA that their livelihood was being seriously affected by the transformation of hotel counter lunches into banquets (SMH, October 13, 1937). Subsequently,

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<sup>1</sup> The President of the United Licensed Victuallers' Association admitted in 1937 that had the police not been tolerant and co-operative in regard to closing hours, many hotels would have had to close up years ago (SMH, September 23, 1937).

the ULVA decided to take steps to eliminate counter lunches (SMH, October 15, 1937). If each of the above activities had been permitted on hotel premises, then the hotels may well have developed into more comprehensive social organizations.

As the Second World War approached some individuals gave vent to their frustrations over Puritan restrictions. In 1937 Mr Roland Green, an M.P., railed against the strictures of wowseryism and the "foolish curtailment" of liberties in Australia - in particular film and literary censorship and the 6 p.m. drinking curfew. Not only were the liquor laws tragic but their strict enforcement would produce such an outcry that major amendments would be necessary (SMH, August 26, 1937). In the same year another speaker suggested that a great majority of the people would be overjoyed if parks were thrown open at night and filled with music and beer (SMH, October 6, 1937). In January 1938, a former member of the Licences Reduction Board and a strong advocate of beer gardens said that the licensing laws in Australia were the most antiquated in the world, thus discouraging overseas visitors (SMH, January 14, 1938).

#### 4. The Role of Registered Clubs, 1930-1940

So far the role of registered clubs has hardly been mentioned. The 1905 Liquor (Amendment) Act froze the number of both clubs and hotels. In the 1905-1940 period, the number of clubs varied between 73 and 85, whereas the number of hotels declined by a third - from 3,063 to 2,037. Clearly, the hotel was the major venue for public drinking. The clubs' legal position was always in doubt; but because the registered clubs' clientele was drawn from ranks of the middle class, the clubs functioned without too much official harrassment, giving their middle class members much more liberal drinking conditions than the working men experienced in the hotels.

Although hotels and registered clubs were subject to the same licensing laws, an interpretation determined by the N.S.W. Supreme Court in 1930 (SMH, October 29, 1930), many club members viewed the clubs as serving a role different from that of the hotels. The Secretary of the Registered Clubs' Association argued that as clubs were "virtually the homes of members, whose home privileges must be safeguarded", they were therefore not on the same footing as public hotels (SMH, October 30, 1930).

Requests for increases in the number of club licences were made in 1933 and 1937. A deputation from country and metropolitan golf and bowling clubs urged the Minister for Justice in 1933 to repeal Clause 80 of the 1905 Act, giving reputable unlicensed clubs the opportunity to apply for registration. The Minister was apprehensive that such an amendment might give rise to "a lot of uncontrolled drinking centres", but remarked that if licences could be confined to bona fide clubs with substantial memberships, then some amendments might be introduced (SMH, August 11, 1933). Some State Parliamentarians felt in 1937 that the Liquor Act provisions operated unfairly against bona fide clubs (SMH, June 16, 1937). However, no legislative changes were made.

One of the privileges enjoyed by club members was that they could keep liquor in their club lockers for their own personal use provided that each member did not supply, sell or permit any other person to drink his supply of liquor (SMH, July 8, 1939).

By July 1939, after hours drinking in clubs was widespread. The Commissioner of Police sought direction from the Minister of Justice in relation to the illegal supply of liquor in clubs. According to one report, the Minister stated "that the law was not going to be strained unfairly against decent citizens. That was the principle which governed his Department" (SMH, July 11, 1939).

On the eve of the commencement of World War II, it became clear that the liquor laws relating to clubs were hopelessly imprecise and confused. In a statement to the Legislative Assembly, the Minister of Justice distinguished three types of clubs. First, there were the registered clubs for which Government exemption proclamations had been issued; second, there were registered clubs for which there had been no Government proclamation; and finally, there were unregistered clubs. The Minister further explained that the Act of 1905 provided that no club could sell liquor unless it was registered. However, another section in that Act provided that if a club was mainly residential, devoted to sport, or was owned by a registered company, it could apply for exemption from all the provisions of the Liquor Act, except the need to register. By 1916 forty-one clubs had been so exempted from the provisions of the Liquor Act.

When 6 o'clock closing was introduced for hotels in 1916 the

Government of the time considered it advisable to revoke these exemptions so as to compel all clubs to close at 6 p.m. But ten years later, in 1927, the High Court upheld an appeal against a Government measure prohibiting the sale of liquor for a few hours on Anzac Day. It was the Court's view that the Government had the power to stop the sale of liquor for a whole day, but not for part of a day. As a consequence of that ruling, legal officials considered that these forty-one clubs were once again exempt from the Liquor Act provisions (DT, July 13, 1939).

In the Sydney metropolitan area, the exempt clubs were: Prince Alfred Yacht, City Bowling, N.S.W. Sports, Australian, Union, New South Wales, Manly Bowling and Recreation, Manly Golf, Neutral Bay Lawn Tennis, Australian Golf, Australian Jockey, Royal Yacht Squadron, Ashfield Bowling, Royal Sydney Golf, Burwood Bowling, Concord Golf, Sydney Rowing, Killara Golf, Civic, Professional Musicians', Royal Automobile, New South Wales Masonic, University, New South Wales Leagues', Commercial Travellers', and the Hunters Hill Bowling and Recreation. Four additional city clubs which had been exempted had gone out of existence (Warrigal, North Shore Rowing, Dobroyde Golf, and Athenaeum). Three of these four club licences had been transferred to new clubs (Macquarie, Elanora Country, and Imperial Services), and were in a legally unresolved position (DT, July 13, 1939).

In the country, the Albury, Moss Vale Golf, Bowral Golf, Broken Hill Masonic, Goulburn, Waradgery (Hay), Lismore, Murrumbidgee, Newcastle, Tamworth and Riverina Clubs were all exempt.

There were forty-three registered clubs which were not exempt from the provisions of the Liquor Act. In the metropolitan area these were the Australasian Pioneers', Balmain Bowling, Bonnie Doon Golf, Catholic, Chatswood Bowling, City Tattersall's, Lakes Golf, Marrickville Bowling, Mosman Recreation, N.S.W. Gun, North Sydney Bowling, Randwick Bowling, St George Motor Boat, St George Bowling, Sydney Bicycle and Motor, Sydney Cricket Ground, Tattersall's, Victoria Park Bowling, Waverley Bowling, Warringah Bowling, Fybble Golf and the Sydney Press Club (whose registration had at that stage been withdrawn but was under appeal).

In the country the following registered clubs had to observe the provisions of the Liquor Act: Commercial (Albury), Barrier Social Democratic, Broken Hill Buffaloes, Broken Hill Musicians', Silver City Working Men's, Alma Sporting (Broken Hill), Grafton, Lithgow Workmen's Mutual School of Arts, Inverell, Working Men's (White Cliffs), Mudgee,

Tattersall's (Newcastle), Parramatta Bowling, Katoomba Bowling, Corrimal Bowling, Helensburgh and Lilyvale Workmen's Social and Literary, Port Kembla Bowling, Wollongong Bowling, Wollongong Soldiers' and the Woonona Bowling Clubs (SMH, July 13, 1939).

Not surprisingly hotelkeepers were concerned that this privilege of exemption was available to at least thirty-seven clubs. The President of the ULVA, Mr Connolly said that the law of exemption was passed in days when class distinction was greater than at present. His Association could not see why a privileged few should enjoy drinking privileges that were denied to the majority (SMH, July 18, 1939).

#### 5. Drinking Conditions during the Second World War

During the Second World War the production, distribution and consumption of liquor created enormous problems and frustrations for the N.S.W. State Government, the administration, servicemen and the general public at large. In the wartime economy, production of luxury goods and items not directly related to the War effort was curtailed. Similarly, the provision and improvement of leisure facilities ranked low on the list of wartime priorities. Yet the demand for leisure did not diminish, for people had more money but fewer opportunities to spend it. Additionally, as one newspaper noted, wartime conditions contributed to "the upheaval of young life and the slackening of social restraint" (SMH, March 3, 1942).

##### a) Production of Liquor

Although the production of liquor was directly under Government controls, no attempt to control production was made until 1942. Newspaper editorials called for a reduction in liquor production, expressing astonishment that while so many commodities had been rationed to meet wartime conditions, no attempt had been made to "reduce the output of the brewing industry" (SMH, March 3, 1942). In fact, the Commonwealth Government ordered a cut in the production of beer and spirits by one-third on March 8, 1942, but before long the severity of such restrictions was reduced by about half (SMH, June 25, 1942).

##### b) Distribution of Liquor

Whatever the problems in the production of beer and spirits, there was no doubt that the average resident in N.S.W. had difficulty purchasing liquor and a vigorous black-market was the result. In response to demand by servicemen on leave for after-hours liquor and entertainment, several nightclubs sprang up in Sydney. Reactions to

this development were often highly critical. At the United Australia Party conference in 1941 speakers described them as "dens of iniquity", "drink dens", "dens of infamy and shame", "brothels of the worst order", "dens and haunts of vice and filth" and "mostly conducted by foreigners". One speaker commented that the nightclubs were the result of stupid liquor laws and that if hotels were permitted to sell liquor under proper conditions the need for such nightclubs would not have existed (SMH, April 18, 1941).

Police spokesmen admitted that there was some justification for the complaints against nightclubs made at the UAP convention, but argued that they had insufficient powers. Such clubs were reputedly frequented by gunmen, thieves, and prostitutes. In their raids in 1940 the Police seized more than 10,000 bottles of beer, many kegs of beer and a large consignment of spirits (SMH, April 19, 1941). During 1942 there were 116 convictions for the illegal sale of liquor and in the following year, 139 convictions (Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1942: 4; 1943: 3). "Sly grog-shops", which supplied liquor to nightclubs, unlicensed clubs and other organizations, were established. The forces of law and order responded by declaring them illegal and stepping up the number of prosecutions. Resourceful entrepreneurs, including taxi-drivers, began to carry saleable liquor about in cars. In August 1942, lines of taxis were seen outside one Sydney hotel, while their occupants sought after-hours liquor (SMH, August 18, 1942). Carrying liquor for sale was an almost non-existent offence in the early war years, but by 1944, 89 convictions had been recorded for this offence (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1944: 4). In 1943 and again in 1944, the Licences Reduction Board expressed concern that some publicans were overcharging for liquor (Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1943: 3; 1944: 5).

What made the distribution of liquor all the more irritating to the public and to Australian servicemen, was that allied servicemen, particularly American troops, seemed more able to buy liquor than the locals. In April 1944 two Federal Members of Parliament argued vociferously for the improvement in the allocation of liquor supplies. They deplored the current system of distribution whereby some servicemen got liberal supplies of liquor while other servicemen and civilians got none. One complained that on Easter Monday 1944, few hotels in the metropolitan area were able to supply beer, and consequently hundreds



of Australian soldiers on leave after long periods in New Guinea spent that day tramping the city and suburbs looking vainly for a glass of beer. Yet allied servicemen and drunken women strolled about the city flourishing bottles of beer and liquor. Mr Leslie Haylen, another M.P., commenting about the debauchery in the streets on the same day, said that while reasonable hospitality should be extended to all allied visitors, steps should be taken to have a fair distribution among all troops and civilians (SMH, April 12, 1944). United States Army personnel had four clubrooms in Sydney and one in Newcastle where they could purchase beer between 3 p.m. and 10 p.m. A U.S. Army spokesman said that the object of the club rooms, some of which had been operating for some time, was to take the men off the streets and allow them to drink their liquor ration in comfort in the company of their "buddies" instead of in parks with questionable company. Women were not admitted to these clubs (SMH, July 8, 1941).

c) Consumption of Liquor

Two major social problems were associated with the consumption of liquor. First, during 1942, there was considerable visible drunkenness. Second, there was enormous dissatisfaction with the conditions for public drinking. In March 1942 The Sydney Morning Herald lamented that it was "saddening and disgusting to see in the streets and parks of our capital cities so many evidences of the growth of the habit of over-indulgence. Men in uniform are conspicuous offenders, partly, no doubt, because their uniform itself attracts attention, but also excessive drinking is far too rife among members of the Armed Forces" (SMH, March 3, 1942). Again in March and June, the same newspaper felt impelled to editorialise further upon the excessive drinking and its prevalence among men in uniform. The newspaper argued that such abuse seriously undermined the fighting efficiency of the nation and was responsible for absenteeism in war industries (SMH, March 17, June 25, 1942).

The hotelkeepers were beginning to feel the sting of criticism and the N.S.W. President of the ULVA sprang to their defence (SMH, June 25, 1942). He argued that the wave of intoxication was due to the curtailment of beer production, which had led to increased consumption of wines and spirits by deprived beer drinkers. Increased drunkenness which had so disturbed Federal politicians and the War Council was the result of this heavier alcohol intake.

He refuted the argument that drunkenness would diminish if hotel drinking conditions were improved, for he regarded N.S.W. drinking conditions as good as anywhere else in the world. The major causes of current liquor problems were increased earnings and rushed drinking imposed by limited trading hours. He admitted that a minority of errant publicans sold liquor to drunken soldiers and civilians, deliberately withheld liquor and beer during trading hours and sold it at higher rates after hours.

Newspaper reports during the War years dramatised the general public's thorough dissatisfaction with the liquor trade, especially hotels - a dissatisfaction which had gathered momentum as the War progressed. As early as 1941, The Sydney Morning Herald had featured four major articles calling for liquor reform (January 7, February 25, February 26, and July 15, 1941). In the same year the State Government appointed an expert committee to report on the operations of the Liquor Act. One newspaper account suggests that the committee recommended an alteration in trading hours and more club licences. However the recommendations of this committee were never made public (SMH, March 2, 1945).

The clamour for liquor reform climaxed in 1945. A State Parliamentarian who was also a hotelkeeper expostulated the need for a commission to inquire into the liquor industry. He complained that the hotelkeepers were merely "glorified managers" financially subject to the control of the breweries (SMH, January 3, 1945).

In February, The Sydney Morning Herald complained that ...for years the public in New South Wales has been made to suffer because the sale of beer ranks far higher than the provision of meals and accommodation in the eyes of so many licensees. The reception now being accorded by a number of hotels to travellers, workers and others who have the temerity to ask for food or shelter is becoming such as to arouse a rising tide of protest throughout the community (SMH, February 10, 1945).

A week later, the same newspaper commented on the absurdity of the closing hour and the consequent drinking crush between 5 and 6 p.m. The editorial lamented that New South Welshmen could not be civilised because liquor laws prevented them from consuming food and drink together at the appropriate time. The Premier was urged to introduce liquor reform as he had promised at his election in 1941 (SMH, February 17, 1945).

A 1945 description of drinking in N.S.W. pubs testifies to the barbarity of drinking conditions.

...rush hour drinking today is, to say the least, unedifying. The dash for position, the clamour and the shouting, the froth-spattered counters, the floors wet with spillage, and the general air of physical effort and tension, make any Sydney bar between 5 and 6 p.m. an unpleasant place.

This was the hour of purposeful, dour drinking after work, with the result that too many drank too much too quickly with an inevitable rise in the inebriation rate. After-work drinking was often located in:

...a small bar, poorly lighted, packed with men literally fighting their way to the counter, tempers rising because the service could not meet the demand, because early comers held to places at the bar, because the 'collars' were too high on hastily drawn glasses - this was the hour of first relaxation after work.

This was a time of supposedly convivial drinking.

Some ordered - or at least tried to order - five or six glasses at once, to beat the menace of the clock and supply.

Some pleaded for a 'little draught in the bottle for the night'. Tempers rose on each side of the counter and language became frayed at the edges. Glasses, needed urgently, were barely rinsed and not always in running water. Frequently, as they were refilled they bore the frothy ghost of a departed drink. It would be impossible to imagine a more degrading, or even nauseating condition (SMH, November 9, 1945).

The anti-liquor forces were also anxious to eliminate these conditions. However, they argued that an increase in the number of outlets and an extension of drinking hours would accentuate rather than alleviate these conditions. The N.S.W. Temperance Alliance in urging the Government to institute a Liquor Royal Commission, pressed for much closer observance of the Liquor Act, and the re-introduction of the suspended local option provisions (SMH, February 7, March 23, 1945). Earlier, the President of the Methodist Conference had also argued that stricter enforcement of liquor laws would restrain liquor abuse (SMH, October 17, 1944).

Not all Protestant churchmen agreed with the attitudes of the N.S.W. Temperance Alliance or the Methodist Conference. The Anglican Primate, Dr le Fanu, wrote that hotels should be open for eight hours

a day at a time when people wanted to have a drink socially. He regarded the current method of drinking as anti-social and unregulated, and suggested that 9 p.m. closing of hotels should be introduced (SMH, March 10, 1945).

By the end of the Second World War, drinking conditions had severely tried the patience of the ordinary social drinker and aroused the ire of pressure groups, in favour of, and in opposition to the consumption of liquor. The shortage of beer, the black market, the lack of service in hotels, the six o'clock "swill" all contributed to major dissatisfaction with drinking conditions. Wartime restrictions had been placed upon hotel renovations and improvements, illustrated dramatically by the expenditure ordered or authorised by the Licensing Court to be spent on hotels - £918,458 in 1940, £11,543 in 1941 and £10,720 in 1944. These figures reflected deteriorating conditions in hotels during this period (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1945: 2).

#### 6. Suggested Functional Alternatives - Community Hotels and Clubs

Disillusionment with hotel conditions gave rise to consideration of two types of functional alternatives - community hotels and registered clubs. Five South Australian community hotels operating on the River Murray were suggested as being appropriate models which might be introduced into N.S.W. (SMH, April 24, 1945). During 1945, organizations were set up at Griffith, Leeton, Gosford and Kings Cross (Sydney) to plan the building of community hotels (SMH, April 28, May 4, May 8, 1945). In February 1946, residents in the Sydney suburb of Bankstown also commenced planning for a community hotel (SMH, February 15, 1946). Such community hotels were conceived of as centres where men and women could drink in pleasant surroundings, with the resulting profits being used to finance community activity such as co-operative stores, hotels, clubs, musical and dramatic entertainment and playgrounds (SMH, May 28, 1945).

In addition, there was a growing demand for an expansion in the number of registered clubs - as evidenced firstly by the resolution of more than fifty Ex-servicemen's and Returned Soldiers' League sub-branches seeking the right for such clubs to buy and sell liquor on social occasions (SMH, June 16, 1944); and more importantly, the detailed recommendation of the ULVA about the expansion of the number of clubs in its list of liquor reform proposals.

Firstly, the Association recommended that hotel trading hours should cover the period from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.; secondly, while the number of licences granted to social clubs should not be increased more than 25 per cent, no such limits should be placed on sporting clubs provided that (a) only clubs established in 1939 were to be entitled to registration, (b) the membership of any club had to exceed 100 in the metropolitan district, and 50 elsewhere, (c) social clubs were to provide residential accommodation, while sporting clubs were to provide appropriate sporting facilities, (d) club licences were to be approved by the Licensing Commission, (e) club renewal fees were to be the same as for publicans' licences, (f) both clubs and hotels were to be subject to all the provisions of the Liquor Act and (g) gambling on unlicensed premises was to be prohibited. Other reforms should allow for the playing of music on licensed premises and the sale of unfortified wines with meals in restaurants (SMH, February 13, 1946).

As a result of pressure for the reform of the liquor laws, the Premier, Mr McKell, announced in March 1945 that another committee of experts had been appointed to review the liquor laws, taking up the work of the 1941 committee. He emphasised that liquor reform had to begin with the rebuilding and redistribution of existing hotels (SMH, March 1, 1945). However, by June 1945, there was strong support in the governing State Parliamentary Labour Party for alternative drinking outlets and proposals to establish community hotels and licensed Working Men's and Soldiers' clubs were endorsed (SMH, June 5, 1945).

That both community hotels and registered clubs were, in essence, co-operative enterprises was not often recognised by their proponents. Newman (1945: 2) however, described the co-operative structure of the community hotels in South Australia. They were legally registered corporations with residence in a specified area conferring the right of membership upon individuals. In some cases a very small annual fee was required before membership rights were exercised; in others, appearance on the electoral roll was all that was required.

Public meetings of members elected committees of management or Boards of Directors. Such Boards arranged the initial finance, selected and supervised the manager, decided the proportion of profits to be retained for hotel improvement and the proportion to be given to

community projects. No profit was disbursed to members as was usual with consumer co-operatives.

The Secretary of a Community Hotel and Liquor Reform Association in a N.S.W. country town was another who recognised that community hotels were co-operative type organizations (SMH, April 28, 1945). He suggested that the long and successful experience of co-operatives in that country area marked it as "a proper trial ground for such a forward step" (i.e. the establishment of a community hotel).

Further, George Booth, a member of the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly and President of the Co-operative Federation of Australia said in March 1946, that co-operative organization would break down the brewery monopoly more effectively than any scheme for the nationalisation of the liquor trade (SMH, March 14, 1946).

Thus the demand for these co-operative functional alternatives (the clubs and community hotels) was not the result of any strong ideological set of responses to an unsatisfying economic situation as the emergence of the British consumer co-operatives had been. In N.S.W., working men were not deprived of the basic necessities of life emanating from too little income. Rather, New South Welshmen had spending money, some of which they wanted to spend on drinking in comfortable, leisured surroundings. Exploited by hotelkeepers and the breweries, the demand for better leisure organizations expanded in the decade after the Second World War. For a variety of reasons, community hotels were never established: however, the licensing of over 300 new clubs from 1946 to 1950 gave New South Welshmen experience of a leisure organization that met their needs far more satisfactorily than hotels were able or prepared to do. Such experience created even greater demand - especially in the light of the breweries' and hotels' failure to replace exploitation with service. The general public was no longer willing to entrust the distribution of beer and liquor entirely to hotelkeepers and their masters, the brewers. The demand for more adequate functional alternatives in which the drinkers had some control over the situation (i.e. in co-operative organizations) was the result. The details of this expansion in the role, size and number of the N.S.W. registered clubs is outlined in the following two chapters.

## Chapter 4

THE LIBERALISATION OF THE N.S.W. LIQUOR LAWS  
AND THE EXPANSION OF CLUBS 1945-1955

The decade 1945-55 was marked by dramatic economic and social changes in Australia. During the War, the concentration of men in the Armed Services and essential industries meant that primary production, the construction of housing, the replacement and maintenance of consumer goods and services suffered from severe labour shortages. Many productive tasks remained to be done after the War in the context of a labour shortage. As Shaw (1965: 339) points out in discussing the Australian economy:

...for many years shortages in power, coal, gas, electricity and transport could not be made good; industry had to be rationed in these essentials, and this slowed up its ability to meet accumulated consumer demands.

The strain on public services and housing was greatly accentuated by the massive post-war immigration programme which brought more than half a million people to Australia between 1948 and 1953. The two peak years were 1950 and 1951 when the net immigration gain was 111,000 and 153,000 people respectively (Official Year Book, Commonwealth of Australia, 1956: 1158). This great influx linked with an equally high natural increase was a major cause of the inflationary boom of the decade following the Second World War. Not only did the consequent demand for increased goods and services call for industrial expansion but primary industry boomed also (Shaw, 1965: 339).

The national and international demand for food and wool sent agricultural prices soaring. The average price of wool in 1938-39 was 10 pence per pound; in 1946-47, 24 pence; and stimulated by the Korean War it leapt to 144 pence in 1950-51. In like manner, the price of wheat in 1939 was 28 pence a bushel, but between 1947 and 1953 it ballooned and fluctuated from 180 to 216 pence. In 1948, exports rose 60 per cent over the previous year, with prices increasing 25 per cent; at the same time imports rose 40 per cent but prices increased only 6 per cent (Official Year Book, Commonwealth of Australia, 1946-47: 1243).

Wages and salaries also skyrocketed. Average factory earnings

for the last three months of 1946 were 4 per cent higher than in the last quarter of 1945; in 1947, 13 per cent higher than in 1946; in 1948, 13 per cent higher than in 1947, and in 1953, average earnings were 15 per cent higher than in 1952 (Official Year Book, Commonwealth of Australia, 1946-47: 1237-1243; 1953: 1334). The number receiving unemployment benefits was very low indeed - only 3,245 in 1955, rising to 27,600 in 1958.

The first half of the 1950s was marked by an inflationary trend - as evidenced in the Official Year Book, (1956: 1152-58). Production of refrigerators, washing machines, radios and other domestic electrical goods, clothing, textiles and sporting goods increased substantially in 1956. A boom had been getting under way in consumer spending and private investment and labour shortages had become general. The Federal Treasurer in the 1956 Budget referred to unmistakable signs of active inflation.

Arndt (1968: 38), in discussing the post-war economic problems of Australia indicates that Australia, like other western countries, has experienced a cycle of booms and recessions. In the early post-war years this was reflected with the fluctuations in export markets. Since the early 1950s Australia has experienced a "stop-go" cycle of domestic booms brought to a halt, usually too late and too drastically by government measures and followed by a year or two of slack business conditions. Much more troublesome has been the threat of inflation, the result of exuberant booms getting out of hand.

Considering the importance of leisure, particularly drinking, gambling and sport in Australian society, it was inevitable that there would be increased demands for the satisfaction of leisure needs, especially under boom conditions. Migrants have stimulated this development through participating actively in leisure - in sport (especially soccer), chess, contract bridge, concerts, opera, theatre and ethnic clubs. Migration also contributed to the diversification of cultural styles as witnessed by the phenomenal growth of espresso bars selling cappuccino coffee and other European beverages, of delicatessens selling European spices, meats and sauces, of European restaurants and the increased demand for table wines and liqueurs. Additionally, migrant disgust at Australia's puritanical drinking laws has accelerated the changing of the



liquor laws to permit 10 p.m. closing and the drinking of wines with meals until later still (Price, 1968: 107).

It is within this changing social context that the registered clubs in N.S.W. have emerged as major leisure organizations. Up to 1945, registered clubs enjoyed several privileges, although the law intervened sufficiently often to reinforce the clubs' insecure status. Since clubs were considered to be private rather than public, and élite rather than mass institutions they retained two extremely important privileges about which the Police and public officials had demonstrated considerable ambivalence in the 1900-1945 period. The first was that clubs could serve liquor outside hotel hours and the second was that clubs were permitted to operate poker machines and fruit machines, although they were illegal.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Liquor Amendment Act, 1946

In April 1946 the Premier, Mr McKell introduced a Bill which included provisions for a referendum to determine at what hour hotels and clubs should close, the regulation of the sale of liquor, the improved distribution of hotel licences, the elimination of small, inefficient hotels and their replacement by larger hotels offering much better service and alternative outlets for social drinking (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1946: 3040-3041). These amendments reflected a liberalising trend, recognising that the privileges of club life should be extended to a wider section of the community. The most far-reaching amendment provided for the expansion of the registered clubs. Although unsure about an appropriate formula, the Premier stipulated that for every four hotels in the metropolitan area (and for every six in country areas) a new club could be formed. Other conditions were that a registered club had to be non-proprietary, offer proper conveniences, be situated in a good type of building with recreational and cultural facilities with minimum membership fees of £2 (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1946: 3221-99).

Additional provisions were that licences could be granted to restaurants to serve liquor with meals; municipal councils were given power to establish community hotels; the Licensing Court was reconstituted; local option provisions were repealed; permits could be granted to canteens on work projects; the sale of liquor

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<sup>1</sup> Information on unregistered clubs, such as golf and bowling clubs is hard to obtain, although most of them were apparently serving liquor illegally.

on trains was sanctioned, and penalties for supplying liquor unlawfully to the intoxicated, and for gambling on licensed premises were increased.

Any Bill that attempted to reform the Liquor Act was an obvious target for opposition - from those who believed that the only appropriate liquor reform was total prohibition, as well as from those who argued for the virtual elimination of all regulations dealing with the liquor trade. The proposed liquor reforms stimulated considerable debate and differences of opinion in the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly. Attacks against the proposed liquor amendments rested on the grounds that the public consumption of liquor and the extension or improvement in drinking facilities would seriously threaten the sanctity and solidarity of the family. One member described liquor "as one of the greatest social menaces existing" and his speech was a classic expression of puritan, family oriented values. He argued that "liquor led to poverty and unhappiness and caused marital disillusionment" (ibid.: 3243-44). However, the same speaker conjured up a vision of community hotels as

...groves, lawns, attractive tables, music, a pleasant outlook, nicely designed buildings, a lack of hurry, clean polished glasses and things to eat: with a discussion group here and a man holding forth on another interesting topic there (Parliamentary Debates, 1946: 3245).

He doubted that the Bill would bring about the implementation of this ideal. It is ironic that this member, Mr Darby, who in later years became an implacable enemy of clubs and poker machines should have had such a vision of community hotels, since many large clubs boast a number of the characteristics that he envisaged. Another member, Mr Hearnshaw, had much the same sympathies as Darby and was bitterly against the consumption of alcohol. He lamented "the universal acceptability, nay social approbation, of drinking" arguing that community centres but not community hotels ought to be established (ibid.: 3310).

Other speakers saw the expansion of drinking facilities as a temptation for women to indulge in liquor consumption. If drink were available to women then they would prefer the gay life above the responsibilities of motherhood and would become drink habituées. The natural consequences would be the curtailment of the birth rate (ibid.: 3270), a horror to pro-natalists of the post-war period.

While some Conservative Opposition members argued that the pigswill conditions in hotels operating under 6 p.m. closing were temporary and that the return of peace-time conditions would bring the elimination of unpleasant conditions, most members of both sides of the House expressed approval for community hotels and the proposed expansion of clubs, although there was some doubt as to whether municipal councils were the appropriate bodies to establish and conduct community hotels.

Some politicians argued strongly for the issue of club licences for ex-servicemen. One Labour member urged that 50 per cent of club licences be so distributed. Such clubs were envisaged as meeting places for soldiers of both wars, as a setting in which comradeship of both young and old soldiers would be promoted, views exchanged and decisions reached upon issues of interest to ex-servicemen (ibid.: 3311-3312).

Some Government Labour members felt that the proposed reforms were not far-reaching enough. One Member argued against holding a referendum, and for fewer restrictions on social drinking, complaining that the Act might force clubs to adopt the same hours of trading as hotels (ibid.: 3320-3325).

The first major revision of the Liquor Act provisions since 1912 came into force on September 13, 1946 - except for those parts relating to the granting of new club licences which commenced on April 1, 1947 (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1946: 1). The referendum concerning closing hours was yet to be submitted to the electorate; the State Labour Government wished to ensure that responsibility for any change of hours would rest with the voters - although it had the power to institute 10 p.m. closing.

#### Community Hotels

In 1946 the establishment and conduct of such community hotels seemed in principle an attractive proposition. However, in 1946 only one petition for a community hotel was lodged, the forerunner of a few, but unsuccessful attempts to establish community hotels. Two petitions were received in 1947, one of which was dropped because of an election result unfavourable to the advocates of the community hotel (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1947: 2).

By 1952 no community hotels had been established although the Licences Reduction Board expressed the hope that proposed community

hotels in two irrigation towns would be more successful than the abortive attempts at Coonabarabran, Stroud and Randwick. But even a 1952 amendment to the local Government Act making it easier to raise loan monies for building community hotels failed to prevent the lapsing of all proposed community hotel licences by 1959 (Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1952: 2; 1956: 4; 1959: 4).

Very little evidence is available which might account for the long gestation period and subsequent stillbirth of community hotels. Even where approval had been given for the establishment of such hotels, difficulties in arranging finance proved to be insuperable. Randwick Council met with strong opposition against the building of its hotel, despite the scaling down of the project. Finance was arranged for construction, but objections to the Supreme and High Courts delayed the start to such an extent that the time permitted for its construction by the Licensing Court expired (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1955: 4). Not only were electors reluctant to establish community hotels but there is evidence to suggest that breweries may have financed legal objections (Daily Mirror, July 18, 1957; Sun, August 7, 1957). It is likely, too, that the success of the registered clubs as alternative social drinking organizations made community hotels less attractive.

The Liquor Referendum on Hotel Closing Hours and the Legal Determination of Club Trading Hours

The accelerating movement towards the liberalisation of conditions in N.S.W. was slowed by the overwhelming vote for 6 p.m. closing at the liquor referendum held on February 15, 1947. From a total number of 1,698,230 voters, 1,051,260 voted for 6 p.m. closing; 26,954 voted for 9 p.m. and 604,833 voted for the late closing of 10 p.m. (SMH, March 18, 1947). According to one report, support for 6 p.m. closing was strongest in the solid, middle class suburban areas of Sydney, whereas support for 10 p.m. closing was heaviest in the inner industrial suburbs, the sophisticated eastern suburbs, and in the country electorates of the "thirsty Far West". In fact, only five electorates returned a majority for 10 p.m. closing (SMH, February 22, 1954).

By July 1947 it was apparent that the Police wanted to ensure that clubs maintained the same hours as hotels. Police Commissioner McKay told secretaries of registered clubs that it was an offence to

supply liquor except between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. on weekdays and Saturdays.

In response to this Police instruction, the Registered Clubs' Association (RCA) asked the State Government to permit clubs to serve liquor after 6 p.m. and on Sundays. The Secretary of the Association said that the purpose of a club was defeated if it could not serve liquor after 6 p.m. and that many golf clubs would suffer heavy losses without Sunday business (SMH, July 11, 1947). To support their views the clubs focussed on Section 58(2) of the Liquor Act which read:

Any person found on any licensed premises at any time when such premises should not be open for the sale of liquor, shall, unless he satisfies the Court that he was at the time when he was found, a bona fide lodger, servant, inmate, traveller, or that his presence on such premises was not in contravention of the provision of this Act, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding £2.

If this provision was interpreted literally, a golfer found in a clubhouse on a Sunday was breaking the law, whether or not he was found drinking, whether or not the bar was open. It was, however, possible that a member could be classified as an "inmate" (Sunday Telegraph, July 20, 1947).

In August 1947 the Police brought the issue to a head by prosecuting a club as a test case. The Police asked the Secretary of the RCA, Mr Macleay, to choose a club and he picked the Royal Sydney Golf Club, one of Sydney's elite clubs. The Police prosecuted this club through its Secretary, Major R.T. Coulson, alleging that the club had broken the law by serving its members alcoholic drinks on a Sunday.

Major Coulson was found guilty and was fined, although his subsequent appeal to the Supreme Court of N.S.W. was successful. In a majority judgement the Court decided that even non-resident members of the club were "inmates" and were therefore entitled to a drink outside the hours during which customers could legally drink at an hotel.

This significant case (EX PARTE COULSON AND ANOR. re JONES AND ANOR. 48 S.R. 178) had very far-reaching consequences since the decision automatically applied to all registered clubs. Clubs were now able to sell liquor outside hotel hours as long as it was not sold, supplied or consumed at the bar (Joel, 1957: 81-82).

In 1947 the number of applications for club licences began to expand substantially. At the end of 1946 there were 2,028 hotel licences and 85 clubs. A year later the number of hotels had remained static whereas the number of clubs had trebled to 253. By the end of 1950 there were 376 clubs in N.S.W., of which 147 were located in the metropolitan licensing area of Sydney.

Increasing Public Dissatisfaction with the Liquor Trade, 1945-50

The most remarkable feature of the 1945-1950 period was that hotels and breweries largely ignored the competitive challenge issued by the clubs. In 1950 the resentment towards hotels spilled out in the press and in Parliament. Of the many irritations which the general public experienced the shortage of beer was the strongest. In the address-in-reply debate in the Legislative Assembly, Mr J.L. Geraghty listed the excuses offered for the perennial beer shortage: first, the lack of labour, then the lack of hops, then the labour shortage again; next the breweries claimed a lack of malt; later they fell back on the old excuse of shortage of labour, and the most recent excuse offered had been the shortage of bottles. The brewers had argued, said Mr Geraghty, that it was unwise to pour beer into these bottles because they were faulty. Yet no bottles seemed to explode in the nightclubs where bottles of beer were being sold at 5/- or 360 per cent above the normal retail price (Joel, 1957: 5). Mr Geraghty deplored the "tied-house" system<sup>1</sup> which had brought about drinking conditions "unfit for pigs" (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1946, Second Series, Vol. 194: 502-503).

In October and November of 1950, The Sydney Morning Herald featured a number of critical articles on hotels. One editorial commented that considering the "degree of civilized living in the community as a whole, the standard of hotel service in N.S.W. has never been lower" (SMH, November 9, 1950). The most biting criticism was reserved for the country hotels. One correspondent complained of the "rudeness, dirty premises, poor bedding, inferior food" in the country hotels, which were merely beer-houses (SMH, October 29, 1950). The Acting General Secretary of the National Roads

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<sup>1</sup> The "tied-house" system is an arrangement by which the hotelkeeper undertakes to purchase from the brewer who is either the owner or mortgagee of the hotel "and from no-one else, either all his beer or all his beer and other commodities such as wines, spirits, cordials and tobacco - generally at agreed prices fixed in or ascertainable by reference to the document containing the 'tie'" (Report on the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws, N.S.W., 1954: 18). As the Royal Commissioner pointed out, such a system was not limited to the hotel industry.

and Motor Association (Australia's largest motorists' organization) said that there were few hotels that the NRMA could recommend to its members. The tendency amongst country hotel proprietors was to avoid making guests too comfortable for fear they might stay too long, and in most of the country hotels the main concern of the proprietor was to sell beer (SMH, November 12, 1950).

Mr Justice Dwyer, who presided at the sittings of the Supreme Court, said that he had seriously considered sending some Bathurst hotelkeepers to gaol for contempt of court for refusing to give him and his staff accommodation. A District Court Judge, Judge Berne, commented that the deterioration in hotels had been marked since 1942 and that the publicans had been a law unto themselves, a fact that was known to everybody (SMH, November 9, 1950).

In a 1951 newspaper article, a correspondent summarised the complaints directed at the liquor trade. Crowded conditions, the shortage of beer, the hotelkeepers' disregard for the comfort of the patrons and the fat dividends paid to brewery shareholders were factors which irritated Australian drinkers (SMH, March 11, 1951). In a six-month period The Sydney Morning Herald published six editorials calling for liquor trade reform (February 16, 1951; May 13, 1951; May 23, 1951; June 7, 1951; June 13, 1951; July 24, 1951). The newspaper lamented that about 75 per cent of the State's hotels were owned or controlled by the two major breweries and that in the mind of the public the "tied-house" system had become associated with a decline in standards of hotel service. The absurd liquor laws, together with the "tied-house" system were largely responsible for the intensity and single-mindedness characteristic of Australian drinking habits (SMH, May 13, 1951). The breweries' chief concern seemed to be to maximise the sale of beer without any real consideration for customers' satisfaction (SMH, May 23, 1951).

By 1951, this crescendo of criticism forced the State Government to institute a Royal Commission on the N.S.W. liquor trade and liquor laws.

#### The Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in N.S.W., 1951-1954

The terms of reference of the Royal Commissioner were to inquire into and report upon:

1. the ownership, financial interests in, and control of hotels generally, and in particular by brewery and other companies, whether or not incorporated in N.S.W.;

2. the "tied-house" system of the liquor trade;
3. the effect, operation and application of Section 41 of the Liquor Act in relation to brewery companies generally;
4. the desirability of reintroducing into the Liquor Act the local option provisions which were repealed in 1946;
5. the adequacy or otherwise of the provisions of the Liquor Act relating to the removal of hotel licences;
6. the desirability of amending the Liquor Act to provide for additional club licences;
7. whether the provisions of the Liquor Act relating to the obligation upon hotelkeepers to provide accommodation and meals were adequate to ensure that the needs of the public in that regard were reasonably satisfied;
8. whether the distribution of liquor -
  - a) as between brewers and spirit merchants on the one hand and hotel licensees on the other,
  - b) by spirit merchants,
  - c) by hotel licenseeswas being carried out reasonably having regard to the quantities available, and requirements of the various interests affected and the needs of the public; and
9. the extent to which all or any of the matters arising under the foregoing questions operated to the detriment of the public interest.

The first sitting of the Royal Commission was held on July 30, 1951. The Commission sat in public for 140 days, and called 411 witnesses. During these hearings 110,000 questions were asked and nearly 4 million words were spoken (SMH, October 14, 1952). A diverse range of organizations were represented at the Commission including the RCA, the ULVA, the Clubs' Amenities Association, the Registered Workers' Clubs, the Temperance Alliance, the Police Department, the Grocers' and Storekeepers' Association, the Citizen's Liquor Reform League, the Federated Liquor and Allied Trades Employees' Union, trade organizations, breweries, spirit merchants, wine producers, distributors, holders of publicans' licences and private individuals (Report on the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws, N.S.W., 1954: 5).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter, referred to as Royal Commission Liquor Report.



In his 100-page report the Royal Commissioner, Mr Justice Maxwell said that later closing hours for hotels should seriously be considered, since the evils associated with 6 o'clock closing ought not to be tolerated in a civilized community. Among his major findings and recommendations were:

1. there was no evidence to warrant the abolition of the "tied-house" system;
2. the Liquor Act should be amended to provide for additional club licences;
3. Section 41 of the Liquor Act making it an offence for any person to have an interest in more than one licence should be omitted from the Act;
4. the distribution of liquor by many hotel licensees and some merchants had been unsatisfactory and to the detriment of the public;
5. hours during which restaurants and nightclubs were permitted to serve liquor with meals should be extended;
6. most hotels failed to meet public requirements for accommodation and meals;
7. consideration should be given to reducing the alcoholic content in beer; and
8. it was not desirable to re-introduce the local option provisions of the Liquor Act (SMH, October 14, 1952).

As to the desirability of granting additional club licences, he said:

...the evidence is overwhelming that the Liquor Act should be amended so as to provide additional club licences. However, the mode of providing for such additional licences, the safeguards to be provided in that event and the protection against destruction or serious interference with those public needs which are met by hotels rather than clubs - all these considerations give rise to problems which render what has been described as the simple answer not easy to give effect to by appropriate legislative action (Royal Commission Liquor Report, 1954: 44).

Mr Maxwell described the provisions concerning the distribution of club licences as "a purely artificial formula". He cited evidence which disclosed the curious weaknesses in that formula, unanticipated at the time of the passing of the 1946 amendments. In the Cowra Licensing District with eight hotels, three club licences were permissible and the town of Cowra obtained all three. However,

the neighbouring town of Canowindra, with four hotels and a substantial population was unable to obtain even one club licence. In the Kiama Licensing District, the one permissible club licence went to Kiama, while nearby Shellharbour with a larger population was denied one. The Royal Commissioner stated that for all practical purposes there were no more club licences at present available in the State - due to the limitations imposed by the aforementioned formula. He noted that with increasing population accelerated by immigration, "it was clear that the demand for club licences would be greater" (Royal Commission Liquor Report, 1954: 45).

The Royal Commissioner devoted a considerable portion of his report to a summary of evidence presented by various organizations and their representatives. For instance, only the Temperance Alliance argued against the expansion in the number of club licences. While conceding that reputable citizens could belong to a multifunctional licensed club, the Alliance's spokesman considered that extra club licences would inevitably lead to increased drinking with consequent disastrous results - especially for the young. Hotels were preferable to clubs, partly because of the difficulty of policing the latter. He regretted that clubs were open on Sundays and that 18-year old club members might be able to drink legally in clubs (ibid.: 46).

The ULVA took the view that "in the public interest although contrary to its own interests, it is desirable that the Liquor Act be amended to provide for additional club licences but with proper limitations and safeguards" (Royal Commission Liquor Report, 1954: 46).

Among these safeguards advocated by the ULVA were the following:

- 1) hotelkeepers in an area where clubs were to be established would have a right to object to their establishment,
- 2) a maximum number of club members should be prescribed,
- 3) clubs should be subject to the same conditions as hotels, especially in regard to trading hours and gambling devices,
- 4) non-sporting clubs should be required to provide accommodation (ibid.: 46-47).

The evidence presented by Mr Hutley, Learned Counsel for the Clubs' Amenities Association revealed that a good number of unregistered clubs were serving liquor illegally. The Clubs' Amenities

Association had a membership of 135 unlicensed golf or bowling clubs with 19,000 members who were "decent people carrying on a decent club, determined to provide their members with liquor. In the process they break the law". In addition to the clubs in his Association, other clubs with considerable memberships were operating. The memberships of these unregistered clubs included clergy, businessmen, lawyers and police. In addition, magistrates visited and accepted hospitality from clubs where the law was inevitably broken (ibid.: 49).

Mr Hutley's evidence reflected a growing awareness of the functions of leisure organizations, and set out the reasons why there should be no limit upon the increase in the number of club licences. He argued that among bowlers and golfers a drink was a social necessity, especially at interclub visits essential to maintain and raise the standards of these sports. The number of clubs was rapidly increasing; the clubs were catering to all social classes as well as to families and were a form of community centre. Because of population increase and the reduction in work hours, new problems of leisure were created and leisure time spent in sporting clubs where drinking was ancillary to physical activity was more in the public interest than drinking in hotels.

Hutley argued further that it was unwise to place a limit upon the number of club licences tied to such indices as population increase and the number of hotels, because there was an expanding social need. Clubs and hotels served different functions. A club was a private institution where people with common interests met together to enjoy one another's companionship in a home-like atmosphere. The public hotel catered to anybody and everybody and was not a workingmen's club, since drinking was not subservient to other activities (ibid.: 49-50).

Although Mr Justice Maxwell found these arguments persuasive, and agreed that legitimate demand for additional club licences was clearly established, he had misgivings about recommending the granting of licences to all genuine clubs - largely because the part played by hotels in serving the public had to be acknowledged. Registration might be controlled by requiring that the Licensing Court be satisfied that the club was "required to meet a genuine and substantial need" and permitting hotel owners or licensees to object to new club registrations on the grounds that it would create "undue competition

and economic waste" (Royal Commission Liquor Report, 1954: 46, 53-54).

Maxwell indicated that some clubs had greater claims to registration than others. Limited provision could be made to Workmen's clubs, which had special benefits, such as small subscription fees, not shared by other clubs (ibid.: 54).

Other conclusions reached by the Royal Commissioner testified to the inability of the hotels either by sins of omission or the restrictions placed upon them by stringent liquor laws, to satisfy the needs of the drinking public. Mr Maxwell said:

...I am satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the distribution of liquor by many hotel licensees has not been carried out reasonably, that this has operated to the detriment of the public by denying those legitimately entitled to get it from hotels, immense quantities of liquor - in the main bottled beer - because it was being diverted to unlicensed clubs, to restaurants supplying liquor with or without permits, to notorious and infamous night-clubs and, as well, to persons or places carrying out a 'sly-grog' trade in the well understood sense (Royal Commission Liquor Report, 1954: 69).

As for 6 o'clock closing of hotels, Mr Justice Maxwell concluded that it was "evil" and uncivilized. He said:

...there can be no doubt upon the evidence that in the metropolitan area, conditions associated with 6 o'clock closing are deplorable; apart from any other consideration, a refusal to attempt some reform, involves in my opinion, the conscious perpetuation of a clearly established evil; in addition the present closing hour encourages the sly-grog and after-hours trading at 'black market' rates (Royal Commission Liquor Report, 1954: 87).

The Sydney Morning Herald pressed for the rapid implementation of the Report's main recommendations to begin the long, laborious process of elevating drinking from a barbaric rite to a civilized pleasure. All the reforms, argued the Herald, were trifling and derisory unless the key recommendation for later closing hours was tackled immediately. The newspaper did not press for an early resolution of closing hours by referendum. Rather, it argued for the introduction of 10 p.m. closing for a trial twelve-month period, with a referendum on the subject at the year's end. Such an experience would enable the electorate to judge more accurately the wisdom of maintaining or rejecting 10 p.m. closing (SMH, February 24, March 3, 1954). The newspaper joined the Royal Commissioner in warning that an immediate change in hours would bring no sudden or dramatic changes in drinking habits.

The State Government was not obliged to accept any or all of the recommendations made by Mr Justice Maxwell in his Royal Commission Report. The Royal Commissioner's recommendations were debated during 1954 by the Legislature, the mass media, hotels, clubs and their representative organizations, the churches, anti-liquor interests, and the general public. It was a decisive year: the decisions made resulted in the consolidation of the role of the clubs.

Four issues were resolved during 1954, two of which were political questions. The State Government had the choice of legislating for ten o'clock closing or submitting the choice to the people for electoral decision. Because closing hours had been twice previously determined by referenda (in 1916 and 1947), and some sections would inevitably disapprove of executive action (whatever it was) the State Government decided to hold a referendum. The second issue which generated political and pressure group activity focussed on the State Government's decision to link clubs with hotels on the referendum. The third issue, an industrial one, arose when the ULVA and the two major breweries brought pressure on rebel hotelkeepers (who were attempting to meet the challenge of the clubs by offering similar facilities) not to create unfair competition amongst hotelkeepers. The fourth issue which brought pressure groups into collision followed from the Government's announcement that it was legislating for the expansion in the number of club licences.

#### The Inclusion of Clubs on the 1954 Referendum Ballot

When the electorate voted in the 1947 referendum to retain 6 p.m. closing the decision applied to clubs as well as hotels. Six o'clock closing for clubs was invalidated by the Supreme Court decision in the Coulson case in which club members were defined as 'inmates', thus allowing them to be served with liquor after 6 p.m.. The State Parliamentary Labour Caucus decided on August 11, 1954 that a public referendum should be held and the result would apply to both clubs and hotels. This decision brought a flood of protests from Australian Labour Party branches and trade unions, who did not want clubs on the referendum ballot.

For very different reasons, the breweries and hotels on the one hand and the Temperance Alliance on the other were anxious to link hotels and clubs in the referendum. The breweries and hotels wanted to prevent clubs from gaining a competitive advantage over hotels,

especially in the light of the probable expansion in the number of club licences. No doubt they felt that the chance of the electorate voting for 10 p.m. closing would increase significantly if it meant that club members were threatened with the 6 p.m. closing of clubs. The Temperance Alliance hoped that 6 p.m. closing would again be endorsed by the electorate and saw this as a chance to reduce club trading hours.

Club officials, members, unionists and members of the A.L.P. branches were vehemently opposed to including clubs. They argued that the value of club licences would be nullified by uniformity between club and hotel trading hours. If 6 p.m. closing were voted in new clubs would not apply for registration and existing clubs would have their advantages ruinously curtailed (SMH, August 16, 1954).

By the end of August the State Opposition Liberal and Country Parties had decided to oppose the Government Labour Party on the issue. The Leader of these Opposition parties, Mr Murray Robson, suggested that the reason for the Government's decision was that the Government was under heavy pressure from the breweries (SMH, August 25, 1954).

On August 30, the Premier, Mr J.J. Cahill, indicated that no matter what the result of the referendum, club hours would not change (SMH, August 31, 1954). Despite this assurance, the State Executive of the Australian Labour Party instructed the Government not to link hotel and club hours - but to no avail. Thus club hours were included on the referendum ballot, even though club hours would not be affected by the result (SMH, September 18, 1954).

Obviously newspaper reports only hint at the political manoeuvring and the backroom bargaining on this issue. Yet the reaction from A.L.P. members, unionists, club officials and members is a measure of how important registered clubs had become as leisure organizations in N.S.W.. The possibility that clubs' closing hours would be reduced to 6 p.m. as the result of a referendum was one that large sections of the working class were totally unprepared to accept.

#### The Suppression of Internal Competition between Hotels

In a six-week period from mid-July to the end of August, 1954 a series of events demonstrated that the Hotels' Association (UIVA) and the breweries were more anxious to suppress hotel competition than to meet the external challenge from clubs.

Earlier, in April 1953, a Sydney licensee began to supply free

counter lunches and the sale of scarce bottled beer to each customer, with a consequent improvement in business. A major brewery threatened to cut off beer deliveries if the licensee continued to offer free counter lunches. She agreed to charge a nominal sixpence per head, and the threat was withdrawn (SMH, April 2, 4, 8, 1953).

By July 1954, about twenty-five hotels in the Sydney metropolitan area were regularly showing films in their bars and lounges. The Council of the ULVA decided to ban film showings and in August the two big breweries, Tooths and Tooheys,<sup>1</sup> ordered the rebel publicans not to show films (SMH, August 13, 1954). The Sydney Morning Herald took the breweries to task for their "gratuitous arrogance" and said:

...just why the brewery companies should have intervened on behalf of those licensees who don't want to show films and have paraded the recalcitrant exhibitors before them just like naughty schoolboys is just not clear, and, of course, the breweries won't tell. In all of these liquor controversies their representatives preserve an Olympian reticence.

Some of the hotelkeepers decided to offer other forms of entertainment (SMH, August 14, 1954). The licensee of the Castle-reagh Hotel in Sydney, announced a series of live artist variety shows to be held in his hotel (SMH, August 18, 1954). But again Tooth and Co Ltd. intervened and banned live artist shows from the public bars of hotels under its control. The ULVA made a similar decision (SMH, August 31, 1954).

The rebel hotelkeepers may not have been motivated by the desire to compete with registered clubs, but by offering free counter lunches, films and live artist shows, they were tempting the drinking public to spend more time at their hotels - rather than at clubs or other hotels. There is no way of determining the precise effect these decisions by the breweries and the ULVA had on the competitive thrust of hotels, but undoubtedly the adult social drinker was finding clubs preferable places in which to spend leisure time.

#### The 1954 Referendum on Liquor Trading Hours

The fact that a referendum rather than Government edict was the method chosen to review hotel closing hours demonstrated that temperance and church groups were still active even though their influence was declining. Protestant church leaders argued that the

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<sup>1</sup> These two breweries had a virtual monopoly of the beer trade in N.S.W.

increased drinking resulting from 10 p.m. closing would inevitably undermine the moral and spiritual life of Australia. Thus the Reverend Alan Walker, Leader of the Methodist Mission to the Nation, pleaded for the retention of 6 p.m. closing:

...with Australia's pathological attitude to liquor persisting, the same type of hotels, the same alcoholic content of beer, and the same brewery monopoly, any extension of hours will merely carry present evils into the night. A vote of 6 p.m. will be a vote for home life rather than hotel life. It will stop drinking drivers having another four hours to slaughter people on the roads (SMH, November 1, 1954).

The Anglican Church expressed much the same point of view, although less forcefully (SMH, October 20, 1954).

On the eve of the referendum, N.S.W. did not have particularly liberal drinking hours: Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania and Northern Territory all had 10 p.m. closing. Only South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales had the early closing hour of 6 p.m. (SMH, October 20, 1954). The referendum held on November 13, 1954 proved to be a cliff-hanger. After two days' counting there was a majority of less than 10,000 for 6 p.m. closing with only 100,000 votes remaining to be counted (SMH, November 15, 1954). At the conclusion of counting however, 902,532 votes had been recorded for 10 p.m. closing, 892,740 for 6 p.m. closing with 41,794 people registering informal votes (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1954: 2).

At this point it is appropriate to present a summary of the manner in which the N.S.W. electorate voted at the three referenda on the question of closing hours for licensed premises. The referenda were held on June 10, 1916, February 15, 1947 and November 13, 1954. Electors were given the choice of six closing times in 1916, three in 1947 and only two in 1954. In 1916, voting was optional (only 54 per cent of the electors voted) whereas voting was compulsory in 1947 and 1954 (see Table 4.1).

In the short seven-year period since the 1947 referendum, a 13 per cent swing in electoral support for 10 p.m. closing had occurred, resulting in a victory for the later closing hour. Why had this swing taken place? In a pre-referendum article, one commentator considered electoral and social changes in N.S.W. since 1947 which might encourage a shift in voting towards later closing. The majority of the new 38,000 British and 6,000 non-British migrants were expected



Table 4.1  
Voting at Referenda on Closing Hours  
for Licensed Premises

| Choice of Closing Hours | Number of Formal Votes Recorded |           |           | Proportion of Total Formal Votes |        |        |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------------|--------|--------|
|                         | 1916                            | 1947      | 1954      | 1916 %                           | 1947 % | 1954 % |
| 6 p.m.                  | 347,494                         | 1,051,620 | 892,740   | 62.4                             | 62.5   | 49.7   |
| 7 p.m.                  | 4,830                           | -         | -         | 0.9                              | -      | -      |
| 8 p.m.                  | 21,134                          | -         | -         | 3.8                              | -      | -      |
| 9 p.m.                  | 178,842                         | 26,954    | -         | 32.1                             | 1.6    | -      |
| 10 p.m.                 | 1,405                           | 604,833   | 902,532   | 0.3                              | 35.9   | 50.3   |
| 11 p.m.                 | 3,193                           | -         | -         | 0.5                              | -      | -      |
| Total                   | 556,898                         | 1,683,407 | 1,795,272 | 100.0                            | 100.0  | 100.0  |

Source: N.S.W. Year Book, 1965: 244

to vote for 10 p.m.; and beer was more freely available (apart from the occasional shortage of bottled beer), unlike 1947, when it might have seemed pointless to vote for evening hotel trading hours with little beer available for consumption. Improved drinking facilities had encouraged a significant increase in female patronage, and the presence of more hotels in suburban areas made an after-dinner drink a more practicable proposition. Finally, club members may have felt it wise to vote for 10 p.m. to protect club hours - despite the Government's expressed intention not to tamper with them (SMH, November 11, 1954). Furthermore, the growing affluence of the community meant that adults had more money to spend on alcoholic beverages and social evenings.

#### Amendments to the Liquor Act

In late November 1954, the State Parliamentary Labour Caucus announced proposed new amendments to the Liquor Act giving concrete form to some recommendations made by the Royal Commissioner. Its most important provisions were that the limitation on the number of club licences was to be lifted, and that 10 p.m. closing for hotels was to be introduced.

Between the announcement of the proposed amendments and actual legislation, anti-liquor forces vainly tried to quash the reforms. A petition was organized by Church leaders and presented to the

Legislative Assembly on December 7, 1954. The petitioners included the Anglican Primate of Australia, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the President of the Methodist Conference, the Chairman of the Congregational Union, the President of the Conference of the Churches of Christ (all in N.S.W.) and the Commissioner of the Salvation Army in Eastern Australia.

The petitioners asked permission to address members of the Legislative Assembly. Their spokesman was the Church of England Co-Adjutor Bishop of Sydney, the Right Rev. W.G. Hilliard. While the Lower House (Legislative Assembly) refused, the Upper House (Legislative Council) agreed to a hearing of the Bishop's views. He expressed concern at the proposed lowering of the age at which some young women were allowed to become barmaids; the proposed extension in the number of club licences and the looser interpretation of meals; and the sale of alcohol on Sundays (Joel, 1957: 126-127; SMH, December 2, 1954). The Legislative Council remained unmoved by the Bishop's pleas. On December 7, 1,500 people drawn from all major Protestant denominations marched on State Parliament House to protest against the liquor amendments. At a service preceding the march, the Rev. Alan Walker analysed the reasons leading to the introduction of 10 p.m. closing: "A Royal Commissioner with pro-liquor bias, a one-sided Press, the vested interests of liquor, a weakly argued temperance case, and complacent churches have resulted in ignorance of the moral and spiritual realities". The liquor trade was the worst Judas in Australian society and the Government was bowing to the brewers, forcing moral tragedy on women. Reform had only one meaning for the N.S.W. Government - greater facilities for selling liquor. The Director of the Methodist Church Social Services, the Rev. W.J. Hobbin, said that N.S.W. was becoming "a beer barrel and betting bin State" and people were being asked to worship the horse and the dog (SMH, December 8, 1954).

The protestations from religious organizations were not strong enough to delay, let alone prevent the Liquor Act amendments. Designated Statute No. 50 of 1954, it was assented to on December 22, 1954 and occupies some fifty-two pages of the Statute Book in amendment form. While the numerical limitation on clubs was lifted, the Government agreed with the Royal Commissioner that "regard must be paid to the part played by hotels in serving the public". The

Licensing Court was given power to grant club licences provided that the applicants could convince the Court of the need for the club and appropriate amenities were available (SMH, November 25, 1954).

The introduction of 10 p.m. closing produced some unintended consequences of great significance to both hotels and clubs. In 6 p.m. closing days, workmen headed for the hotel nearest their place of work. With 10 p.m. closing, many were returning home for the evening meal and afterwards adjourning to the nearest local hotel - providing, of course, that there was one - and therein lay a problem. The number of hotel licences in the metropolitan licensing area was limited by law to the number operating within boundaries set in 1929. In 1954, 618 hotels were operating in the metropolitan area and before a new hotel could be built, the licence of another hotel had to be transferred to it through the authority of the Licensing Court. This created inevitable and lengthy delays in the establishing of hotels in the suburbs. Yet it was in these suburbs that the greatest demand existed. No such impediments faced those citizens who wished to establish a registered club. As one reporter noted, an alternative solution to enlarging existing hotel premises or establishing new ones to cater for the increased trade was to allow registered clubs to proliferate in the suburbs - and the new legal provisions permitted this (SMH, November 27, 1954). That is precisely what happened: in December 1954, there were 398 registered clubs, in 1955, 793, in 1956, 932 and in 1957, 1,050. Registered clubs in the Sydney metropolitan area had doubled from 247 to 515 in one year (Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1952, 1954, 1955).

#### Summary and Conclusions

During the Second World War, hotel drinking conditions had deteriorated so badly that the N.S.W. State Labour Government provided for two types of alternative drinking outlets - community hotels and registered clubs. Both alternatives were co-operative rather than capitalist enterprises.

Local councils had the sole right to establish community hotels. Those that attempted to build them were unsuccessful, because of lack of community support, inability to raise finance, legal objections by hotels and the rapid growth in the number of registered clubs.

By 1950, the number of clubs had expanded from 85 to 375, and

many of the new clubs were Returned Soldiers' clubs - for about one-fifth of the permissible number of new licences had been reserved for ex-servicemen's clubs.

A number of factors accounted for the growing popularity of the clubs in the late 1940s. Separate decisions in 1947 by the N.S.W. Supreme Court and the community at large ensured that the clubs would be important. The electorate voted overwhelmingly for the retention of 6 p.m. closing of hotels in a referendum and the Supreme Court decided that clubs could legally serve drinks to their members and guests outside hotel hours. The only places where N.S.W. residents could purchase drinks in the evenings and Sundays were at clubs. It is therefore not surprising that N.S.W. residents became supporters and members of clubs.

Furthermore, the Government turned a blind eye on the operation of illegal poker machines in clubs, largely because clubs had become dependent upon them for income. The profits from the machines were used to provide members with comfort and service.

That many hotels seemed unwilling to supply the same comfort, service and facilities to their customers is reflected in the actions of the two major breweries and the ULVA in 1954, when they seemed more concerned about stifling competition than meeting the competitive challenge of the clubs.

Public indignation with the poor service of hotels (especially the country hotels which neglected their legal obligations to provide meals and sleeping accommodation) stimulated the State Government to establish a Royal Commission to inquire into the liquor laws and the state of the liquor trade.

As a result of the Royal Commissioner's recommendations, the Labour Government lifted the limitation on the number of clubs. At the 1954 referendum on hotel and club closing hours, the electorate voted for the later hour of 10 p.m., indicating that community attitudes towards evening consumption of liquor were liberalising.

By 1954, clubs had become firmly established as alternative semi-public drinking outlets. The profits from the illegal poker machines were being used in such a way that clubs were no longer functional alternatives, but superior ones. They were developing into multifunctional leisure organizations.

The legalization of the poker machines in 1956 (which shall be dealt with in the next chapter) ensured that the clubs would remain financially viable. Few people in 1956 could have foreseen the massive injection of funds that the clubs would receive as a result of legalization, and the social changes that resulted.

## Chapter 5

THE LEGALIZATION OF POKER MACHINES AND  
THE GROWTH OF LARGE CLUBS 1956-1971

In the period 1945-55, hotels had lost their virtual monopoly as public locales for social drinking and the registered clubs emerged as a functional and indeed superior, alternative. ULVA action aimed at blunting the competitive thrust of clubs led to the legalization of poker machines in 1956 with immense consequences: it gave the registered clubs huge financial resources and enabled them to establish themselves as major leisure organizations in N.S.W. Even if community hotels had been established to compete with proprietary hotels and registered clubs it is almost certain that they would never have achieved the affluence and importance of registered clubs, because it is most unlikely that they would have been permitted to operate poker machines.

The Legalization of Poker Machines

Why were the registered clubs given exclusive legal rights to operate poker machines? The reasons can be found historically. Poker machines had been used illegally in clubs, certainly from the 1930s and apparently as far back as the early 1900s (The Labour Daily, SMH, February 11, 1931). Just as there was official ambivalence during the 1930s about the hours that registered clubs should observe, so there was reluctance to enforce the ban on illegal poker machines.

Despite official bans on club poker machines in 1921 and 1930, the machines kept re-appearing in registered clubs (SMH, February 11, 1931). In mid-1931 a scheme was suggested to the State Government, offering a percentage of the profits from fruit and poker machines if they were allowed to be operated in shops and hotels. Hospitals were to receive 10 per cent of machine profits, with the remainder to be divided between proprietors and hotelkeepers. This suggestion was partly adopted by the State Labour Government, and in March 1932 the Government approved the licensing of fruit machines in the metropolitan area to support hospitals for a trial two-month period.

The demise of the Labour Lang-Gosling Government in 1932 brought to an end this trial system. The Minister of Health in the new Stevens Government, Mr Weaver, had decided that the devices were

"unmoral" after reading an adverse report from the Hospitals' Commissioner. Weaver alleged that some people who controlled the machines had made irregular business arrangements, had not adhered to their original agreement and players were not receiving a fair return when playing them (DT, May 21, 1932). Subsequently fruit machines were withdrawn from hotels and other public places. In that two-month period, however, metropolitan hospitals benefitted by \$19,000 and Newcastle hospitals by \$1,300 (SMH, May 24, 1932).

In 1932, a Royal Commission investigated charges of corruption by the Labour Government in the granting of tin-hare and fruit machine permits (SMH, June 8, 1932). The Commissioner's report was indecisive, largely due to prevarication and non-appearance of key witnesses (N.S.W. Parliamentary Papers, 1932: 65).

From 1933 to 1939, official ambivalence was demonstrated at several points. In 1933, the Chief Secretary declared that while fruit machines were illegal in registered clubs, poker machines were not<sup>1</sup> (SMH, June 22, 1933). Five years later, the police made determined steps to eliminate the machines from clubs (SMH, August 1, 1938). In March 1939, forty-three machines valued at \$3,000 were seized and smashed in city and suburban raids (SMH, March 31, 1939). In the same year, a senior police officer said that he knew of no law which prevented people from winning money from themselves and he was uncertain whether or not clubs were breaking the law in operating machines (SMH, July 4, 5, 1939). However, the Chief Secretary, Mr Gollan insisted on their withdrawal from the registered clubs (SMH, July 19, 1939) - a ruling which aroused the ire of the members of the United Australia Party and Country Party - a conservative coalition of which he was a Cabinet Minister. At a joint Party meeting, member after member challenged his view that the machines were a racket (SMH, DT, July 19, 1939).

Gollan's replacement by Tonking as Chief Secretary meant that clubs were given a more sympathetic hearing. He discussed with Cabinet the possibility of legalizing machines, recommending that (i) the number of poker machines should be regulated according to the size of club membership, (ii) a licence fee should be paid on each machine with the revenue going to the Hospital Fund, (iii) no

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<sup>1</sup> The only difference between fruit and poker machines is the type of symbols on the reels.

cash prizes should be permitted, and (iv) machines should be adjusted to allow only a moderate percentage of monies invested to remain in the machines. The Chief Secretary was apparently aware that the removal of poker machines from clubs would cause serious financial difficulties to many clubs (SMH, November 9, 1939).

Earlier, he had received a proposal from non-proprietary clubs that they should be allowed to operate machines legally, with the Government drawing an annual tax on each machine of \$50 to \$100. With 2,500 odd machines in N.S.W. the Government might have secured an extra \$200,000 in taxation (SMH, October 9, November 8, 1939).

During the Second World War at least two letter-writers to The Sydney Morning Herald in 1941 and 1942 complained that money which was being put into poker machines should have been channelled into war loans. One writer observed that South Coast clubs each had from two to eight poker machines, while the other noted that in city and suburban clubs members were squandering thousands of pounds weekly upon the machines (SMH, November 17, 1941; April 16, 1942). Severe police action was exercised during 1941, when in Sydney alone 240 poker machines were seized and destroyed (SMH, December 8, 1941).

During the next decade the subject of poker machines seems to have been of little concern to the newspapers. However, in 1950, it was reported that poker machines were operating in some cafés (Sun-Herald, January 29, 1950) and in 1951, sixteen proprietary clubs were visited and their proprietors fined (SMH, August 6, 1951).

Police and Government uncertainty about the use of poker machines in non-proprietary clubs was revealed again in December 1952. A Police official said on December 13, that non-proprietary clubs would soon be notified that poker machines were illegal. It was the Government's policy to ban poker machines, which police regarded as a racket and a community menace. The spokesman commented that practically every non-proprietary club had machines (SMH, December 14, 1952). The Labour Premier, Mr Cahill, said he was not aware that this Police decision was based on a directive from the Government. The Chief Secretary, Mr C.A. Kelly, reiterated that no action would be taken on machines in non-proprietary clubs. The N.S.W. Police Commissioner said that the Government had laid down a laissez-faire policy on poker machines in registered clubs, and police duty was confined to administering the law subject to State Government direction (SMH, February 3, 1953).



One characteristic of poker machine playing during this period needs mentioning. Tokens rather than coins were used in most club machines and were redeemable at the club usually for drinks, tobacco or groceries.<sup>1</sup> Police objection was not to token machines but to coin machines (SMH, January 24, 1950).

In the previous chapter, reference was made to the growing importance of clubs. In 1954, provision was made for the expansion in the number of club licences, and the number doubled in the following year. In 1947, for every dollar spent in the purchase of liquor by registered clubs, the hotels expended \$35.71. By 1955, however, this had dropped to \$11.74.

Between January 1955 and June 1956, the ULVA took action to meet the growing threat of the registered clubs by sending two deputations to the Minister of Justice, Mr R.R. Downing asking him to take action against poker machines (SMH, May 19, 1956). His failure to do so stimulated the ULVA to employ dramatic tactics. On May 22, the ULVA made its first legal objection to the renewal of a club liquor licence (SMH, May 22, 1956). Each June all registered clubs had to apply for renewal of licences to the Licensing Court which granted them automatically unless there was an objection. The reason for the ULVA's action was that clubs were using illegal poker machine revenue to undercut prices in hotels. The legal basis for the ULVA's objection rested on Section 140 (1)C of the Liquor Act which said:

...upon any application for the grant for renewal of a certificate of registration of a club objections may be taken by any corporation or person hereafter in the Act mentioned upon one or more of the following grounds: - that it is not conducted in good faith as a club or that it is kept or habitually used for any unlawful purpose or mainly for the supply of liquor (SMH, May 19, 1956).

Eventually forty-seven clubs were denied renewals as a result of ULVA objections (Joel, 1957: 132).

The "ULVA Review", the official Journal of the Association, provided further justification for this legal action indicating that:

...the action taken by the ULVA was determined by the need for preserving the economic structure of the hotel industry and combating unfair competition from the continually increasing number of registered and un-registered clubs.

The object of the objections to the renewal of registrations of a number of clubs, is to eliminate unfair competition made possible by the use of illegal gambling devices in the clubs (SMH, June 26, 1956).

<sup>1</sup> One poker machine player reported that the only exchangeable items available at his club were tins of rock lobsters (Sun-Herald, January 29, 1950).

The ULVA argued further that, while many of the provisions of the Liquor Act were intended to apply equally to hotels and clubs the administration of the Act appeared far from equitable.

The ULVA's objections evoked considerable organizational and political responses. The Registered Clubs' Association, with 246 member clubs representing a total membership of 300,000 people announced that it would fight any move to deprive the clubs of poker machines (SMH, May 21, 1956). The Ex-Servicemen's Registered Clubs' Association, the New South Wales Bowling Association, the South Coast clubs, the Lithgow Working Men's clubs, and the Workers' Clubs Union of Newcastle decided to appoint a defence committee to fight the ULVA objections in the Licensing Court (SMH, May 23, 1956). Successive delegations visited the Chief Secretary, Mr C.A. Kelly. The first was from the Sydney Trades and Labour Council, and the Hotel, Club, Restaurant and Caterers' Employees Union. Their spokesman said that if poker machines in non-proprietary clubs were not legalized, clubs would have to dismiss 2,000 employees. Clubs could not exist without poker machines and their revenue enabled clubs to provide members with amenities which other outlets would not supply (SMH, June 6, 1956). The second delegation consisted of representatives from the South Coast, Hartley, Newcastle and Goulburn Trades and Labour Councils, representatives of workers', bowling, golf and R.S.L. clubs and thirteen Labour members of the Legislative Assembly. The Chief Secretary was greatly impressed by club officials' claims that clubs had been providing for members' holiday camps, libraries, playing areas and many other amenities. He agreed that clubs were part of the Australian way of life (SMH, June 7, 1956).

Some trade unions took more direct action. In Goulburn, eleven of thirteen Goulburn hotels lodged objections to the renewal of the licences of the Goulburn R.S.L. Club, the Goulburn Workers' Club and the Goulburn Bowling Club. The Goulburn branch of the Australian Federated Union of Locomotive Enginemen, with 600 members, decided to boycott those eleven hotels which had lodged objections. When the Wangi hotel at Lake Macquarie objected to the renewal of two local club licences, powerhouse workmen and mine workers boycotted the hotel, forcing the hotel to withdraw its objections.

In two editorials The Sydney Morning Herald attacked the ULVA and hotelkeepers. It suggested that the ULVA and the brewers were not the least concerned about the moral aspects of these gambling devices but about the clubs' impact on bar revenue, particularly in country areas. The newspaper castigated the ULVA and the brewers for their usual response of attempting to eliminate competition rather than meet it (SMH, May 21, June 27, 1956).

Anticipating the possibility of poker machines being legalised, the N.S.W. Council of Churches issued a statement opposing the legalizing of all forms of gambling, particularly poker machines. Their stand against poker machines rested on the grounds that (1) poker machines increased the opportunity to gamble, (2) the machines were so simply operated that they were a strong temptation to the weak to gamble for easy money, (3) the machines could be readily rigged to extract greater profits for the licenseholders, (4) there were grave economic dangers for the families of those who fell victims to the lure of the machines, (5) poker machines increased the moral danger since the act of gambling was basically covetous, and (6) the licensing of poker machines would lead to the legalization of other forms of gambling encouraging further declines in public morality (SMH, July 10, 1956).

On August 1, 1956 the State Cabinet announced that it had decided to legalize the use of poker machines in non-proprietary clubs, with a Government tax expected to yield between £500,000 and £750,000 a year. The proceeds were to be paid directly into the Hospitals' Fund for distribution by the Hotels Commission as regular maintenance subsidies. The Premier, Mr Cahill, said that to prohibit the use of the poker machines would place many clubs in a "parlous financial position" and jeopardise the employment of a large number of people (SMH, August 1, 1956).

Reaction to this proposed legislation varied. While Protestant Church leaders were horrified at the prospect of legalization, the spokesman of the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. Dr L. Rumble, said that his Church did not regard gambling as wrong in itself as it did not trespass on any moral principle. If the Government thought it prudent to legalize poker machines then that was a matter entirely for the Government and the Church had no objection. He did warn, however, that abuse could develop in a community if gambling was

unregulated (SMH, August 1, 1956). While an RCA spokesman said that members and officials of every N.S.W. registered club were relieved by the Government's decision, the N.S.W. President of the R.S.L., Mr W. Yeo, said that the proposed legislation was "one of the greatest tragedies that has ever occurred to R.S.L. sub-branches and clubs" because of the "grossly excessive tax" which would deprive R.S.L. organizations of opportunities to contribute to the welfare of ex-servicemen and dependants of dead comrades. It would cause, he said, great stress to clubs in their attempts to pay off buildings to which they were already committed (SMH, August 1, 1956).

The Sydney Morning Herald described the State Government's decision as realistic and reasonable, while observing that it was a pity that poker machines had ever been allowed into the State. The newspaper saw two advantages in the legalization of poker machines. Firstly, the public would be able to relish the spectacle of licensed hotels being forced to meet the competition of clubs which had provided cheaper beer, better amenities and services - which, with enterprise, the hotels might also have offered. Secondly, it would mean the dissipation of the unhealthy, hypocritical attitude which had persisted over time with the non-enforcement of the law against an illegal gambling device. On the other hand, the newspaper had very strong reservations about the decision to tax poker machines. The State Government was becoming too ready to rely on gambling as a source of income and considerable danger lay in such dependence (SMH, August 1, 1956).

The Bill was not introduced into Parliament until August 22, but as the time approached for its consideration within Parliament, the Churches intensified their campaign against the legalization of poker machines. For instance, the Australian Council for the World Council of Churches issued a resolution stating that:

...Australians have developed, in marked fashion, a spirit of adventure. This has been revealed in war and peace, and may well be an invaluable contribution to international life in a changing world.

We believe it to be a tragedy that some Governments in Australia are alluring our people to the prostitution of this spirit of adventure by an appeal to selfish greed and supposedly easy and immediate gain.

We believe that gambling is a social evil and also that the legalization of lotteries, poker machines and other forms of gambling is not only a step to moral degradation, but will have the effect of perverting the true spirit of adventure in Australian life.

We urge Governments to retrace their steps in these matters, and where money is needed for hospitals, courageously to ask us directly to provide it, and we urge our fellow citizens to seek the joy of living - not through acquisitions which rob our neighbours, but in games and the game of life, that we may hand on to our children a tradition of character and a foundation of fine living and right relationships which shall make for peace in the coming days (SMH, August 4, 1956).

At a lunch hour Church meeting attended by 350 people, Protestant speakers expressed strong disapproval of the way in which pressure groups were exerting control over the Government. One cleric said that the present Government was turning the Cabinet into a team of bookmakers and the country into a great gambling machine (SMH, August 8, 1956).

The Gambling and Betting (Poker Machines) Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly by the Colonial Secretary, Minister for Immigration and Minister for Co-operative Societies, Mr C.A. Kelly. The reasons why successive Governments had not interfered with the use of poker machines in non-proprietary clubs was because (1) of their inaccessibility to the general public and children, (2) profits were used for the development of amenities and club improvement and not for individual enrichment and (3) they were basic to the economy of many bowling, golf and Returned Soldiers' clubs (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1956, Third Series, Vol. 17: 1694). However, the recent legal challenge had forced the Government to examine the whole matter exhaustively and it had now decided in the "public interest" to legalize and control the use of these machines.

The Minister regarded the average Australian as something of a gambler - in fact, this characteristic was more pronounced in the Australian way of life than in other nations. Parliament recognised that for thirty years, club poker machines had been used by many thousands of decent, respectable and normally law-abiding citizens, who had experienced no feelings of guilt or wrongdoing in playing them. To forestall Church criticism he argued that legalization of poker machines would not result in any widespread increase in gambling and in all probability would tend to restrict it. No new custom was being adopted under the Bill, by which the Government was endeavouring to control gambling, though its implementation would eventually mean that the Government might benefit "a little financially" (ibid.: 1694-1695).

The most important provisions of the new Act were that (1) no longer could an objection to the renewal of a club licence rest on the grounds that an illegal gaming device was being used, (2) a poker machine licence, renewable every twelve months, could be cancelled at any time, (3) each poker machine had to be owned, or be in the process of being acquired by the club on reasonable terms, and the Minister had sole discretion in this matter (formerly, some 20 per cent of poker machines were leased or hired to clubs), (4) only coins were to be used in the machines, and (5) slightly less demanding provisions were made for clubs wishing to take out a poker machine licence, but not a liquor licence (ibid.: 1751-1753).

The most controversial aspect of the Bill was that concerning annual taxation. For the first five 2/- (20c) machines the club was to pay £250 (\$500) tax on each, and £350 (\$700) on each additional 2/- machine. For 1/- (10c) machines, the fee was £100 (\$200) on each; for 6d (5c) machines, clubs were required to pay £50 (\$100) licence tax on each annually. In addition some machines took copper coins of small denomination and a fractional portion of £50 had to be paid in taxation (Joel, 1957: 145).<sup>1</sup>

The views of members of the Liberal/Country Party Opposition in the Assembly varied considerably. Although some members launched virulent attacks, most of the Opposition members felt that poker machines should have a five-year trial within clubs. Their chief objection was, however, to the tax on poker machines. Several members regarded the Government's main motive for legalizing the machines as a latent one - to collect taxes from a hitherto untapped source. Mr Morton said that the Bill had two motives - to raise more Government revenue by the taxing of another form of gambling and secondly, and by such taxation weaken clubs in their competition with hotels (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1956, Third Series: 1757).

Two of the bitterest opponents against amendments to the Liquor Act in 1947, Mr Hearnshaw and Mr Darby, continued with attacks on the new legislation. Mr Darby lamented that it was the first measure in the history of the civilized world to legalize poker machines. He described 1856 as the commencement year of responsible govern-

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<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, dollars and cents will be used instead of £.s.d., even though decimal currency was not introduced until 1966.  
£1 = \$2, 2/- = 20c, 1/- = 10c, 6d = 5c.

ment in N.S.W. but 1956 as the beginning of irresponsible government (ibid.: 1894). Darby reiterated that the primary purpose of government was to concern itself with family life, the most precious institution in the society. He expounded three principles of club life - that it was an adjunct and a luxurious accessory to the way of life; that no man should enjoy a higher standard of living in his club life than he experienced in his home life; and that no matter how worthy a cause, a man should not be asked to give more than he intended or could afford. He suggested that the large surplus from poker machines would result in the construction of greater and bigger buildings creating an even greater disparity between club luxury and the modesty of home life (ibid.: 1895).

Mr Darby conceptualised a new industry in addition to the usual primary, secondary and tertiary groups - the cancer industry of gambling, which fed upon the others. Man had a tendency towards gambling, checked successfully only by three types of sanctions - religious, legislative and public opinion (ibid.: 1897).

The conclusion to his speech is a classical piece:

...this Bill will unleash the dogs of the fourth industry and the Government has no knowledge of how fierce these dogs will become or how rapidly they will multiply. Every tenet of history and sociology suggests that these unleashed hounds will grow fiercer and more numerous until, eventually, they turn upon their masters (ibid.: 1899).

Other Opposition arguments were that poker machines were a "social evil" detrimental to essential production, domestic welfare and club life (ibid.: 1787, 1799, 1822, 1829-31, 1905). The leaders of the two Opposition parties expressed much more favourable attitudes towards small clubs as against large social clubs - an attitude given expression in legislation thirteen years later in 1969, when these parties, in power, placed a ceiling on membership of large clubs. Morton (Liberal Party Leader) said that while country clubs were performing a vital social role in extending the social amenities available in small towns, there were strong city clubs where poker machine profits were sometimes excessive (ibid.: 1757). Bruxner (Country Party Leader) seemed to approve of poker machines in small clubs where profits provided amenities and satisfaction for members, but was sceptical of those "social organizations which open at 10 o'clock in the morning and close at 10 o'clock at

night with card or poker machines constantly in operation" (ibid.: 1763).

Another member, Mr Stevens, classified clubs into three types according to their different circumstances - the big city club with residential accommodation for members, a dining room, a bar and perhaps a billiard room and library; the type of club found in suburban and larger country centres and similar to the metropolitan club but without the residential accommodation and finally, the clubs in which the bar and associated offices were subservient to the bowling greens, swimming pool, golf course or other athletic provisions. Stevens regarded this last type as the essence of an ideal club (ibid.: 1774).

Members' predictions of the consequences flowing from the legalization of poker machines varied in accuracy. Mr Pelly was prophetic when he maintained that the imposition of poker machine taxes would guarantee their continuance in clubs for ever (ibid.: 1839). But Mr Sloss (Labour), who argued that the Government's method of legalizing machines would prevent expansion of their use in N.S.W. (ibid.: 1833) and Mr Coady (Labour), who had no doubt that other States would follow N.S.W.'s example and legalize poker machines (ibid.: 1769) could not have been more wrong.

In the Upper House or Legislative Council the opposition to the Bill was less severe - partly because several members seemed to be club officials and members. The Hon. H.S. Henley wondered whether some more equitable method of taxation could be introduced similar to the method of assessing liquor licence fees calculated on 5 per cent of purchases. He pointed out that the club to which he belonged would have to pay, based on the rates detailed in the Bill,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of its poker machine profits in taxation. In some of the smaller and country clubs the taxation could mount, so he forecast, to 50 or 60 per cent of the proceeds. While supporting the principle of the Bill, he hoped that the method of taxation might be changed (ibid.: 2039).

As the years proceeded and profits from poker machines climbed spectacularly, the State Government introduced progressive scales of taxation based on a club's profit from the poker machines. Details of changes in this progressive poker machine taxation will be documented later.



The Bill legalizing poker machines was a triumph for co-operative organizations such as trade unions, clubs and their associations, and employees' organizations over the capitalist ULVA which had tried legally to sever the co-operative clubs' major source of revenue. Even if the capitalist Liberal/Country Party had been in power, it is quite probable that poker machines would have been legalized, although in all likelihood for a limited period only.

Community, Institutional and Organizational Responses to the Growth of Clubs and Gambling, 1957 to 1960

From 1946 to 1956, the total number of N.S.W. licensed premises increased from 2,786 to 4,071, a rate of increase of 46 per cent compared with a population growth rate of 21 per cent. While the most spectacular expansion occurred with clubs (from 85 to 932) the number of restaurants rose sharply from 25 to 168, and spirit-merchants from 295 to 591. On the other hand, the total of hotel licences dropped very slightly from 2,028 to 2,025, and wine licences remained static at 347 (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1946-1956). The expansion in the aggregate of licensed restaurants and wine merchants passed unnoticed - in contrast to the blaze of publicity in the mass media which accompanied the mushrooming growth of registered clubs.

The most vehement critics of the clubs were the ULVA (later to become the Australian Hotels' Association) and the Protestant churches. But during the 1960s, the success of the clubs brought forth criticisms from other individuals and organizations who were suffering from, and resentful of, the clubs' increasing financial power - for instance, the Retail Traders' Association and cinema and restaurant owners. Furthermore, after 1965, functional and operating differences between small and large clubs emerged which hindered the Registered Clubs' Association from speaking with one voice. The Liberal/Country Party Government, which assumed power in 1965, used these differences to place curbs on the growth of large clubs.

The hotels and their Association, the ULVA, used trial and error methods to fight the powerful competitive thrust of the clubs. The Protestant Churches, aghast at the spread of legalized gambling, organized vigorous and vocal protests. The success of this opposition can be measured by the Government's sensitivity to their complaints and its subsequent actions. The campaigns of the ULVA and the

Churches forced clubs to close ranks, recognise their common interests, and develop their own organizations to handle the increasing complexity of this social and leisure environment.

Reactions to the Tactics and Strategy of the ULVA

In March 1957 a deputation from the ULVA visited the Minister of Justice, Mr R.R. Downing, and urged that the State Government freeze the number of registered clubs, limit the sale of liquor by clubs, curtail the clubs' use of poker machines to a maximum period of three years, allow hotels to remain open for trade between 6.30 and 7.30 p.m., limit the number of associate, honorary or temporary members that clubs could have, and define the rights of club members in the Liquor Act. The deputation argued that the abnormal growth of club registrations was threatening the economic stability of the hotel industry (SMH, March 28, 1957).

Over a period of about four months in 1957, the hotels and the ULVA were the targets of bitter criticism from newspapers, Liberal/Country Party politicians and members of the general public. The Sydney Morning Herald lambasted the hotelkeepers for adhering to their reflex action of attempting to stifle competition instead of overcoming it by the excellence of their goods and services. The Herald indicated that the proposals outlined above, so obviously dictated by naked self-interest, had already invoked an extremely unfavourable reaction, and in the public's present mood, any advocacy from the ULVA was virtually the "kiss of death" for the proposals concerned. Nevertheless, the Herald felt that the supervision of registered clubs was too lax, for some new clubs were straight-out drinking shops (SMH, March 29, 1957).

The Sydney Morning Herald continued its denigration of the ULVA and hotelkeepers a month later when the Licences Reduction Board issued its 1956 Report. The Board had referred to complaints that in certain instances the competition of some clubs had proved quite unfair (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1956: 2). The Herald warned that hotelkeepers should ponder their own service record before expecting the public to show much sympathy (SMH, April 25, 1957).

Sydney's other morning newspaper, The Daily Telegraph, published a bitter editorial against the hotels. It said that rightly or wrongly, the public blamed the ULVA for many of the things which had

kept the Australian pubs in the Dark Ages. The public remembered that (1) hotelkeepers had fought the liberalisation of drinking hours and the establishment of community hotels, (2) hundreds of Sydney hotels had consistently refused to provide meals and bedrooms for the public, (3) scores of them lacked elementary hygiene, (4) the ULVA banned free counter lunches before the war and that in the post-war period it barred not only the serving of meals on plates with cutlery but also the screening of films, and (5) tourists ignored hotels because of the wretched conditions in them. Many publicans operated hotels merely as filling stations for the rapid consumption of beer (DT, July 15, 1957).

Such sentiments were amplified by club officials and politicians. The President of the R.S.L., Mr Bill Yeo, said that the R.S.L. was moving to unite all the State's clubs to fight the ULVA and that if present trends were to continue, hotels would disappear within ten years - and the people would feel no loss (SMH, March 29, 1957). The Secretary-Manager of the Illawarra Leagues' Club, Mr D.F. Locke, said that the publicans in N.S.W. had been a protected class for years. Competition between clubs was so keen that the failure of a club to give its members service would force its demise (SMH, March 29, 1957).

Members of the governing Australian Labour Party said that the Party would never agree to legislation to restrict clubs for the benefit of the hotels. The Leader of the Liberal Party Opposition, Mr P.H. Morton said that hotels should meet the competition from registered clubs without calling for artificial State protection. What was needed, he said, was more real competition within the hotel industry as well as club/hotel competition (SMH, April 29, 1957).

An issue which generated controversy was whether the number of club licences should be limited. The Secretary of the ULVA, Mr R.D. Hatfield argued that the number of registered clubs should not exceed 1,000 until the Licensing Court determined whether undue economic waste was taking place. The Secretary of the RCA, Mr A.P. Gandon, stated that his Association was not in favour of an unlimited number of club licences and the present number seemed adequate (SMH, April 25, 1957). However, R.S.L. clubs and Ex-Servicemen's clubs considered proposals to establish a defence fund and vigilante groups to combat moves against the clubs by publicans and the ULVA (SMH, June 7, August 1, 1957).

Mounting criticism from the mass media and the general public stimulated the ULVA to commence a searching investigation into the hotel industry. It commissioned the Asher Joel Advertising Company to prepare a survey of, and to report upon the hotel industry of N.S.W.. The Report which was submitted to the President of the ULVA, Mr L.P. Plasto, on January 31, 1958, was in three parts. The first two dealt with the social and legislative history of hotelkeeping in N.S.W. from colonisation onwards and included statistics tracing the fall in the number of hotel licences. The third part consisted of two opinion polls conducted amongst the general public and hotel licensees (Joel, 1957).

Freeland described the investigation as a frank and forthright report in which the hotelkeepers were told the unpalatable truth. The deteriorating condition and economic standing of hotels were not the consequence of unfair advantages gained by clubs through trading hours and poker machines. Rather the publicans had only themselves and their predecessors to blame. Historically, hotelkeepers had acquired an evil and sordid reputation for service, a reputation reinforced during the Second World War. The success of the clubs was due to the fact that they provided what the public wanted. The cure for the hotels' ills lay not in the destruction or limitation of clubs but vigorous competition based upon better facilities, particularly those which people preferred in hotels. The survey revealed that the public wanted large lounge bars, sit-down drinking, comfort, quietness and respectability (Freeland, 1967: 185).

The questionnaire was supervised by Hugh Philp, senior lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Sydney. A one in one thousand sample of all persons on the N.S.W. Electoral Roll was drawn. The sample obviously excluded unnaturalised persons and those under 21 years because they were ineligible to vote. The effective response rate was equivalent to 63.2 per cent of the original sample of 2,800 names (Joel, 1957: 197).

Philp's sample was marked by a sex bias, although he does not specify the extent of this bias. The proportion of males to females in the original sample was representative of the general population, but far more men than women replied to the questionnaires. A subsequent check revealed that many men had responded to questionnaires sent to women, indicating that husbands had frequently completed forms sent to their wives (a comment on the status of women in Australia).

Weaknesses in the presentation of the data further inhibit interpretation. No frequency distributions or totals are given, nor is a copy of the survey questions included. Nevertheless, the results do give some indication of drinking behaviour of N.S.W. male and female adults during 1957. Drinking of liquor was more common among men than women: 32.7 per cent of men and 7.8 per cent of women drank every day or on most days; 33.7 per cent of men and 73.8 per cent of women indicated that they seldom or never drank.

To a question eliciting some multi-responses, 33.9 per cent indicated that respondents usually drank during the week at hotels, 10.3 per cent at clubs, 26.9 per cent at home, 8.1 per cent at a friend's house, 6.4 per cent at restaurants, 1.6 per cent at dances, 6.2 per cent elsewhere and 27.9 per cent of the sample claimed that they did not drink. The higher the income of the respondent the more likely he was to drink at a club and the less likely he was to drink at a hotel.

Although about 80 per cent of the sample were married, the N.S.W. male was not generally a family drinker. Most men preferred to drink with workmates, colleagues or business friends, although those women who did drink, tended to drink with their husbands (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1  
Usual Drinking Companions - Percentages  
(ULVA Survey)

| Drinking Companions    | Males | Females |
|------------------------|-------|---------|
| Family                 | 10.0  | 9.5     |
| Wife/Husband           | 16.5  | 36.9    |
| Girl Friend/Boy Friend | 1.9   | 5.0     |
| Work friends           | 19.9  | -       |
| Business contacts      | 11.8  | -       |
| Other friends          | 41.4  | 23.5    |
| Anyone                 | 8.4   | 1.7     |
| Alone                  | 5.0   | -       |
| Don't drink            | 15.0  | 41.9    |
|                        | 129.9 | 118.5   |

Source: Joel, 1957: 209-210

A substantial majority of respondents (68.4 per cent of men and 75.1 per cent of women) thought that women should be excluded from hotel bars, indicating that hotels were largely male-oriented - a

situation which women appeared happy to accept (*ibid.*: 214).

Respondents were asked if they preferred drinking in clubs, and the reasons for such preferences. A quarter of the sample said they didn't drink, and just over a quarter did not prefer clubs. The clubs' popularity was due not to the attractions of poker machines (1.2 per cent) or longer hours (4.8 per cent) but the physical satisfactions (cleanliness, comfort and quietness) and personal relationship satisfactions (good service, politeness and choice of company). Some multi-responses were given; nevertheless, 85 per cent of those who preferred clubs did so because of the greater personal comfort and the pleasanter human relationships in the clubs (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2  
Reasons for Preference for Club  
Drinking - Percentages  
ULVA Survey

|  |        |              |
|--|--------|--------------|
| <u>Physical Satisfactions</u>              |        |              |
| Cleanliness                                | 15.5 ) |              |
| Comfort                                    | 20.5 ) |              |
| Quieter than hotel                         | 10.6 ) | 46.6         |
| <hr/>                                      |        |              |
| <u>Personal Relationship Satisfactions</u> |        |              |
| Good service                               | 14.5 ) |              |
| Politeness                                 | 13.2 ) |              |
| Can choose company                         | 10.6 ) | 38.3         |
| <hr/>                                      |        |              |
| Longer hours                               | 4.8 )  |              |
| Cheaper than hotel                         | 4.4 )  |              |
| Wider choice of liquor                     | 2.6 )  |              |
| Legal gambling                             | 1.2 )  |              |
| Other                                      | 8.6 )  | 25.6         |
| <hr/>                                      |        |              |
|  | 104.5  |              |
| Don't prefer clubs                         |        | 28.1         |
| Don't drink                                |        | <u>26.1</u>  |
|  |        | <u>164.7</u> |

Adapted from: Joel, 1957: 217

The majority of respondents clearly disapproved of poker machines although the question "What do you think of poker machines?" is so vague that little can be drawn from the results. Of the males, 60.1 per cent either disapproved or strongly disapproved of poker machines compared with 70.5 per cent of females. Only 22.3 per cent of the males (9.1 per cent of females) were in favour

of machines, while 16.7 per cent of males and 18.6 per cent of females expressed no opinion (ibid.: 219). If any interpretation can be drawn from these results, it is that public acceptance of poker machines was low and people who spent time at clubs did not regard poker machines as a prime attraction.

#### Protestant Church Reaction, Tactics and Strategy against the Spread of Gambling

Alarmed at what they regarded as a tidal wave of gambling in N.S.W. in early 1958, the Protestant Churches began a campaign to halt its progress. The ominous signs of declining social standards could be seen in the legalization of poker machines, the announcement of record lottery sales, the rapid filling of the first Opera House Lottery with \$200,000 as first prize (with tickets at \$10 each), and the spectacular growth of the Jackpot Tote Pool at the Canterbury Races in Sydney (SMH, January 3, 1958).

One thousand representatives of Protestant denominations met in Sydney and urged the State Government to ban poker machines and the Jackpot Totalisator. A governmental inquiry was advocated with one of the main tasks being to ascertain the extent of chronic gambling in N.S.W. (SMH, January 13, 1958). At a meeting of the Central Methodist Mission two months later, the Rev. Alan Walker said that the licensed clubs had become "cesspools of iniquity" in the city, suburbs and country towns, destroying the highest levels of personality, wrecking homes, and filching the people's money (SMH, March 16, 1958).

More novel tactics were adopted in the Sydney suburb of Manly. A gambling prohibition period, called Decision Week, was slated for May 1958. One of the chief architects of the Campaign was the politician Mr Darby, the arch opponent of drinking and gambling. Residents of the district were encouraged to refrain from gambling during the chosen week and to give 5 per cent of money saved to charity. It was hoped that clubs would stop the use of their machines, that buyers would purchase 10,000 20 cent badges and sign pledges not to gamble (SMH, January 7, 15, 1958).

In answer to one cleric's criticism that 50 per cent of the State Government income came as a direct result of gambling, the Premier, Mr Cahill, quoted figures to show that gambling taxes to the State Government coffers represented only 15.2 per cent of all

State revenue sources and only 6.3 per cent of all revenues including Federal contributions. In 1957, the Government had collected \$16,188,046 in taxation on the following forms of gambling - racing clubs and associations, bookmakers, betting tax, totalisator tax, greyhound racing, state lotteries and poker machines (SMH, February 19, 1958).

In early April, several newspaper articles suggested that the political parties were becoming sensitised to the swelling criticism of gambling and poker machines. Pressure from the Churches, business interests, the liquor trade, and housewives' associations were influences which led the State Labour Government to consider some curbs on gambling. For instance, Cabinet debated the banning of large denomination machines (2/- or 20c machines) and restrictions on hours of operation. The N.S.W. Country Party adopted a policy favouring abolition and when in power would "examine methods of having poker machines eliminated without undue financial upset" (SMH, DT, June 19, 1958). In February 1959, the Liberal/Country Party coalition declared that if elected in the March 21 election, 20c machines would be banned after twelve months warning had been given (DT, February 27, 1959).

A Melbourne journalist who examined the social and economic effects of poker machines in N.S.W. listed expressions of resentment against the poker machines by the following organizations - the Bathurst, Wingham and Wallsend Chambers of Commerce, the Albury and Border Trades Union Council, and the District Councils of the Farmers and Settlers Association in the Junee and Wyalong districts (DT, August 6, 1959).

In August, one of the two popular evening Sydney papers, the Daily Mirror,<sup>1</sup> editorialised that "one-armed bandits" should be outlawed, and that the "State is spattered with luxurious clubs, providing amenities which, a generation ago, were the prerogative of the rich. But at what a cost. Suicide, theft, bankruptcy, divorce and even arson are among the items of human misery listed on the debit side of the ledger". The Mirror suggested that clubs should be given until July 1, 1961 to get their affairs in such order that they could operate without poker machines (DM, August 25, 1959).

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter - DM



In September 1959 the State Labour Government announced its first measure which it hoped, would lead to curbs on the playing of 20 cent machines. From January 1, 1960 the licence fees on poker machines were to be doubled. For each of the first five 20 cent machines the licence fee would be \$1,000 and \$1,400 on every additional machine. The Premier indicated that the expected \$500,000 additional income would be allotted to the Housing Commission for the building of special low-rental housing for aged persons. The remainder of the revenue from poker machine licences would continue to go to public hospitals as required under the existing legislation (SMH, September 17, 1959).

The announcement brought a shrill response from the R.S.L. President, Mr Bill Yeo. He described the Government decision as "bare-faced robbery"; it would mean the annihilation of many small clubs; there was no justification for increasing fees; and he wondered why the Premier did not discourage people from buying \$10 lottery tickets when they could be limited to cheaper tickets costing 50 cents (SMH, September 17, 1959).

#### Problems Caused by the Large Clubs, 1960-1970

One club leader commented that the most explosive period of club growth occurred from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s - and other club leaders have expressed similar views (RCA Annual Report, 1968: 4). The period from 1954 to 1962 was marked by a 223 per cent increase in the number of clubs - from 398 to 1,285. Club poker machines nearly doubled from 5,596 to 10,804 (Statistics, Chief Secretary's Department, 1970). Poker machine licence fees collected by the State Government from July 1956 to June 1962 totalled \$14,444,000. In the following two years the State Government collected a sum greater than this as a result of higher taxes introduced in 1962.

Many Leagues' clubs were being established, including North Sydney (1955), Cronulla-Sutherland (1956), Balmain and Manly-Warringah (1957), South Sydney Juniors and Parramatta (1959). Later, all these clubs boasted substantial memberships. In 1961, the largest club was the N.S.W. Leagues' with 14,700 members, followed by the St George Leagues' Club with 7,000 members. It was during this eight-year period (1954-1962) that the Government, the general public and competitive organizations became aware of the latent consequences of

the legalization of poker machines and club growth (SMH, May 3, 1962).

In May 1962, five clubs with approximately 25,000 members announced total trading profits of \$647,400 (DT, May 6, 1962). At this time, the State Government was experiencing quite serious budgetary difficulties which led it to look for additional sources of revenue. It is not surprising that in the light of such large trading profits, increased taxes on poker machines were considered (SMH, DT, May 4, 1962). The Secretary of the Catering Trades' Association, in a letter to The Sydney Morning Herald urged such a policy and pressed for restrictions on club activities to permit commercial enterprises to compete equitably with the registered clubs (SMH, May 7, 1962). The additional complaints and attacks of the Australian Hotels' Association (formerly ULVA), the Churches and some Chambers of Commerce helped to create a climate that the RCA considered hostile. In Sydney newspapers, the RCA printed a full-page answer to "some of the criticism of clubs and poker machines which have been given prominence lately" coming "from people who have a direct interest, open or concealed, in the restriction of clubs" (DM, May 13, 1962).

Among the arguments included in the advertisement were that the 500,000 members of the registered clubs came from all walks of life and club membership was open to any citizen; the clubs were co-operatives and any excess of revenue was used for the good of all who belonged to them; the registered clubs were the biggest contributors to public funds and charitable appeals in the State; poker machine gambling was no worse than other forms such as the purchase of lottery tickets or racecourse gambling, and poker machines, rather than endangering the economy, stimulated it. In response to allegations of individual losses, the RCA issued a public challenge for critics to supply affidavit proof of these charges (Sun-Herald, May 13, 1962).

But the RCA campaign did not prevent the State Labour Government from introducing a new cumulative tax on poker machines in 1962, called supplementary taxes. In addition to the licence tax on each machine, clubs with poker machine profits over \$10,000 had to pay these new supplementary taxes - and about 75 per cent of clubs were thus affected. Clubs whose profits exceeded \$20,000 were required to pay taxes at the rate of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and those in the

\$10,000 - \$20,000 profit range at a descending scale (SMH, DT, October 25, 1965).

In one sense, the introduction of the supplementary tax has worked to the immense advantage of clubs, for it has virtually ensured the retention of poker machines in clubs. Because the State Government has had a continuing and expanding source of income from these taxes, it has refused to consider the banning of poker machines - despite frequent calls in the early 1960s for their elimination. Just how much State Treasury funds have benefitted from poker machine taxes can be gauged from the fact that in the first nine years of operation of the supplementary tax, the Government collected \$126,963,819 in addition to \$68,175,717 from licence fees on poker machines.

Unfortunately, the amount of poker machine profits is not accurately known. Estimates of club profits for the year 1962 vary enormously - from \$12 million (SMH, August 18, 1962) to \$40 million (SMH, September 28, 1962) to a ceiling of \$70 million (DT, May 6, 1962).

State and Federal officials were clearly in difficulty deciding what attitude to take to large clubs. Three newspaper articles in 1962 indicated that a new type of leisure organization had emerged, giving rise to questions which have exercised the minds of Government officials ever since. Basically, there were two dominant issues: first, whether these large clubs should be regarded as private organizations or general businesses; and second, whether their activities should be curbed or remain free from formal controls. More specifically the questions were put by newspaper correspondents in these terms: (1) had private clubs become so diversified in their activities that they are now "big business", and should they be subject to company and other Federal tax like any other normal commercial enterprises? (2) had clubs - because of a ruling that a visitor may buy his own drinks - ceased to be private establishments and entered the field of general trading? (DT, May 6, 1962); (3) was it safe politics to let clubs wax so strong on poker machine money that they dominated local community and business affairs and could sway even members of State Parliament?; (4) should poker machines be more heavily taxed?; (5) should there be a ceiling on the number of clubs?; and (6) should there be a limit on club

membership numbers? (SMH, July 23, 1962).

Another reporter in a two-part evaluative series on clubs gave a perceptive analysis of the dilemma facing the regulatory agencies of Government. An obvious characteristic of the new form of club nurtured by poker machine profits was that it had ceased to be a club in the old sense of the word. Its large unselected membership was proletarian in its tastes. The atmosphere of clubs resembled that of a busy railway station in the peak period and not that of a quiet, comfortable retreat from the bustle of the world outside. This, for many people, was a sufficient indictment for curbing large club activities. Such criticism, the author argued, was presumptuous in that clubs were bringing about significant social change. Club members did not want quiet, comfortable male retreats but local recreation, entertainment and community centres for both husbands and wives. The large-scale admission of women to associate membership was evidence of their community-centre role; and clubs helped to overcome the loss of community identity which working class families had to contend with in an increasingly urban, atomised society. The journalist noted that even the Rev. Alan Walker of the Central Methodist Mission, while deploring the pattern of club life with its dependence on poker machine profits, acknowledged the sociological significance of clubs. He condemned the failure of the club movement, however, to turn the social potential of its membership to worthwhile pursuits - to Australian folk activities, drama and other cultural forms (SMH, August 18, 25, 1962).

Within club life, the process of embourgeoisement was taking place. The large clubs with their new wealth were anxious to gain cultural respectability in the same way that any pioneering class sought acceptance once prosperity had been achieved. Unintentionally, the clubs had become adult community centres replacing the old School of Arts as the focus of community life and sponsoring a social expression of the working population that the churches had been unable to annex (SMH, August 18, 25, 1962).

While legislators, journalists and competitors wrestled with the problem of how to handle these new large leisure organizations, the anti-club and anti-poker machine factions were convinced that poker machines had to be banned. The most implacable enemy of the "one-armed bandits" in the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, Mr E.D. Darby,

introduced in March 1963, a Private Members Bill for the gradual abolition of poker machines. Support for the Bill came from prominent Church figures including the Anglican Archbishop, Dr Gough, the Rev. Alan Walker and even the Roman Catholic Bishop of Sydney, who called poker machines a serious abuse in the community and recommended that the 20 cent machines should be abolished - representing a hardening of Catholic Church attitudes towards gambling since 1956 when poker machines were legalized. At a meeting of 1,000 people in support of Darby's Bill, the Rev. Alan Walker described the registered clubs as the most dangerous vested interest in Australia and poker machines as insidious and a serious gambling racket (Sunday Telegraph, March 24, 1963; DT, March 25, 1963).

That clubs and poker machines were entrenched within the community is amply illustrated by the treatment of Darby's Bill in the Legislative Assembly. His proposals that no new poker machines should be licensed, and that machines should be phased out over five years was an embarrassment to all three political parties. Although most members appeared to favour retention of the machines, each Party had members opposed to them. Mr Darby, an Independent Liberal, was the only one to support his Bill, for the Opposition Liberal/Country Parties staged a mass walk-out from the Legislative Assembly (SMH, March 27, 1963).

Thus the governing Labour Party and the Opposition parties refused to consider the abolition of poker machines. Throughout the 1960s, criticism of clubs and poker machines mounted. Yet poker machine taxes represented such a significant contribution to the State Government's finances that it was reluctant to curb the activities of the clubs. Both the Labour and Liberal/Country Party governments have levied increasingly heavier taxes on poker machine profits of large clubs. In doing so, the governments have had to tread warily. Numbering half a million, resentful club members could easily determine a government's fate at the polls; further, there was always the risk of heavy anti-government propoganda from the large clubs.

The years 1964 to 1966 were characterised by an upsurge in organizational attacks upon poker machines in clubs, culminating in the levy of increased poker machine taxation and a heavy propoganda war in the first half of 1966. But the important event for the clubs

in this period was the defeat of the Labour Government after twenty-four years of continuous rule. Under this Government, the clubs had emerged as major leisure organizations and the large clubs had become firmly established. The new conservative, capitalist Government was the Liberal/Country Party coalition under the Premiership of Mr Robin Askin. With his assumption of office on May 13, 1965 large clubs with their mass memberships were bound to be regarded less favourably than they had been by the Labour Government.

In earlier years, the churches and the ULVA had been the major critics of clubs. However, retail trade organizations now began to figure more prominently in attacks on poker machines. A letter to The Sydney Morning Herald complaining that poker machines were the only cause of the lag in retail trading in N.S.W., stimulated the Secretary of the Retail Traders' Association to respond. He regarded poker machines as a social evil and deplored their sanction by the State Government. He stated that commonsense dictated that poker machines adversely affected and influenced community spending, channelling money away from its normal courses and creating areas of hardship and crime. However he concluded that regrettably, statistics did not show that the retail lag could be directly attributed to poker machines (SMH, June 12, 1964).

The Association continued its attack in late 1965, when its Secretary, Mr Griffin said that the public and State Government should be "terrified at the immensity of the Frankenstein monster in the guise of poker machines". The increase in employees' dishonesty and the demise in the number of small shops could be attributed to poker machines. Griffin recommended an immediate ban on any additional 20 cent machines and the progressive imposition of a graduated turnover tax so that by June 1972, poker machines would no longer be profitable (Sun-Herald, December 12, 1965: SMH, December 15, 1965).

The Chairman of one of Sydney's largest department stores, Anthony Hordern and Sons, told the shareholders at the Annual General Meeting of the company that poker machines were "a plague on the landscape of Australian honesty". He said that machines caused a significantly decreased demand for retail goods occasioning profound repercussions throughout the community (DT, December 17, 1965).

Although the Protestant Churches continued their attacks on

poker machines, the Catholic Church refused to condemn them on moral grounds if played moderately (The Australian, December 18, 1965). The Anglican Rector of Cessnock, the Rev. W.C. Charles, however, was a dissenter against the usual Protestant criticism. He did not know of one case where losses on poker machines had caused any hardship. He maintained that club officials kept a close watch on players who invested excessively and took appropriate action. Poker machine players had the same outlook as punters; they had a certain amount to invest and having lost it, they gambled no more (The Australian, December 17, 1965).

Pressure on the Government to curb the activities of the large clubs, initiated in 1962, showed increasing vigour during 1965, and the new Liberal/Country Party coalition was socially and ideologically more ready to accede to such pressure than the Labour Party had been. One report suggested that the Government had been encouraged to place a ceiling on the individual membership of registered clubs to halt the growth of huge memberships and profits. The lobbies that sought stricter controls on clubs included Church and civic leaders, and hotel interests, all of whom had support in the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council (Sun, December 6, 1965). Another report prophesied that the Government would clamp down in 1966 on the untrammelled growth of "Las Vegas" type clubs (DT, December 14, 1965).

One way in which the N.S.W. Government prevented "Las Vegas" type gambling was its ban upon the computote machines. In one of Sydney's leading clubs, Sydney Tattersall's, a computote machine was installed, consisting of ten poker machines linked together. A percentage of the investment in each machine was siphoned off into a common jackpot and the first person to pull three aces on any of the machines collected the accumulating jackpot. It was described as a fantastic success. However, the Chief Secretary unofficially hinted that the Government was displeased with the machine and it was subsequently disconnected (SMH, December 21, 1965).

February and March 1966 were months in which the poker machine issue was hotly debated with propaganda belching forth from supporters and opponents of clubs and poker machines. The Liberal/Country Party coalition had announced before its election victory in 1965 that while the Government did not want to interfere with the

rights of individuals to determine their own attitudes to gambling, it would not encourage gambling and would be disinclined to licence further 20c poker machines (Club Management in Australia, September 1965: 7). In February 1966, the State Government gave expression to this policy by announcing that no more 20c machines would be licenced (except in new clubs in their formative stages), severe new tax scales would be implemented on 20c machines (especially multiple coin machines and banks of poker machines connected electronically to provide a super jackpot), poker machines using 50c coins would be prohibited and clubs would have to indicate or display, on or near each machine, a card indicating the player's chances of winning (SMH, February 25, 1966). The Government dropped the last proposal but implemented each of the other provisions.

The announcement of this new curb on poker machines and poker machine finance sparked pressure group activity. The traditional opponents of poker machines received unexpected support from the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, Cardinal Gilroy. He described them as evil, causing a gambling fever which had brought about much personal distress and diversion of resources. He favoured a five-year phase-out period (Sun-Herald, March 13, 1966). Ministers and priests in 950 Sydney churches urged their congregations to attend two public meetings in support of a ban on poker machines (SMH, March 19, 1966). Held simultaneously, the first meeting was sponsored by the Australian Housewives' Association, the Feminist Club and the Progressive Housewives' Association while the other was organized by the Central Methodist Mission. There were 2,000 at the first and 1,000 at the second (SMH, March 19, 21, 1966).

Almost exactly three years after his earlier attempt to have poker machines banned by the Legislature, Mr Darby again introduced a Private Member's Bill. However, the Assembly failed to vote after it became clear that both the Government and Opposition opposed his motion (SMH, March 23, 1966). During this time the mass media also revealed some ambivalence about poker machines. The Daily Mirror, which in 1959 had spoken vehemently against poker machines now expressed its approval, saying that the clubs offered enough social advantages in recreation and amenities to justify the existence of poker machines (DM, March 21, 1966). On the other hand,



The Sydney Morning Herald, normally favourable towards poker machines, expressed its disapproval of them in successive editorials arguing that poker machines were an unproductive luxury and that a strong case could be made for their abolition (SMH, March 21, 22, 1966).

The trenchant criticism of clubs and poker machines forced the Registered Clubs' Association (RCA) to embark on its most ambitious public relations programme ever. In order to justify the role of clubs the Association commissioned a survey by the Melbourne-based Roy Morgan Gallup Polls into spending on poker machines, undertook a special survey into charitable spending by N.S.W. clubs, initiated a study into the effects of the club movement on the provision for sport and entertainment, and undertook separate studies of the effect of the club movement on the growth patterns of bowls and golf in N.S.W. (Club Management in Australia, April 1966: 6-7). The size of the Gallup Poll is not known although, probably, it was between 600 to 800 persons - the normal N.S.W. proportion of a national sample of 2,000 used in Gallup Polls. The following results were obtained (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3

Poker Machine Players-RCA Survey (Percentages)

Question 1: Have you ever played poker machines?

|                       | NSW | Men | Women | Sydney | Country |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------|--------|---------|
| Played poker machines | 51  | 56  | 45    | 52     | 48      |
| Not played them       | 49  | 44  | 55    | 48     | 52      |
|                       | 100 | 100 | 100   | 100    | 100     |

Table 5.4

Players Losing More than they Could  
Afford (Percentages)

Question 2: 51 per cent of people who said they had played poker machines were asked - "Have you personally ever lost more on poker machines than you felt you could afford?"

|                             | NSW | Men | Women | Sydney | Country |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-------|--------|---------|
| Lost more than could afford | 5   | 6   | 3     | 5      | 4       |
| Have not                    | 46  | 50  | 42    | 47     | 44      |
| Total players               | 51  | 56  | 45    | 52     | 48      |
| Non-players                 | 49  | 44  | 55    | 48     | 52      |
|                             | 100 | 100 | 100   | 100    | 100     |

Source: Club Management in Australia, April 1966: 7

The Poll results were used effectively by the RCA, propagandising the case for poker machines. A copy of the Poll results was sent to each member of the Legislative Assembly giving statistics "provided by the Commonwealth Statistician which showed that the rate of gambling per head in N.S.W. (\$100) was much the same as in Victoria (\$99) where there are no poker machines" (Club Management in Australia, April 1966: 7). In addition the largest afternoon newspaper, The Sun, devoted its entire front page to the exposition and analysis of these results (Sun, March 22, 1966).

In May, the RCA indicated that membership of yachting clubs had doubled in ten years and sailing facilities in N.S.W. were equal to the best in the world. Thirty-seven sailing and yacht clubs were based at Sydney's Port Jackson and there were more than sixty throughout the State (Club Management in Australia, May 1966: 12-13). In the June issue of the RCA journal, it was revealed that the N.S.W. registered clubs had donated over \$3 million to charity in the 1964-65 financial year. Ninety-two per cent of registered clubs had a policy of financially supporting local charities and some 2,000 charities and community projects had benefitted. The Director of the United Charities' Fund representing eighty-five member charities described the clubs' donations to charity as "absolutely outstanding" (ibid., June 1966: 6-7). In July, it was claimed that one-third of young people playing organized sport in N.S.W. were being supported by contributions from the club movement, amounting to over \$3 million a year. For instance, the Ex-Servicemen's Clubs' Association (150 clubs) supported more than 3,000 sporting teams involving more than 40,000 young people; Leagues' clubs supported 100,000 juniors and golf clubs nearly 27,000 (ibid., July 1966: 8-11).

In subsequent issues, the RCA journal gave details of the contribution of clubs to migrant assimilation and the entertainment industry. As with the other "surveys" such articles consisted of anecdotal material outlining the contributions of specific clubs and the laudatory statements of officials whose organizations benefitted from club donations. The RCA stated that club growth had increased demand for local entertainers and that overseas performers found more work in N.S.W. than in New York or Tokyo (ibid., August 1966: 8-11). In September, the Commonwealth Director of Migration

in N.S.W. was reported as saying that clubs were playing a big part in helping migrants over the initial loneliness and frustrations of life in a new country (ibid., September 1966: 8-11).

As part of its vigorous public relations policy, the RCA had a brief flirtation with a new weekly newspaper Orbit. In commenting upon the first issue of Orbit, the RCA said that it gave "the club movement something it had not had before - a full-scale newspaper that will fight to secure justice to clubs in the face of what appears to be a highly organized attempt to tax them out of existence" (Club Management in Australia, June 1966: 23). Despite Orbit's anti-wowser and anti-bureaucratic disposition, the RCA did not exercise the option on the controlling interest in the company publishing Orbit and in July, the scheme collapsed (Sunday Telegraph, June 10, 1966; Club Management in Australia, August 1966; Nation, April 30, 1966).

In late 1966, the State Government introduced two new pieces of legislation, the first increasing poker machine taxation and the second liberalising the liquor laws. Both pieces of legislation had the effect of curbing the activities of clubs giving other liquor outlets greater competitive opportunities. The poker machine legislation was the second machine tax increase that the clubs had received within a year. Although clubs with machine profits of less than \$20,000 were unaffected by this legislation, clubs with poker machine profits between \$20,000 and \$100,000 had to pay 15 per cent of such income to the State Government - a rise of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Clubs with profits from poker machines amounting from \$100,000 to \$200,000 had to pay an additional  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, making a total of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the excess. Those clubs with poker machine incomes exceeding \$200,000 had, in addition, to pay an extra  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on this excess making a total of 20 per cent altogether on any income over \$200,000. It was anticipated that this increased poker machine income would yield an additional \$2 million a year (Club Management in Australia, December 1966: 7). In response to the new legislation, the RCA attempted to identify and advertise the detrimental effects which the new tax would have on the clubs; advised all principal charitable organizations of the direct effect which the legislation would have upon them; protested to the Premier on behalf of the clubs; organized almost 400 letters of protest

from individual clubs to the Premier; convened protest regional committee meetings throughout the State; conducted a vigorous public relations campaign through the newspapers, the Association magazine and numerous club journals, and established a strong club lobby with the Labour Party Opposition (Club Management in Australia, December 1966: 7).

Under the new Liquor Act amendments (proclaimed on December 16, 1966) the Licensing Court was empowered to grant licences to live theatres and to public halls for certain functions. Spirit merchants' licensees were now able to sell liquor in any quantity instead of a minimum two gallons, but liquor could not be consumed on the premises. Liquor could be served until 3 a.m. in those hotels and cabaret-type restaurants where meals and entertainment were provided in a dining area capable of seating at least 250 persons - or less, if the Court saw fit. Restaurants were permitted to sell liquor by the glass at the table (other than fortified wines) and establish cocktail bars.

The provisions relating to clubs were not of great importance. The Act removed the necessity of closing bar counters by shutters outside normal trading hours and required that clubs should keep an honorary members' register as well as the ordinary members' register. Furthermore, club membership was now able to be extended to "a person under the age of 21 years if he has attained the age of 18 years and has served outside Australia as a member of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Australia".

The Chief Secretary was given power to prohibit undesirable performances or entertainment on licensed premises and persons under 18 years of age found on licensed premises were now guilty of an offence (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1966: 1-2; SMH, July 6, 1966).

#### 1969 Legislation Curbing Size of Large Clubs

For the club movement, the years 1967 and 1968 were the serene moments before the approaching storm. There was occasional press criticism of clubs, and publicity was given to the suicides of two poker machine addicts (DM, September 4, 5, 1968). In addition, the Registered Clubs' Association and its member clubs continued to complain about the burden of heavy poker machine taxation.

In early 1968, the State Liberal/Country Party coalition was re-elected. In mid-1969, it announced legislation aimed at main-

taining a reasonable balance between the various types of liquor licences to fulfil public needs and prevent economic waste. Although the major point of controversy in this legislation centred on the limitation of individual clubs' membership, there were other important liquor provisions.

A referendum to determine whether public hotels should be permitted to trade on Sundays was to be held. [It was conducted on November 29, 1969 and 40.2 per cent (906,276 voters) voted for Sunday hotel trading, 55.5 per cent (1,249,835) rejected it, and 4.3 per cent cast informal votes - a clear victory for those opposing the further extension of drinking facilities on Sundays (figures supplied by N.S.W. Electoral Office).]

Two new types of publicans' licences could now be established - taverns and accommodation hotels. Tavern licences allowed the licensee to serve food and liquor, but relieved him of the necessity of offering sleeping accommodation, as hotel publicans had been formerly required to do. The licensee of an accommodation hotel was no longer compelled to have a public bar, but had to provide sleeping accommodation, a dining room, liquor facilities, guest lounges and reception areas.

Further liberalisation was reflected in the amendments allowing spirit merchants to trade until 8 p.m. and dancing was to be permitted on licensed premises - although fines could be levied for excess noise.

A number of new amendments were aimed at more tightly controlling the operations of clubs. Clubs were prevented from building drive-in bottle departments, as many hotels had done; the consent of the Licensing Court had to be obtained for substantial alteration of club premises; all clubs had to be registered as companies or co-operatives and be subject to the respective Acts; the catering for non-members on club premises would be regarded as not acting in good faith as a club; no employee of the club could serve on a club committee; although 18-20 year olds could join clubs, they could not play poker machines (unless they were returned overseas soldiers); and if they did so habitually, the club was in danger of de-registration (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3010-3019).

The amendment which triggered off a major confrontation between

clubs and the State Government was that which limited the size of individual clubs' memberships. After June 30, 1969, (1) memberships of new clubs were not to exceed 6,250 members, (2) existing clubs with memberships between 5,000 and 10,000 could not increase their membership more than 25 per cent, and (3) clubs with memberships more than 10,000 could not increase memberships to more than 12,500 or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, whichever was greater. As a result of several deputations to the Minister of Justice, some escape clauses were included. The Licensing Court, at its discretion, could increase a club's membership where (1) hardship would result if membership were not increased; (2) the purpose, activities or objects of the club rendered it desirable that membership be expanded; (3) financial or other embarrassment could be caused to a club which, at the commencement of the legislation could accommodate more members; and (4) any financial or other embarrassment which could be caused a club that (before June 30, 1969 or subsequent registration date) had approved plans to increase accommodation (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3019). However, no club was allowed more than one appeal, whether or not it was successful.

About six months elapsed between the announcement of the legislation and its implementation. During this time the RCA conducted a vigorous campaign in the hope that the membership limits would be either amended or dropped. The proposals not only split the club movement, but also the opinions of the mass media. The RCA began distributing more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million four-page leaflets telling club members throughout the State of the effect of the proposed freeze on club membership. The peak of the RCA campaign was reached when a petition was distributed to many N.S.W. clubs. However, the N.S.W. Golf Association and the Royal N.S.W. Bowling Association both announced that they were taking no part in the campaign being waged by the RCA, arguing that most of the issues did not affect golf or bowling clubs (SMH, June 27, 1969).

In less than two months, 120,000 names had been placed on this petition and it was presented to the Leader of the State Opposition, Mr P.D. Hills (SMH, September 24, 1969). The petition proved to be a mixed blessing for the RCA. First, the RCA billed it as the biggest petition ever presented to a Parliament in Australia. However, in the Parliamentary debates, the Minister of Justice

pointed out that the largest petition ever presented to a Parliament in Australia was one in 1949 with over half a million signatures presented to the Federal Government on the Bank nationalisation issue (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3070). The petition was checked by parliamentary officials who eliminated the phoney signatures so that only 109,799 genuine names remained. At the time when the petition was presented the Government made capital out of these false signatures which included the names of Sir Robert Menzies, Karl Marx, Francis Drake, Fred the Horse, Ned Kelly, John Gorton, James Bond, Eliza Doolittle, Fred Flintstone and other notables from fiction, politics and history (SMH, September 25, 1969). Nevertheless, the Minister of Justice did agree that the petition was a strong expression of public opinion although only 343 of the 1,447 registered clubs in N.S.W. were represented on the petition (Sunday Mirror, September 28, 1969).

Why did the Liberal/Country Party coalition government introduce such a legislative amendment? Basically, their capitalistically-oriented government appeared to be fearful of the growing financial power of the large clubs. Large registered clubs with such vast finances from poker machines had established a power base outside the traditional capitalist base - and the Government was anxious to control this emergent force.

The Government did not express its reasons for the introduction of this amendment in quite these terms. In his second reading speech and the debates that followed, the Minister of Justice (Mr Maddison) and Government members stated that the following trends had occurred in club life which forced such legislation: some clubs were empire-building and had encroached on community and commercial activity; some were attempting to exercise political influence; the huge poker machine profits of large clubs enabled them to provide a standard of entertainment and facilities that smaller clubs could not compete with; because large clubs could lift their memberships continuously it was difficult for new clubs to be established; and large clubs were faced with the problems of balancing effective management with member control. The Government arguments for these reasons need to be expostulated in more detail.

## Government Reasons for Membership Limitations

### 1. Clubs' Encroachment on Community and Commercial Activity

In the area of commercial activity, Maddison stated that the clubs' exclusive privilege of operating poker machines gave them a trading advantage over other licensees. Other sections of the liquor trade had complained of unfair competition, and the Government had decided not to allow clubs to build drive-in bottle departments and to regard off-premises sales and catering by clubs as outside their functions.

Maddison did not specify what community encroachment by clubs entailed. He did suggest that some clubs had gone far beyond providing immediate benefits for members as envisaged in earlier legislation, although there could be nothing but praise for the contribution that registered clubs made to charity (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3016, 3022).

Maddison's view on community encroachment can be deduced from the sworn statements of five members of a country Leagues' club deputation who discussed the proposed amendments with him. In the parliamentary debates he described these sworn statements as fantastic interpretation. Allegedly, Maddison stated that he did not believe that club functions encompassed the provision of services to the community outside the club itself - including the promotion of sport and athletics, the improvement of sub-standard playing fields, donations to charities and the giving of scholarships. Maddison was reported to have said

...the footpaths and streets in Gosford are in a bad condition. Why don't you take over the council as well? (Club Management in Australia, December 1969: 11).

Clearly, there is a fear in some quarters that the financial resources of the clubs are becoming so large, that they match and may even surpass those of the local councils - especially in rural areas. Presumably Maddison hoped to arrest these trends.

### 2. Exercise of Political Influence by Clubs

Associated with community encroachments, Maddison argued that some clubs desired to expand their patronage and influence into community affairs and the extension of political influence was the most reprehensible aspect of this trend. As a specific example, Maddison instanced the immediate reaction to the Government's new



amendments of ninety clubs and associations on the Central coast. The clubs put political pressure on the beneficiaries of donations from such clubs to prevent the legislation being passed. While the Government recognised that clubs had a place in supporting community activities, he regarded it as of greater community benefit if the sources were more widespread and not concentrated in the hands of a very few large clubs making substantial profits (ibid.: 3022-33).

The RCA and its Executive Director, Mr Jerry Shaw were singled out for special criticism from Government members on the grounds that they were trying to rule the State. The RCA was described as a club managers' association with a vested interest in increasing the number and size of large clubs. The RCA propaganda campaign was described as stemming from egomania, political ambition and vested interests (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3029-35; 3043-49; 3053-60).

### 3. Inability of Small Clubs to Compete with Large Clubs

Repeatedly the Government argued that the poker machine profits and economies of scale of the very large clubs resulted in a standard of entertainment and facilities with which the smaller clubs could not compete. Records of the Licences Reduction Board over the past eight or nine years, showed that 90 per cent of the cases where objections to the granting of a club licence had been made, were based on the grounds of "undue competition and economic waste". It was Maddison's view (and of two other Government members) that it was better to have, for example, eight clubs of 5,000 members than one club of 40,000, although their reasons for this preference were not spelled out, except that it was easier for rank and file members, if they so desired, to have a voice in the policies pursued by the club.

### 4. Difficulty of Establishing New Clubs

The Government argued that if no limitations were placed on the memberships of clubs it would become more difficult - and it had become so in recent years - for new clubs to obtain registration (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3020). Maddison stated that as long as individual clubs were in a position to lift continuously the number of members, it would be increasingly difficult for a new club to justify that it was meeting a genuine and substantial need. Maddison also felt that the Government, by introducing limitations on membership, was anticipating problems that would accelerate unless appropriate action was taken.

### 5. Member Control of Large Clubs

Maddison saw difficulties normally encountered with consumer

co-operatives. A large club had to have proper and effective management capable of maintaining the highest standards; but the rank and file member should, if he so desired, have a voice in the policies pursued by his club. For Maddison, this was a practical impossibility in a very large club.

The Government was stimulated to make this criticism based partly on the expulsion of two members at the St George Leagues' Club. At the 1969 Annual General Meeting of the club, these members had questioned two items on the profit and loss account on the 1968 balance sheet (travelling and entertainment expenses of \$66,079 and sundry expenses of \$93,820). The meeting was adjourned without the balance sheet being accepted and subsequently, the Board of Directors called on the two members to show cause why they should not be expelled. After the hearing, they were deprived of their memberships. Club rules stated that no member had any right for redress at law or in equity against the club or any member of the committee as a result of expulsion or suspension. Maddison felt that the rule amounted to a denial of natural justice (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: L.A. 4, 5).

Maddison also criticised the St George Leagues' Club rule that to get an extraordinary general meeting of members, a requisition of 10 per cent of the membership was necessary. To organize the support of 3,500 members was a herculean task.

What were the counter arguments to these expostulations of the Government? The Labour Opposition, led by the Leader and Deputy-Leader attacked the proposals. They felt that the legislation was directed against the Leagues' clubs and that the Government was interested only in preserving and maintaining the rights of small elite clubs. Second, they argued that as co-operatives, the clubs could lose financially in one section of their trading and make profits on another. Third, the legislation discriminated against the large clubs, yet no similar legislation curbed large industrial organizations. Fourth, the Deputy-Leader of the Opposition maintained that the legislation was undemocratic and arbitrary because (1) it prevented people from enjoying the liberty of exercising their rights, (2) it restricted operation of clubs, (3) it denied the right of free association and (4) it denied the right of people to join the club of their choice (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1969: 3023-29; 3036-43; 3049-53; 3060-64).

During the six-month period between the announcement and the Bill's enactment, the press and public discussed the amendments. The press was divided on the wisdom of the Bill. The Daily Mirror and the Daily Telegraph indicated their disfavour of large clubs. The former, in another reversal of policy, suggested that the proposals were aimed at the "giant monoliths which are more like vast pleasure palaces than clubs" (DM, June 11, 1969). The Daily Telegraph said that the monolithic concept of clubs had turned the original institution - places where friends with common interests met - into huge co-operative, trading societies obsessed with an ambition to make increasingly bigger profits and to build larger, more expensive palaces (DT, June 12, 1969).

The Sydney Morning Herald did not think that there was anything self-evidently shameful about "pleasure palaces". It suggested that Maddison, in making his decision to limit the growth of clubs had begun with some uneasy generalised notions - that the clubs weren't what they used to be; that they were getting too big; and that there was no predicting how big they would get or how dangerous a pressure group they might become. While agreeing that there might be some basis to his fears, the Herald argued that Governments were especially vulnerable when resisting a movement of immense and growing popularity, such as the club movement. The Government's proposals, said the Herald, had been marked by a confusion of motives and a notable reluctance to offer reasoned support for its aims. It accused the Government of asking people in N.S.W. to accept lower standards and higher costs in the interests of regulated competition (SMH, June 12, 19, 1969).

In addition to editorial comment, individuals wrote letters to the editor with enthusiasm. In the period from May 31, 1969 to July 26 at least thirty-two letters on club issues were published in the two Sydney morning newspapers, although rumour has it that many of them were prepared by RCA officials on the one hand and Government officials on the other.

The most penetrating analyses of the six-month conflict between the Government and club organizations were made outside Parliament. One of Australia's widely circulating weekly magazines described the growth of the clubs as a social revolution. Clubs filled the void left after World War II by squalid pubs that shut at 6 o'clock,

sly grog-shops and vast suburbias without night life of any kind. Clubs spread rapidly throughout the State, especially in the country towns and survived years of attacks from churches and pubs, becoming an established part of the N.S.W. way of life. In many suburbs, clubs were the centre of social life, providing the members and their families with sporting facilities, weekend dances, concerts and their main leisure needs. The new proposals by the State Government could be regarded, so the magazine suggested, as the beginning of the counter-revolution (The Bulletin, June 14, 1969).

Writing in The Australian newspaper, Tony Law argued that the six-months debate opened one of the State's most socially important issues in many years. Law pointed out that the N.S.W. Premier, Mr Askin<sup>1</sup>, had been waging war on the Commonwealth for a more decentralised Federal system, with more self-determination and economic power for the States. The N.S.W. State Government proposals limiting club membership, however, appeared to strike a contradictory blow at this same principle - "at the self-determination and economic strength of the society's most decentralised social and economic movement".

Law characterised the club movement as part of the wider co-operative movement which included credit unions, business and trade union co-operatives. He noted that working within the capitalist system, the broadly linked co-operative movement pooled individuals' capital and kept it circulating inside that movement. The effect of such an economic structure on the traditional centralised, capitalist concerns was immediately obvious. Law argued that it was statistically demonstrable that money circulating amongst members through their clubs had been lost by such large capital concerns as the hotels, entertainment houses, restaurant chains, retail and regional businesses. The important question for Law was whether it was the function of any government to regulate that situation. Law concluded that the Government was acting on behalf of hotels and commercial undertakings. The Government's claim that its new legislation was designed to help new clubs gain registration, enable small clubs to compete more equitably with the large, and restore the traditional concept of a club were subsidiary motives. Such reasons

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<sup>1</sup> Now Sir Robert Askin (1972).

were rejected by the RCA, Law said, for the RCA maintained that hotels were the prime objectors to new club registrations and brought evidence from small clubs to show that they were not affected by large clubs (The Australian, September 6, 1969).

In conversation, the Executive Director of the RCA indicated to me that the State Government's sole reason for introducing the legislation was "to clip the wings of the clubs" - and that its professed reasons were merely rationalisations. It is hard to dispute this conclusion. The Government has clearly singled out this growth industry (or movement) for special treatment. The Government has made no attempt to curb the growth of traditional business organizations. It has not argued that five small business firms are better than one major one, and taken legislative steps to institutionalise this argument.

The State Government may have had a case for legislating to prevent the recurrence of actions such as that taken by the St George Leagues' Club, but the Government's 1969 legislation seems hardly appropriate.

It is too early yet to measure the effects of the 1969 legislation. In fact, although it was aimed at limiting the size of large memberships, it may have had the opposite effect. During 1970, seven applications were made to the Licensing Court for an increase in membership above the statutory limit fixed by the 1969 Amending Act (Section 134a). Approval was given for Blacktown R.S.L. (1969 membership, 11,700), Cronulla-Sutherland Leagues' (11,500) and Penrith Leagues' Clubs (8,100) to raise their memberships to 20,000; likewise Marrickville R.S.L. (6,039) to 25,000 and Bowlers' Club (12,500) to 27,727 (Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1970: 5). During 1971, the Queanbeyan (7,500) and Eastern Suburbs (19,801) Leagues' Clubs were given permission to raise their memberships to 20,000 and 40,000 respectively. Queanbeyan Leagues' Club's membership is now 12,600 but will reach 15,000 by early 1972 - without the stimulus of the 1969 legislation the growth of membership in all probability would have been slower.

The 1969 legislation did permit clubs one concession for which they had been pressing for years - the admission of 18 year olds to membership. However, most clubs hesitated about admitting them largely because 18-20 year olds were not permitted to play poker

machines (if they did so habitually, the club could lose its licence); and the membership limitations led club officials to conclude that it would be better to fill up the quota membership with potential poker machine players than non-players. By September 1970, only a handful of clubs appeared to have admitted 18-year olds including South Sydney Leagues' Club and about a dozen R.S.L. clubs (DM, September 22, 1970).

The State Liberal/Country Party coalition Government continued its counter revolution of helping small clubs at the expense of very large clubs in the 1969 State budget. The Premier announced that clubs whose poker machine profits were less than \$17,000 (formerly \$10,000) would be exempt from supplementary poker machine taxes; and the concessional rate ceiling was raised to \$34,000 (formerly \$20,000). Under the old rates 224 clubs were exempt; under the new rates, 378 clubs would be free of supplementary taxes. A further 325 clubs would pay on a concessional basis (SMH, October 1, 1969).

In contrast, clubs whose machine profits exceeded \$500,000 were required to pay 24 per cent (formerly 20 per cent) on the profits above \$500,000. Mr Askin indicated that only 33 clubs would be affected by this change and that the new arrangements would take effect from June 1, 1970 (SMH, October 1, 1969).

Although the President of the RCA, Mr R.V. Pearson, agreed that small clubs were desperately in need of taxation relief he complained that the increased taxation on the 33 large clubs (representing half a million members) was part of an overall Government anti-club policy aimed at protecting vested capital interests rather than the community itself.

The turbulence of the 1969 struggle between the Government and the clubs gave way to a peaceful period in 1970 and 1971. Although there was an absence of major issues, some doubt existed as to whether clubs were becoming more or less affluent. Two articles within a week gave contradictory accounts about the state of the clubs. One article said that never before in Australian history had a social movement found itself in such a quandary and the State club industry, worth \$300,000,000 was at the crossroads. For the big clubs, the struggle was against the State Government pressing for an ever-increasing share of their poker machine profits and against their own members who were demanding more and more for little investment. The Leagues' clubs had become large and powerful, but remote

from their members thus straying from their original concept of football supporters' social clubs. The small clubs, on the other hand, were battling to prevent the large clubs from swallowing up their membership and their financial support (Sunday Telegraph, November 22, 1970).

The other article referred to the multi-million dollar building programme taking place in N.S.W. clubs. The size of the expenditures and the variety of clubs represented in this list is some testimony to the current affluence of the clubs. Current or proposed buildings had been commenced or were envisaged at Eastern Suburbs Leagues' Club - \$3.3 million; Canterbury-Bankstown Leagues' Club - \$295,000; Balmain Leagues' Club - \$750,000; Balmain-Rozelle R.S.L. - \$240,000; Cabra Vale Ex-Active Servicemen's - \$950,000; Miranda Builders' and Businessmen's Club - \$300,000; South Sydney Leagues' - \$2.5 million; St George Leagues' Club - \$754,000; St Mary's R.S.L. - \$500,000; Tamworth Workmen's Club - \$1 million; Ashfield R.S.L. - \$1 million (Sun-Herald, November 29, 1970). Although the majority of these clubs are Leagues' and R.S.L. clubs, two other types of clubs are represented. This list would constitute a fraction of the clubs undertaking renovations and improvements.

#### Summary and Conclusions

The legalization of poker machines in 1956 was an event of major significance for clubs, for it gave them a very lucrative source of income. New South Welshmen have played the machines with great persistence. Not only have the clubs' members enjoyed excellent club facilities, but the State Government has, through taxation, plundered the poker machine goldmine.

What statistics exist to demonstrate the significance of the role of N.S.W. clubs? A detailed summary is given in Appendix I. Here I shall mention only some of the more significant indices.

In the first place, although the N.S.W. population from 1946 to 1970 has increased by about 50 per cent,<sup>1</sup> the rate of growth of each type of liquor licence has varied. For every licensed club in 1946, there are now seventeen; for every licensed restaurant, there are now twenty-four; and for each spirit merchant in 1946, there are now over two operating. In the same period however,

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<sup>1</sup> From just 3,000,000 to just over 4,500,000

the number of hotels has decreased slightly from 2,028 to 1,964 (see Appendix 1, Table A1.2). These statistics demonstrate the diversification of the types of licences, and the demise of the hotels' monopoly as the only locales for public drinking.

While the number of licensed clubs has soared, the ratio of hotels and clubs to the population has remained much the same. The number of Sydney clubs has jumped over twelve times (from 47 to 576), and nearly twenty-three times for country clubs (from 39 to 889) (see Appendix 1, Table A1.3). Yet while there were 1,371 N.S.W. residents to each club or hotel licence in 1945, there are now 1,340, although in 1960, this figure had dropped to under 1,200 (see Appendix 1, Table A1.5). Thus the rapid rate in the expansion of clubs has merely kept pace with the rate of population growth in N.S.W.

Further proof of club growth in relation to the stagnation of hotels can be seen in comparing the value of liquor purchased by hotels and clubs.

Liquor licensees (including clubs) have had to pay annual licence fees based on the quantity of liquor purchased - 5 per cent of sales till July 1963 and 6 per cent thereafter. In 1946, the hotels paid \$96.31 to each dollar that the clubs paid on licensing fees. By 1970, the hotels paid only \$2.59 to each club dollar paid in licensing fees (see Appendix 1, Table A1.6). Nevertheless, the total value of liquor purchases by hotels in 1969 was \$171,973,833 compared to \$66,378,945 (Licences Reduction Board Report, 1970: Appendix H), indicating that hotels still purchase two and a half times more alcoholic beverages than clubs.

How well are clubs distributed throughout the State? For administrative purposes, the State is divided into 104 licensing districts varying in geographical size and population density. In 1946, only eighteen of the N.S.W. licensing districts had clubs within their boundaries. By 1956, this number had risen to 102. In the country areas, club and hotel licences are concentrated in the coastal industrial regions of Newcastle (112 hotels, 107 clubs), Maitland (58 hotels, 31 clubs) and Wollongong (37 hotels, 56 clubs). Given the sparseness of information, it is not possible to speculate upon the reasons why, in some licensing districts clubs outnumber hotels. It is possible that those areas of rapid population growth since World War II have been marked by a correspondingly dramatic



growth in clubs rather than hotels. At the end of 1970, there were twelve licensing districts where the number of clubs exceeded the number of hotels, five where the numbers were equal and eighty-seven where the number of hotels was greater than the tally of clubs (see Appendix 1, Table Al.4).

What are the main types of clubs and what is the total and average membership in each category? In 1969, over one-third of the clubs were bowling clubs, although their average membership was just over 300. On the other hand, the Leagues' clubs, while only thirty-seven in number had an average membership of 10,000 (see Table 5.5). A more detailed classification of types of clubs is included in the Appendix 1, Table Al.7).

Table 5.5  
Numbers of Clubs, Total and Average  
Membership of each Type - 1969

| Type of Club              | No. of Metrop. Clubs | No. of Country Clubs | Total Clubs  | Approx. Total Membership | Approx. Average Membership |
|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Leagues'                  | 15                   | 22                   | 37           | 370,000                  | 10,000                     |
| Workers                   | 4                    | 28                   | 32           | 70,000                   | 2,188                      |
| R.S.L. & Ex-Service-men's | 115                  | 196                  | 311          | 430,000                  | 1,383                      |
| General                   | 177                  | 83                   | 260          | 280,000                  | 1,077                      |
| Golf                      | 62                   | 196                  | 258          | 150,000                  | 581                        |
| Bowling                   | 189                  | 357                  | 546          | 170,000                  | 311                        |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>562</b>           | <b>882</b>           | <b>1,444</b> | <b>1,470,000</b>         | <b>1,018</b>               |

Source: Registered Clubs' Association figures

One can only conjecture about the reasons why the Leagues' clubs have emerged as the largest clubs. Many people join the Leagues' clubs not because of their passionate interest in rugby league, but because of their desire to use the club as a social centre to partake of meals, have drinks, watch entertainment and play poker machines. However, rugby league is the major football code in N.S.W., enjoying mass support; further, the Leagues' clubs have charged low joining and subscription fees and have had no qualification clauses preventing people from joining. Access to

membership has been more restricted at other classes of clubs: the R.S.L. clubs are usually only open to returned servicemen, although increasingly, they are opening their ranks to non-voting members; and golf and bowling membership fees are higher and a golf course and bowling greens can accommodate only a limited number of players.

We have established that the N.S.W. clubs have become significant organizations for the pursuit of leisure. But their growth would not have been nearly as dramatic had it not been for the finances provided by poker machines. I turn now to a consideration of the role that poker machines have played in the growth of N.S.W. clubs.

## Chapter 6

## THE ROLE OF THE POKER MACHINES IN CLUB GROWTH

The historical chapters 4 and 5 emphasised the importance of poker machines as a financial base for funding the operations of N.S.W. clubs. Their use was associated with Government ambivalence about poker machines, in the face of criticism from some sections of the community. However, poker machine finances became a financial resource not only for the clubs, but for the State as well.

In this chapter I shall assess public attitudes towards poker machines; document the contributions of poker machine income to club and State income; describe the variety of poker machines, types and variation in pay-outs and jackpots and the percentage return to players; analyse the social and psychological reasons for gambling and more specifically the playing of poker machines; describe playing patterns in clubs; discuss the social dysfunctions of poker machines and the extent of legalized gambling in N.S.W.

Poker machines are variously described as slot machines, "one-armed" bandits, fruit machines, and, in Australia, "pokies". The difference between the poker machine and the fruit machine is that on the former, playing card symbols are imprinted on the reels, while on the latter, fruit symbols (lemons, plums, oranges, cherries) predominate. In N.S.W., the term "fruit machine" is rarely used. Poker machines are automatic gambling devices in which the player places a single coin and pulls the handle (the "one-arm") to set the reels spinning. In N.S.W., most machines have three or four reels, although some recent machines have five. The cost of a new machine varies from approximately \$1,000 to \$3,500. When the reels of a machine stop spinning, the combination of symbols, usually on the centre line but sometimes above and below it, determine whether the player is to receive a pay-out or not. In the event of a win, the player is paid automatically, although on many machines the winner of a jackpot has to notify the club steward of his success, and he is then paid in notes or bills rather than coins. The modern poker machine has twenty symbols on each reel, whereas the earliest machines had ten. Only three of the symbols on each reel are clearly visible at any one time, except when the reels are in motion. Although computer or console machines (two or more one-armed

bandits linked together offering the occasional mammoth jackpot) are illegal in N.S.W., there are a few machines in which a number of coins can be inserted simultaneously.

The first slot machines were invented by Charles Fey and were used in the gambling palaces of San Francisco in 1895 (Scarne, 1961: 386). They remained exclusively in California until 1907 when Herbert Stephen Mills, a Chicago manufacturer of arcade-type machines began production of machines with similar automatic payouts (ibid.: 391).

There is no precise evidence of the year in which poker machines were first introduced into Australia - although they appear to have been in N.S.W. as early as the first decade of this century (Labour Daily, February 11, 1931). The history of poker machines in N.S.W. has been recounted in the previous chapter and no systematic study of the chequered history of poker machines in other Australian States has been attempted. Poker machines were operated in Western Australia in 1918 and considerable surprise was expressed when the Attorney-General of that State said that poker machines in hotels, tobacconists and shops were not an infringement of the Police Act (DT, September 18, 1918). Later in 1956, the Western Australian Labour Government decided that after a specified period poker machines would be banned (N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1956: 1758). In Victoria, in May 1932 and September 1938, Court decisions were handed down declaring fruit and poker machines to be gambling devices (SMH, June 25, 1932). By 1941, poker machines were apparently in use in Queensland, for when the law forbidding them was tightened, hundreds of machines were reportedly brought to N.S.W. (SMH, December 8, 1941).

Only in N.S.W. have poker machines been legalized (1956) and their operation is confined to non-proprietary clubs. There are two major manufacturers of poker machines in Sydney, Ainsworth Consolidated Industries and Nutt and Muddle, who provide for the N.S.W. market as well as for markets in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Singapore, Macao, Okinawa, Vietnam and Nevada (DM, August 13, 1963; SMH, October 14, 1967).

#### Public Opinion Polls on Attitudes towards Poker Machines

Although there has been a mass of statements from various organizations supporting and opposing poker machines, only a few

public opinion polls have been conducted in an attempt to identify community attitudes. In November 1963, 1,600 men and women were asked in an Australia-wide Gallup Poll whether poker machines should be allowed in clubs. Fifty-eight per cent said that poker machines should be illegal, 33 per cent supported them and 9 per cent had no opinion. In N.S.W., 48 per cent were opposed to poker machines, 45 per cent were in support of them and 7 per cent had no opinion. The strongest opponents to the poker machines were the Queenslanders with 68 per cent against them. Sixty-six per cent of Victorians, 59 per cent of Western Australians, 58 per cent of South Australians and 55 per cent of Tasmanians were of like disposition. Liberal/Country Party voters in Australia were more likely to be opposed to poker machines than Labour Party voters (63 per cent to 53 per cent). Sixty-three per cent of Presbyterians, 59 per cent of Methodists, 54 per cent of Roman Catholics and 53 per cent of Anglicans were opposed to allowing poker machines in clubs (Australian Gallup Polls, December 1963 - April, 1964).

In early 1963, Congalton carried out a survey in Sydney examining some issues in community stratification. Using a quota sample of 221 males and 222 females, he asked nine social questions one of which was concerned with whether poker machines should be permitted or banned in N.S.W.. Thirty-seven per cent of the sample maintained that they should be permitted, 62 per cent wanted them banned and 1 per cent had no opinion. Congalton broke his sample into four occupational status groups with the "A" group representing the highest and "D" group the lowest. In Group "A", 42 per cent said poker machines should be permitted, in Group "B", 40 per cent, in Group "C", 33 per cent and in the lowest occupational group, "D", only 32 per cent were in favour of poker machines (Congalton, 1969: 119-121).

In 1961 a survey was conducted by the A.H.A.. A random sample of 800 electors in the city electorate of Hurstville and the same number in the country electorate of Dubbo were questioned on poker machines. The response rate was 70.2 per cent, and 77.7 per cent of the respondents approved of gambling. 42.4 per cent of city males, 59.1 per cent of city females, 46.0 per cent of country males and 56.9 per cent of country females disapproved of poker machines. The statistics presented in the survey can be interpreted in various ways, but they indicate that a majority of males in each electorate

(53.6 per cent city, 51.0 per cent country) and about a third of females (32.0 per cent city, 37.7 per cent country) favoured retention of the 6d (5c) and 1/- (10c) machines, although there was stronger opposition to 20c machines (Motivational Surveys, 1961: 17-21).

Preliminary results from a much more recent Australia-wide Gallup Poll suggest that only in N.S.W. is there a near majority in favour of poker machines. In January 1972, 2,300 people were handed a card listing eight forms of gambling, and were asked which forms should be legally allowed. While only 29 per cent of the total sample felt that poker machines should be permitted in clubs, 45 per cent of the N.S.W. sample did so. Other States had less than 40 per cent in favour. Respondents were also asked if they would approve of poker machines in shops like T.A.B. branches. Only 10 per cent of all the respondents approved.

#### The Importance of Poker Machine Revenue in Club and State Income

N.S.W. has over half the registered clubs in Australia and its share of the total "value added"<sup>1</sup> for Australian registered clubs in 1967/68 was 83.4 per cent. Clearly poker machine profits in N.S.W. have created a heavy concentration of funds available for spending on leisure and club life, thus helping to overcome the "political weakness of recreation" referred to by Weiss and Reisman (1963: 174-5).

#### 1. Clubs' Reliance on Poker Machines

Just how much do the registered clubs rely on poker machine profits to enable them to function as they do? No systematic study has been made to determine what proportion of clubs' income is derived from poker machine profits. Unfortunately many large clubs do not separate bar trading profits from poker machine profits in their balance sheets, although the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, the club chosen for the case study is at least one exception. Nevertheless, I have examined the balance sheets of six clubs (and the

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<sup>1</sup> "Value added" is defined by the Bureau of Census and Statistics as "the source from which establishments derive the surplus to meet salaries and wages, interest, rent, depreciation and overhead expenses of the enterprise, and to provide a contribution to the profits of the enterprise" (Economic Census, 1968-69: 4, 16).

Table 6.1: Sources of Income of Six N.S.W. Registered Clubs

| Club   | Year | Poker<br>Machine<br>Profits<br>\$ | Bar Profits<br>or Loss<br>\$ | Subscrip-<br>tions<br>\$ | Diningroom<br>Profits or<br>Loss<br>\$ | Total<br>Income<br>\$ | Poker Machine<br>Profits as %<br>of Total Profit |
|--|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| Auburn District Baseballers<br>and Recreation Club | 1969 | 175,600                           | 56,052                       | 7,536                    | 3,045                                  | 243,864               | 72.01  |
|  | 1970 | 204,287                           | 66,238                       | 11,018                   | 1,650                                  | 285,462               | 71.56  |
| Sutherland District Trade<br>Union Club Limited    | 1968 | 122,526                           | 44,221                       | 8,537                    | 5,324                                  | 183,847               | 66.65  |
|  |      |                                   |                              |                          |  |                       |  |
| Masonic Club Parramatta<br>Limited                 | 1966 | 258,258                           | 62,082                       | 14,593                   | 39,766                                 | 376,302               | 68.63  |
|  | 1967 | 293,273                           | 73,396                       | 15,751                   | 55,997                                 | 445,371               | 65.85  |
|  | 1968 | 282,403                           | 91,598                       | 35,336                   | 66,916                                 | 481,678               | 58.63  |
| Epping R.S.L. Club                                 | 1967 | 157,129                           | - 4,437                      | 4,084                    | - 6,101                                | 158,110               | 99.38  |
|  | 1968 | 242,684                           | 9,203                        | 9,640                    | -20,775                                | 264,440               | 91.77  |
| Bankstown Trotting<br>Recreational Club            | 1967 | 201,877                           | 43,436                       | 4,502                    | 5,887                                  | 265,649               | 75.99  |
|  | 1968 | 291,442                           | 67,377                       | 7,269                    | 10,810                                 | 396,064               | 73.58  |
|  | 1969 | 364,279                           | 86,014                       | 9,594                    | 14,568                                 | 492,827               | 73.92  |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club                           | 1963 | 49,160                            | 8,696                        | 3,444                    | - 1,154                                | 60,330                | 81.49  |
|  | 1964 | 219,896                           | 38,148                       | 8,145                    | -12,158                                | 291,870               | 75.34  |
|  | 1965 | 287,200                           | 55,623                       | 12,904                   | -25,277                                | 381,996               | 75.18  |
|  | 1966 | 342,590                           | 60,962                       | 18,988                   | -39,047                                | 384,172               | 89.18  |
|  | 1967 | 442,766                           | 77,318                       | 46,836                   | -26,262                                | 540,965               | 81.85  |
|  | 1968 | 514,881                           | 85,147                       | 47,431                   | -44,743                                | 603,950               | 85.25  |
|  | 1969 | 619,378                           | 96,374                       | 52,969                   | -48,344                                | 725,173               | 85.41  |
|  | 1970 | 844,726                           | 142,871                      | 68,839                   | -74,344                                | 988,124               | 85.48  |

Table 6.2: Number of Registered Clubs, Poker Machines, Estimated Net Poker Profits, Government Licence Fees and Supplementary Taxes on Poker Machines, 1957-71

| Financial Year Ending June 30 | No. of Clubs | No. of Poker Machines | Average Poker-Machines per Club | Estimated Net Profit      | Govt. Licence Fees and Supplementary Taxes | Total N.S.W. State Taxes+ Taxes | Progressive Licence Fees and Supplementary Taxes |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--|
| 1957                          | 952          | 5,596                 | 5.87                            | -                         | \$1,526,000                                | -                               | \$1,526,000                                      |
| 1958                          | 1073         | 6,561                 | 6.11                            | -                         | \$1,670,000                                | -                               | \$3,196,000                                      |
| 1959                          | 1135         | 7,289                 | 6.42                            | \$76,916,932 <sup>1</sup> | \$1,794,000                                | \$108,012,000 (58/59)           | \$4,990,000                                      |
| 1960                          | 1189         | 8,299                 | 6.98                            | \$54,000,000 <sup>2</sup> | \$2,550,000                                | \$122,902,000 (59/60)           | \$7,540,000                                      |
| 1961                          | 1228         | 9,614                 | 7.83                            | \$70,000,000 <sup>3</sup> | \$3,358,000                                | \$127,160,000 (60/61)           | \$10,898,000                                     |
| 1962                          | 1264         | 10,804                | 8.55                            | -                         | \$3,546,000                                | \$134,866,000 (60/62)           | \$14,444,000                                     |
| 1963                          | 1274         | 12,229                | 9.60                            | -                         | \$6,652,000                                | \$156,182,000 (62/63)           | \$21,096,000                                     |
| 1964                          | 1306         | 14,107                | 10.80                           | \$74,000,000 <sup>4</sup> | \$11,374,000                               | \$185,919,000 (63/64)           | \$32,470,000                                     |
| 1965                          | 1335         | 16,273                | 12.19                           | \$77,000,000 <sup>6</sup> | \$13,704,000                               | \$224,339,000 (64/65)           | \$46,174,000                                     |
| 1966                          | 1365         | 18,326                | 13.43                           | \$84,700,000 <sup>5</sup> | \$15,819,993                               | \$237,931,000 (65/66)           | \$61,993,993                                     |
| 1967                          | 1394         | 19,617                | 14.07                           | -                         | \$19,649,634                               | \$258,324,000 (66/67)           | \$81,643,627                                     |
| 1968                          | 1420         | 21,873                | 15.40                           | -                         | \$23,063,066                               | \$288,196,000 (67/68)           | \$104,706,693                                    |
| 1969                          | 1438         | 24,004                | 16.69                           | -                         | \$26,294,408                               | \$324,816,000 (68/69)           | \$131,911,101                                    |
| 1970*                         | 1442         | 26,636                | 18.47                           | \$138,985,116*            | \$30,425,325                               | -                               | \$161,336,926                                    |
| 1971                          | 1453         | 29,887                | 20.56                           | -                         | \$34,802,610                               | -                               | \$196,139,536                                    |

- References: 1 Daily Telegraph, August 5, 1959  
 2 The Sydney Morning Herald, March 3, 1961 and Daily Mirror, June 2, 1961  
 3 Sunday Telegraph, May 6, 1962  
 4 The Sun, December 6, 1965  
 5 The Australian, October 12, 1967  
 6 Club Management in Australia, November 1966: 6.

\* Official Statistics issued by Chief Secretary's Department for June 1, 1969 to May 30, 1970  
 + Official Year Books, 1964 - 1970  
 Source: Licensing Bench and Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1956 - 1971



sample is not representative). The percentage of total income derived from poker machines varies from a low of 58.6 per cent to a high of 99.4 per cent. A summary of the sources of income from the six clubs is given in Table 6.1.

Annual gross poker machine profits are not available, except for the 1969-70 financial year. The Chief Secretary's Department, which handles the collection of poker machine taxes, has denied that it has compiled annual totals. Nevertheless, estimates of annual poker machine profits have been made over the years and these are given in Table 6.2. The precision of the 1959 estimated net profit figure has a ring of authenticity about it, although the estimate suggests that it was 1965 before such a total was reached again. As indicated in Chapter 5, annual poker machine profit estimates have varied widely for the year 1962 - \$12 million, \$40 million and \$70 million.

The figures in Table 6.2 show that not only has the number of poker machines increased from just under 6,000 in 1957 to nearly 30,000 by 1971, but that the average number of poker machines per club has increased from about six to just over twenty.

## 2. Government Taxation on Poker Machines

In the same time span the share of Government taxation through licence fees and supplementary taxes has increased substantially, from \$1 $\frac{1}{2}$  million in 1957 to \$34,802,610 in 1970-71 (see Table 6.3).

The State Government levies three types of taxes on poker machines. First, there is the licence tax requiring all clubs to pay a tax on each machine according to the denomination and in the case of 20 cent machines, upon the number of machines. Up to June 1971 the State Government had collected \$69,175,717 from this source. Second, there is the supplementary licence tax which is levied on clubs with total poker machine profits above \$17,000. The tax was introduced in 1962-63 and \$114,775,896 has been collected in the nine-year period until June 1971. Finally, there are additional licence supplementary taxes levied on clubs whose poker machine profits exceed \$200,000 and in the three-year period of its operation up to June 1971, \$12,187,923 had been collected. Thus in the period 1956-57 to 1970-71, the Government had collected \$196,139,536 - an average of \$13,075,969 per year (see Table 6.2).

The strongest criticism against any poker machine has been

Table 6.3: Licensing and Supplementary Taxes on Poker Machines, 1956-1970

| Year    | Licence Tax | Progressive Licence Tax | Supplementary Licence Tax | Progressive Licence Tax | Additional Supplementary Licence Tax | Progressive Additional Taxes | Total Taxes | Progressive Total Taxes |
|---------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1956/7  | 1,526,000   | 1,526,000               | -                         | -                       | -                                    | -                            | 1,526,000   | 1,526,000               |
| 1957/8  | 1,670,000   | 3,196,000               | -                         | -                       | -                                    | -                            | 1,670,000   | 3,196,000               |
| 1958/9  | 1,794,000   | 4,990,000               | -                         | -                       | -                                    | -                            | 1,794,000   | 4,990,000               |
| 1959/60 | 2,550,000   | 7,540,000               | -                         | -                       | -                                    | -                            | 2,550,000   | 7,540,000               |
| 1960/61 | 3,358,000   | 10,898,000              | -                         | -                       | -                                    | -                            | 3,358,000   | 10,898,000              |
| 1961/62 | 3,546,000   | 14,444,000              | -                         | -                       | -                                    | -                            | 3,546,000   | 14,444,000              |
| 1962/63 | 3,948,000   | 18,392,000              | -                         | 2,614,000               | -                                    | -                            | 3,546,000   | 14,444,000              |
| 1963/64 | 4,454,000   | 22,846,000              | 6,920,000                 | 9,534,000               | -                                    | -                            | 6,562,000   | 21,006,000              |
| 1964/65 | 5,044,000   | 27,890,000              | 8,660,000                 | 18,194,000              | -                                    | -                            | 11,374,000  | 32,380,000              |
| 1965/66 | 5,556,660   | 33,446,660              | 9,709,099                 | 27,903,099              | -                                    | -                            | 13,704,000  | 46,084,000              |
| 1966/67 | 6,379,606   | 39,826,266              | 12,063,428                | 39,966,527              | 554,234                              | 554,234                      | 15,819,993  | 61,903,993              |
| 1967/68 | 6,575,874   | 46,402,140              | 14,934,442                | 54,900,969              | 1,206,600                            | 1,760,834                    | 19,649,634  | 81,553,627              |
| 1968/69 | 7,043,373   | 53,445,513              | 17,266,419                | 72,167,388              | 1,552,750                            | 3,313,584                    | 23,063,066  | 104,616,693             |
| 1969/70 | 7,493,445   | 60,938,958              | 20,200,099                | 92,367,487              | 1,984,616                            | 5,298,200                    | 26,294,408  | 130,911,101             |
| 1970/71 | 8,236,759   | 69,175,717              | 22,408,409                | 114,775,896             | 2,732,281                            | 8,030,481                    | 30,425,825  | 161,336,926             |
|         |             |                         |                           |                         | 4,157,442                            | 12,187,923                   | 34,802,610  | 196,139,536             |

Source: Statistics supplied by Chief Secretary's Department, N.S.W.

directed towards the 20c machine. Table 6.4 shows that the percentage of 20c machines in all registered clubs in N.S.W. has dropped from 34.3 per cent to 10.7 per cent in the period from mid-1957 to June 1971. The percentage of 20c machines in clubs has declined each year with the greatest drop occurring in the 1960-61 year, whereas the proportion of 10c machines has increased each year from 41.8 per cent to a high of 60.8 per cent. Slightly more than one quarter of the poker machines in registered clubs are 5c machines and this fraction has remained fairly constant since the legalization of poker machines (see Table 6.4).

In Appendix 2, a summary of poker machine taxation rates is included.

### 3. Variation in Size of Clubs' Poker Machine Profits

While it is not certain that total income from poker machines has risen annually, the State Government has each year surmounted the previous year's total poker machine taxation. There is absolutely no doubt that the clubs could not operate the way they do without the income derived from poker machine profits. The critics of poker machines have pointed to the operation of clubs in other States, maintaining that the N.S.W. clubs could carry on without the poker machines. It has been suggested too that the N.S.W. clubs could offer the same services and facilities by eliminating poker machines and charging high entrance and subscription fees. The obvious consequence would be that membership fees would climb steeply so that many current members could not, or would not, afford the annual subscription. There is some evidence following which suggests that annual membership fees might be prohibitive if poker machines were banned from N.S.W. clubs. Poker machine profits have a horizontal redistributive effect which could not be achieved by a uniformly high entrance fee.<sup>1</sup>

In July 1969 a team of Daily Mirror reporters published a series of nine daily articles on N.S.W. clubs. The team examined the balance sheets of 300 Sydney clubs incorporated under the Companies Act and are therefore required to submit balance sheets. Some balance sheets did not separate poker machine revenue from other

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<sup>1</sup> By transferring benefits from those who play machines heavily to those who do not.

Table 6.4: Licensed Poker Machines and Number of Clubs

| As at   | No. of Clubs | Number of Machines and Percentage of Total Machines |      |    |     |    |     |     |      |      |       |       |       | Total All Machines | Total % |        |        |
|---------|--------------|---|------|----|-----|----|-----|-----|------|------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------|---------|--------|--------|
|         |              | 1d  |      | 3d |     | 1c |     | 2c  |      | 5c   |       | 10c   |       |                    |         | 20c    |        |
|         |              | N   | %    | N  | %   | N  | %   | N   | %    | N    | %     | N     | %     |                    |         | N      | %      |
| 30.6.57 | 952          | 1   | .01  | 7  | .12 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 1331 | 23.78 | 2337  | 41.76 | 1,920              | 34.51   | 5,596  | 99.98  |
| 30.6.58 | 1073         | 1   | .02  | 10 | .15 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 1688 | 25.72 | 2612  | 39.81 | 2,250              | 34.29   | 6,561  | 99.99  |
| 30.6.59 | 1135         | 88  | 1.20 | 4  | .05 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 1984 | 27.22 | 2912  | 39.95 | 2,301              | 31.56   | 7,289  | 99.98  |
| 30.6.60 | 1189         | 203   | 2.45 | 1  | .01 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 2131 | 25.68 | 3424  | 41.26 | 2,540              | 30.61   | 8,299  | 100.01 |
| 30.6.61 | 1228         | 299   | 3.11 | 1  | .01 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 2662 | 27.69 | 4311  | 44.84 | 2,341              | 24.35   | 9,614  | 100.00 |
| 30.6.62 | 1264         | 270   | 2.49 | 2  | .02 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 3101 | 28.70 | 5113  | 47.51 | 2,298              | 21.27   | 10,804 | 99.99  |
| 30.6.63 | 1274         | 282   | 2.31 | 2  | .02 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 3665 | 29.97 | 5910  | 48.33 | 2,370              | 19.38   | 12,229 | 100.01 |
| 30.6.64 | 1306         | 221   | 1.57 | 3  | .02 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 4332 | 30.70 | 6972  | 49.42 | 2,579              | 18.29   | 14,107 | 99.99  |
| 30.6.65 | 1335         | 237   | 1.46 | 3  | .02 | -  | -   | -   | -    | 4910 | 30.17 | 8164  | 50.17 | 2,959              | 18.18   | 16,273 | 100.00 |
| 30.6.66 | 1365         | 240   | 1.31 | 2  | .01 | 3  | .02 | 8   | .04  | 5430 | 29.63 | 9333  | 50.92 | 3,310              | 18.06   | 18,326 | 99.99  |
| 30.6.67 | 1394         | 53  | .27  | 1  | -   | 12 | .06 | 125 | .64  | 5923 | 30.19 | 10353 | 52.78 | 3,150              | 16.05   | 19,617 | 99.99  |
| 1.7.67  | 1394         | 9   | .05  | -  | -   | 10 | .05 | 136 | .70  | 5903 | 30.20 | 10428 | 53.34 | 3,061              | 15.66   | 19,547 | 100.00 |
| 30.6.68 | 1420         | 6   | .02  | -  | -   | 10 | .04 | 200 | .91  | 6624 | 30.28 | 11943 | 54.60 | 3,090              | 14.13   | 21,873 | 99.98  |
| 30.6.69 | 1438         | -   | -    | -  | -   | 6  | .02 | 279 | 1.16 | 7011 | 29.21 | 13631 | 56.79 | 3,077              | 12.82   | 24,004 | 100.00 |
| 30.6.70 | 1442         | -   | -    | -  | -   | 5  | .02 | 364 | 1.37 | 7417 | 27.85 | 15733 | 59.07 | 3,117              | 11.70   | 26,636 | 100.01 |
| 30.6.71 | 1453         | -   | -    | -  | -   | 5  | .02 | 465 | 1.56 | 8038 | 26.89 | 18178 | 60.82 | 3,201              | 10.71   | 29,887 | 100.00 |

Source: Statistics supplied by Chief Secretary's Department, N.S.W.

sources of trading revenue. In Table 6.5 (prepared by the Daily Mirror team) poker machine takings per head were calculated by dividing the number of members into the total poker machine revenue of the club. It could be argued that the resulting per capita figure would represent the additional subscription fees that each member would have to pay if the club were to function at the same standard, and eliminate poker machines - although the contribution that visitors make to club income would have to be taken into account.

The most startling trend observable from Table 6.5 is that per capita losses in the bowling clubs are so comparatively high. Traditionally, the large Leagues' clubs have been the targets for criticism for huge poker machine profits, but the estimated per capita losses in Leagues' clubs are considerably lower than those of bowling clubs. These results are contrary to expectation, for one might expect the Leagues' clubs to have the greatest number of visitors who would contribute to their income.<sup>1</sup>

As shown in Table 6.5, there are thirty clubs which had an average per capita member loss of \$119 or more, of which sixteen (53.3 per cent) are bowling clubs. Yet in the total sample of 118 clubs (and it is not clear on what basis the sample was selected), only forty-seven (39.8 per cent) are bowling clubs. While it is tempting to undertake further calculations on these figures, questions about the sample would limit any firm conclusions.

The way clubs spend their profits depends almost entirely on the type of club. For instance, golf, bowling and other sporting organizations use the profits from the poker machines to provide and maintain the specific sporting facilities for which the club was formed. However, the Leagues', the Workmen's and the R.S.L. clubs use their profits to build larger and more comfortable premises, subsidise the cost of meals, provide entertainment, fund sporting clubs within the organization, and make donations to charity and sporting bodies outside the club. In Table 6.6 (again compiled by the Daily Mirror team) some of the ways that the Leagues' clubs in Sydney spend their poker machine profits are documented.

In chapter 10 a detailed analysis of expenditure of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club over its seven-year history will be given.

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<sup>1</sup> The Queanbeyan Leagues' Club per capita loss is higher than those of the Sydney Leagues' clubs included in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5

Total Poker Machine Revenue, Number of Members  
and Per Capita Poker Machine Losses by Members  
of Selected Sydney Clubs - 1968

| Name of Club   | Poker<br>Machine<br>Takings per<br>Head - \$ | Poker<br>Machine<br>Revenue<br>\$ | No. of<br>Members |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Dundas Valley Rugby Union                                | 283  | 73,079                            | 258               |
| Cronulla Labor & Workingmen's                            | 223  | 316,937                           | 1420              |
| Lakemba District Bowling                                 | 222  | 53,259                            | 240               |
| Belfield Bowling   | 216  | 64,840                            | 300               |
| Paddington Bowling                                       | 215  | 77,692                            | 361               |
| Riverview Bowling  | 212  | 127,732                           | 600               |
| Brush Park Bowling                                       | 212  | 72,204                            | 340               |
| Belmore Bowling  | 208  | 70,237                            | 337               |
| North Subs. Polonia Soccer                               | 204 (est.)                                   | *46,836                           | 229               |
| Merrylands Bowling                                       | 201  | 70,351                            | 350               |
| Camperdown Bowling                                       | 197 (est.)                                   | *80,618                           | 228               |
| Bankstown Soccer   | 191  | 111,691                           | 584               |
| Bankstown Sports   | 190  | 438,329                           | 2300              |
| South Sydney Businessmen's                               | 188  | 188,076                           | 1000              |
| Revesby Heights Ex-Service                               | 180  | 111,620                           | 744               |
| Willoughby Legion  | 177  | 118,591                           | 800               |
| Marconi  | 164  | 328,075                           | 2000              |
| West Pymble Bowling                                      | 157  | 27,827                            | 176               |
| Denistone Bowling  | 155  | 38,904                            | 250               |
| Hurstville Bowling                                       | 144  | 37,368                            | 259               |
| Illawarra Catholic                                       | 142  | 158,688                           | 1111              |
| Caringbah RSL  | 140  | 112,010                           | 800               |
| Walumetta Ryde & District Business<br>Professional Men's | 136  | 41,086                            | 302               |
| Balmain Bowling  | 129  | 30,046                            | 233               |
| Birrong Bowling  | 128  | 42,511                            | 330               |
| Bankstown Trotting                                       | 126  | 291,442                           | 2300              |
| Cumberland Builders, Bowling                             | 123  | 58,220                            | 390               |
| Pratten Park Bowling                                     | 121  | 25,626                            | 211               |
| Auburn Soccer  | 120  | 120,526 (1965)                    | 1000              |
| Enfield Bowling  | 119  | 41,012                            | 342               |
| Pitt   | 117  | 368,385                           | 3129              |
| Valleyview Bowling                                       | 117  | 31,159                            | 350               |
| East Concord Bowling                                     | 117  | 31,318                            | 267               |
| Miranda Builders and Businessmen's                       | 116  | 65,034                            | 726               |
| Grand United G'views Bowling                             | 114  | 66,845                            | 574               |
| Guildford Leagues  | 111  | 175,032                           | 1477              |
| Massey Park Golf   | 110  | 92,168                            | 834               |
| Ashfield Businessmen's                                   | 109  | 41,180 (1964)                     | 375               |
| Mandarin   | 108  | 325,450                           | 3000              |
| Drummoyne Rugby Union                                    | 106  | *79,082                           | 743               |
| Lavalla Bowling  | 104  | 59,818                            | 575               |
| Mosman Rowing  | 103  | 87,855                            | 850               |
| Epping Bowling   | 102  | *34,146                           | 324               |
| Hellenic   | 102  | 84,958                            | 825               |
| Eastern Suburbs Rugby Union                              | 100  | 113,800 (est.)                    | 1138              |
| Manly Rugby Union  | 98   | 71,199                            | 712               |

Table 6.5: (continued)

| Name of Club                  | Poker<br>Machine<br>Takings per<br>Head - \$ | Poker<br>Machine<br>Revenue<br>\$ | No. of<br>Members |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Cabra Vale Ex-Servicemen's    | 97   | 458,595                           | (1966) 4700       |
| North Manly Bowling           | 97   | 39,011                            | 400               |
| Concord Bowling               | 97   | 26,064                            | 267               |
| Phoenician                    | 94   | 94,000                            | 1000              |
| Maroubra Seals                | 94   | 87,487                            | 922               |
| Riverwood Businessmen's       | 93   | 70,723                            | (1963) 600        |
| Gynea Bowling                 | 93   | 33,554                            | 359               |
| Western Suburbs Leagues'      | 92   | *920,722                          | 10000             |
| Moore Park Bowling            | 92   | 41,489                            | 450               |
| Waverley Bowling              | 90   | 41,175                            | 455               |
| Ashfield Bowling              | 89   | 24,296                            | (1961) 271        |
| Moby Dick Surfing<br>Stage    | 88   | 74,550                            | 850               |
| Denistone East Bowling        | 88   | 62,082                            | 700               |
| Eastern Suburbs Leagues'      | 87   | 32,919                            | 379               |
| South Cronulla Bowling        | 87   | 525,604                           | 5988              |
| Canterbury-Bankstown Leagues' | 85   | 21,738                            | 250               |
| Riverwood Legion              | 85 (est.)                                    | *682,139                          | (1966) 8000       |
| Chatswood Bowling             | 84   | 84,134                            | 1000              |
| Homebush Bowling              | 84   | 27,405                            | 326               |
| East Hills Golf               | 84   | 31,545                            | 375               |
| Taren Point Bowling           | 82   | 41,406                            | 500               |
| Randwick-Botany               | 80   | 48,388                            | 600               |
| Balmain Leagues'              | 80   | 119,187                           | 1300              |
| Retailers                     | 79   | *791,867                          | 10000             |
| Asquith District Golf         | 79   | 47,565                            | 600               |
| Western Suburbs Union         | 70   | 73,003                            | 921               |
| Woolooware Golf               | 77   | 50,960                            | 650               |
| Bondi Waverley Squash         | 76   | 46,121                            | (1967) 850        |
| Randwick Labour               | 75   | 35,927                            | 479               |
| Illawarra Tennis              | 74   | 286,796                           | 3863              |
| Ashfield Catholic             | 74   | 45,989                            | 620               |
| Bexley Bowling                | 73   | 110,661                           | (1967) 1500       |
| Randwick Golf                 | 72   | 36,383                            | 502               |
| Parramatta Masonic            | 71   | 64,141                            | 900               |
| Earlwood Bowling              | 68   | 282,403                           | 5000              |
| Mortdale Bowling              | 67   | 23,873                            | 350               |
| NSW Public Service            | 66   | 33,736                            | 505               |
| South Sydney Leagues'         | 66   | 166,485                           | 2500              |
| Beecroft Bowling              | 64   | *1,186,738                        | 13430             |
| NSW Film                      | 60   | 48,061                            | 600               |
| Fairfield Businessmen's       | 57   | 37,040                            | 642               |
| Carss Park Bowling            | 55   | 16,223                            | 297               |
| Manly Vale Bowling            | 55   | 25,895                            | 462               |
| Mosman Bowling                | 55   | 24,972                            | 446               |
| Cabramatta Golf               | 54   | 17,283                            | 317               |
| Manly Civic                   | 52   | 35,326                            | 677               |
| Mona Vale Golf                | 52   | 38,079                            | 720               |
| Western Suburbs Soccer        | 51   | 58,210                            | 1087              |
|                               | 51   | 255,859                           | 5000              |

Table 6.5: (continued)

| Name of Club               | Poker<br>Machine<br>Takings per<br>Head - \$ | Poker<br>Machine<br>Revenue<br>\$ | No. of<br>Members |
|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Northbridge Golf           | 51   | 36,171                            | 700               |
| Berowra Bowling            | 51   | 20,795                            | 400               |
| Mona Vale Bowling          | 51   | 18,073                            | 349               |
| Vaucluse Bowling           | 51   | 20,463                            | 400               |
| Hillsdale Bowling          | 49   | 32,224                            | 650               |
| Rose Bay Bowling           | 48   | 11,702                            | 240               |
| Manly Amateur Fishermeh's  | 45   | 117,528                           | 2500              |
| Eastern Suburbs Catholic   | 44   | 44,026                            | 1000              |
| Cronulla Golf              | 42   | 59,663                            | 1396              |
| American National          | 42   | 47,277                            | 1112              |
| Kogarah Golf               | 41   | 43,237                            | 1048              |
| Bonnie Doon Golf           | 40   | 36,265                            | 902               |
| Long Reef Golf             | 39   | 26,559                            | 695               |
| St George Budapest Soccer  | 36   | 54,344                            | 1500              |
| Ryde Parramatta Golf       | 36   | 36,886                            | 1016              |
| Hurstville Diggers Bowling | 36   | 16,353                            | 463               |
| Cromer Golf                | 36   | 38,341                            | 1071              |
| Marrickville Golf          | 35   | 24,058                            | 684               |
| Apia                       | 35   | 315,508                           | 9000              |
| Mount Pritchard Country    | 33   | 16,418                            | 488               |
| East Roseville Bowling     | 32   | 7,671                             | 235               |
| Bankstown Golf             | 30   | 30,011                            | 976               |
| NSW Leagues'               | 29   | *740,136                          | 25695             |

\* Total revenue instead of poker machine revenue. Per capita machine loss figures are therefore likely to be inflated.

Source: Daily Mirror, July 14, 1969

### Varieties of Poker Machines, Analysis of Payout Procedures and Percentage Returned to the Players

#### 1. Varieties of Poker Machines

As the number of poker machines has increased from approximately 6,000 to 30,000, so the variety of poker machines has broadened - although the differences between machines are sometimes superficial rather than basic.

At the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club there are 239 poker machines, and at some of the large Sydney clubs, the number reaches 500. On occasions when a club is crowded, an individual may have to play an available machine, rather than one he desires to play. With a range of machines free, the intending player has to make a series of choices. Machines vary in the denomination of the coin accepted,



Table 6.6: Sydney Leagues' Clubs - Fixed Assets, Membership, Profits, Taxes and Expenditure on Entertainment and Wages for 1968

| Name of Club   | Fixed Assets<br>\$ | Members | Licence & Tax<br>\$ | Profit<br>\$ | Entertainment<br>\$ | Wages<br>\$ |
|----------------|--------------------|---------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Souths Juniors | 4,118,214          | 38,000  | 882,691             | 551,399      | 173,602             | 407,534     |
| St George      | 2,405,644          | 26,000  | not available       | 162,355      | 295,540             | 829,217     |
| NSW            | 2,281,991          | 25,695  | 186,068             | 20,325       | 61,675              | 417,946     |
| Norths         | 1,643,404          | 14,202  | 294,835             | 230,657      | not available       | 241,150     |
| Souths         | 1,381,412          | 18,430  | 315,022             | 54,725       | 229,545             | 462,958     |
| Pasts          | 1,326,067          | 6,000   | 313,118             | 169,175      | 213,166             | 127,903     |
| Balmain        | 1,209,588          | 10,000  | 171,184             | 79,878       | 78,514              | 200,177     |
| Wests          | 1,183,549          | 10,000  | 197,591             | 97,672       | 89,217              | 217,485     |
| Canterbury     | 1,072,614          | 10,000  | 200,364             | 240,379      | 74,937              | 200,738     |
| Parramatta     | 1,000,000          | 12,000  | 146,000             | 35,000       | 96,000              | 290,000     |
| Wentworthville | 801,035            | 5,000   | 33,077              | 183,541      | 5,413               | 61,103      |
| Manly          | 551,363            | 13,771  | 366,373             | 232,451      | 111,280             | 591,207     |
| Cronulla       | 415,291            | 3,700   | 88,641              | 100,000      | 73,000              | 71,120      |
| Newtown        | 163,141            | 3,178   | 99,667              | 19,196       | 57,533              | 126,547     |

Source: Daily Mirror, July 15, 1969

the number of reels, control or non-control over the reels, titles, symbols on the reels, numbers and sizes of jackpots, and in the range and size of non-jackpot payouts. Players make a choice of machine based on all or some of the above criteria. The first decision a player makes is whether he will play a 2c, 5c, 10c or 20c machine. This range is narrower than in Reno, Nevada for instance, where in at least one casino, there are 5c, 10c, 25c, 50c, \$1 and \$5 machines (Rice and Blascovich, 1971: 2). The second decision rests on whether he will play a three-, four- or five-reel machine and many players do develop preferences. On most machines the insertion of a coin and the pulling of the handle sets all of the reels spinning. However, on some machines, the player may hold one or two of the reels in order to increase his chances of obtaining a given combination. Thus if a player has a "king" on the first and third reels he may, by pressing buttons, hold the two "kings" and spin only the second reel, in the hope of gaining a third "king". On the next play, the player cannot hold any of the reels. Such a machine involves some decision-making, distinguishing it from the majority of machines. From my observations, people who are avid poker machine players often choose this type.

In recent years poker machines have become more attractive, with neon-lit facades and a great variety of names. While experienced poker machine players develop preferences for certain types of machines based on the sorts of criteria mentioned above, neophytes are more likely to be attracted by the name, the style, or "look" of the machine - although others make chance choices. Some of the titles are associated with card and poker games - for example, "Poker Club", "Crazy Joker", "Mad Joker", "Jokers on the Line", "Three-card Draw", "Wild Aces", "Go 777", "Lucky 7", "Casino Belle", "Show Poker" and "Ace of Clubs". Other titles are suggestive of bonanzas and gold - for example, "Texan Gold", "Inca Gold", "Eldorado", "Gold a-Go-Go", "Gold Award", "Rags to Riches" and "Crazy Cash". In recent years machines with a sporting emphasis have begun to appear, for example, "Kentucky" (dealing with horses), "8-Ball" (associated with billiards and snooker) and "Swell Surprise" (associated with board surfing). Two machines have Scottish names - "Quadreel" and "Highland Fling". In addition there are a miscellaneous group of titles including "Endeavour", "Tic-Tac-Toe",

"Superstar", "Quartette", "Royal Bounty", "Four-Reel Special" and "Mini-Maxi" (girls in mini and maxi-skirts).

In addition to the variety of names a range of symbols is imprinted on the reels. Basically, symbols consist of either playing cards or fruit symbols such as lemons, oranges, plums and cherries. On fruit machines, bars and horseshoes are jackpot symbols. New jackpot symbols have recently appeared - horses' heads on the "Kentucky" machines; surfboard riders on the "Swell Surprise" machines; and in 1970, to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the discovery of Australia, the bust of Captain Cook and his ship, the "Endeavour" on the machines of the same name.

Machines are also distinguished from one another by the size, number, standardization and frequency of jackpots. Usually, older machines have only one or two jackpots, whereas modern ones can have as many as seventeen. As a rule, the more jackpots a machine offers, the fewer the number of minor pays, and the fewer the jackpots the greater the number of small payouts. For 5c machines, jackpots are usually \$6 to \$10; on 10c machines, \$12, \$20 and \$24 although two separate machines pay \$70 and \$250 jackpots and another has a cumulative jackpot; on 20c machines most jackpots range from \$20 to \$70. Recently machines were introduced into the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club which pay a top jackpot of \$1,000<sup>1</sup> and a minor one of \$400. Newer machines known as electronic pay-out machines pay jackpots automatically with coins, while with the older type, jackpots are paid to the winner by the club's supervisor.

## 2. Analysis of Payout Procedures on Poker Machines

The most obvious reason for a person playing a machine is that by inserting a coin and pulling the handle the player may receive a profit on his original investment. Most players seem to place a succession of coins in machines, in the belief that this will increase their chances of a payout. The player can expect that on average, for approximately every six coins he inserts in the machine over a session of playing he will get one payout. However, long

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<sup>1</sup> The odds of obtaining this jackpot are 3,200,000 to one, while the odds on the \$250 jackpot on the 10c machine are 160,000 to 1. One machine has an accumulating jackpot in which the total rises with each pull of the handle until the jackpot is won.

losing sequences are not uncommon and as many as forty-five coins can be invested without any payout at all; alternatively, it is not uncommon for a person to get three payouts in successive pulls. According to one report, a High school teacher kept a record of wins and losses on poker machines, playing for a total of 123 hours and pulling the handle 73,800 times. He concluded that on average, a player could expect about two payouts for every eleven coins inserted (Sun-Herald, June 10, 1962). An insurance inspector with mathematics as a hobby completed a two-year spare time study of poker machine playing and he said that one could expect a payout on the average of one in six pulls (Sun-Herald, April 3, 1966). A newspaper team of reporters put \$200 into a 20c machine and kept an accurate record of payouts and the payout rate was one win in every 7.8 pulls (Sunday Telegraph, September 27, 1959).

The sizes of the payouts vary. No payout is less than two coins and the usual payouts are two, three, five, ten, fourteen, eighteen, twenty, twenty-three and fifty coins. The smaller the payout, the more frequently it occurs. Jackpots occur about once every 8,000 times (but sometimes much more infrequently) and vary in size according to the type of machine.

### 3. Percentage Returned to the Players

One of the most hotly discussed issues among poker machine players is the percentage of the total investment returned to the players. In N.S.W., this percentage is reputed to vary between 80 and 96 per cent. While club officials lean towards the higher figure, many disappointed players seem to suggest that the figure is lower than 80 per cent. The mathematics teacher who pulled the handle 73,800 times had 92 per cent of his stake returned (Sun-Herald, June 10, 1962). The Sunday Telegraph team which invested \$200 received a 75.3 per cent return (Sunday Telegraph, September 27, 1959). In 1965, the flamboyant Secretary/Manager of one of Sydney's largest clubs, the South Sydney Junior Leagues' Club, claimed that his club's machines paid back 96.8 per cent of all monies invested (DM, November 19, 1965).

The claim is made by many players that the clubs "fix" the machines. At one club, the Assistant Secretary/Manager keeps a careful daily check on the returns from each machine. When a machine loses consistently for the club (perhaps due to mechanical malfunction)

it is "checked" by a poker machine mechanic and generally, the machine thereafter works to the benefit of the club. However, no such "check" is made on machines that, for some mechanical reason, may be returning a low percentage return to the players.<sup>1</sup>

#### Reasons for Gambling and the Playing of Poker Machines

While it is tempting to launch into a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for gambling, I will concentrate on the following questions: what sort of activity is gambling?; what are the current sociological theories which might account for the reasons why people gamble?; and why do the residents of N.S.W. play poker machines with such fervour instead of gambling more heavily in other legal and illegal ways?

##### 1. What Type of an Activity is Gambling?

Gambling consists of activities rich in symbolic content. It has been studied in its various aspects by anthropologists, psychoanalysts, economists, psychologists and sociologists. Devereux (1968: 57) maintains that from a sociological point of view gambling is of interest primarily as an institutionalised pattern of deviance. Herman (1967: vii) agrees, suggesting that most of the serious literature treats gambling as a pathology, a manifestation of a sickness or weakness either in the individual or the social order.

Devereux defines gambling as a form of activity

...in which the parties involved, who are known as bettors or players, voluntarily engage to make the transfer of money or something of value among themselves dependent upon the outcome of some future and uncertain event (Devereux, 1968: 53).

Devereux's view is that historically, gambling developed out of various religious and magical practices used by man to cope with problems of uncertainty and fate. Contemporarily, gambling is most frequently associated with recreational contexts such as games and sports (although for some individuals, such as stockbrokers and professional gamblers it is a work activity).

The number of theorists who have turned their analytical skills to the characteristics and functions of games is increasing, for example, Huizinga (1950, 1955), Caillois (1967) and Roberts *et al.* (1959, 1962). Caillois strongly criticises Huizinga for ignoring games of chance. In his taxonomy Caillois (1962: 14-19) classifies

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<sup>1</sup> In Appendix 2, a discussion of the percentage that should be returned to the player from a typical three-reel machine is included.

agôn as competitive games (i.e. the outcomes primarily depend upon the qualities and performance of the contestants and are therefore games involving skill and strategy); alea (games of chance in which outcomes are basically independent of the qualities of the players involved); mimicry (simulation); and ilinx (games which bring about a temporary instability of perception resulting in dizziness and disorder e.g. ski-ing, skindiving, etc.).

Roberts and his associates classify games in terms of distinctive patterns of play. The outcomes of games may be determined primarily by the players' physical abilities, strategic moves of the players, or reliance on some mechanical chance device such as a die (Roberts et al., 1959: 597). Games of physical skill must involve physical skill but may or may not involve strategy or chance. Strategy games include strategy, exclude physical skill but may involve chance; and finally, chance games exclude both physical skill and strategy.

Clearly competition and chance are basic to these classifications, and in gambling, chance is dominant. Caillois sees a special relationship between games of competition and chance. He argues that "they are contrasting but complementary solutions to a unique problem - that all start out equal" (Caillois, 1962: 110). Such results may be accomplished by lot, provided the people involved agree not to use their natural capacities to affect the outcomes. Alternatively, if winners are to be determined competitively, players must use their abilities to the utmost, thus providing indisputable proof of their superiority (ibid.). Gambling games, which are largely games of chance<sup>1</sup>, do not have the function of causing the more intelligent to win money, but tend to abolish natural or acquired individual differences: all are placed on an equal footing to await the blind verdict of chance (ibid.: 18). Thus, according to Caillois, gambling negates work, patience, experience, qualifications, training, application, professionalisation, and is a supreme insult to merit.

Caillois believes that one can characterise a civilization in terms of the games that the populace regards as important. In fact:

...if games are cultural factors and images, it follows that to a certain degree a civilization and its content may be characterised by its games. They necessarily reflect its cultural patterns and provide useful

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<sup>1</sup> Some gambling games, such as poker, generally permit the experienced, knowledgeable player to perform more successfully than the unskilled neophyte.

indications as to the preferences, weakness and strength of a given society at a particular stage of its evolution (Caillois, 1962: 85).

Whether games are an expression or contradiction of social values they are necessarily related to the overall pattern of different cultures. In discussing contemporary societies Caillois (1962: 110-117) says that they tend to enlarge the domain of regulated competition (or merit) at the expense of birth or inheritance (or chance), an evolution which gives rewards to the most capable. Although political reformers try to devise and implement more equitable types of competition their efforts so far have yielded, according to Caillois, meagre results.

Moreover, as all persons are conditioned by their environment, individuals can only ameliorate their situation through merit, not transcend it, nor change radically their station in life. Games of chance are an outlet when hard work and personal qualifications are powerless to achieve success. An individual who is conscious that others are more able, skilful, intelligent, hard-working, ambitious, healthy, strong, pleasing and persuasive than himself, does not place trust in "exact, impartial, rational comparisons". He turns rather to chance, seeking a discriminatory principle that might be kinder. Such individuals who despair of winning in contests of agôn,

...resort to lotteries or any games of chance, where even the least-endowed, stupidest, and most handicapped, the unskilful and indolent may be equal to the most resourceful and perspicacious as a result of the miraculous blindness of a new kind of justice (Caillois, 1962: 114).

## 2. Reasons for Gambling

Caillois' theoretical work provides us with a sociological framework for the analysis of gambling. Even so, as Devereux (1968: 53) points out, attempts to understand gambling have been speculative, impressionistic and moralistic rather than empirical.

Further, the theoretical aspects of gambling have not been adequately explored. For instance, while classifications of gamblers have been developed (Scimecca, 1971: 56-71; Barrow, 1969: 11-14; Scarne, 1961) there are few classifications of types of gambling itself.

Any classification of gambling should include the following dimensions: the balance between skill and chance; whether the player

bets against one or several opponents or none at all; whether the outcome is determined quickly or over a long period; whether the odds are fixed or variable; whether or not the odds are known before the bet; and whether the stakes are small or large. The analysis of such dimensions, however, cannot be taken up here.

In social-psychological terms, gambling is an instrumental activity, "directed toward a consciously recognised economic end" and an "expressive activity enjoyed as an end in itself" (Devereux, 1968: 53-54).

Both Huizinga (1950, 1955: 13) and Caillois (1962: 63) write that games (and therefore gambling) may be either complementary to, or antagonistic to the day-to-day world of social reality. In discussing the reasons for gambling, I shall not concern myself with the addictive pathological aspects (which may be antagonistic to day-to-day reality).

In my view, people gamble because they feel a sense of deprivation. The first type of deprivation is of a psychological nature. Because of the routine, predictable nature of their jobs or social circumstances, and the consequent lack of opportunities for excitement satisfaction, many people gamble for the emotional experience of excitement, uncertainty and risk-taking.

The second type of deprivation is more sociological. The fierce economic and status competition of the day-to-day world produces few winners and many losers. The losers, whose direct access to achievement are blocked by lack of skills, education, contacts and wealth, turn to other forms of competition (such as gambling) which they feel will offer them greater chances of success.

Bloch (1951) is one who has subscribed to both views. He says that gambling is an escape from the routine and boredom, which are characteristic of modern industrial life; "taking a chance" destroys routine and hence is pleasurable. Second, gambling is an outlet for many individuals who are hampered by lack of opportunities and social restrictions from experiencing pecuniary success and a variety of new situations. Thus for gamblers "the probability of being the winner or the loser in a gaming enterprise provides suspense, insecurity, new experience, and hope, serving important emotional needs in individuals whose lives are increasingly regularised" (Bloch, 1951: 217-218). He continues:



...the belief that chance works equally in favour of each one of the contestants in a gambling venture sustains the hope for status and reward, which the individual feels may not be achieved through the conventional and acceptable channels (*ibid.*).

Caillois' theoretical propositions are very similar to Bloch's. Both see gambling as providing an alternative opportunity to gain excitement and success - even though the chance of great success be illusory. The lack of resources, education, social contacts and social skills of many individuals may lead them to feel that in the day-to-day world of career, money and status they have no chance of winning. But in gambling, even if they lose, they are likely to have at least some wins - especially when the frequency rate of plays or bets is high and the stakes are low.

Two studies already referred to in the second chapter emphasise that lack of success and security in everyday life may lead individuals to gamble. The New England bar and grill studied by Zola (1963) was a social milieu in which gamblers could exercise some control over their fate, lash out at "the system", and receive recognition for their gambling successes. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1956, 1959: 158-162) commented that gambling pervaded and dominated every form of the leisure activity of Ashton miners. The miner, because of the various forms of insecurity which beset him, could not hope to avoid the limitations of his existence by saving money. Escape from the heavy, dirty and dangerous work could be achieved only by luck "in a big way". Moreover, Ashton residents desired self-assertion and the satisfaction derived from being lucky. The belief in luck reflected the suppression of merit, and any winner felt that his success was, in some sense proof that he was a favoured son of Providence.

Among those who have stressed psychological or emotional deprivation as being the crucial stimulant to gambling are W.I. Thomas (1900), Elias and Dunning (1969), Goffman (1969) and Ball (1971).

W.I. Thomas (1900: 750), early in this century commented that all classes of society, and the two sexes to about the same degree, had passionate interests in all forms of contest involving skill and chance, especially where the danger or risk was great. Thomas argued that in business, industrial and professional life, activity

was "more or less regular, recurrent and re-recurrent" (ibid.: 758). Unlike man in a state of nature who followed his instincts roving, fighting, hunting, wooing, and contriving, industrial pursuits lacked the spice of conflict and its attendant emotional elation.

Thomas saw gambling as one means of maintaining all the pleasure-pain sensations of conflict not only with little effort or drudgery, but with the additional incentive of securing money. Gambling is activity marked by imminent risk, strained attention and strong emotions; Thomas believed that the gambling instinct was innate, being an expression of a powerful reflex fixed far back in animal experience.

Similar arguments were re-echoed nearly seventy years later by Elias and Dunning (1969: 50). They maintained that seriously critical situations which spurred people to act in a highly excited manner had become less frequent in the most advanced industrial society compared with less developed societies. While the emotional restraint of work has infiltrated non-occupational spheres of life, leisure activities in advanced industrial societies operate as enclaves for the socially approved arousal of excitement and expressive public behaviour (ibid.: 53, 59). Elias and Dunning believe that in a society in which the propensities for the serious and threatening type of excitement have diminished, the compensatory function of play excitement increases. While the authors make no specific references to gambling as one means of finding such excitement, Goffman does.

"Where the Action Is" is a clause which has found its way into modern idiom, and is the title of an essay by Goffman. He defines action as those activities that are consequential, problematic and undertaken for what is felt to be their own sake (Goffman, 1969: 136). The term "action" had its slang beginning from gambling and Goffman describes gambling as the prototype of action (ibid.: 139).

Goffman argues that action is to be found wherever the individual knowingly takes consequential chances perceived as avoidable. Normally, action is not found at work or at home. Goffman specifies some locales where action can routinely be found - at commercialised competitive sports, non-spectator risky sports, bowling alleys, pool halls, amusement parks, casinos and race-tracks.

What intrigued Goffman was the actual social arrangements

through which action is made available. The gambling casino is Goffman's example of an institution whose physical and social organization is designed to facilitate the creation of action (ibid.: 149-150).

Goffman's discussion of gambling represents only a small part of a more comprehensive analysis of action, character contests and fatefulness. Perhaps one paragraph sums up the essence of his argument:

Looking for where the action is, one arrives at a romantic division of the world. On one side are the safe and silent places, the home, the well-regulated role in business, industry and the professions; on the other are all those activities that generate expression, requiring the individual to lay himself on the line and place himself in jeopardy during a passing moment. It is from this contrast that we fashion nearly all our commercial fantasies. It is from this contrast that delinquents, criminals, hustlers and sportsmen draw their self-respect (ibid.: 204-205).

Ball (1971) is another who has given attention to the tendency of persons to deliberately seek out, and involve themselves in risk and uncertain situations with the prospect of gain or loss, even injury and danger. He defines action as self-testing or voluntary involvement in situations and activities which are bounded off from everyday routine, uncertain but fateful and subjectively stimulating (ibid.: 1-8). Besides conceptually examining and describing the nature of action and the deliberate involvement in risk, Ball uses games as an index of action to propose predictions concerning the relationship between the types of action and socio-cultural ecological environment.

In the light of these theories, I wish now to speculate why Australians have a predilection for gambling and why the form of gambling is marked by heavy reliance on chance and so little on skill.

In such a discussion some reference must be made to the nature of the Australian character and the value system - especially mateship, equalitarianism and fatalism. Numerous writers, including Russel Ward (1958, 1966: 2), have discussed the mateship ethos. Part of this ethos is that a man must stick with his mates through thick and thin. One consequence of this ethos has been that Australians have displayed ambiguity about social and career mobility. If a person seeks job promotion, it may necessitate "leaving one's

mates behind". Taft and Walker (1958: 143-147) state that the main bar to upward mobility in the working class is probably the lack of motivation which results from the high degree of class identification. Many Australians have not sought identification and success in the job or career, but in leisure. As Hancock (1930, 1966: 237) has said "a great deal of the spontaneous energy of Australians is spent in the pursuit of pleasure" - especially in sport and gambling.

Further, Australians have tended to diminish rather than encourage involvement with people and social issues - compared with North Americans. Australian personal relationships are circumscribed rather than close, even among "mates". In recent years there has been an upsurge in instrumental voluntary association activity but prior to this, generally, Australians have not, as ordinary citizens, joined pressure groups to bring about or prevent changes in the society. Policy and decision-making about the general society have been left to the politicians, public servants and local government officials.<sup>1</sup>

This comparative lack of involvement both with persons and issues has reduced the areas in which Australians can experience excitement. Under these circumstances, ~~many~~<sup>many</sup> individuals have turned to sport (either as participants or observers) and gambling for excitement satisfaction.

Two other values, equalitarianism and fatalism, have been considered by various writers as being important determinants of the Australian character. Encel (1970: 49) has commented that Australians have worshipped at the shrine of egalitarianism, sustained in their beliefs by the observations of critics like Fronde, Siegfried and D.H. Lawrence, who have spotlighted the lack of class distinction in Australia. Taft (1962: 197), in a study of matched groups of Australians and European migrants in Western Australia found that Australians valued social equalitarianism more than the migrants. Lipset, who suggested that Australians placed an ever higher value on equalitarianism than Americans, quotes W.K. Hancock's aphorism on the Australian penchant to "cut down the tall poppies" (Lipset, 1964: 339). While both Australians and Americans have stressed equality, they have stressed different kinds of equality - equality of opportunity and equality of condition. When

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<sup>1</sup> See Taft and Walker, 1958: 146.

equality of opportunity is the operant value, individuals compete for differential rewards. The successful receive great rewards according to merit, and the unsuccessful receive less because of their failings. Equality of opportunity is the opportunity to be unequal, on the social Darwinistic or "rugged individualism" principle.

In a society which stresses equality of condition, the competitive aspect is de-emphasised. All possess an inalienable equality of condition, at least up to a limit (and the basic wage is one Australian example). The range of competition for greater inequality is consequently narrower, and real personal merit and inherited social position are to this extent, devalued.

It has been suggested by Encel (1970: 109) that if income distribution is a test of the real strength of egalitarian values, then Australia is more markedly egalitarian than most other countries. Lydall (1968:157) has shown that employment incomes are relatively equally distributed in Australia. Of the twenty-five countries he studied, Australia was in the top five on this dimension.

Equality of condition in Australian social mores may be reflected in the tendency of Australians to deflate, ignore or criticise excellence, especially when individuals have competence that lies outside the common experience of Australians; to sympathise with and support the underdog; and to view every man as being as good as any other man, even though some are clearly more able, accomplished and successful than others.

In the generalisations above, I do not wish to imply that Australians ignore all excellence. Australians have traditionally revered sporting skills and there are many examples of elitist tendencies in Australian life - witness the strength of the private schools, and the honours system.

While Australians have been fiercely competitive in the field of sport with merit being the dominant criterion, in legalized gambling in Australia, skill is eliminated and chance is the supreme judge. Moreover, a sense of fatalism in the Australian national character is a further reflection of this acceptance of chance.

Once again very little empirical evidence exists to show that Australians are more fatalistic than people in other modern industrial nations. Critics have frequently complained about the apathy of Australians and their tendency to put up with conditions that would

frustrate North Americans. Australians have in the past prided themselves on their resourcefulness, ability to put up with discomfort, and to make do with the resources available.<sup>1</sup> The chance succession of droughts, floods and bush fires no doubt made its impression on the development of the early Australian character with the recognition that Nature at times could not be tamed by man. If one can judge by comments of victims of bush fires, evictions and floods interviewed on television, then many Australians appear to accept that good and bad fortune can fall upon the individual whether he deserves it or not. Many Australian women and older Australians are avid readers of horoscopes which appear in every popular magazine and daily newspaper. The Australian tendency to attribute success to luck rather than goodness or ability, is neatly captured in a best-selling book, The Lucky Country (Horne, 1964). Lotteries, horse-racing and poker machines loom large in the life experience of many Australians.<sup>2</sup> Thus the high valuation of equality of condition, the tendency to seek excitement outside the career world, and the predisposition towards fatalism, combine to encourage considerable commitment to gambling.

### 3. Characteristics of the Poker Machine as a Device for Gambling

I wish now to give attention to the peculiar characteristics of the slot or poker machine in an attempt to understand why individuals choose this form of gambling.

#### a) Rapidity of Play on the Poker Machine

Goffman (1969: 111-113) distinguishes four time sequences in any given betting situation. The first is the bet-making or squaring-off phase in which the player or players decide to bet. Second there is the in-play or determination phase during which relevant causal forces produce an outcome. The revelatory or disclosive phase is that time between determination and the informing of the result to the participants - (this period is often very short and possesses a suspense of its own). Finally there is the settlement phase, commencing when the outcome has been disclosed and lasting until gains or losses have been settled. The four phases

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<sup>1</sup> See Taft and Walker, (1958: 145) on the public patience of Australians, when after World War II, public services were curtailed or suspended frequently by strikes.

<sup>2</sup> Poker machines are, of course, confined to N.S.W.

of the play - squaring-off, determination, disclosure and settlement - constitute the "span" of the play and periods between plays, "pauses". A series of "spans" constitute a "session" and the number of completed plays during any unit of time gives the "rate" of play for that time.

With the possible exception of craps (a game apparently absent in Australia) no form of gambling offers as rapid a rate of play as poker machines - from ten to fifteen "spans" a minute.<sup>1</sup> This very rapid rate of play contrasts strongly with some other forms of legalized gambling. For instance, in buying a lottery or raffle ticket one cannot expect a result for several days or even longer; and when one bets on a horse race, half an hour or longer may pass between placing of the bet and settling. Moreover, whereas a bettor on horse-racing may have only eight chances to win or lose in an entire afternoon the poker machine player has a vastly increased number of possibilities for winning or losing in a given session. Although each bet is small, there are many opportunities for rewards. Thus the poker machine, which has been described as "the automatic harnessing of chance" provides the player with many chances at the "action", a feature which represents a basic appeal of poker machines as a form of gambling.

#### b) Partial Reinforcement

The rapid rate of play combined with a payout rate of approximately 1 in 6 suggests another reason for the appeal of poker machines. Gambling illustrates the principle of "intermittent reinforcement" or "partial reward" and the evidence is overwhelming that activities reinforced in this way are almost totally resistant to extinction (Devereux, 1968: 55). The poker machine player knows that if he continues to play that within a minute or so, he is likely to score a payout. The likelihood of continued returns, even though most of the prizes may be minor ones, encourages the player to persist.

Part of the reinforcement theory links with the conflict drive theories developed by J.M. Whiting and his associates. When the same activity is sometimes rewarded and sometimes not, conflict between the contradictory expectations of reward and punishment has

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<sup>1</sup> Although "two-up", a very popular coin-tossing game amongst ex-servicemen and in frontier country towns in Australia is another exception.

the effect of adding drive strength to the originally reinforced action. In other words, if the gambler always won or lost, he would tend to lose interest; but the conflict between hope and fear keeps the gambler playing. One of the reasons then for the seductiveness of poker machines is that partial reinforcement payout techniques encourage the gamblers to continue playing.

Devereux (1968) mentions the work of Crandall as further evidence from learning studies that positive events are learned more rapidly and extinguished more slowly than negative events. He suggests that this helps to explain the tendency among gamblers to think that they are ahead - to remember the exciting winning play and to forget the losing plays. From my own observations, players seem prepared to play to lose on poker machines, so long as there are sufficient payouts for them to derive pleasure.

The man-machine confrontation associated with the playing of poker machines is another factor contributing to the popularity of the machines. Players who lose on the machines are motivated to continue playing because they do not want to be "beaten" by a mere piece of mechanical gadgetry. On the other hand, some middle class people are repelled by this man-machine confrontation, and refuse to consider to play poker machines because they regard the activity as demeaning.

#### c) The Automated Harnessing of Chance and the Elimination of Skill

The most popular legal forms of gambling in Australia are those which require little or no skill. Leaving aside poker machine gambling for the moment, lotteries, raffles, sweepstakes and bingo are practised extensively in this country and none of these demand skill and experience from the player. While betting on horses and greyhounds is enthusiastically pursued there are many bettors, especially females, who make random choices by names or numbers rather than employing knowledge of such factors as previous performance, state of the track, fitness of the horses, and the skill of the jockey, in making a decision whether to bet on one horse rather than another.

More sophisticated betting games that are well-known in Europe and America (such as craps, roulette, Black Jack, Baccarat and Chemin-de-Fer) are not played frequently in Australia, and currently all of them are illegal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> However, Tasmania is building two casinos, at which these games will be legal.



Unlike these games, the playing of poker machines requires absolutely no skill or previous experience from the player. The inexperienced player is at little disadvantage compared with the seasoned poker machine investor.<sup>1</sup> The only abilities required to play a poker machine are those of placing a coin in the throat of the machine and pulling the handle. The result and payout (if any) are determined speedily and nearly always accurately by the automatic machine.

#### Characteristics of Poker Machine Playing in N.S.W.

Malcolm Muggeridge, the English critic, over a decade ago noted the appeal that poker machines had for Australians. He commented that those who bet on football pools and horses, even those who played Chemin-de-Fer and roulette believed that skill and knowledge gained through experience helped them to gamble with greater chances of success. But the purely mechanical operation of poker machines eliminates any pretence at skill. The player pulls the lever, watches the little pictures spin round and fatalistically awaits the result. For Muggeridge this was actual, not theoretical equality and he suggested that this partly accounted for the enormous appeal of these machines to Australians. Not only were winnings pure gain, which even the tax collector could not touch but "no work, no endeavour, no exercise of cunning" had gone into its acquisition and Muggeridge rightly assumed that there is no reason for "thinking that some extra effort, some additional subtlety or resolution" makes any difference to the result. He compared poker machine players to mystics "who have put aside all appetite, all links with the earth and with their fellows to pursue the absolute" by putting aside all the normal techniques of cupidity to serve chance (SMH, April 12, 1958). In poker machine playing, gambling is reduced to its ultimate abstraction.

The lawyer, the doctor and company manager have absolutely no advantage over the labourer or housewife in playing the "pokies". Within its sphere the poker machine is a great equaliser. Caillois'

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<sup>1</sup> Unless the neophyte in his early encounters with a machine strikes a jackpot within the early moments of playing and does not realise that the bulk of the jackpot must be collected from the supervisor or steward. I have seen this phenomenon occur at least once, and have heard of its occurring on other occasions.

classification of games differentiates between agôn and alea. Alea games are those in which the outcome is reached independently of the player and is the subject of fate. The player is entirely passive for he does not use his resources, skill, muscles or intelligence. Alea abolishes natural or acquired individual differences so that all are placed on an absolutely equal footing to await the blind verdict of chance (Caillois, 1962: 17-18). Thus the poker machine is the ideal-type aleatory device.

### 1. Availability and Accessibility of Poker Machines

One reason accounting for the popularity of poker machine playing in N.S.W. is the accessibility of machines. Although they are not placed in all types of commercial establishments as in the State of Nevada, any person who wants to play poker machines can usually become a member of a club at little cost.

Other gambling organizations in N.S.W. such as the T.A.B. agencies, lottery offices and bingo halls perform only limited betting functions for the participants, although racecourses represent a possible exception. But clubs are multi-functional organizations. While registered clubs in N.S.W. may open twenty-four hours a day, most large clubs operate from approximately 11 a.m. to midnight, with extensions of hours at weekends and on special occasions. Many people go to clubs to have a quiet drink, a meal or watch entertainment. Although they may not be strongly motivated to gamble, the availability of the machines undoubtedly leads many to have a small flutter. At N.S.W. holiday resorts, tourists are generally admitted freely to most clubs, where they take advantage of the facilities, including poker machines.

### 2. The Casino Atmosphere of Large Clubs

In popular magazine and newspaper literature there have been numerous descriptions of the atmosphere in gambling casinos, especially in Nevada. Reference has been made to the feverish excitement and the intense concentration of players. Some writers like Olmstead (1962: 269-70) have commented upon the stoicism and mirthlessness of players in gambling institutions. Gambling, it seems, can also be work.

At the large N.S.W. clubs some of the casino atmosphere is generated, especially in large rooms or lounges crowded with players and machines. An air of excitement is created, largely by the

admixture of sounds: the endless thump of poker machine handles being pulled; the constant crash of the coins thudding into the metal payout trays indicating wins; the buzz of bells, which on some machines accompanies jackpots; and in some clubs the announcement of "Four Stars in the main bar", "Gold Award in the mixed lounge" or "Three Incas in the auditorium" blaring forth over the club's public address system indicating jackpot wins.

Two physical characteristics of the machines contribute to the volume of sound. In the first place the heavier 20c coins make a more resounding noise than 10c coins and considerably more than 5c coins. Second, various metals are used in the composition of the payout trays. According to a Sydney poker machine manufacturer, one large Sydney club has expressly asked for metal to be used which will reverberate and increase sound whereas some other clubs have asked for the use of less noisy metal in payout trays. This mixture of sounds described above has been called by players "poker machine percussion". While coin crashing and handle thumping may contribute to the attraction of poker machine playing, it does interfere with other club activities. Many clubs in the past had poker machines in the auditorium where entertainment was also conducted. The volume of complaints encouraged many club managements to take remedial action. In some cases poker machines have been removed entirely from the main auditorium, as at the St George Leagues' Club. Other clubs ask their members to refrain from playing poker machines during a performance. Some entertainers indicated to me that they used to judge the success of their act and the receptivity of the audience by the extent to which club members and visitors stopped playing poker machines during their act.

In large clubs, the rows and rows of dazzling neon-lit poker machines bathed in soft lighting create an atmosphere which is probably conducive to gambling. However, the conservatism of club management, and the social control exercised by the State Government have operated to prevent clubs from developing into gambling dens. Consider Goffman's description of hotel casinos:

...a brief penetration into high living is laid on. Attendant-parked limousines are cluttered at the entrance. Beyond the entrance, the setting is luxurious. Liquor is served at the tables, often at no cost to the consumer. A quality buffet may be provided, allowing for discriminative gorging.

A gratuity system is encouraged that elevates its users and provides scantily clad waitresses, selected for their looks, to be somewhat accessible. A 'pit' operated signal system enables these girls to deliver drinks, cigarettes, and aspirin anywhere on the premises upon request. Keno 'runners' and change girls are similarly organized to be at beck and call. Table contact is facilitated with the nationally known and with big spenders. Proximity to what some might consider the gangster element is also provided. Easy access to nationally famous entertainment is assured, and even some physical closeness to the entertainers themselves. The lounge bar is 'dressed' with chorus girls clothed in their off-stage costumes. Female customers feel they can experiment with sports high-fashion, claiming an age and style they might be too modest to try out at home. In brief, the opportunity for ephemeral ennoblement abounds. However, should the consumer want to sit down during this ennoblement, he will very likely have to sit at a gaming table. There is a rich ambience, then, but each minute of it is likely to cost the risking of considerable money (Goffman, 1969: 147-8).

Unlike Nevada casinos, N.S.W. clubs have shown a surprising reluctance to use attractive girls as employees. If sexually attractive girls are an encouragement to gambling, then N.S.W. club directors and officials have failed to appreciate and make use of them. Alternatively, clubs and their officials perhaps unconsciously anticipating opposition from middle class wowsers, adopt middle class values to forestall further criticism, and therefore refrain from hiring provocative females.

Second, compared to the slot machines operating in Nevada, the size of jackpots in N.S.W. is very restricted. In Las Vegas and Reno jackpots can be as high as \$1,000 to \$10,000 whereas club jackpots rarely exceed \$100, although in November 1971, the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club introduced two machines which have jackpots of \$1,000. Third, the highest denomination of machine in operation in N.S.W. is the 20c machine and as indicated earlier percentage of 20c machines has dropped from 34.3 per cent in 1956-57 to 10.7 per cent in June 1971. In Las Vegas and Reno gambling casinos, 50c, \$1 and \$5 machines are available. In one section of a Reno casino that Rice and Blascovich studied, there were 182 5c slot machines (49 per cent of the total machines), eighty-eight 10c (24 per cent), fifty-nine 25c (16 per cent), eleven 50c (3 per cent), thirty \$1 (8.0 per cent) and two \$5 machines (0.5 per cent)

(Rice and Blascovich, 1971: 1). This tally represented about one third of the number of machines in the casino. In addition, attempts to introduce multi-coin machines and computote machines in N.S.W. clubs have been curbed by the State Government (SMH, December 21, 1965).

Finally, compared to the hotel casinos in Nevada and the British gaming clubs, the N.S.W. clubs pale into insignificance in terms of the available range of gambling activities. The St George Leagues' Club planned to provide a T.A.B. agency for the benefit of its members, but the State Government prevented it from doing so (SMH, July 19, 1968). For a time, bingo games were permitted on club premises for charitable purposes, but in March 1969, the State Government banned the game on licensed premises. In mid-1967, Sydney's Lord Mayor suggested that baccarat and other forms of gambling be legalized but no moves have been made to implement this suggestion (SMH, June 27, 1967). Only in Tasmania has there been a decision to build a casino.

In other words, in N.S.W. there seems to have been deliberate Government decisions to ensure that gambling is not the preserve of the elite or the affluent, but is open to all. For instance, if \$1 or \$5 poker machines were legal, some people would be too poor to play them, and the machines would therefore be socially discriminatory.

### 3. Pattern of Poker Machine Playing in N.S.W.

The empirical literature on gambling and slot machine playing is very limited. One recent unpublished study carried out by two University of Nevada sociologists at a Reno gambling casino (Rice and Blascovich, 1971) was undertaken to determine the incidence of socio-demographic characteristics thought to be significant in understanding the social structure of slot machine playing. Non-participant observers studied machine players for one hour a night (from 9 p.m. to 10 p.m.) on each day of one week. Each player at selected banks of machines was observed and classified with regard to four demographic variables, namely sex, age, socio-economic status and companionship (i.e. whether the player was alone or accompanied). Each observer classified the social class of the player into upper, middle or lower class and into five age categories ranging from 20-29 to 60 and over. They found that

the vast majority of slot machine players were over 40 years old (83.6 per cent). Of these, over half were over 50. Eighty-five per cent of the players observed were judged to be middle class people. Although \$1 denominational machines were played much less, they grossed four times the amount that nickel machines collected, but much less than the amount grossed by 25c machines. The researchers found that women on average played longer than men on 5c and 25c machines. The playing of more than one machine was fairly common - ranging from 22 per cent to 44 per cent depending upon the sex of the players and the denomination of the machine.

In this research, I have made no systematic attempt to study the pattern of poker machine playing, largely because of the greater importance of other tasks. A systematic analysis would need to consider the following variables: (a) the proportion of people playing singly or in groups, (b) the sex of the players, (c) the denomination of the machines played, (d) multiple or single machine playing, (e) length of playing, (f) outcomes of each play and sessions of play, (g) age of the players, and (h) reactions of players to outcomes (stoical versus expressive).

Scimecca (1971: 56-71) has recently presented a typology of gamblers - the professional, the percentage, the cheater, the compulsive, the economic, the thrill and the functional gamblers. While the economic gambler seems to me hard to distinguish from the percentage player or the professional, the thrill and the functional gamblers link with the theories of Caillois, Bloch, Goffman, Thomas and others mentioned earlier.

Only one writer has developed a classification of poker machine players. Barrow (1969) distinguishes between types of non-addictive poker machine gamblers. Firstly, there are the "socials" or the "recreationals" whose gambling and drinking rarely go beyond a sociable level. Such people attend a club perhaps one or two nights a week, share a few drinks with friends, gamble a little on the "pokies", and go home around 11 p.m.. Barrow suggests that they may win or lose a few dollars, with the outcomes having little deleterious effect on their lives. The majority of club members and visitors appear to be in this category, and most play poker machines largely for amusement.

Barrow's second group are the "impulsives". These go to the

club more often and have an occasional fling on the machines winning on some occasions \$10, \$20 or more. At other times they may lose a week's or a fortnight's pay. Remorseful, they castigate themselves for chasing their losses and resolve not to allow a recurrence. In most cases "impulsives" are able to control their gambling.

Barrow's third group are a small number of "professionals", who go to the club for the sole reason of locking "horns with the glittering line of brightly coloured machines" (Barrow, 1969: 12-14). Barrow claims that these "professionals" see gambling as a contest and a serious business requiring something more than just luck and preferably a system or a plan on which to operate. Barrow's fourth group, the "addictives" or the "compulsives", play because they have no control over their gambling (*ibid.*: 16). He estimates the number of addictives in Sydney as possibly 30,000 - a statistic based on the U.S. Department of Health's estimated 6 million compulsive gamblers in the United States in 1964.

Barrow's classification of slot machine players is useful but incomplete. He does not consider, for instance, the possibility of progression or regression of stages in poker machine playing, in the way Jellinek (1946) has formulated stages of addictive drinking (pre-alcoholic, prodromal, crucial and chronic phases). I have discussed with a number of Queanbeyan Leagues' Club members their reasons for playing poker machines; and from observation of, and my own experiences with poker machines, there appear to be four stages through which a player may progress and sometimes regress. The two key criteria are the motivation for playing and the amount invested. The scheme is outlined below (see Table 6.7).

Table 6.7

Type of Poker Machine Players at  
Queanbeyan Leagues' Club

| Ceiling                 | Motivation          |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
|                         | For Amusement       | To Win                          |
| Low Stake below \$5     | Stage 1<br>NEOPHYTE | Stage 2<br>WIN/AMUSEMENT        |
|                         | Win Jackpots        | To Play Compulsively            |
| High Stake above<br>\$5 | Stage 3<br>JACKPOT  | Stage 4<br>COMPULSIVE ADDICTIVE |

a) Neophyte Players

The player gambles for the new experience and amusement. He does not readily recognise winning combinations and is unfamiliar with the differences between various types of machines. Small pays of three or five coins will bring as much pleasure as a drop of eighteen coins. The poker machine is regarded as a new toy that after an insertion of a coin may spit out money. The player is not very concerned about winning or losing, but plays for the experience of watching the symbols spin with the possibility of the occasional "drop". Neophyte players usually place only loose change in the machine.

b) Win/Amusement Players

As the player becomes more experienced, he recognises winning combinations and finds some types of machines more desirable than others. His motivation is changing; while playing for amusement is still important, the motivation to win has increased. He is content if he wins, and a couple of good "drops" will please him. Generally, he sets a limit on the amount of money he will invest, for example, one, two or even five dollars. He may stop playing quite early if he secures a few good payouts in the early stages of playing.

c) Jackpot Players

It is likely that a player does not reach this stage unless he has had one or more jackpots. He is no longer content with good "drops" or even winning, but wishes to repeat the experience of scoring a jackpot. Drops of any size represent "pin" money which provide coins to continue the chase for jackpots. The hope of gaining a jackpot is the primary motivation. The gambler may have a limit which he is prepared to invest and depending upon his resources, it may be as high as \$10 or more.

d) Addictive Players

The player is determined to win jackpots and may not set a ceiling on the stake in the quest for jackpots. Even the attainment of a jackpot will not halt his playing, for he wants more jackpots. Above all, he is impelled to play, whatever the results.

These four stages may represent points on a continuum from rejection of machines to addiction rather than clearly defined progressive stages. This typology will receive further consideration in discussing poker machine playing practices of Queanbeyan Leagues'



Club members.

Both men and women play machines with varying degrees of persistency - although I cannot specify which age groups play with most intensity. While simultaneous use of more than one machine is fairly common, it is not nearly as frequent a phenomenon as with the casino machine players in Reno. In private communication, Rice reports that multiple machine playing is so common in Reno clubs that signs are placed on each slot machine with the phrase "limit two machines". Constant altercations occur between female players who accuse one another of "playing too many machines". Women who play for long periods usually play several machines, while the fewer men who play for long time spans usually play only one machine but move from time to time.

#### 4. Individual Playing: Sequence of Events

When an individual decides to play, he makes a series of decisions. The first act is the decision to play. Second, the player must have some coins to play with; usually the player goes to the change-box to exchange notes into the denomination of coins corresponding to the machine he intends to play. His third act is to choose a machine - assuming that a range of machines is available. To commence a "span" of play, the gambler performs two acts - the placing of the coin in the throat of the machine and the pulling of the handle. It is unlikely that these two acts and the manner in which they are performed affect the result - yet players perform as if they do. Some variation can take place in the pulling of the handle - either quickly or slowly, heavily or gently, with the left or right hand. To my knowledge there is no way of knowing whether a quick, heavy pull of the handle sets the reels spinning to produce a result different from a slow, gentle pull. Once the reels have stopped, there are only three possible results. The most frequent occurrence is a loss in which the combination of symbols does not produce a payout. A less frequent phenomenon is a non-jackpot win when the machine pays out automatically a number of coins. The most infrequent result is the jackpot win. With older machines a "drop" of twenty coins falls into the tray and the player must indicate to the steward that he has a jackpot. On modern machines, jackpot wins are paid out automatically, overcoming this difficulty.

If a player's stake has been lost, he must decide whether to

continue playing or to cease. If he decides to play the same machine, he must reserve it and obtain more coins. Alternatively, he might select another machine. It is not uncommon for players (whether they are winning or losing) to move from one machine to another. A winner may decide that his machine has been paying out so well (a "hot" machine) that its providence will soon dissipate (go "cold"). In this man-machine relationship, players often attribute to a particular machine certain physical states - that it is "hot", "cold", or "hungry"<sup>1</sup> - largely because the individual is powerless to affect the outcomes.

A losing player on a "hungry" or "cold" machine may leave it in search of a less "hungry" machine. But players often believe that a machine that has been "cold" may suddenly become "hot". For instance, a player notices that his neighbour has played thirty or forty coins in a machine without any appreciable result. When the neighbour leaves, the player may move to that machine in the belief that it will soon commence paying. The fact that a machine has been "hot" or "cold" may lead an individual either to continue playing that machine or move to another.

There are a number of semi-formal rules of etiquette which players are expected to observe. If a player wishes to temporarily adjourn his playing of a particular machine - to obtain more coins, purchase a drink, cigarettes or go to the toilet, he must reserve it. Other players are expected to respect his right of reservation - providing he re-commences playing within three minutes. Most gamblers are reluctant to play a reserved machine, even though the reserver has exceeded his time limit - unless the club is crowded and few machines are available. A second rule which players are required to observe (at least at the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club) is that a player must not conclude playing with a winning combination showing. The rationales for such a rule are that a new player can contact the steward pointing out that he has a pay combination showing for which he has not been paid; and second, a newcomer will tend not to play a machine which reveals that a payout has occurred on the last play.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable features of poker machine playing that I have observed is the calmness with which players

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible that these may be sexual rather than physical states.

accept their losses. Never have I seen a display of anger by a person who has lost heavily. There seems to be a virtual absence of aggressive behaviour such as kicking or thumping the machines, anger or cursing, perhaps indicating the strength of social pressure that discourages expressive reactions - especially aggression.<sup>1</sup> With individual playing, even the scoring of wins does not bring excited responses. However, in group playing more expressive behaviour can be observed, particularly amongst women players and neophytes. Highly excited reactions to wins amongst a group of gamblers may be indicative of early encounters with the "pokies".

#### 5. Group Playing

The complaint is often made, especially by middle class individuals, that poker machine playing is a solitary, individual, unstimulating activity. However, poker machine playing at the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club is often a group rather than an individual phenomenon. Work colleagues, married couples, neighbours and relatives visit the club in groups and after drinking, eating and watching entertainment together, they participate as a group in poker machine playing.

When group playing occurs, rules are informally worked out for playing. Generally, one individual will lead and place, for instance, five coins in the machine followed by a successor who puts in the same amount until a decision to stop gambling is made. Humorous banter often accompanies playing, and members of the group are singled out for their ability or inability to contribute to the group's financial resources. Encouragement and praise are given both to winners and losers, although losers may be the object of good-natured scoffing. While individual playing does not encourage much interaction or expressive behaviour, the dynamics of group playing are more permissive. One of the few possibilities for interaction amongst members of the club who are strangers to one another occurs during playing. Interaction is normally limited to the exchange of comments about the player's own or his neighbour's run of successes or failures, requests to watch the machine while the player is away, whether the machine is "hungry", "cold" or "paying", and commiserations on a

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<sup>1</sup> During 1971, at least one member broke the glass on the front of a machine, presumably by thumping it in anger.

neighbour's bad luck in just missing a particular combination or jackpot.

There are advantages to individual as opposed to group playing. The individual sets his own financial goals and limits, and he may pursue these without social pressure. In a group-playing situation, such goals and limits may be submerged in a group decision. For instance, one player may feel that the group is enough "in front" to distribute the winnings. Alternatively, he may feel that the group has already lost too much and he may not wish to contribute further. However, to avoid group approbation or disapproval he may continue to contribute his share of playing money.

Are there differences between patterns of playing in N.S.W. clubs and Reno casinos? In September 1971, William Rice of the University of Reno commented upon a draft of this chapter. He made special reference to the total absence of group playing in the Reno clubs, and said that machines could not be reserved by individuals - except when the casino occasionally permitted reservation of a machine for up to an hour. No one in Reno has to leave a machine except for a meal or a visit to the toilet. Innumerable change persons, cocktail waitresses, and Keno runners cater to the gambler's needs while playing. However, Rice expressed surprise at the many similarities between the N.S.W. non-proprietary and the Reno proprietary clubs.

#### Social Dysfunctions of Poker Machines

In Chapter 5, I documented a variety of objections to poker machines. If we look at general attitudes to gambling, gambling in Australia (unlike the United States) is not regarded as a deviant activity, and the majority of Australians admit to gambling in some form or other. McGregor (1966: 142-143) quotes from 1956 and 1957 Gallup Poll results on gambling. In the first, 39 per cent of people had bought a lottery ticket the previous week; every second person interviewed had won a prize in a lottery, and roughly 90 per cent of Australians had bought a lottery ticket at some time or other. The 1957 Gallup Poll dealt with horse-racing, and of the sample, 20 per cent bet at least once a month, 20 per cent had an occasional bet, 20 per cent had not bet for years and were virtually non-bettors, and 40 per cent had never had a bet. The Australian Hotels' Association survey carried out in two electorates in 1961 contained a question on what forms people had gambled during the

preceding month. In the city electorate, 53 per cent of the sample had bought a ticket in a raffle or art union, 66.5 per cent a lottery ticket, 20.5 per cent had bet on horses or dogs and 15.1 per cent had played poker machines. In the country electorate, 64.5 per cent had bought a raffle or art union ticket, 58.3 per cent a lottery ticket, 20 per cent had had a bet on a horse or dog race and 19.4 per cent had played poker machines. Only 18.1 per cent of city electors and 17.2 per cent of country electors disapproved of gambling. In a January 1972 Gallup Poll, only 10 per cent disapproved of all of eight forms of gambling.<sup>1</sup>

Not only do a majority of Australians appear to accept gambling as a non-deviant activity but this recognition has been institutionalised in those forms of gambling that have been legalized. Another characteristic of gambling in Australia is that the accruing profits do not, in the main, benefit individuals, but collectivities. In N.S.W. at least, the State operates and controls lotteries and has its own off-course betting shops from which it draws the proceeds. Poker machine profits are ploughed back into the clubs with some funds occasionally being diverted to charities, sporting organizations and educational institutions. The taxes on poker machines help finance hospitals and the building of old people's homes.

However there are organizations and sections of the population opposed to gambling. Objections to poker machines rest on five grounds, namely that (1) problems of social welfare arise from heavy poker machine losses, (2) from a religious point of view, gambling is sinful and wasteful, (3) heavy poker machine playing brings about economic disturbances, (4) poker machine playing is an unstimulating form of leisure activity and (5) problems emerge from cheating on poker machines. It should be noted that while some critics have been concerned only with heavy poker machine playing, others have been totally opposed to any gambling on poker machines.

#### 1. Problems of Social Welfare

There is no doubt that heavy poker machine losses have caused considerable distress for some individuals and families. As sensational examples, one Sydney newspaper gave front-page coverage to the deaths of two individuals who had allegedly committed suicide

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<sup>1</sup> State lotteries, raffles with valuable prizes, football pools, off-course totes on horse, dog and trot races, poker machines in clubs, poker machines in T.A.B.'s, off-course starting-price bookmakers and casinos (Australian Gallup Polls, January 1972).

because of losses on the machines (DM, September 4, 5, 1968). The only statistical evidence available on gambling addiction in N.S.W. comes from a Sydney voluntary assistance organization called 'Life-line' which reported that over a three-year period 291 compulsive gamblers had sought help from the organization. Of these more than 60 per cent were poker machine addicts (Sun-Herald, March 20, 1966).

Just as some churchmen, politicians, and organizations have stated that poker machines are responsible for a high degree of addiction, club managers, officials and directors have countered that the playing of poker machines creates only minor addictive problems. The rate of addiction is probably much less severe than churchmen claim it is, but more serious than club officials care to admit. Club managers claim frequently that they keep watchful eyes on those people who are playing poker machines too heavily and discourage them from continuing. One woman at the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club has been encouraged by several officials to cease continual playing but their warnings have been ignored. Club officials are reluctant to issue cautions to players, not because it would reduce poker machine profits, but because it represents an attempt to curb a person's freedom to do as he or she wishes. These cautions are often resented by the players to whom such warnings are issued.

Club officials assert that informal assistance has been given to families when heavy poker machine losses have been incurred by a member. To my knowledge, no formal structure exists in any club whereby individuals whose spouses have lost heavily may seek assistance from the club. If such a structure were created, there is some doubt as to whether advantage would be taken of it. Clubs might give a small percentage of their machine profits to outside social welfare agencies, whose responsibilities could include dealing with problems caused by heavy poker machine losses; alternatively, clubs might appoint welfare workers to their own staffs.

Another frequent claim of poker machine opponents is that the players who are losing most, are those who can least afford it. There is no evidence to support this claim. Obviously, heavy losers on low incomes represent a particularly susceptible group, but no reliable data is available to indicate how large this problem group is.

## 2. Religious Objections to Poker Machines

There is no need to repeat in detail the list of objections put forward by representatives of the Protestant churches. Unlike the Catholic Church, Protestant denominations have regarded gambling as intrinsically sinful because of its reliance on chance, its mockery of reward for merit, and its negation of the Protestant ethic of just rewards for services rendered. In their view gambling has been responsible for moral degradation and weakening the moral fibre of the nation (SMH, August 4, 1956). Politicians have often joined them in describing poker machines as a "social evil".

## 3. Economic Objections to Poker Machines

As the clubs have increased in social and economic significance, the economic position of hotels has been less dominant. Hotels and other organizations, jealous of clubs' success have been critical of economic fluctuation which they attribute directly to clubs. If members had not increasingly patronised clubs, they might have spent more of their leisure time and money at other leisure organizations such as restaurants, cinemas and hotels. In 1969, a spokesman for the Motion Picture Exhibitors' Association of N.S.W. stated that over 50 per cent of the cinemas operating in 1956 have since closed down. He said that ten o'clock closing of hotels, the advent of television, poker machines and clubs were responsible (SMH, May 15, 1969).

The Secretary of the Retail Traders' Association has maintained that poker machines adversely affect community spending, channelling money away from its normal courses, causing hardship and crime (SMH, June 12, 1964). He has also argued that an increase in employee dishonesty and the demise of many small shops can be attributed to poker machines (Sun-Herald, December 12, 1965; SMH, December 15, 1965). More recently he is reported to have stated that to the best of his knowledge "there have been no findings on this subject. Nor do I know of any evidence that people are in dire straits owing to poker machines" (SMH, May 15, 1969).

The argument that some small retailers have suffered from losses on poker machines is a doubtful one considering their loss of patronage to large stores and supermarkets. While some small retailers may have experienced decreased patronage because of losses on poker machines, suppliers to clubs have benefitted enormously - for instance, furniture manufacturers, liquor retailers, builders, carpet

manufacturers and of course, poker machine manufacturers.

The entertainment industry in N.S.W. has been given a great fillip as a result of the injection of funds from poker machines. The Secretary of Actors' Equity has said that although clubs do not employ actors, they have provided tremendous openings for variety artists, about 800 of whom appeared in clubs weekly in 1969. Clubs demanded quick variety acts that needed no audience concentration. The N.S.W. clubs offered these artists opportunities that did not exist anywhere else in the world (SMH, May 15, 1969).

Contrary to the views expressed by retailers and clergymen, gambling losses are not "lost" permanently. In any gambling activity, the proceeds are redistributed among gamblers, the house or organization conducting the game, and the Government (if it taxes such activity). In N.S.W., apart from some isolated illegal enrichment of individuals, gambling profits are redistributed to the Government, charity and sporting organizations, and used for the development of leisure facilities for members.

#### 4. Poker Machine Playing as a Form of Demeaning Leisure Activity

A common complaint about machine playing is that it is a dull, unstimulating activity. For many critics, the sight of individuals standing before "hungry" mechanical monsters, endlessly inserting coins, pulling handles, and watching for the results is one that leads to statements lamenting "the enormous waste of time", "the total lack of enrichment to the individual's personality", etc.. These views are often expressed by middle class individuals who have rarely, if ever, played poker machines, and whose own lives have a comparatively high degree of stimuli. It can be described perhaps as a narcissistic view; in effect, they are saying that they are such intelligent people living in so stimulating an environment, that they do not need to participate in a mechanical activity like playing poker machines.

This middle class snobbery has been discussed by Hamilton-Patterson (1969: 887-9) who deals with British class attitudes towards Bingo playing - a highly organized and popular game among older working class people in England. He refers to the mocking jokes in Punch similar to those which once had ridiculed the speech of "the serving classes". He comments that the essential difference between an evening of Bridge and one of Bingo has never



been explained satisfactorily, for to the non-player both are painstakingly trivial. He argues that for a majority of Bingo players, checking figures is a no more demeaning or meaningless way of making pocket money than the work which earns them a living. He says:

...in any capitalist society the majority are culturally deprived. To them there is not only nothing absurd in the idea that mindlessness might be randomly rewarded; there also need be no connection between leisure and self-expression (ibid.: 888).

Parker (1970: 51) states that Bingo is an entertainment that is a typical product of mass living in a modern industrial society - and poker machine playing is another.

##### 5. Cheating on Poker Machines

There have been occasional spectacular press stories dealing with cheating on poker machines, and allegations that officials, poker machine mechanics and cleaners have dipped into poker machine profits. In recent years increased publicity has been given to cheating on poker machines. One considerable problem facing poker machine manufacturers is the development of a machine free of peculiarities on which the cheater might capitalise. When a new machine hits the market, some operators purchase one illegally, and take the machine apart in order to discover its characteristics and weaknesses.

There are several types of dishonest players and a number of devices which are used to cheat on the machines. The types of players are outlined below. These are (a) rhythm players: those who do not tamper with the machine but coax them to give "pays" by timing perfectly the pull of the handle. Modern machines have internal gadgetry which now makes rhythm playing impossible. (b) spooners: players who slip spoons into pay-off chutes of the machines to open up the money tubes and make coins drop out. There are at least three other devices which are inserted in the throat of the poker machine in order to upset its mechanism - the "boomerang" which is tooled to fit down the throat of the machine to obstruct the striker pin and provide free plays; the "feather", a shaped piece of antenna plastic about 8 inches long used in the same manner; and finally a "yo-yo", a coin attached to a fine line which can be lowered and raised in the pay-out tube. (c) drillers: players who carry high-speed drills in the palms of their hands to

penetrate the side of the machine. Having done so they insert a piano wire to stop the wheels on a particular combination, usually a jackpot.<sup>1</sup> (d) racketeers: players who pull the handle very roughly to wear down the internal cogs making the handle free-wheeling, so that the machine can be played without using coins. Modern machines are extremely sturdy and such practices are now uncommon (Sun-Herald, October 30, 1960; Sun, August 9, 1966).

#### Legalized Gambling in N.S.W.

It is not possible to state categorically that poker machine playing is the most popular form of gambling in N.S.W. although the evidence suggests that the greatest profit from any form of legalized gambling in N.S.W. and indeed Australia, is drawn from poker machines. The N.S.W. Government in 1968-69 drew \$61,971,000 from taxation on poker machines, racing and lottery profits which represented 19.06 per cent of its total internal income of \$324,816,000 (Official Year Book, 1970: 568-69). Poker machine taxes in 1968-69 represented 8.1 per cent of the Government's total taxes collected in the State, racing 5.6 per cent, and lotteries 5.3 per cent. Economists and other writers who have attempted to estimate the extent of gambling have often used turnover figures. In my view, turnover figures provide little clue to the relative importance of any particular form of gambling - especially as far as the individual is concerned. The poker machine player is usually not conscious of how many coins he actually places in the machine. What he does take account of is how much he begins with and how much he has won or lost at the conclusion of each session of poker machine playing.

No precise figure is available on the turnover from poker machines. The official figure for profits on poker machines in the 1968-69 year totalled \$169 million. Assuming that machines pay back 90 per cent of the amount invested then one could assume that a mammoth total of \$1,700 million was invested in poker machines. Such a figure far outstrips investments made on the Totalisator (T.A.B.) and investments with licensed bookmakers. Investments for 1968-69 with the T.A.B. amounted to \$241,350,000; with licensed bookmakers \$282,497,000 (Official Year Book, 1970: 536); and with State

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<sup>1</sup> Magnets are now sometimes employed to upset the mechanism of poker machines.

Lotteries \$53,335,000 (N.S.W. Year Book, 1970: 535).

Brian Haig of the Australian National University has been preparing estimates of the net profits (investment less prizes) from four main forms of legalized gambling in Australia (gambling with bookmakers, T.A.B., poker machines and lotteries) since 1956/57 (see Table 6.8). From Table 6.8, the importance of poker machines becomes immediately clear. Despite the fact that poker machines are legal in only one State, the percentage of poker machine profits of the total legalized gambling profits in Australia has risen from 24.8 per cent in 1956/57 to 42.3 per cent in 1966/67. Bookmaking, T.A.B. and lotteries are legal in all States, and betting on horses (either with bookmakers or on the T.A.B.) has declined from 52.6 per cent to 44.8 per cent and lotteries from 22.6 per cent to 13.0 per cent.

Table 6.8

Net Profits from Legalized Gambling  
(Investment Less Prizes) in Australia  
(Percentages)

Estimates: 1956/57 - 1966/67

| Year    | Bookmakers | T.A.B. | Poker<br>Machines | Lotteries | Total |
|---------|------------|--------|-------------------|-----------|-------|
| 1956/57 | 44.1       | 8.5    | 24.8              | 22.6      | 100.0 |
| 1957/58 | 43.8       | 8.3    | 27.0              | 20.9      | 100.0 |
| 1958/59 | 42.0       | 8.4    | 29.3              | 20.3      | 100.0 |
| 1959/60 | 39.7       | 7.9    | 32.3              | 20.1      | 100.0 |
| 1960/61 | 41.8       | 8.3    | 29.3              | 20.7      | 100.1 |
| 1961/62 | 36.0       | 11.2   | 33.3              | 19.5      | 100.0 |
| 1962/63 | 32.1       | 14.0   | 36.6              | 17.4      | 100.1 |
| 1963/64 | 27.1       | 15.2   | 40.1              | 17.0      | 100.0 |
| 1964/65 | 26.3       | 17.1   | 41.6              | 15.1      | 100.1 |
| 1965/66 | 23.4       | 20.3   | 42.9              | 13.4      | 100.0 |
| 1966/67 | 22.2       | 22.6   | 42.3              | 13.0      | 100.1 |

In order to further assess the significance of the 1968/69 total of \$169 million profits from poker machines, comparisons with other institutional spending in N.S.W. should be made. There are 224 N.S.W. local government authorities in N.S.W. and in the year 1967/68

their total expenditure was \$212,587,000. From this figure \$92,489,000 was spent on roads, streets and bridges. \$5,692,000 was spent on health administration, \$13,563,000 on sanitary and garbage services, \$4,659,000 on street lighting, \$29,852,000 on council properties and \$10,375,000 on other responsibilities including recreation. Grants were also made to Fire Brigades, Hospitals and charities (Official Year Book, 1970: 599-601). Estimated N.S.W. State Government expenditure on education in the 1968-69 year was \$300,504,000 including capital expenditure. Of this amount, \$88,247,000 was spent on primary school education and \$76,446,000 on secondary education making a total expenditure of \$164,693,000. These school figures exclude capital expenditure (\$56,724,000), expenditure on teacher training (\$13,209,000) and administration (\$8,720,000). Total poker machine profits are larger than the total amount spent by the N.S.W. Government on primary and secondary education (Official Year Book, 1970: 673). It can be argued that the spending by the State on primary and secondary education is not a meaningful comparison with the amount of money available for spending on club leisure but it does give some idea of the relative value which New South Welshmen attach to education and leisure.

We have shown throughout this chapter that the profits from poker machines provide clubs with a very substantial and continuing source of funds to be spent on the development of leisure facilities. The playing of poker machines can be viewed as a voluntary form of taxation, which is raised in the locality in which the club is situated and most of the funds are spent in that same region (apart from that portion which is annexed by the State Government). The club member or visitor can contribute as much as he or she wishes to club finances by playing poker machines. To my knowledge only one club has exercised pressure on members to play machines.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The former Secretary/Manager of the South Sydney Junior Leagues' Club maintained that his old club had a 100 per cent poker machine playing membership. There are reports that in the past, entertainment has suddenly been stopped at this club with the admonition from the Master of Ceremonies that the entertainment would not continue until the vacant machines were being played. In a recent conversation with a poker machine manufacturer he informed me that such practices still continue at the same club - that announcements are broadcast over the loud-speakers specifying the number of each machine not being played. What puzzled the manufacturer was that club members sheepishly went off to play the unattended machines, showing evidence of successful brainwashing at the South Sydney Junior Leagues' Club.

Poker machine profits enable individuals from low to high status occupations to be members of clubs, some of which are luxurious. The contribution which members make through poker machines are in effect a voluntary form of time payment. Although club directors and officials may not have always spent their money wisely, the availability of such a vast capital store of funds ensures that the future of leisure in N.S.W. will be well-funded.

## Chapter 7

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION AND  
THE AVAILABILITY OF LEISURE FACILITIES IN  
THE CANBERRA/QUEANBEYAN AREA

Previous chapters described the growth of clubs, reactions of individuals and organizations to this growth, the part that poker machines have played in underwriting club expansion, and the changes in societal values and legal provisions which have permitted this development. The succeeding chapters are concerned with a case study of one registered club. Selltitz et al., (1962: 59) have commented that scientists who work in relatively unresearched areas, with little previous knowledge to act as a guide, have found the intensive study of selective examples to be a particularly fruitful method for deriving insights and hypotheses for further research.

In the initial stages of the research project, consideration was given to a comparison of the structure and functioning of several clubs. However, it was decided that more could be gained from a close analysis of one large club rather than a compilation of less detailed observations of a number - given the constraints of time and research funds. No doubt the study would have been enriched by comparing the social organizations and relationships with the environment of say, three registered clubs - a large suburban club in Sydney, a small rural club and a large club in a country town. I did not have the resources to study more than one club.

My primary interest is in large clubs, partly because of the dearth of information on large leisure organizations. The Leagues' clubs (of which there are now forty) represent the most spectacular development of club life in N.S.W. and such organizations have acted as pace-setters for the club movement. These forty clubs have a total membership of approximately 400,000 representing an average of 10,000 per club. It was logical, then, to choose a Leagues' club for a case study, and the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club agreed to my request that it be the basis for my case study. It was a fortuitous choice because of its large membership, its proximity to the Australian National University (less than 10 miles away compared to the next nearest Leagues' club about 150 miles away) and its dynamic growth - from 8,000 members in 1968 to 12,620 at present.

The question of typicality was considered, but it is not clear what are the appropriate criteria when only one case can be studied. Clubs vary in their membership size, and in the socio-economic areas in which they are located. Of the fourteen metropolitan Leagues' clubs in June 1969, two had memberships under 7,000; nine had from 7,000 to 20,000; and the three largest, 25,000, 30,000 and 42,000 respectively. In country areas, club membership size ranged from 1,400 to 11,000. Metropolitan Leagues' clubs are located in both working class and middle class areas. Outside the metropolitan area some clubs are situated at holiday resorts with a shifting vacation population (e.g. Group 7 Leagues' Club at Kiama), some in industrial centres (Newcastle, South Newcastle, Port Kembla), while others again are based in country towns of 10,000 or more people (Parkes, Queanbeyan, West Tamworth). The Queanbeyan Leagues' Club (hereafter QLC) is unique largely because of the heavy concentration of civil servants in Canberra (the club draws approximately 76 per cent of its membership from the A.C.T.). Consequently, the membership of the QLC is almost certainly a more sophisticated and middle class membership than virtually all other Leagues' clubs. The distinguishing characteristic of the QLC is that one might find half a dozen Senators, the American Ambassador and his wife, Members of Parliament, diplomats, public servants, magistrates, policemen of every rank mixing with tradesmen and wage-earners - a situation unlikely to be encountered anywhere else in Australia. The QLC has been described as Canberra's escape hatch "where people flee when they can no longer stand the contraceptive artificiality of Australia's most pampered and most beautiful lawn cemetery" (The Sunday Australian, December 5, 1971). Even so, the range of activities conducted in the QLC appear to be similar to those at other Leagues' clubs.

In undertaking a study of the social organization of the QLC, attention will be directed towards analysing the club's functions, goals, power and leadership structure, the manner in which it communicates to and controls its membership, the type of activities conducted in the club and the way the club influences and is influenced by its environment. In succeeding chapters, characteristics of the membership in terms of occupation, sex and other variables will be detailed; the results of a survey on the member-

ship of the QIC and an analysis of the activities of two intraclubs will be documented.

#### Characteristics of the Canberra/Queanbeyan Population

The QIC is located in the town of Queanbeyan which is about 200 miles south-west of Sydney. The town, established in the 1830s, has 17,000 residents and is adjacent to Canberra, the national capital with a population of about 150,000. Although Queanbeyan and Canberra are geographically and politically separate entities, economically, occupationally, commercially and recreationally, the two centres are closely linked. For instance, the National Capital Development Commission, the organization responsible for the planning of Canberra, in its breakdown of the workforce includes Queanbeyan workers (NCDC, 1970: 66, 157). In Table 7.1 a profile of the 1966

Table 7.1

Comparison of Workforce Structure of Canberra/  
Queanbeyan (1966) with that of Metropolitan  
Perth (1966) and Metropolitan Ottawa (1968)

| Industry Category                  | Canberra/<br>Queanbeyan<br>1966<br>% | Metropoli-<br>tan Perth<br>1966<br>% | Metropoli-<br>tan Ottawa<br>Region, 1968<br>% |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Primary production                 | 0.8                                  | 1.4 )                                | 1.1   |
| Mining and quarrying               | 0.2                                  | 0.4 )                                |   |
| Manufacturing                      | 9.3                                  | 23.2                                 | 8.3   |
| Building and construction          | 14.4                                 | 9.5                                  | 6.1   |
| Electricity, gas and water         | 1.2                                  | 1.8 )                                | 6.8   |
| Transport and storage              | 2.6                                  | 7.1 )                                |   |
| Communications                     | 1.9                                  | 2.2 )                                |   |
| Finance and property               | 3.2                                  | 4.8                                  | 4.4   |
| Commerce                           | 11.8                                 | 22.1                                 | 15.3  |
| Public authority and defence       | 29.7                                 | 5.4                                  | 35.7  |
| Community and business services    | 16.1                                 | 15.4 )                               | 21.9  |
| Amusement, accommodation, etc.     | 8.7                                  | 6.7 )                                |   |
| Other industries                   | -                                    | -                                    | -   |
| Not stated                         | -                                    | -                                    | -   |
| Total                              | 100.0                                | 100.0                                | 100.0   |
| Resident population                | 105,826                              | 499,969                              | 810,000                                       |
| Worker/population ratio - per cent | 44.0                                 | 40.0                                 | 38.0  |

Source: NCDC, 1970: 157

Canberra and Queanbeyan workforce is given. In order to make the profile meaningful, the NCDC has compared this workforce with Ottawa (Canada's national capital with a population of 810,000) and Perth



(the capital of Western Australia with a population of 500,000). The Ottawa and Canberra/Queanbeyan workforces are very similar, but there are major differences between Perth and Canberra/Queanbeyan in the manufacturing, commerce and public authority categories.

What are some of the sociological and demographic features of the Canberra population? Canberra's population is characterised by: White Collar Middle Class Bias. There is a concentration of high salaried employees in the Commonwealth Public Service, the Armed Services and the Australian National University: 29.7 per cent of the Canberra/Queanbeyan workforce are employed in these organizations. In 1966, only 8.2 per cent of the Canberra/Queanbeyan workforce was engaged in manufacturing, compared with Sydney (34.4 per cent), Brisbane (25.2 per cent), Hobart (22.9 per cent), Newcastle (36.5 per cent) and Wollongong (45.8 per cent) (Clarke, 1970: 52, 53). However, building and construction workers are over-represented in the Canberra/Queanbeyan workforce - 13 per cent as opposed to 8 per cent in other Australian cities, reflecting the high rate of population growth.

Earning and Spending Power. The average level of family income in Canberra is about 20 per cent above that of N.S.W., Victoria and the Australian average, and incomes are more evenly distributed. The average gross income earned by A.C.T. taxpayers in 1965-66 was \$3,234 compared with \$2,750 per taxpayer in N.S.W. and Victoria. Other factors which contribute to high family income in the A.C.T. are the high proportion of married women in the workforce (33 per cent compared with 17.3 per cent for Australia), the opportunities for overtime work (especially in the building industry) and the availability of second jobs (NCDC, 1970: 127-8).

However, A.C.T. residents have the lowest per capita amounts in savings banks of any State in Australia, except the Northern Territory. The ready availability of consumer credit and job security are other factors contributing to a higher level of expenditure among Canberrans. Expenditure is concentrated on the purchase of homes, domestic furnishings, etc., family upbringing (especially on secondary and tertiary education), car ownership, recreation and vacations. More than 90 per cent of Canberra households possess cars, with more than 30 per cent owning two or more cars (NCDC, 1970: 142).

Youthfulness. Over half of the population is aged between 8-35 years, with only 3 per cent in the over 65 year age group (compared with the more usual proportion of about 9 per cent in other Australian cities). As a consequence, education is "big business".

Geographical Mobility and Rapidity of Growth. Canberra has an unusually mobile population, because of high rates of population growth, the large proportion of young adults, the role of the Australian National University as a national post-graduate training institution, the large armed services sector, the transfer of public servants and a high proportion of professionally qualified people. More than 75 per cent of Canberra's annual population increase is the result of net immigration. Canberra's high annual population growth rate expanded from about 9 per cent in 1958, to more than 12 per cent in 1959, passed 14 per cent in 1960, and declined slowly to stabilise at 9 per cent in 1967-68. Canberra's population is growing at four times the national rate. In 1966, only one fifth of the population of the A.C.T. had been born there, with just over half being born in other Australian states. One in ten of Canberra's population was of British origin, and 16.3 per cent came from other overseas countries (A.C.T. Statistical Summary, 1971: 21).

Leisure Facilities and Activities in the A.C.T./Queanbeyan Region

The QIC is the largest leisure organization in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area. If we are to assess the size of the jigsaw piece that the QIC plays in the leisure pattern of this area, then we must attempt to assemble the other pieces. Unfortunately, no comprehensive survey of the type and range of leisure activities in this region has been undertaken.

Residents in the region participate in a wide range of activities that are common in modern industrial nations. They play sport, go on picnics, entertain and visit friends, belong to voluntary organizations, watch television, films and other cultural performances, read books, attend Continuing Education classes, drink at hotels and clubs, eat at restaurants, gamble and travel to regions outside the Territory. In this necessarily brief overview, attention shall be given to organized sport, outdoor recreation, cultural and voluntary association activities, evening entertainments, clubs and gambling.

### 1. Organized Sport

Many commentators have remarked on Australia's passion for sport and Canberra's population is similarly indulgent. So far as sporting facilities are concerned, currently there is one football field per 1,500 persons, one cricket ground per 2,000, a hockey field per 3,000, a basketball court per 1,200, one tennis court for every 1,000 and a golf course per 25,000 persons in Canberra (NCDC, 1970: 126). In addition, Canberra has riding trails and equestrian parks, show-grounds, seven swimming pools, a racecourse and racing car tracks. Queanbeyan has three cricket fields, ten football fields serving four codes, eight bowling greens attached to four licensed clubs, twelve tennis courts, basketball courts, a racecourse, a trotting track and greyhound track, two gymnasias, an Olympic pool, six venues for billiards, and a semi-private golf course.

According to statistics compiled by the NCDC for 1969, 16,317 people in Canberra (13.6 per cent of the total population) competed regularly in the following winter team sports - Australian rules, rugby union, rugby league, soccer, men's and women's hockey and women's basketball. For summer team sports (cricket, baseball, women's softball and athletics) the participation rate dropped to 2.6 per cent of the Canberra population, reflecting the attraction of other less organized activities such as swimming.

Over a 20-year period, the figures reveal that the percentage of adolescents participating in organized team sport has increased substantially, but that adults have become less active. From 1948 to 1969, the proportion of the 8-17 age group participating in winter team sports has doubled from 23.5 to 50.6 per cent. The increase for summer team sports was from 5.7 to 8.7 per cent. In contrast, the rate for adults (18-35 years) in winter sports has declined from 22.8 per cent in 1948 to 11.8 per cent in 1968, rising to 13.3 per cent in 1969. The same phenomenon has occurred in summer sports - with a drop from 7.3 per cent in 1948 to 2.7 per cent in 1968, rising to 3.2 per cent in 1969.

In 1969, Canberra had 1,751 tennis players (1.6 per cent of the population), 2,315 bowlers (1.9 per cent) and 4,470 residents were members of golf clubs (3.1 per cent) in 1971. About 2 per cent regularly took part in sports requiring specific outdoor environments such as boating, surfing, bush-walking, fishing, horse-

riding and skiing (Storey, 1969, 1970: 18-21).

## 2. Outdoor Recreation

Canberrans own and use cars more than other Australians, not only for internal travel within the A.C.T. but to recreation resorts as well. For each registered motor vehicle in the A.C.T. in 1967, there were 2.56 persons in Canberra (2.88 for Australia). As far as motor vehicle driving licences are concerned, there were 1.76 persons for each driving licence compared to 2.89 for Australia as a whole (NCDC, 1970: 126).

Australia's major ski resorts are in the Snowy Mountains 150 miles from Canberra and some 90 miles to the east is the coastal holiday resort of Bateman's Bay with resort towns to the north and south. One study shows that a significant regional relationship has developed between Canberra and the N.S.W. south coast districts. 1965-66 statistics of land sales in the five major south coast shires covering a 250-mile strip (from Nowra to Narooma) showed that 44 per cent of the land sales were made to or by Sydney residents (a city of about 3 million persons) and 24 per cent to or by Canberra residents (a city of 150,000) (Internal Departmental Report, NCDC, 1970).

In addition to these recreation areas outside the Australian Capital Territory, there are various outdoor recreation centres within it. In the heart of Canberra there is Lake Burley Griffin and the parklands surrounding it. All the foreshores with the exception of short stretches around Government House and the Community Hospital have been reserved (in some parts, developed) for public use.

Of the total area of the Australian Capital Territory of 583,000 acres, only 39,000 acres is taken up by urban development. Grazing land occupies just under 200,000 acres, indigenous forest 275,000, pine forest 35,000 and a fauna reserve 10,000 acres. The last two areas are used by residents as outdoor recreation areas. For instance, a survey conducted over several spring weekends during 1968 revealed that about 1,500 people, or about 1 per cent of Canberra's total population spent some time in the Cotter Dam Reserve area on any Saturday or Sunday - even though the weather was cool. Most people came in family groups with about four persons in each vehicle. For half the visitors, the Reserve

was merely the destination for a Sunday drive, and having reached it, they spent less than half an hour in the Reserve. Others came for picnicking and pleasure and stayed much longer (NCDC, 1970: 126).

### 3. Cultural and Voluntary Association Activities

A Government department, responsible for the internal administration of Canberra (Department of the Interior) publishes each year the list of associations, clubs and committees in the A.C.T. In 1969-70, over 600 organizations were listed. Included among these were "instrumental" or "social influence" associations - those that try to maintain the status quo or bring about change in the social order (e.g. welfare, progress, business employers' and professional groups). Secondly, there were "expressive" voluntary associations which pursue the objective of immediate gratification (e.g. sporting and recreational clubs). Finally, some organizations combined elements of both instrumental and expressive organizations (e.g. Rotary, Lions and Ex-Service organizations).

Little is known about the membership characteristics of such associations, but it is likely, because Canberra has such a strong middle class bias, that they are atypical of Australian cities. The list of clubs set out in the Department of the Interior publication reveals an astonishingly broad range of leisure and social interests - from the African Violet Society, the Cactus and Succulent Group, pre-school organizations, Archaeological Society, Spinners and Weavers, Recorded Music Society, Antique Arms Association, Bird Fanciers' Society, Theosophical Group, the Unidentified Objects Research Society, the Cat Club, the Take-off Pounds Sensibly Club to a great variety of sporting clubs. Canberra has its own semi-professional symphony orchestra, and a variety of musical organizations. In the town of Queanbeyan (excluding the licensed clubs which shall be mentioned later) there are forty youth, sporting, social, business, hobby, cultural and national group clubs in the town. The service clubs represented in Queanbeyan are Rotary, Lions, Apex and Quota.

Just under half of Canberra's population were members of the various public libraries in Canberra; 38,322 adults and 22,339 children (total 60,661) borrowed 1,107,405 books in 1970. Total book stock at the libraries consisted of 294,971 volumes (A.C.T. Statistical Summary, 1971: 95). In Queanbeyan the free library run by the Municipal Council loaned 58,614 books in 1969.

mainly from business and higher level public service ranks. The second largest club is the Workmen's Club with a current membership of 1,876 members. About half the licensed clubs in Canberra (19 out of 36) are sporting clubs: six bowling, three golf and eight football clubs. There are also seven ethnic, three R.S.L., three Workers', two elite and two social clubs. Most of these clubs, apart from the two mentioned, have memberships below 1,000 people. Their finances are drawn from club membership fees, bar takings and profits from punch-boards. Punch-boards are not nearly as lucrative a form of gambling as poker machines, but some clubs in Canberra depend fairly substantially on the profits from punch-boards.<sup>1</sup>

The town of Queanbeyan has six licensed clubs all with poker machines. Apart from the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club there is the Queanbeyan Golf Club, the R.S.L. Club, the R.S.L. Memorial Bowling Club, the Queanbeyan Bowling Club and the Queanbeyan Rugby Union Club. The total membership of the Queanbeyan clubs is approximately 17,000, the large bulk of whom are members of the QLC - with 12,620 members.

#### 6. Gambling

Legalized gambling in Australia is a recreational activity. In the A.C.T., the Totalisator Agency Board has fourteen branches which, during the 1970-71 year, received bets totalling \$88,714,000. In the year August 1, 1970 to July 31, 1971, eighty-nine race meetings were conducted in Canberra. One hundred and nine meetings are set down for 1971-72. There are eighty-three active licensed bookmakers in the Canberra area to service on-course betting.

In July 1970, lottery ticket agents sold 56,789 tickets worth \$74,753 to Canberrans - mostly on N.S.W. lotteries. The Department of the Interior has estimated that Canberra residents purchase a minimum of \$770,000 worth of lottery tickets annually. Several moves have been initiated by influential citizens in the A.C.T. to introduce a lottery.

Bingo (or Housie-Housie) is also legal in the A.C.T. Approval must be gained for any lottery or bingo game in which the prize is

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<sup>1</sup> Punchboards used in Australia usually contain 1,000 holes. The player pays 5c, 10c or 20c for a chance to push out one of the rolled-up number slips. If his number corresponds to a pre-determined winning number, he receives a prize (beer, chickens) or a cash award.

above \$40. Some fifteen to twenty organizations in the last financial year were given approval by the Department of the Interior to conduct Bingo. It is not known how many evenings of Bingo were conducted but it appears that some organizations run Bingo on a fairly regular basis - for instance, once a week.

#### Summary

Given the sparseness of anything but descriptive data, it is not possible to characterise in detail the pattern of leisure in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area. The facilities for organized sport are abundant; a myriad of voluntary organizations exists for the satisfaction of expressive and instrumental needs. But there is an apparent consensus among residents and visitors that the range of public leisure activities and "night life" is narrow - a view expressed recently by an executive of the Australian Tourist Commission to the Federal Parliamentary Joint Committee on the A.C.T., who advocated the establishment of a tourist and nightlife centre near the heart of Canberra (The Australian, October 9, 1971). The Queanbeyan Leagues' Club is certainly the single most important semi-public leisure centre (especially at night) in the Canberra/Queanbeyan region, with a membership amounting to one in every seven adults in the area. I turn now to a history of the establishment of this club.

## Chapter 8

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE QUEANBEYAN LEAGUES' CLUB

In the historical chapters 3, 4 and 5 reference was made to the unsatisfactory nature of the hotels as outlets for liquor consumption in N.S.W. from 1940 to 1955 and the demand for functional alternatives. The growth of the N.S.W. clubs has seen a co-operative movement emerge, born not out of ideological dissatisfaction with the economic structure as with the British co-operative movement, but out of disgust with public drinking conditions. However, the motivating force behind the establishment of the QLC was not disillusionment with hotels, but rather a desire to support rugby league financially by establishing a licensed club with poker machines and to provide a social centre for rugby league supporters.

Four codes of football are played in Australia - soccer, Australian rules, rugby league and rugby union. In the six States, each of these football codes is played but mass support varies from region to region. In N.S.W. and Queensland, rugby league is the most popular and highly professionalised code. In the southern States of Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia, the game unique to Australia, Australian rules, has achieved pre-eminence.

Rugby union and rugby league are quite similar, but have different social support. The amateur game of rugby union (with fifteen in a team) is played in the private schools and club matches draw their support predominantly from the middle class. The professional code of rugby league in which each side has thirteen players, is played in the State schools (although in selective N.S.W. high schools rugby union was the chosen code) and support is drawn largely from the lower middle and the working class.

Until the early 1950s, rugby league clubs, especially in N.S.W. country towns, always had difficulty in raising funds to finance teams. Often rugby league organizations in country towns operated from one of the district's public hotels, and rugby league in Queanbeyan was no exception. The earliest existing records of any rugby league club in Queanbeyan date from 1949.<sup>1</sup> The club was

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<sup>1</sup> Rugby union (introduced in 1890) preceded rugby league which was established in Queanbeyan in 1921.



known as the Queanbeyan Rugby League Football Club and its committee meetings were held at a Queanbeyan hotel.

The amount of money spent on rugby league was limited: the 1950 balance sheet of this club showed an expenditure of \$2,870 for the previous season. No payments appear to have been made to players at all. Income amounted to \$3,034, drawn largely from gate receipts (\$1,839).

Even at this stage, when there were only two or three licensed rugby league or Leagues' clubs in N.S.W., the need for a club for rugby league footballers and supporters was recognised in Queanbeyan. At a general meeting on February 23, 1950 the motion was accepted that "a sub-committee be formed to go into the means of forming a licensed rugby league club". Of the seven individuals on this sub-committee, two are members of the present Board of Directors. In July 1950, a general sketch plan of the proposed club and rugby league ground was submitted to the committee. The clubhouse was to consist of dressing-sheds, grandstand, pavilion, and club. The building planned was 90 feet in length by 45 feet in width. Problems of raising finance to pay for construction proved insuperable, and the plans lapsed for almost a decade.

New plans for a licensed club surfaced in 1961, from the Queanbeyan District United Rugby League Football Club and not the Queanbeyan Rugby League Football Club. In 1958 the Secretary had absconded with the club's funds and in 1959 a second body was formed. At its first committee meeting in 1961, the President reported on his visit to Sydney, accompanied by a solicitor, to investigate the possibility of establishing a licensed rugby league club. At the following meeting it was moved, seconded and carried that:

...it is desirable in the interests of rugby league football in the district that a club be formed which would provide social amenities to those interested in playing and watching rugby league football and that such a club should be a company limited by guarantee.

Under the N.S.W. Liquor Act, any body, association or company which was being established for social, literary, political, sporting, athletic or other lawful purpose had to have premises erected or in the course of erection or land on which a building was to be constructed (Stevens, 1969: 213-214).

Thus the personnel of the Football Club had to raise funds to purchase either land or a building. But the only available sources of income were subscription fees and gate receipts which proved to be totally inadequate. Only the conduct of gambling offered real chances of obtaining sufficient funds. During 1960 fowls were raffled regularly at four of Queanbeyan's hotels. Doubles were organized at football matches (a double contains the names of two members of the opposing football teams. The winner is the individual whose two assigned footballers score first for each team. The club keeps a percentage of the take). A form of cumulative lottery was also conducted throughout the year and on Sunday evenings after football games socials were held at the Showground. At such social occasions liquor and food were supplied and a variety of gambling games took place from which the club's finances mounted. Some of these games appear to have been illegal; it was therefore fortuitous that police patrolled towns other than Queanbeyan on Sunday nights during the football season.

For reasons that are not definitely established, the club was no longer able to conduct raffles in Queanbeyan hotels, and this presented a very serious threat to the Football Club's ability to raise money. Only a bookmaker's substantial financial contributions to players' fees and fares enabled the Rugby League Club to continue.<sup>1</sup> According to him, if the Leagues' Club had not gained its licence on the first application, it would have been so impoverished that no further applications could have been made. When the licence was granted in 1961 it was the first Leagues' Club in N.S.W. to be awarded a certificate of registration on its first application.

This licensed bookmaker was the driving force behind the establishment of the QLC and is now its President. He was assisted in his efforts mainly by the current Secretary/Manager. Their concerted, consistent efforts to raise funds for the club met with disapproval from a number of quarters.

In their pursuit of funds, rugby league officials were shunned by Queanbeyan residents, who would cross the street in order to avoid meeting these officials. While some rugby league supporters

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<sup>1</sup> The bookmaker was also experiencing financial difficulty, for he was no longer permitted to carry on his business within the hotels.

promised to join the Leagues' Club once it was established, fewer individuals were prepared to pay membership subscriptions to the Leagues' Club in its non-licensed days, and it was difficult to maintain the number of members.

Rugby league officials made overtures to other sporting bodies in order to accelerate the establishment of a licensed club. In the late 1950s rugby league officials approached the Australian rules organizers (and the Australian rules team was experiencing more competitive success than the rugby league team) and suggested that a joint licensed club be formed with proceeds to be equally distributed between the two codes. The Australian rules club rejected the offer. It is ironic that in recent years, the Australian rules clubs within Queanbeyan and Canberra have envied the success of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club and the vast amounts of money poured into the development of rugby league from the profits of the QLC.<sup>1</sup>

Meetings of the provisional Directors of the QLC took place in February and March, 1961. At the second meeting a resolution was passed that a non-proprietary club to be known as the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club be established to formalise the earlier resolution of the Queanbeyan United District Rugby League Football Club of February 27, 1961. Negotiations had already begun with the largest club in N.S.W. - the N.S.W. Leagues' Club, the headquarters for rugby league since the early 1900s. The President reported that the N.S.W. Leagues' Club had agreed to guarantee the Commonwealth Trading Bank of Queanbeyan a loan of \$12,000. A shop in Queanbeyan's main street was leased by the club with an option to buy.

On September 22, 1961 the first meeting of Directors took place (the company had been incorporated on July 28, 1961). It was decided that annual subscriptions would be \$4.50; that the Annual General Meeting was to be held at the end of the year; and that the shop to be used for the club premises was to be purchased for \$10,000. Thirteen members were elected to membership, all but two being Queanbeyan residents.

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<sup>1</sup> In the past, the Leagues' Club had assisted Australian rules clubs but because the Australian rules clubs objected to the Leagues' Club's application to increase its membership to 20,000 in accordance with the amendments of the 1969 Liquor Act further donations are, for the time being, likely to be suspended.

On the premises, a number of activities were conducted. The premises were unlicensed and indoor games such as carpet bowls and darts were played regularly. It was decided in March 1962 to apply for a liquor licence and a month later an architect was instructed to draw up plans for club premises to cost approximately \$80,000.

At a committee meeting in September 1962, the club's formal goals were enunciated. The club aimed to:

- a) provide facilities in the new club rooms for the playing of carpet bowls, darts, billiards, snooker and table tennis,
- b) obtain the services of a caterer to provide meals of the highest standard at times demanded by members,
- c) continue and expand the participation of members in town affairs and activities including support of the Annual Floral Festival,
- d) assist the Queanbeyan United Rugby League Football Club and the Town and District Juniors financially, encourage and foster the game of rugby league, and keep close liaison with rugby league bodies,
- e) organize an attractive programme of entertainment for members such as the showing of rugby league films and addresses by persons prominent in rugby league,
- f) employ a competent Secretary/Manager under the control of the Board to administer and supervise club premises and affairs.

Support for the establishment of the QIC as a licensed club came from the local newspaper, The Queanbeyan Age. It said:

...let's hope Queanbeyan residents see the merit of such ventures and give their support to our local Leagues' Club which, although at present is only operating in very modest premises, insofar as modern standards are concerned has, during the short time of existence, arranged for many of the members to participate in all forms of indoor and outdoor sporting competitions conducted in the Queanbeyan/Canberra district (Queanbeyan Age, March 30, 1962).

In the same newspaper in August 1962 a long article on the Leagues' Club's preparations for the application for a liquor licence were outlined. Obviously club officials were now advocating community benefits that they felt would result from the establishment of the club. The article said:

...during the past two years a small band of progressive and civic-minded citizens of our town have been devoting considerable time and energy in the formulation of a plan which they consider will, when maturity has been obtained,

provide an amenity and service through which town and country residents, who are desirous, may have the opportunity of experiencing and indulging in more enjoyable sporting and social activities and the ever-growing problem of child delinquency can receive more realistic and practical benefits (Queanbeyan Age, August 3, 1962).

Accompanying this article was a front-page photograph showing the Deputy Premier of N.S.W. viewing plans of the proposed QLC building. He congratulated the Directors on their initiative and indicated that he would assist in any way possible to bring the plans into reality.

On November 6, 1962 the court hearing of the application for a licence and certificate of registration was commenced before the Full Bench of the Licensing Board of N.S.W.. After  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days the Court adjourned to January 1963. Opposing the application of the Leagues' Club were the seven hotelkeepers of the Queanbeyan Hotelkeepers' Association (Queanbeyan Age, November 9, 1962).

After a hearing lasting five days (with thirteen witnesses appearing), the Court declared it was satisfied that none of the seven grounds of objection had been substantiated. The Court found that the club was required to meet a genuine and substantial need, and the application was granted. At this stage the paid-up membership of the club was 180 and work began immediately on the first stage of the building of the Leagues' Club (at a cost of \$100,000); when stages two and three of the building were completed the total cost was to be \$300,000. The club opened for trading as a licensed club, on September 27, 1963, with fourteen poker machines.

Even before the commencement of trading, one important decision about female membership was taken. In July 1963, the Board decided to submit the following motion to a general meeting:

The Board may invite from year to year, during the time any member remains financial, the wife of that member if he is married or a nominated female acquaintance of that member if he be not married, to be an honorary member of the Club whose rights to be on the Club's premises will be restricted to the mixed lounge thereof or such other portions as may from time to time be determined by the Board and whose entry upon the premises will only be permitted if such wife or female acquaintance is in the possession of an associate card issued by the Board.

At such a general meeting on September 28, 1963 this by-law was carried. Over the years, the club has gradually given women greater freedom of movement within the club. But so far there has been no relaxation of rules preventing females from becoming voting members.

When the club commenced trading in 1963, it was envisaged that perhaps within a decade, the club might reach a membership of 5,000 -- at that time a very large membership for any club. It was already recognised that the club would draw many of its members from Canberra. No one anticipated that the club would grow as quickly as it has.

#### Summary

The establishment of the QLC required great voluntary effort and personal sacrifice from a small number of dedicated officials who had to meet hostility from competitive alternatives, especially the hotels. The QLC's original aims were to assist rugby league football, provide a social centre for footballers and their supporters with indoor sports facilities, meals and entertainment, and to encourage the participation of its members in community affairs.

While a large club was envisaged, the club's growth has exceeded all expectations. Several factors have contributed to this rapid growth. As indicated in the previous chapter, Canberra's population has grown rapidly during the 1960s providing an ever-increasing pool of potential members. Second, Canberra has had little to offer in the way of "night life", leaving a gap which the QLC has helped to fill. Third, because Queanbeyan lies beyond the borders of the A.C.T., the QLC has been a psychological escape hatch for residents of Canberra.<sup>1</sup> Fourth, the Directors and Management have been able to provide facilities which residents of Canberra and Queanbeyan have found attractive.

But the most important reason is that the QLC has had poker machines, and the residents of the region have played machines with great persistency, giving the club unanticipated financial resources, which it has spent on increasingly attractive facilities. Attempts to have poker machines legalized in the A.C.T. have been unsuccessful, thus ensuring the club's primacy as the region's most popular leisure organization.

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<sup>1</sup> A phenomenon, I observed in Vancouver, Canada, where residents used to drive across the Canadian-U.S. border in order to "get away" from home territory.

## Chapter 9

THE STRUCTURE, MEMBERSHIP AND GOALS OF A LEISURE  
CO-OPERATIVE: A CASE STUDY OF THE QUEANBEYAN  
LEAGUES' CLUB

According to Stephenson (1963: 1) a co-operative society is both a social organization and a business enterprise (and as such shares with its competitors in retail trade many problems of size, structure and management). As a social organization, it has unique problems arising out of its democratic basis, and the relationship between members, the Board of Directors, and staff. Chapter 11 deals with control of the QLC and Management/Board relations.

Democratic control is only one of the principles of a co-operative society. Another is the provision of services to members (Stephenson, 1963: 13, 14). The provision of services is allied with the payment of the dividend, often regarded as a distinguishing feature of the co-operative movement. In chapter 10, both the recreational services that the QLC provides for its members and the manner in which the club's profits are distributed will be discussed.

Because of the controversial nature of the club movement, clubs have had to take account of the attitudes and actions of other organizations within their environment. Chapter 11 deals with the difficulties that the QLC faces in its environment.

This chapter describes the methodological techniques used in the case study, the physical premises, the manifest and latent goals of the organization, and the social characteristics of the club's membership.

#### Methodology

In his article on the analysis of social institutions Wilson (1962) offers useful guidelines for case studies of organizations. He suggests that while such a study involves largely functional analysis, the researcher must go beyond a study of system maintenance to see how systems are affected by outside changes and how they respond to external and internal pressures, how relationships amongst the groups within an organization are regulated, and what patterns of motivation the various interest groups within the organization maintain. The analyst must give attention to the original goals of the organization, the implicit and explicit value assumptions of the various internal groups, the latent as well as

the manifest functions and the various conceptions of the organization's purposes found among different participants.

In discussing methodology, Wilson lists the following as key data-gathering techniques: content analysis of policy statements, augmented by the use of informants; concealed or revealed participation by the investigator; interviews (at first relatively unstructured) with personnel, leaders, clientele and others involved in the organization; and historical analysis. In sum, the investigator must:

...by careful annotation of all its pronouncements, decisions and policies know exactly what action is consistent with its (the institution's) past history. He must be able to recognise rationalisation; the dilution of commitments; the attenuation of pristine values; the consequences of pressures exerted by particular strata; the defence mechanisms of an institution which finds itself exposed and vulnerable to external forces. He is in this position only if the documentary evidence has been rigorously examined and if he has participated in the institution as totally as possible where this method can be adopted (Wilson, 1962: 108).

In studying the QIC I have used several of these techniques. I have studied and analysed documents produced by the club: the Articles of the Association and Constitution, the monthly Journal distributed to members, the minutes of meetings of QIC Directors and the Executive of the Football Club, and financial data. In addition, I have undertaken an occupational analysis of the membership of the QIC and conducted a survey of the activities of its members.

Second, I have been a participant-observer. In the club, casual interaction among members is very limited, so that I was not able to interact with members the way Cavan did in her study of San Francisco bars. The usual pattern of participation at the QIC is that a member comes with a small group consisting of work colleagues, relatives, spouses, or neighbours. Each visiting group is relatively isolated from other groups of members, and casual interaction is consequently restricted. However, I have attended the club on numerous occasions as an ordinary member either alone or in the company of friends, and more active participant-observation has been possible as a result of my joining two intraclubs - the photography and golf clubs.

Third, I have conducted numerous interviews with Directors



and officials of the club. Such interviews have been informal, largely because the executives and officials perform much of their business informally - usually at the bar.

#### Difficulties Encountered in Data Collection

While some difficulties were experienced in collecting data, it must be stated at the outset that the officials of the QIC have been extremely co-operative and most of the club's considerable records have been made available. This high level of co-operation was achieved partly by arranging interviews with the President and Executive Director of the Registered Clubs' Association, who subsequently recommended my study to the QIC.

Another crucial factor was that I was able to convince officials of the RCA and the QIC that I was not engaged on a "smear campaign" against clubs. On the contrary, an independent study of the functions of the clubs in the community could be seen as contributing reliable data on a subject that has at times been treated in sensational and biased terms.

The conduct of formal interviews has been virtually impossible at the QIC. Unstructured interviews which have taken place at the main bar of the club were often interrupted, and at times when I was pursuing a particular line of questioning the conversation would be interrupted by a member or a secretary seeking either the Secretary/Manager's or the Public Relations Officer's attention. This increased the time necessary for the collection of data. Moreover, because of the officials' unfamiliarity with the methods of academic researchers, I preferred to seek data piecemeal rather than presenting the club with an extensive list of documents that I wished to peruse. To press too hard for information (especially in the early stages of the project) might have resulted in the closing of some channels of information. My initial tentativeness in requesting data has yielded dividends in information but at a substantial cost of time.

Only on one occasion, has the quality of my work suffered because of the difficulties associated with data collection. In September 1970, a questionnaire was distributed to a sample of 700 club members, and 46 per cent of respondents returned the questionnaire. In the meantime, the President and Secretary/Manager, who are the key decision-makers, had departed on a two-

month world tour. When I sought permission to send out a follow-up letter in order to try and increase this percentage return, the Assistant Secretary/Manager would not commit himself without the consent of the two key executives. By the time they returned, it was too late to consider sending out a follow-up letter.

#### Physical Description of the Premises of the QIC

There is some difficulty in describing the physical premises of the QIC, because of the continual alterations. In 1963, the club had only 250 members, and the use of a small store as its premises (Plate 1). The club now occupies one of the most imposing buildings in Queanbeyan - a large, carpeted, well-appointed building, with three floors (Plate 2). Since I commenced this study there have been two major renovations and a number of minor alterations. In December 1971 a top floor opened for business (at a cost of approximately \$580,000), containing a games room, executive offices, a large dining-room and additional lounges.

As a member enters the building he is required to show his club membership badge to the doorman or the girl at the desk, and if necessary sign in visitors in the appropriate visitors' book (one for local, another for out-of-town visitors). Behind the desk are executive offices and in the foyer stands a life-size bronze statue of a local rugby league footballer. To the right of the foyer is the mixed lounge, and males may enter this room only in the company of females - a rule not adhered to very closely. In this mixed lounge is a bar, some twenty tables, chairs and thirty-four poker machines (Plate 3). At most times, women predominate in this lounge although often mixed groups will have a drink in this lounge before adjourning to the dining-room for the evening meal. Adjacent to the mixed lounge is a large multi-purpose area in which much of the activity of the club takes place. This area is divided functionally, but not physically, into three. First, there is the bistro bar at which food is served from 12 noon till thirty minutes prior to closing time (Plate 4). Members have a choice of about twenty main courses, ranging in price from 60 cents to \$1.25. Second, there is a long bar at which only males are permitted to buy and consume drinks (Plate 5). In the afternoon, club officials often drink in groups at the long bar and Queanbeyan residents frequently come here to drink after work. After football matches

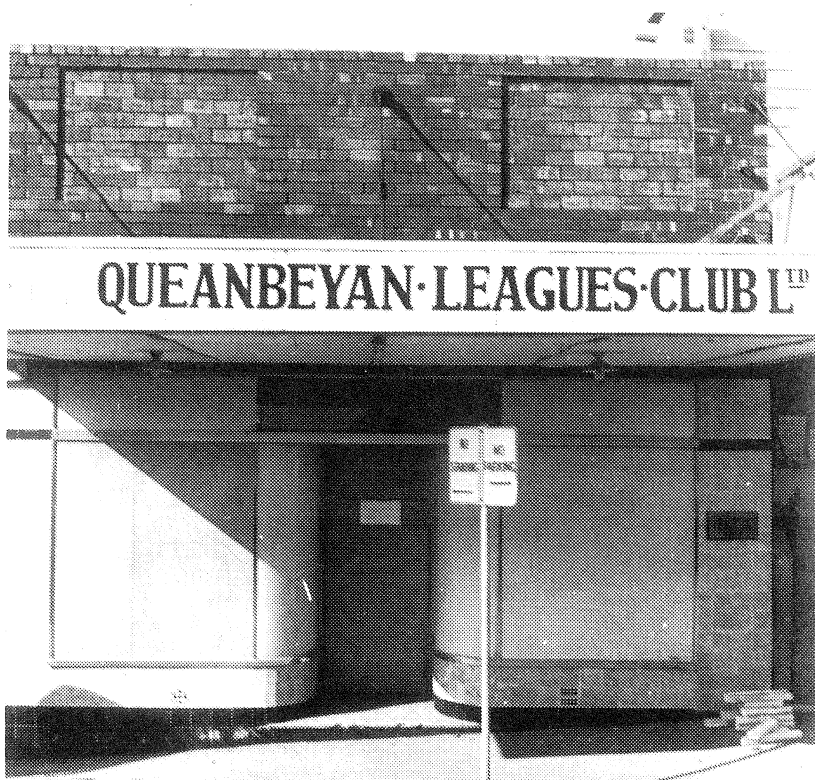


Plate 1: The first premises of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club. Subsequently it was demolished in 1965 in order to build the new premises.

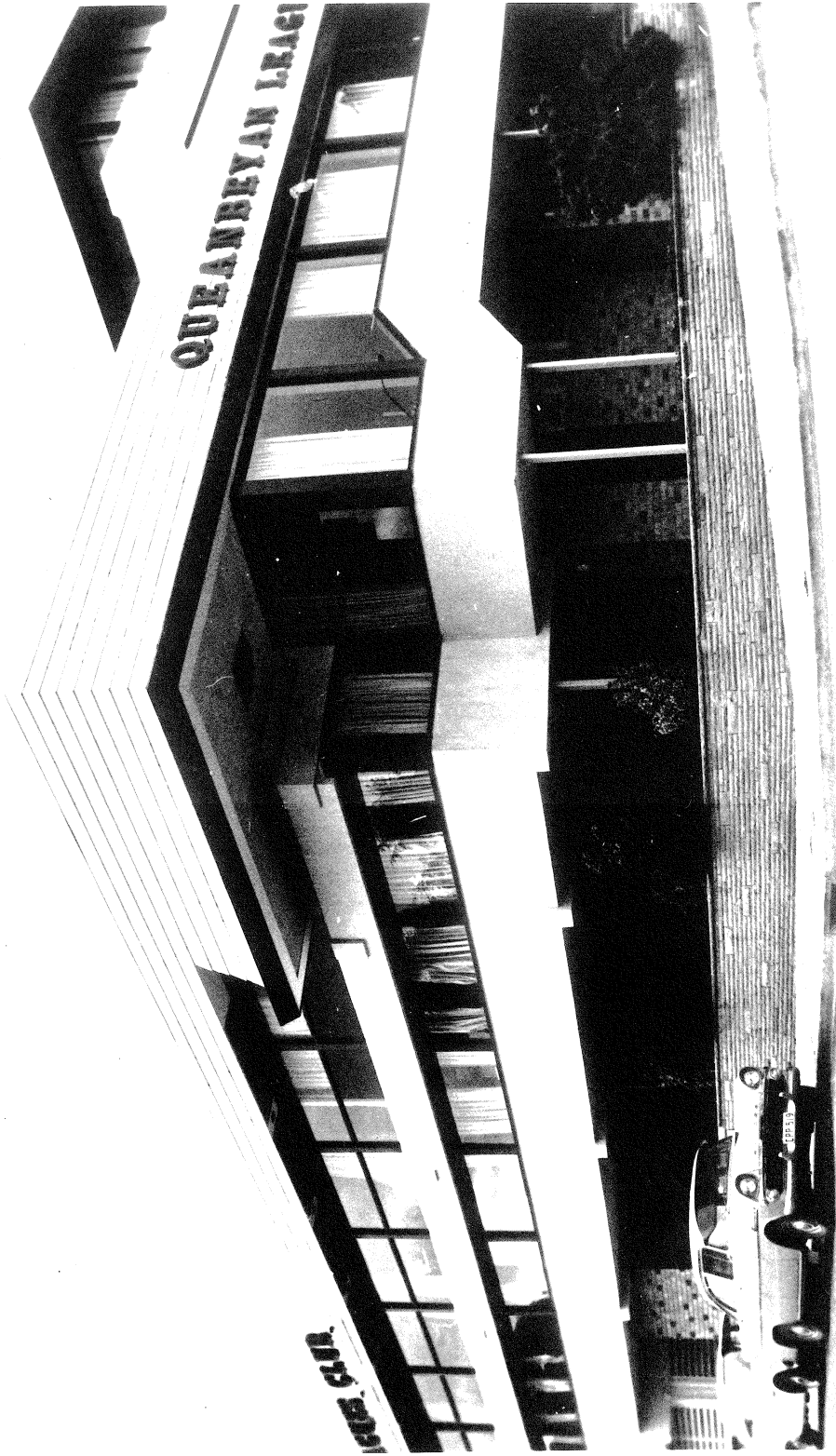


Plate 2: The present three-storey premises of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club facing the Molonglo River.

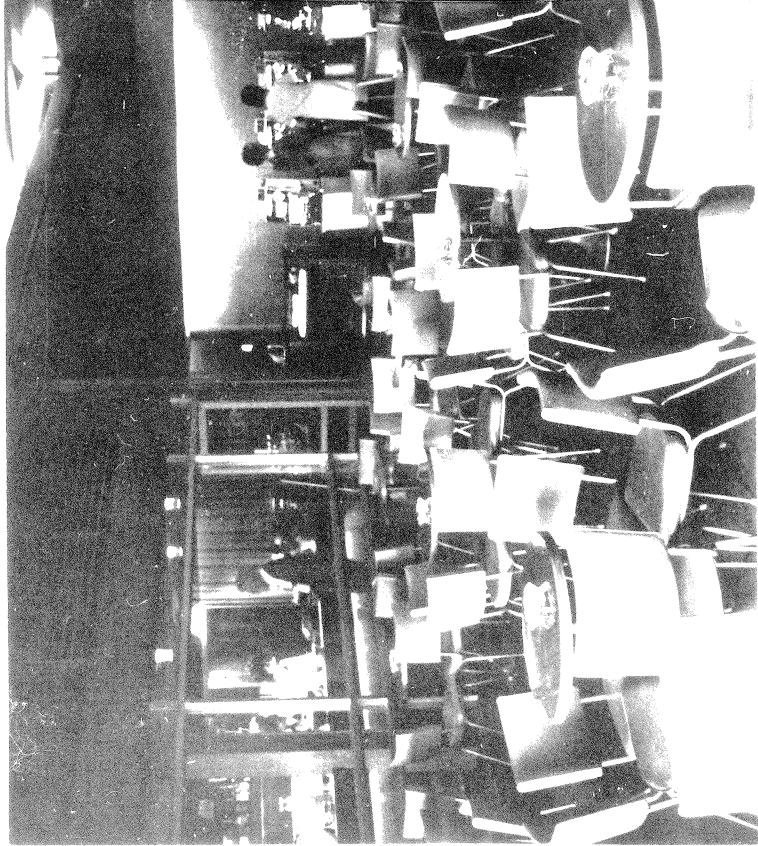
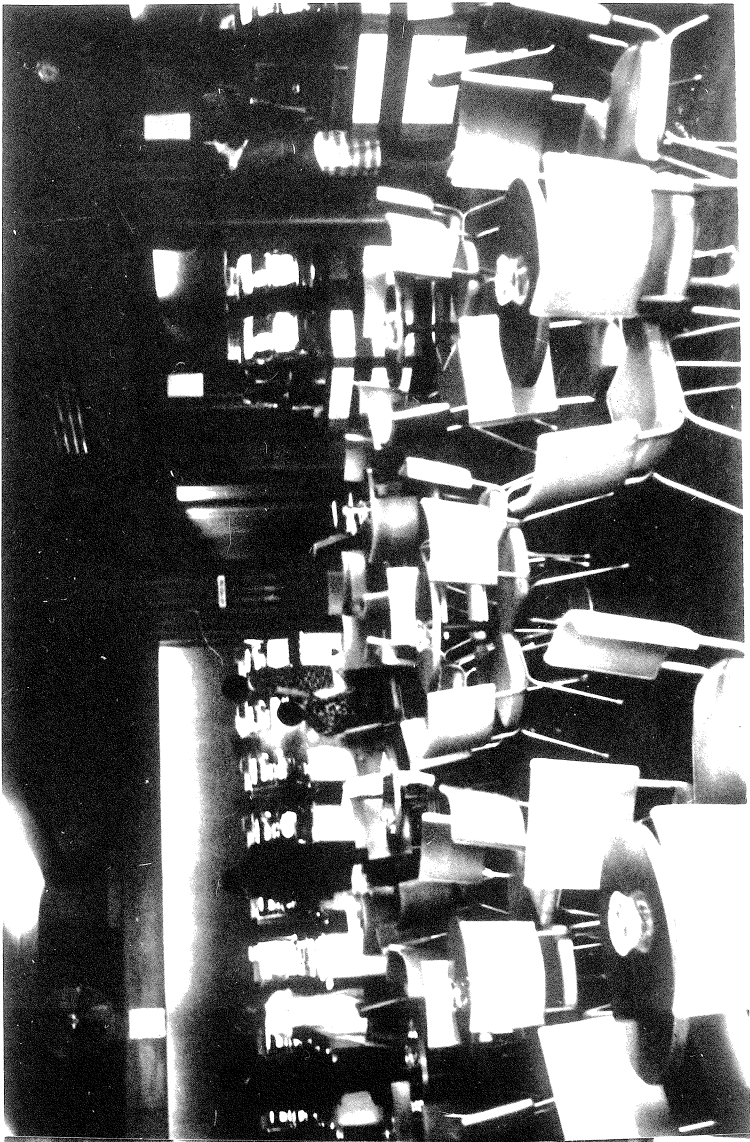


Plate 3: The Mixed Lounge



Plate 4: The Bistro Bar adjoining the main bar and Poker Machine Room

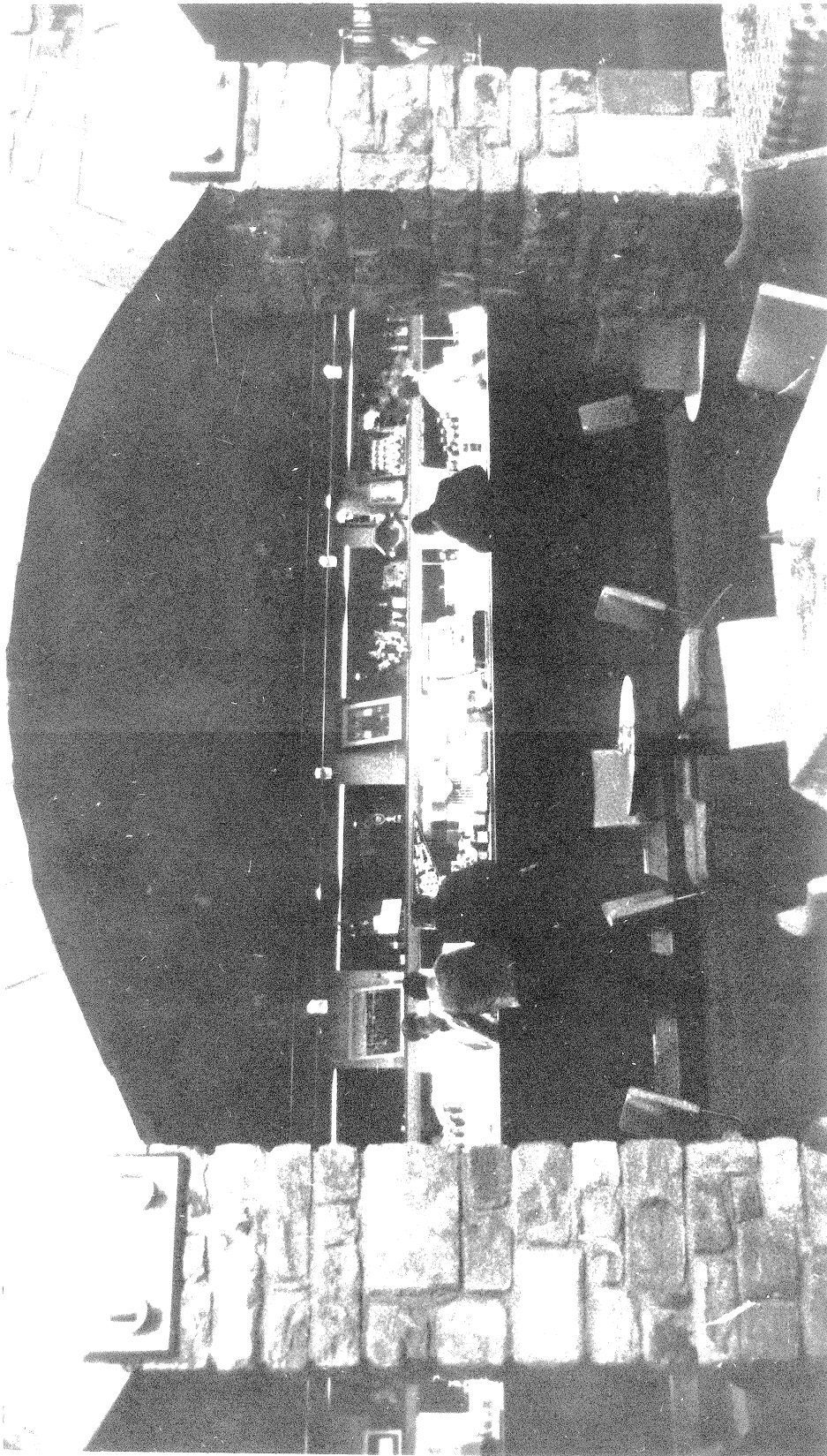


Plate 5: The Main Bar seen from the Bistro Bar. Locals tend to congregate here after work

on Sundays this section of the club is very crowded with male football supporters. The third section of this area is a room filled with eighty-five poker machines bathed in soft blue lighting (Plate 6). The area as a whole contains 109 poker machines.

The other major first floor area is the auditorium. The auditorium has a dance floor, a bar and a bistro bar (open from 4 p.m. to closing) at which meals and light snacks can be purchased (Plates 7 and 8). Above and below the auditorium, and opening on to it, are two long mezzanine lounges. In the lower lounge is a bar, forty-five poker machines and a few tables and chairs; above, parallel rows of tables and chairs allow members to look out on one side over the auditorium and on the other, over the river (Plate 9). On the lower ground floor is a sauna room, a bar, a few poker machines and a snack bar where meals can be purchased during the lunch hour for 50c or less. Nearby are two very comfortable and large meetings rooms where intraclubs and the football executive meet. Throughout the club there are also kitchens, store rooms, offices and toilets.

As from December 1971, the present dining-room has become a mixed lounge which can be readily converted to make for extra seating accommodation on entertainment nights. The new dining-room, tastefully decorated, with seating for 200 diners, is located on the first floor (Plate 10). While waiting for guests, patrons can obtain drinks at a special cocktail bar and are entertained by a professional musician (Plate 11). Further, a games room of 1,430 square feet has been opened. Measuring 54 feet by  $26\frac{1}{2}$  feet it contains a bar, two billiard tables, indoor bowling mats and provision for darts (Plates 12 and 13). A non-licensed television lounge is located on the upper floor; and luxurious executive suites for the President and Secretary/Manager, a committee boardroom and offices complete the new additions.

#### Additional Properties of the QIC

Apart from the club building there are additional properties owned by the QIC. Closest to the main complex is the Bowling Club, situated about 100 yards from the club's central building. In 1966, the established bowling green and clubhouse (formerly the Queanbeyan Ladies' Bowling Club) was purchased for \$26,000. In 1969, the clubhouse underwent extensive alterations at a cost of \$20,000.



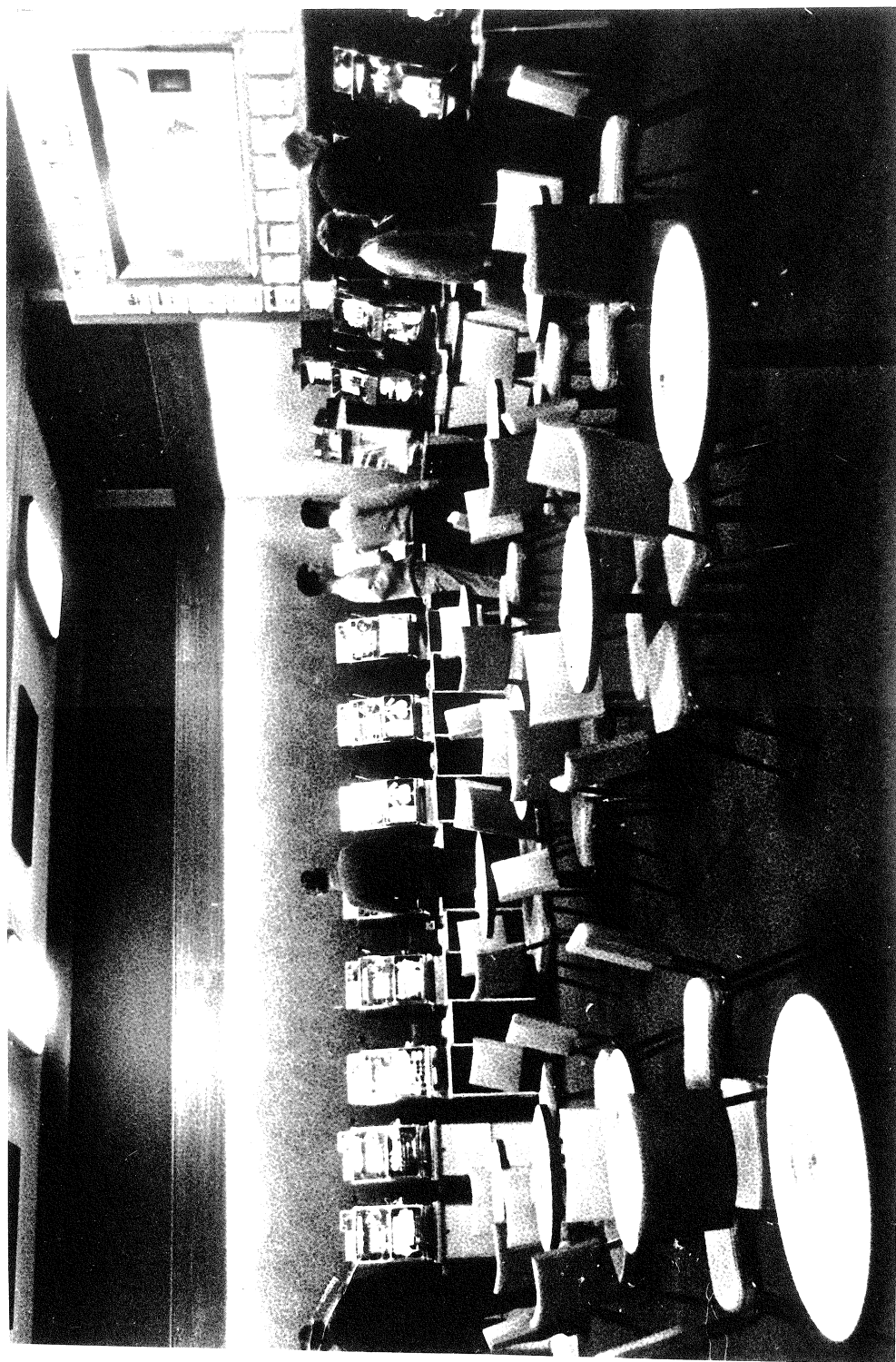


Plate 6: The Poker Machine Room. This photograph was taken in late 1970. The right hand wall has been replaced by four alcoves each of which contains poker machines. In addition, rows of poker machines have been placed in the centre of the room so that altogether there are usually 90 machines in this area.

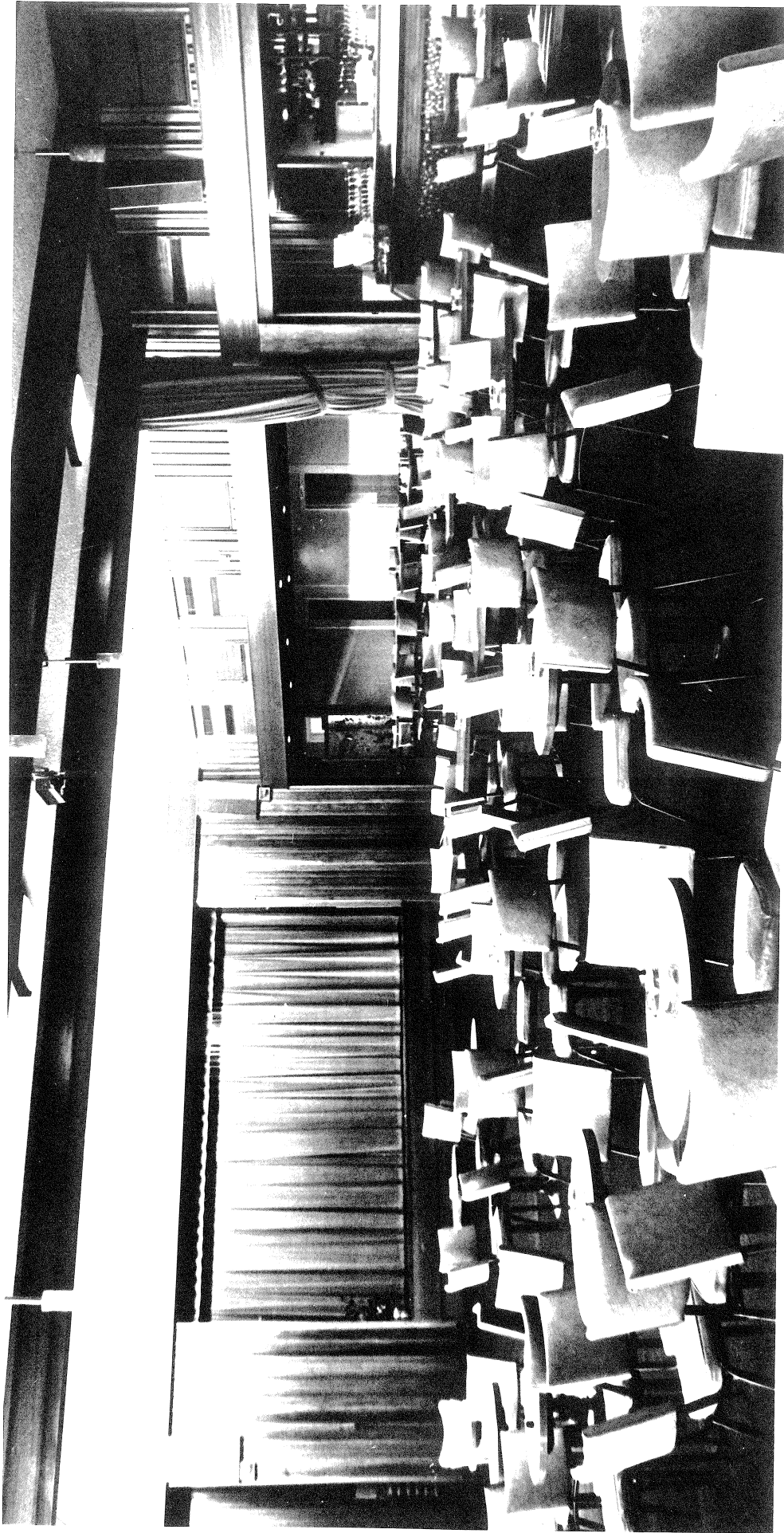


Plate 7: The auditorium. This section of the Club becomes busy on entertainment nights and the mid-day smorgasbord on Tuesdays and Thursdays at lunchtime. There is a food bar and two liquor bars in this immediate area



Plate 8: The auditorium with members and guests partaking of mid-day smorgasbord meal on a Thursday. The photograph was taken from the mezzanine lounge

Plate 9: The Mezzanine Lounge taken at about 1 p.m. Up to 500 smorgasbord meals are eaten on Tuesdays and Thursdays



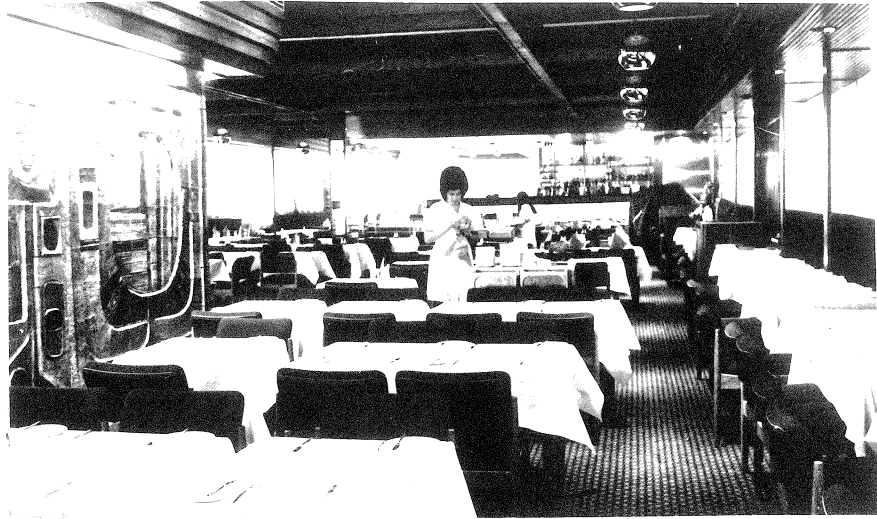


Plate 10: The new dining room known as the Blue Room, opened in December 1971. It can accommodate 200 diners



Plate 11: The cocktail bar, opening up to the Blue Room dining room



Plate 12: The main part of the Games Room with  
billiard tables and bowling mats

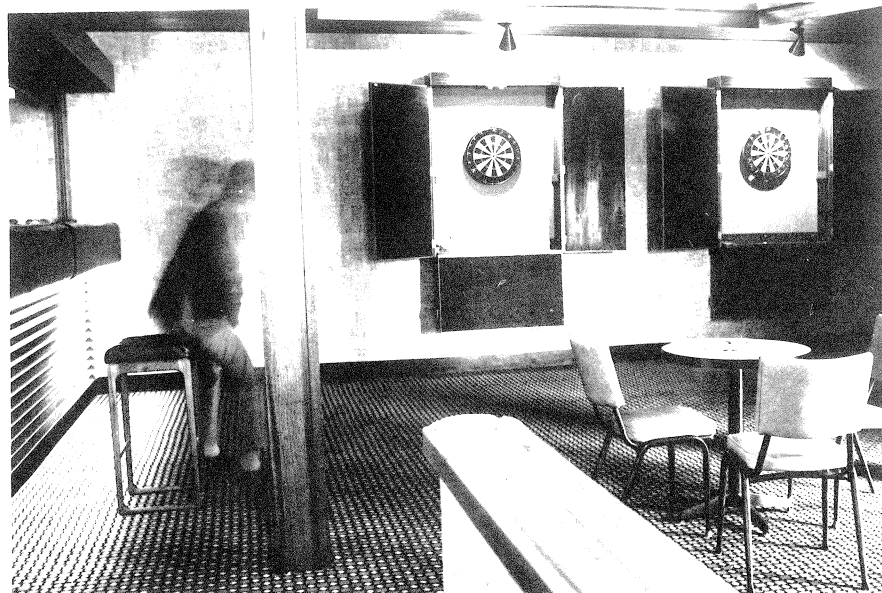


Plate 13: The secondary part of the games area  
with a bar and dart boards

To date, the major investment made by the QIC outside its own buildings is the rugby league ground known as the J.W. Seiffert Queanbeyan Sports Ground. In 1964, rugby league officials of the QIC submitted a written request to the Queanbeyan Municipal Council asking for the leasing of an area of eight acres (which was eroded and overgrown with weeds) for twenty-five years with the option of renewal. In its submission, the QIC undertook to rid the area of the weeds, restore all erosion, grade the area, construct a playing field with a suitable watering system, erect a fence around the perimeter, provide a fully enclosed ground and eventually erect modern dressing-sheds, toilets, grandstand and other associated amenities. After consultation with the N.S.W. Department of Lands, it was agreed that the development envisaged by the QIC could best be achieved by placing the control in the hands of a private trust. Six of the seven original trustees were associated with the Leagues' Club, and control of the Trust has always rested with the club. The N.S.W. Department of Lands made a grant of \$1,000 to meet initial administrative costs and subsequently lent \$33,000 to the Trust.

Since that time, an excellent oval has been prepared with an underground sprinkling system, fence, split-level car parking areas (faced with stone), toilet blocks, canteen, scoreboard, change rooms and store shed. Tractors and rotary mowers have been purchased for ground maintenance. The memorial gates and driveway were constructed and paid for, partly by public subscription, with the balance being borne by the QIC. More recently a steel-framed grandstand to accommodate 3,000 spectators costing \$90,000 has been constructed. By May 1971, development of this area had cost \$250,000 (\$33,000 of which had been obtained from the Department of Lands, \$4,055 from the Queanbeyan United Rugby Football Club and a balance of \$212,945 was paid by the QIC in the form of an unencumbered loan. The \$33,000 loan from the Department of Lands will be repaid by the QIC).

Maintenance costs are high and the QIC pays for the salary of a full-time groundsman. During the winter months, the sporting complex is used on three days a week - on Wednesday afternoons for high school rugby union competition matches, on Saturdays for second division competition rugby league and on Sundays by teams participating in the professional Group 8 rugby league competition. In addition, rugby union and soccer matches have been played including

an international soccer match with the Russian Dynamos; each year a professional athletics carnival (subsidised by the QIC) is held; a number of children's picnics organized by various charitable organizations and associations are conducted at the ground; and in 1972, the Harlem Globetrotters played there (The Canberra Times, February 14, 1972).

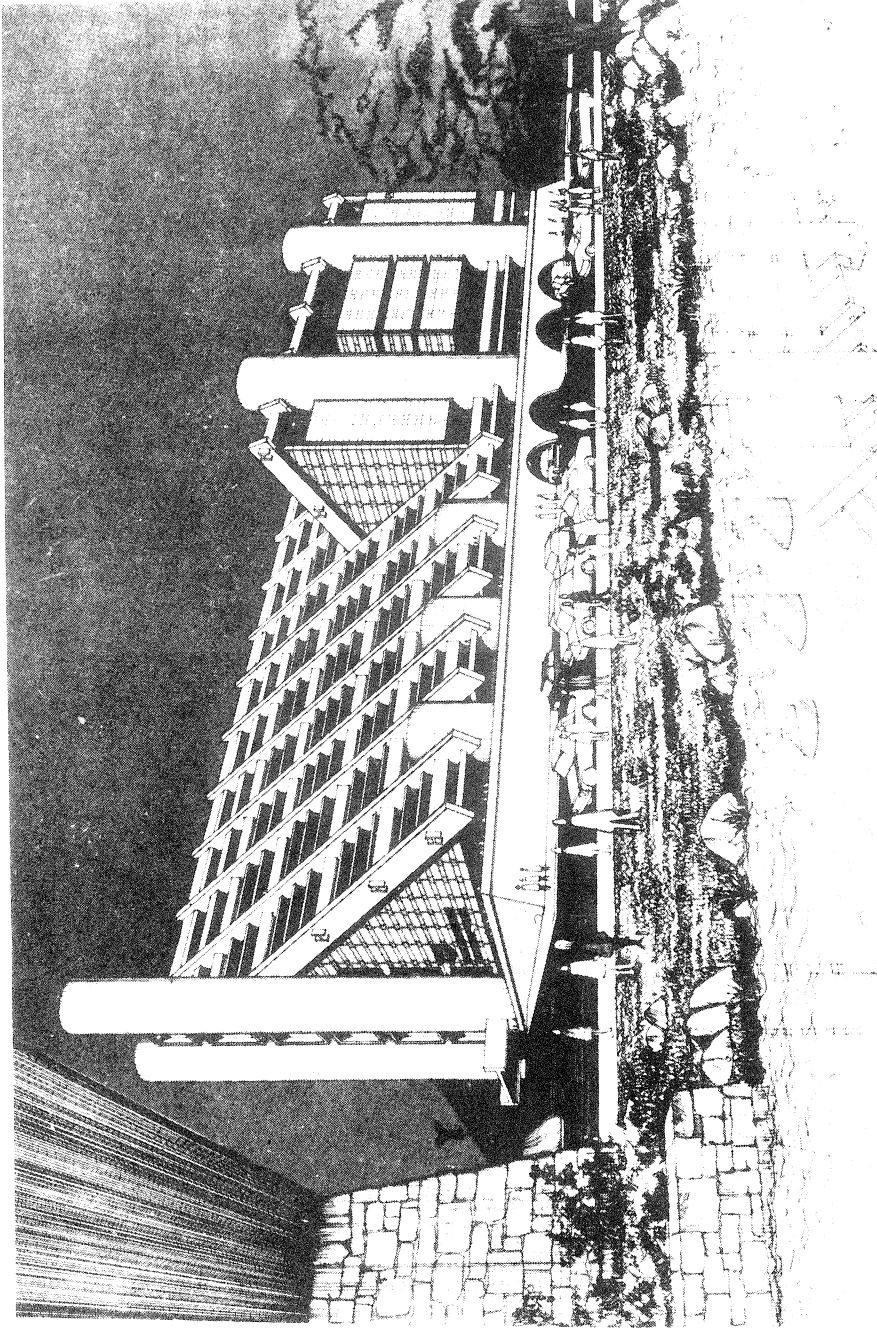
At the end of 1971, the club's fixed assets were valued at approximately \$2,800,000. During that year improvements and additions were added to the main clubhouse, which is now valued at \$1,500,000. Other fixed assets are the Bowling Club (\$61,000), loans and expenditure on J.W. Seiffert Oval (\$300,000), a youth club and a car park (\$43,000), two homes in Queanbeyan (\$19,000), the recently purchased hotel opposite the main clubhouse (\$250,000), games equipment (\$3,000), furniture and furnishings (at cost, \$170,000), plant and equipment (\$260,000) and 239 poker machines (\$200,000).

#### Plans for a New 11-storey Building

The growth potential of the club is such that as the top floor renovations have been completed, plans are already under way to construct within the next five years, an 11-storey multi-million dollar sporting, motel and club complex which will render the present clubhouse obsolete (Plate 14). The brief for the club's architects called for a building incorporating every facility that members of the Leagues' Club might expect. The recently purchased hotel, the club's car park, lawn bowling green and clubhouse will be the site for this huge complex.

In its eight years' existence as a licensed club, the QIC has grown rapidly and substantially. In like manner, the capacity of the Directors and the Secretary/Manager to plan has grown. Recognising the need for leisure facilities in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area, they have planned a leisure complex that will make the Leagues' Club a major regional attraction for many years to come. In the May 1971 Journal, there is recognition that the club is breaking new ground:

Because of the unique combination of functions in this complex, the architects realise that a conventional aesthetic development should not be attempted and that the building, therefore, does not look like an office building, or a motel building, or in fact like any other club that has been built before. It is an expression



**THE NEW QUEANBEYAN LEAGUES CLUB** KEVIN J. CURTIS & PARTNERS ARCHITECTS

Plate 14: The proposed new Queanbeyan Leagues Club to cost between \$5-8 million. Completion of the building is not expected until the late 1970s



of the unique nature of what happens within the building modified by the exceptionally appropriate site which has been selected for it (QIC Journal, May 1971: 8).

On this site (just over an acre in size and four times the area of the current club premises) the new club will provide parking for 500 cars, a shopping mall, club rooms occupying up to five floors, commercial offices, motel or penthouse accommodation on the upper two floors, sporting facilities including an Olympic swimming pool, squash courts, gymnasium, a bowling green and an auditorium to accommodate 1,200 people. Bars and lounges will be located on various terraces overlooking the river and each bar will be named reflecting the leisure or sporting interest of the intraclubs, e.g. the Ski Bar, the Golf Bar, the Cricketers Bar, the Footballers Bar and so on. There will be a choice of various dining facilities; members will also be able to arrange small private functions within the club varying from small dinner parties to major national conventions (for possibly as many as 2,000 participants).

The building is expected to cost from five to eight million dollars. Even the QIC has to consider ways of raising such a huge amount, although one consortium has already offered to lend the club eight million dollars. It is expected that poker machine profits will provide a substantial base, although that income will probably only cover interest payments on capital investment. The club is considering four types of commercial services as sources of finance to service capital costs: retail trading facilities, motel and office accommodation, and an automobile service station. A motel is planned for the top two floors for members, guests and visitors, and the occupants will be able to use the dining facilities of the club. In addition to the service station, multi-level parking for 500 cars will be included, enabling members to have their cars serviced while using the club's facilities. It is envisaged that the retail trading outlets will include a supermarket or a junior department store on the ground floor and a variety of shops for the convenience of members.

The complex will be the biggest in Australia with a total floor area of approximately six acres. It is clear from the description of the proposed club premises that the organization will become more than a leisure facility - indeed a business organization of major proportions. Since it is a co-operative organization and its profits

each year are large, a very substantial source of income is available for capital development.<sup>1</sup> This dynamic co-operative system represents a strong counterpoint to the usual development of separate leisure, motel and commercial enterprises, (with profit-making for shareholders and owners as the motivational mainspring).

Goals of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club

I have already referred to the original goals formulated before the club became a licensed organization. The goals outlined in the Memorandum and Articles of the Association of the QLC are more precise. The main objects for which the club was established were:

1. To provide for members and guests a social and sporting club with all the usual facilities of a club including residential and other accommodation, liquid and other refreshment, libraries, provisions for sporting, musical and educational facilities and other amenities.
2. To assist generally in the promotion, conduct and propagation of rugby league football in the district of Queanbeyan or elsewhere and to assist in the provision of training, conditioning and teaching facilities for rugby league football.
3. To purchase, hire, lease or otherwise acquire for the purposes of the club, any real or personal property and any rights or privileges which the club may think necessary or convenient for the carrying out of its objects.
4. To give, sell, mortgage, exchange, hire, lease or otherwise dispose of the property of the club or any part or parts thereof; to invest and deal with any of the monies of the club not immediately required for the purposes thereof upon such securities and in such manner as may be deemed fit to vary and realise such investments.
5. To borrow money from time to time and for such purposes to give debentures, liens, mortgages, charges and other securities over the whole or any part of the property, real or personal of the club.

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<sup>1</sup> This is not the first club which has planned such a complex for the Eastern Suburbs Leagues' Club in Sydney had earlier announced plans for a major complex.

6. To apply for, obtain and hold a club licence, appropriate licences or registrations and to appoint, if necessary or desirable, a manager and other officebearers to act as Licensee or Licensees.
7. To obtain and hold any licence or permission necessary for the club to carry on the business of restaurant-keepers, sellers of tobacco, cigars and cigarettes and all kinds of goods, provisions, etc. desired by members.
8. To take or reject any gift of property, money or goods whether subject to any special trust or not.
9. To erect, maintain, improve or alter any buildings for the purposes of the club.
10. To render aid, either financial or otherwise, to clubs or associations in the rugby league football district of Queanbeyan or elsewhere.
11. To indemnify any person or persons, whether members of the club or not, who may incur or have incurred any personal liability for the benefit of the club.
12. To establish, support or aid associations, funds, trusts and conveniences calculated to benefit the members of the club or the dependents or connections of such members and make payments towards insurance for any purpose and to subscribe or guarantee money to charitable or benevolent objects, for any exhibition or public, general or useful object.
13. Carry on all such activities that may be necessary or convenient for the purposes of the club.
14. To do all such acts, deeds, matters and things and enter into and make such agreements as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the objects of the club.

In general, the club has adhered closely to its original objectives and has been successful in meeting these aims. Club members have extremely comfortable premises in which to spend their leisure time; and gifts to charity, rugby league and sport has been substantial - although there has been virtually no allocation of funds for educational facilities.

In addition to official aims, organizations develop "operative" or unofficial aims that are pursued in actual practice, with or without their full recognition by the leaders (Glaser and Sills, 1966: 175). Such operative or latent goals may be the product of the

structure of the organization (Perrow, 1961: 854-866), or events outside the organization may bring about a modification in the club's goals.

Vinson and Robinson (1970: 63) have analysed changes in the goals of large Sydney clubs. In discussing the typical stages in the life cycle of voluntary organizations they suggest that an organization initially devoted to fulfilling a special purpose may later emphasise such general goals as increasing its size, power and prestige - a phenomenon characteristic of Sydney's licensed clubs. Early goals of informal social interaction within comfortably furnished premises of restricted size, are replaced by goals in which expansion and improvement are stressed, a trend reflecting general preoccupations of industrial society.

The QLC is no exception to this general tendency. At Annual General Meetings and in the club Journals the President and Secretary/Manager have expressed pride in the club as being one of the largest clubs in N.S.W. At the 1969 Annual General Meeting, the Secretary/Manager stated that its turnover was probably the highest of any country club in the State. The President has frequently expressed the view that the club aims to be the best in the region.

If a registered club aims to be one of the "biggest and the best", then some criteria must be developed which will allow for discrimination among clubs. As Vinson and Robinson (1970: 63) have noted, the twin criteria of membership size and annual income are the determinants of club policy - although a characteristic ignored by Vinson and Robinson is the qualitative criterion of the style and luxury of club premises.

QLC Directors place special importance on a healthy balance sheet. They regard large profits and growing membership as indicators of club success. It is difficult to reject the argument that increasing membership and expanding profits are valid indices of the popularity and success of the club. If a club were not providing adequate and attractive facilities then the demand for membership and continued patronage would stagnate or even decline.

Directors have been reluctant to discuss differences in aims and goals. One subject which divides the Directors is the extent to which rugby league should be subsidised by the Leagues' Club. The

President, who is devoted to rugby league, wishes to ensure that the Leagues' Club adequately supports rugby league. There are others who think that the President over-emphasises the degree to which the Leagues' Club should project a rugby league image. One Director has stated that if the President had his way goal-posts would be placed in the foyer of the club. In fact, to the casual observer, there is not much visual evidence of rugby league's influence in the club - apart from a bronze statue of a rugby league footballer in the foyer (certainly a more artistic edifice than goal-posts), a few photographs of rugby league teams and towards the end of the football season, banners supporting the Queanbeyan United Rugby League team ("the Blues" as they are dubbed).

As for financial support, in 1969, \$52,383 was spent on rugby league. In 1970 the figure was \$77,032. These sums exclude the funds spent on the development of the J.W. Seiffert sports ground which is used primarily as a rugby league oval. The extent to which the Leagues' Club's profits should be diverted to the support of rugby league represents a tension (but not a serious one) in the decision-making of the Directors of the QLC.

#### Some Characteristics of the QLC Membership

Because the club is a leisure consumer co-operative with an open membership, there are virtually no restrictions on membership. Persons wishing to join the club must fill in the printed card requiring his or her full name, address and occupation. He declares that he is 21 years of age or over, and that he will abide by club rules; two club members must nominate and second him and sign the nomination form. Before a nomination form is accepted it must be signed by a Director or the Secretary/Manager. At various Board meetings throughout the year, nominated persons are accepted for membership. Only on very rare occasions is nomination rejected; however, excessive pressure on club facilities may force Directors to withhold acceptance until new facilities are completed, or until the end of a year when some members fail to renew their memberships. Upon acceptance, the new member pays a \$5 joining fee and an annual subscription of \$7. For female associates, the annual subscription is \$2.10. Male members are issued with a numbered metal medallion and associates a numbered card, which they are expected to show to the doorman as they enter the club.

Trading at the QLC commenced in September 1963 with 750

members. At the end of the first full year's trading there were 2,272 members; by November 1971 it had reached 12,620 - an increase of 455 per cent.

Table 9.1

Growth in Male and Female Membership of the  
Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, 1963 - 1971  
(Row Percentages)

| Year ending<br>December 31 | Males | Females | Total | Total<br>Members (N) |
|----------------------------|-------|---------|-------|----------------------|
| 1963                       | 100.0 | -       | 100.0 | 750                  |
| 1964                       | 80.2  | 19.8    | 100.0 | 2272                 |
| 1965                       | 80.6  | 19.4    | 100.0 | 3405                 |
| 1966                       | 77.0  | 23.0    | 100.0 | 5171                 |
| 1967                       | 76.6  | 23.4    | 100.0 | 6589                 |
| 1968                       | 75.7  | 24.4    | 100.1 | 7599                 |
| 1969                       | 74.8  | 25.2    | 100.0 | 8458                 |
| 1970                       | 74.4  | 25.6    | 100.0 | 9750                 |
| 1971                       | 73.8  | 26.3    | 100.1 | 12620                |

During 1964, females were admitted as associate members. Under Article 4(e) of the club's Constitution, the percentage of female members is not to exceed 90 per cent of male members, and preference is given to wives of members. While male membership has increased 411 per cent since 1964, female membership has increased 636 per cent. Males constituted 80.2 per cent of the total membership in 1964 but had dropped to 73.8 per cent by 1971; female membership has risen from 19.8 per cent to 26.3 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the QLC as a community leisure organization can be seen from the proportion of Canberra/Queanbeyan residents who have become members of the club (see Table 9.2). In 1964, one in forty residents in the area were members of the Leagues' Club. By November 1971, this proportion was about one in twelve.

In June 1966, 56.9 per cent of the A.C.T. population was over 20 years of age. On this basis, 8.6 per cent of the adult population in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area were members of the club in 1966. By 1971 (assuming that this rate has remained constant) 14 per cent, or one in seven adults in the area, were members of the Leagues' Club. In terms of membership alone the QLC is a

<sup>1</sup> Female members are called "associate members".

major voluntary organization.

Table 9.2

Canberra/Queanbeyan Residents who are Members  
of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club 1964-1971

| Year<br>(30 June) | Population<br>Canberra/<br>Queanbeyan | QIC<br>Membership<br>(Dec. 31) | Percentage of<br>Residents<br>Members of QIC |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1964              | 88,424                                | 2,272                          | 2.56   |
| 1965              | 97,360                                | 3,405                          | 3.49   |
| 1966              | 105,803                               | 5,171                          | 4.88   |
| 1967              | 113,818                               | 6,589                          | 5.78   |
| 1968              | 122,880                               | 7,599                          | 6.18   |
| 1969              | 133,495                               | 8,458                          | 6.33   |
| 1970              | 145,548                               | 9,750                          | 6.69   |
| 1971              | 157,000<br>(est.)                     | 12,620<br>(Dec. 1971)          | 8.03   |

#### 1. Occupational Distribution: Males

Wilson (1962: 105) has said that the character of an institution is significantly affected by the social classes from which it draws its personnel and clientele. What is the social class structure of the QIC's membership? In order to assess the social composition of the membership, an occupational analysis was undertaken.

Broom (1971: 21) commences a recent article by stating that students of social stratification are virtually unanimous in the view that occupation is the pivot of the stratification system in modern industrial societies. If the sociologists were allowed only one index of social stratification, then Broom argues that occupation would be chosen because it "can serve as an indicator of earned income, of probable skill and training, of authority, of prestige and of other elements that make up an individual's position in the social order" (Broom, 1971: 21).

Over the two years of fieldwork, I have been able to draw three occupational profiles of male members (see Table 9.3):

- 1) An occupational analysis was made of a 33.1/3 per cent systematic sample of the 1969 male membership using the occupational classi-

fication developed by Broom, Jones and Zubrzycki (1965). The information was drawn from club records and the designated occupation of each member represents his job at the time that he joined the club rather than at the time the sample was drawn in 1969. Thus this occupational analysis takes no account of upward or downward career mobility of individual members.

Table 9.3

Occupational Structure of 1969 Sample, all Male Members 1970,  
1970 Postal Survey Compared with A.C.T. Males (1966 Census)  
(Column Percentages)

| Occupation  | 1969<br>Sample | 1970<br>Total<br>Pop. | 1970<br>Sample | A.C.T.<br>1966<br>Census<br>(Males) |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Upper Professional   | 3.25           | 4.13                  | 6.11           | 8.04                                |
| 2. Graziers, Wheat and Sheep<br>Farmers   | 2.30           | 2.38                  | 1.31           | 0.51                                |
| 3. Lower Professional (Teachers,<br>Journalists, Technicians,<br>Librarians, Social Workers,<br>etc.) | 5.93           | 5.77                  | 6.98           | 8.42                                |
| 4. Managerial   | 14.69          | 14.28                 | 9.17           | 8.10                                |
| 5. Self-employed Shop<br>Proprietors  | .91            | .24                   | 0.87           | .27                                 |
| 6. Other Farmers  | .43            | .16                   | -              | .25                                 |
| 7. Clerical and Related Workers<br>(including Public Servants)  | 28.85          | 32.71                 | 39.30          | 20.05                               |
| 8. Armed Services, Police   | 7.22           | 7.47                  | 9.17           | 9.59                                |
| 9. Craftsmen and Foremen  | 15.26          | 11.75                 | 10.91          | 19.49                               |
| 10. Shop Assistants   | .34            | -                     | -              | 1.92                                |
| 11. Operatives and Process Workers  | 4.21           | 1.93                  | 3.05           | 4.82                                |
| 12. Drivers   | 3.83           | 2.88                  | 1.31           | 3.73                                |
| 13. Personal, Domestic and Service<br>Workers   | 7.27           | 9.02                  | 5.24           | 5.72                                |
| 14. Miners  | .14            | .02                   | -              | .21                                 |
| 15. Farm and Rural Workers  | .57            | .33                   | -              | .95                                 |
| 16. Labourers   | 3.21           | 2.89                  | 2.18           | 7.44                                |
| 17. Inadequately defined )  |                |                       |                |                                     |
| 18. Students, pensioners, retired )   | 1.58           | 3.96                  | 4.36           | .48                                 |
| Total   | 99.99          | 99.92                 | 99.96          | 100.00                              |
| N =   | 2,090          | 6,838                 | 229            | 30,238                              |



- 2) During 1970, the QLC, in its submission to the Licensing Court for an increase in membership, recorded the occupation of every member and associate of the club. Using the Broom, Jones and Zubrzycki scale, I have classified these occupations. This analysis suffers from the same problem that the occupations are those of the member at entry rather than at the time the analysis was made.
- 3) Finally, an occupational profile (using the same taxonomy) of the respondents to the 1970 survey has been developed. Unlike the other two occupational classifications, these occupations are those of the members in 1970. All of these results are included in Table 9.3. As a point of comparison, the A.C.T. occupational structure taken at the 1966 Census is included.

Firstly, it is clear that there are some differences in results in the three structures. The reasons for these differences include the following - the occupations of those in the 1969 sample and the 1970 total population represent the entry occupation of the member and not his current occupation; in contrast the 1970 sample gives details of the member's current job.

Second, over the past four years, an average of 1,060 members and associates have failed to renew their memberships. As shown in Table 9.4, the drop-out rate (i.e. the number who did not renew in the new year as a percentage of the total membership at the end of the previous year) for 1968 was 13.3 per cent, 14.4 per cent in 1969, 16.6 per cent in 1970 and 8.9 per cent in 1971.

Table 9.4

Size of Membership and Drop-outs. Frequency and Percentage Distribution - QLC, 1968-71

| Year commencing Jan 1 | Total Membership | Males                | Females              | Male Dropouts      | Female Dropouts    | Total Dropouts       |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1968                  | 6,589            | 5,050<br><u>76.6</u> | 1,539<br><u>23.6</u> | 709<br><u>14.0</u> | 170<br><u>11.0</u> | 879<br><u>13.3</u>   |
| 1969                  | 7,599            | 5,749<br><u>75.6</u> | 1,850<br><u>24.4</u> | 891<br><u>15.5</u> | 207<br><u>11.2</u> | 1,098<br><u>14.4</u> |
| 1970                  | 8,458            | 6,330<br><u>74.8</u> | 2,128<br><u>25.2</u> | Not available      |                    | 1,400<br><u>16.6</u> |
| 1971                  | 9,750            | 7,527<br><u>74.4</u> | 2,493<br><u>25.6</u> | 675<br><u>9.3</u>  | 192<br><u>7.7</u>  | 867<br><u>8.9</u>    |

Figures underlined are percentages

The 16.6 per cent drop-out rate in 1970, would clearly affect the occupational distribution compiled in the previous year. On the surface, these yearly drop-out rates might appear to be high. Because Canberra's population is a mobile one, it is likely that the drop-out rate at the QLC is higher than those of other large clubs. Despite this mobility a substantial number of people do not value their membership sufficiently to renew - however, the decreased 1971 rate indicates that the percentage of such people is declining.

When the three sets of results are compared with the 1966 A.C.T. male workforce, the following points emerge - upper and lower professionals, craftsmen and foremen, operatives and process workers, shop assistants and labourers are under-represented in the club. On the other hand, managers, clerks and public servants, personal domestic and service workers are over-represented.

Professionals are under-represented probably because they tend to join small elite clubs rather than mass organizations. Armed servicemen have their own messes or clubs where liquor is available cheaply; and blue collar workers tend to drink in hotels, partly because they are daunted by dress rules. On the other hand, the over-representation of service workers is a puzzle; it may be partly explained by the fact that barmen and barmaids are included in this category and these people seem to spend some of their leisure time at the QLC.

The occupational structure of the respondents to the 1970 postal survey is the closest of the three to the 1966 A.C.T. structure, except for the heavy over-representation of public servants and the under-representation of craftsmen, foremen and labourers. Two interpretations can be drawn; the club's clientele is becoming more middle class or the occupational structure of Canberra is changing. What is clear, is that the club's membership is drawn from nearly the whole range of Australian occupations. These distributions reflect a white-collar bias due largely to the heavy concentration of public servants, armed service personnel and service industries employees and the under-representation of craftsmen, operatives, process workers, drivers, farm workers, labourers and shop assistants in Canberra.

The occupational structure summarised here dramatises one of the most sociologically important characteristics of large registered clubs in N.S.W. - membership is not confined to one social stratum

but includes members in significant proportions from the whole occupational structure. Baltzell (1969: 410) has noted the boom in American suburban clubs since the Second World War, and suggests that country clubs are one way of perpetuating caste divisions in a period when both the suburbs and elite positions have been greatly democratized. In America even the most exclusive suburbs are now no longer the monopoly of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the club serves as a bastion of ethnic purity in increasingly heterogeneous neighbourhoods. Similarly elite clubs in Australia, as in Britain and America have restricted the criteria for membership - for example, connections with old-established families, wealth, Protestant religion, military rank and senior status in one of the learned professions (Encel, 1970: 131-2). There are, of course, non-elite clubs as well - for instance, the Working Men's Clubs in Britain. But in the sociological literature there is little research on leisure organizations which draw their clientele in significant numbers from a range of social classes.

It is usually assumed that social participation in leisure activities reinforces the social divisions of class. The occupational analysis of the QLC suggests an exception to such a pattern. It is conceivable that members from different social classes use different areas and facilities at the club. For example, a director of the Sydney suburban St George Leagues' Club said that his 30,000 member club could be classified as a two-class club; middle class people tended to spend their time on the top floor whereas working class people tended to stay on the ground floor. At the QLC, no such social differentiation has been apparent. However, the opening of the new dining room in December 1971 may be encouraging this pattern.

Before the closure of the downstairs dining room, the menu was not particularly varied. The food was good, but it was served simply without ostentation. The move to the larger, more luxuriously appointed dining room upstairs has been accompanied by a number of innovations reflecting greater acceptance of middle class styles, especially with the diversification of personnel, service and the menu. A head waiter and hostesses have been appointed; the style of service in the attentiveness to the clientele's needs parallels

that of middle class restaurants;<sup>1</sup> the range of dishes on the menu is larger, more varied and exotic; the prices are moderately more expensive; and the formality of the diners' dress contrasts sharply with the more casual dress of the clientele in the lower floor of the club.

## 2. Occupational Distribution: Females

About 45 per cent of the female club members are in the workforce. According to the NCDC (1970: 128) at the 1966 Census, the A.C.T. had the highest proportion of married women in the workforce in Australia - 35 per cent, compared with 18.2 per cent in N.S.W., 20.1 per cent in Victoria and 17.3 per cent in Australia as a whole. In the QIC female occupational distributions, working women are over-represented; nevertheless over half are housewives (see Table 9.5).

Table 9.5

Occupational Structure of 1970 Total Population and  
1970 Sample (3.0%) of Female Membership at QIC  
(Column Percentages)

| Occupation   | 1970<br>Sample | 1970 Total<br>Population |
|--|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Upper Professional  | -              | .4                       |
| 2. Graziers, Wheat and Sheep Farmers   | -              | .2                       |
| 3. Lower Professional (Teachers, Journalists,<br>Technicians, Librarians, Social Workers,<br>etc.) | 8.2            | 3.6                      |
| 4. Managerial  | 4.1            | 1.5                      |
| 5. Self-employed Shop Proprietors  | -              | .6                       |
| 6. Other Farmers   | -              | -                        |
| 7. Clerical and Related Workers (including<br>Public Servants)                                     | 24.7           | 28.6                     |
| 8. Armed Services, Police  | -              | .5                       |
| 9. Craftsmen and Foremen   | -              | .2                       |
| 10. Shop Assistants  | 1.4            | 4.4                      |
| 11. Operatives and Process Workers   | -              | 1.0                      |
| 12. Drivers  | -              | .2                       |
| 13. Personal, Domestic and Service Workers   | 4.1            | 4.4                      |
| 14. 15. 16. Miners, Farm and Rural Workers,<br>Labourers   | -              | -                        |
| 17. Inadequately defined   | 4.1            | .2                       |
| 18. Students, pensioners, retired<br>(including housewives)  | 53.4           | 54.3                     |
| Total  | 100.0          | 100.1                    |
| Number in Sample   | 73             | 2,455                    |

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the head waiter circulates among the guests, conversing with the diners and asking for musical requests for the organist to perform.

### 3. Place of Residence of Members

Of the 1969 sample of 2,098 male members, 20.2 per cent of the membership were residents of Queanbeyan, 74.0 per cent of Canberra and 5.8 per cent lived outside this region. Two per cent of the sample lived in Sydney, presumably commercial travellers or sales representatives who use the club as a leisure base when in the area. Club members in the sample lived in each state of Australia except Tasmania and in many N.S.W. country towns of considerable distances from Queanbeyan.<sup>1</sup>

In 1970 the club analysed the location of members' residences. Slightly less than a fifth of the male members and a quarter of the associates lived in Queanbeyan (see Table 9.6). Although Canberra is geographically divided by Lake Burley Griffin, 36.8 per cent of this sample came from suburbs on the south and nearest side to the Leagues' Club, while 37.2 per cent resided on the northside. This suggests that residential proximity to the club is not a significant factor in determining whether Canberra people will join the club.

Table 9.6

Place of Residence of QLC Members and Associates 1970 Total Population  
(Column-Percentages)

| Location     | Members | Associates |
|--------------|---------|------------|
| Queanbeyan   | 19.0    | 25.5       |
| Canberra     | 74.8    | 71.2       |
| Interstate   | 5.4     | 3.0        |
| Other States | .6      | .1         |
| Overseas     | .2      | .2         |
| Total        | 100.0   | 100.1      |
| Number       | 6,868   | 2,437      |

Unfortunately, club records do not include characteristics other than name, address and occupation. During fieldwork at the QLC I found that some questions relating to participation could not be answered in any precise way by participant observation. For instance, no single observer could determine what proportion of club members played poker machines and what proportion were winners

<sup>1</sup> Cootamundra, Newcastle, Singleton, Penrith, Kempsey, Katoomba, Goulburn, Woy Woy, Griffith, Leeton, Moss Vale, Narooma, Moruya, Merimbula, Grafton, Emu Plains, Mudgee, Orange and Narrabri.

or losers. Furthermore, time consuming counting procedures would have been necessary to determine the length of time that members spent at the club and the variety of activities in which they participated.

When I first raised the possibility of sending a questionnaire to members, club officials expressed little interest. However, I prepared a questionnaire which I showed to club officials in June 1970. On this occasion their interest was positive, largely because they were preparing a submission to the Licensing Court seeking an increase in membership from 10,000 to 20,000 members and they believed that the data gathered would be useful for their submission.

However, they had their own ideas as to how a questionnaire might be distributed. First, they wanted to put a copy of the questionnaire into the club Journal which is sent to all members. This would have meant that the sample would have been a self-selected one. Reluctantly I agreed.<sup>1</sup> After further discussion, eventually club officials agreed to the questionnaire being mailed separately.

Because the submission to the Licensing Court was deadlined for September 1970, there was no time for a pre-test of the questionnaire. The club insisted on paying for the printing of the questionnaire, the cost of mailing and the inclusion of a stamped envelope to facilitate returns.

In late August, 500 questionnaires were sent to male members and 170 to associates using a systematic sample of club members at a rate of one in fourteen.<sup>2</sup> It is not known precisely how many questionnaires did not reach the designated recipient. The response rate for males was 47 per cent and for females 42.4 per cent. According to Selltitz *et al.* (1962: 241) when questionnaires are mailed to a random sample of the population, the proportion of returns is usually low, varying from about 10 to 50 per cent. Those who return questionnaires are usually the less mobile (and thus the more likely to receive the questionnaire), the more interested, literate and partisan sections of the population (*ibid.*: 242). In effect, we have

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<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of one quite long drinking session, the President suggested that the first 500 members to return the questionnaire might be rewarded with free meals for two in the club's dining room. At subsequent more sober times, this generous plan did not receive further airing.

<sup>2</sup> The questionnaire is included in Appendix 3.

a 3.4 per cent sample of the total male membership and a 3 per cent sample of the associate membership. The low response rate, which was very good for a postal survey with no follow-up, limits confidence in interpreting the results.

As indicated in the previous chapter the response rate would have been improved by the sending out of a follow-up letter. However, as previously mentioned, the two effective decision-making officials were on a world trip and officials in control of the club during their absence, were reluctant to give a decision without their consent. Even so, these data do give some basis for generalising about members' participation in the QIC.

#### 4. Age Composition

In February 1966, the Secretary/Manager of the South Sydney Junior Leagues' Club announced that 80 per cent of his 15,000 member club were over 40 years of age (DM, February 7, 1966). Molnar, in a paper presented to the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science in 1969, suggested that club members came from the same social group (low middle class) and same age group (early middle age). However, the age composition of the 1970 QIC sample is quite different. A majority of male members are under 40 years of age. The average age of male members is slightly lower than that of female members: for 60 per cent of males are under 40, while only 45 per cent of women are in this age bracket. For comparative purposes, the age composition of Canberra's adult population at the 1966 Census is included in Table 9.7. The age compositions are very similar, except that the 40-49 age group is moderately over-represented, and the over 60 age group moderately under-represented in the QIC membership.

Table 9.7

Age Distribution of 1970 Sample of Members, Associates of QIC  
(Column Percentages)

| Age Group   | Males | Females | Total Members | Canberra Adult Population (1966 Census) |
|-------------|-------|---------|---------------|---|
| 21-29       | 33.9  | 19.2    | 30.4          | 31.0                                    |
| 30-39       | 26.2  | 26.0    | 26.1          | 26.1                                    |
| 40-49       | 24.5  | 34.2    | 26.8          | 22.8                                    |
| 50-59       | 10.3  | 13.7    | 11.1          | 11.8                                    |
| 60 and over | 4.7   | 6.8     | 5.2           | 8.2                                     |
| No response | 0.4   | 0.0     | .3            | -                                       |
| Total       | 100.0 | 100.0   | 100.0         | 99.9                                    |
| Number      | 233   | 73      | 306           |   |

### 5. Birthplace of Club Members

Jones (1965: 111) using 1961 Census figures showed that only 22 per cent of Canberra's population consisted of persons born in the A.C.T. About a third were born in N.S.W., one in ten in Victoria, one in ten in other parts of Australia and about a quarter were foreign born. In the 1966 Census, the proportions were much the same. When we look at the birthplaces of the QIC sample, about 19 per cent were foreign born (compared with 25 per cent of the Canberra population), and only 6 per cent were born in Canberra - compared to A.C.T. figures of 20 per cent.

Because the QIC is situated in N.S.W. and a third of Canberra's residents were born in N.S.W., it is not surprising that 41.2 per cent of the QIC was born in that State. Those club members who have lived in N.S.W. are likely to have experienced the facilities that registered clubs can offer, whereas those who have lived in other States will have had much less experience of licensed clubs with poker machines.

The comparison between QIC members and the A.C.T. population in birthplace distribution is distorted somewhat because of the 6.2 per cent no response rate in the QIC sample.

Table 9.8

Birthplace of 1970 Sample of Members of QIC Compared  
with Birthplace of A.C.T. Population (1966 Census)  
(Column Percentages)

| State, Country<br>of Birth      | Males | Females | Total QIC<br>Members | A.C.T.<br>Birthplace |      |
|---------------------------------|-------|---------|----------------------|----------------------|------|
| Australian Capital<br>Territory | 4.7   | 9.6     | 5.9                  | 5.9                  | 20.4 |
| New South Wales                 | 42.0  | 38.4    | 41.2                 | 69.2                 | 53.1 |
| Victoria                        | 12.0  | 9.6     | 11.4                 |                      |      |
| Queensland                      | 6.9   | 9.6     | 7.5                  |                      |      |
| South Australia                 | 3.0   | 4.1     | 3.3                  |                      |      |
| West Australia                  | 3.4   | 1.4     | 2.9                  |                      |      |
| Tasmania                        | 1.7   | 1.4     | 1.6                  |                      |      |
| Australia (state<br>not given)  | 0.9   | 2.7     | 1.3                  |                      |      |
| Total Australia                 | 74.6  | 76.8    | 75.1                 |                      | 73.5 |
| New Zealand                     | 0.4   | -       | .3                   |                      | .8   |



Table 9.8: (Continued)

| State, Country<br>of Birth                     | Males | Females | Total QIC<br>Members | A.C.T.<br>Birthplace |
|--|-------|---------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <u>Europe</u>                                  |       |         |                      |                      |
| United Kingdom and<br>Republic of Ire-<br>land | 11.2  | 8.2     | 10.5                 | 10.2                 |
| Germany  | 2.6   | 2.7     | 2.6                  | 2.1                  |
| Netherlands                                    | 1.3   | 2.7     | 1.6                  | 1.5                  |
| Italy  | 0.9   | -       | .7                   | 2.0                  |
| Greece   | -     | -       | -                    | .9                   |
| Poland   | 0.4   | -       | .3                   | .8                   |
| Malta  | -     | -       | -                    | .3                   |
| Other Europe                                   | 2.6   | -       | 2.0                  | 5.1                  |
| Other Birthplace                               | 0.9   | -       | .7                   | 2.6                  |
| No response                                    | 5.2   | 9.6     | 6.2                  | -                    |
| Total  | 100.1 | 100.0   | 100.0                | 99.8                 |
| Number   | 233   | 73      | 306                  | 96,013               |

#### 6. Membership of Clubs

To what extent are members joiners of other club organizations? If their membership of the Leagues' Club is included, males belong to an average of 2.23 clubs while females belong to an average of 1.5 clubs. If we exclude the QIC, then 71 per cent of males belong to one or more other clubs, while only 45 per cent of females do so (see Table 9.9).

Table 9.9  
Number of Clubs to Which QIC Members Belong  
(Column Percentages)

| No. of Clubs | Males | Females |
|--------------|-------|---------|
| 0            | 29.2  | 54.8    |
| 1            | 36.5  | 39.7    |
| 2            | 21.0  | 4.1     |
| 3            | 7.7   | 0.0     |
| 4-7          | 5.6   | 1.4     |
| Total        | 100.0 | 100.0   |
| Number       | 233   | 73      |

Daly (1968) undertook a study of some sociological aspects of life in N.S.W. country towns drawing his sample of 6 per cent of householders in twelve country towns. 64 per cent of respondents

reported that they belonged to one or more clubs. Daly hints rather than states that these clubs are licensed clubs. A comparison of the multiple memberships of club members of Queanbeyan and Daly's sample is seen in Table 9.10.

Table 9.10

Percentage Comparison of Multiple Memberships of QIC Members  
and N.S.W. Country Members (Daly's 1968 Sample)  
(Column Percentages)

| No. of Clubs | QIC Members | N.S.W. Country<br>Members |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 1            | 35.3        | 39.1                      |
| 2            | 37.3        | 29.3                      |
| 3            | 17.0        | 15.3                      |
| 4 or more    | 10.5        | 20.0                      |
| Total        | 100.1       | 100.0                     |

It is clear that QIC members are much more likely to be members of expressive (licensed clubs) rather than instrumental (political parties) or instrumental-expressive (service and church clubs) organizations. 18.5 per cent of male members belong to a golf club, 13.7 per cent to an R.S.L. club, 14.2 per cent to a bowling club, but only 3.4 per cent to a political party (see Table 9.11). Of the 233 male members, 95 were members of sports club, 26 of service clubs and 39 of general clubs (Masons, YMCA, Businessmen's, Ethnic).

Table 9.11

Membership of Outside Clubs - QIC Male Members

| Type of Club                              | Freq. | %    |
|---|-------|------|
| Returned Soldiers' League                 | 32    | 13.7 |
| Bowling                                   | 21    | 9.0  |
| R.S.L. Bowling                            | 12    | 5.2  |
| Golf                                      | 43    | 18.5 |
| Australian Rules                          | 14    | 6.0  |
| Rugby League, Rugby Union                 | 13    | 5.6  |
| Various Sports                            | 25    | 10.7 |
| Workmen's, Trade Union                    | 19    | 8.2  |
| Service (Rotary, Lions, Apex,<br>Jaycees) | 14    | 6.0  |
| Church Clubs                              | 9     | 3.9  |
| Political Party                           | 8     | 3.4  |

### 7. Length of Membership

Table 9.12 reveals that 25.8 per cent of males and 21.9 per cent of females had been members of the club for a year or less. In fact, a majority of members and associates have belonged for three or less years, which is not surprising in view of the rapid growth of the club, and the high mobility of residents of Canberra.

Table 9.12  
Length of Membership of QLC  
(Column Percentages)

| Length of Membership | Males | Females |
|----------------------|-------|---------|
| One year or less     | 25.8  | 21.9    |
| Two years            | 13.3  | 27.4    |
| Three years          | 14.6  | 8.2     |
| Four years           | 17.2  | 16.4    |
| Five years           | 13.3  | 12.3    |
| Six years            | 8.6   | 9.6     |
| Seven years          | 5.2   | 0.0     |
| Eight years          | 2.2   | 4.1     |
| Total                | 100.2 | 99.9    |
| Number               | 233   | 73      |

### 8. Membership Network

Traditionally, N.S.W. hotels have been male-oriented institutions, although in the past decade this has been less true. Large N.S.W. clubs have largely abandoned sexual exclusivity. This is demonstrated by the degree to which male and female members come with their spouses to the QLC. About 80 per cent of both male and female members in the sample are married. While only 23 per cent of all male members have wives who are associate members of the club, 63 per cent of associates have husbands who are members. Of the married male members, 28 per cent have wives who are associates, whereas 80.7 per cent of married associates have husbands as members (see Table 9.13).

However, this striking divergence between males and females who have spouses as club members does not mean that men do not bring their wives to the club. In fact, as can be seen in Table 9.14 about 57 per cent of all male members brought their wives to the club during the month prior to the presentation of the questionnaire, compared to 66 per cent of associates who brought their husbands.

Table 9.13

Percentage of Members, Associates whose Spouses  
are Members or Associates of the QLC  
(Column Percentages)

| Marital Status           | Males | Females |
|--------------------------|-------|---------|
| Unmarried                | 17.6  | 15.1    |
| Spouse a member          | 22.7  | 63.0    |
| Spouse <u>not</u> member | 57.1  | 15.1    |
| Widowed                  | 1.3   | 4.1     |
| Spouse on waiting list   | 0.4   | 1.4     |
| No response              | 0.9   | 1.4     |
| Total                    | 100.0 | 100.1   |
| Number                   | 233   | 73      |

If we refer only to the married members and associates, then 72.6 per cent of them came to the club with their spouses during the month prior to the distribution of the questionnaire.<sup>1</sup> This is clear evidence that the QLC is a leisure institution for couples rather than one sex or the other.

Table 9.14

Percentage of Members who were Accompanied  
by their Spouses during Previous Month  
(Row Percentages)

| Sex                     | Number of Visits |       |                        |       | Total<br>in<br>Sample |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
|                         | Once             | Twice | Three or<br>more Times | Total |                       |
| Males                   | 26.2             | 12.0  | 18.5                   | 56.7  | 233                   |
| Females<br>(Associates) | 21.9             | 23.6  | 20.5                   | 66.0  | 73                    |

In addition to spouses, 30 per cent of the male, and 42.5 per cent of the female sample have relatives as club members (see Table 9.15). I find this a surprisingly high figure in the light of the fact that at least three quarters of the membership were not born in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area.

<sup>1</sup> Vinson and Robinson (1970: 65) state that a quarter of married members of Sydney registered clubs never went with their spouses to a registered club, while 40 per cent did so always or fairly frequently. It seems likely that QLC members and associates would have a higher visitation rate with their spouses than the Sydney sample.

Table 9.15  
Percentage of Members whose Relatives  
are Members of QIC  
(Column Percentages)

| Type of Relative     | Males | Females |
|----------------------|-------|---------|
| None                 | 70.0  | 57.5    |
| Offsprings           | 6.4   | 8.2     |
| Parent/parents       | 2.6   | 4.1     |
| Relatives            | 17.2  | 17.8    |
| Offsprings/relatives | 1.3   | 4.1     |
| Parents/relatives    | 2.6   | 8.2     |
| Total                | 100.1 | 99.9    |
| Number               | 233   | 73      |

About 75 per cent of males and 56 per cent of females in the sample have work colleagues who are members of the club, and 29 per cent of males and 33 per cent of females have neighbours who are club members.

Table 9.16  
Percentage of Members whose Work Colleagues,  
Business Acquaintances, Friends and Neighbours  
are QIC Members  
(Column Percentages)

| Type of Acquaintance              | Males | Females |
|-----------------------------------|-------|---------|
| None                              | 20.2  | 30.1    |
| Workmates, business<br>colleagues | 48.9  | 37.0    |
| Neighbours                        | 3.0   | 13.7    |
| Workmates, neighbours             | 25.8  | 19.2    |
| Other (i.e. friends)              | 2.1   | -       |
| Total                             | 100.0 | 100.0   |
| Number                            | 233   | 73      |

Tables 9.17 and 9.18 show visiting patterns at the club. Over 65 per cent of males were accompanied by their wives or girlfriends compared with 73 per cent of women who were accompanied by husbands or boyfriends during the previous month. But male members were also accompanied by friends and neighbours (50.2 per cent), work colleagues (31.8 per cent), business acquaintances (22.3 per cent) and relatives (21.0 per cent).

Females were only rarely in the company of business acquaintances (2.8 per cent); occasionally with work colleagues (15.1 per cent); but visited the club much more frequently with friends and neighbours (56.2 per cent) and relatives (31.5 per cent).

Table 9.17

Percentage of Members who were Accompanied to  
the Club over Past Month (Males = 233)  
(Row Percentages)

| Persons Accompanying<br>Member | Number of Visits |       |                    |       | Number |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|--------|
|                                | Once             | Twice | More than<br>Twice | Total |        |
| Spouse                         | 26.2             | 12.0  | 18.5               | 56.7  | 132    |
| Girlfriend                     | 1.7              | 2.6   | 4.7                | 9.0   | 21     |
| Relatives                      | 11.6             | 3.9   | 5.6                | 21.1  | 49     |
| Friends, neighbours            | 14.6             | 12.4  | 23.2               | 50.2  | 117    |
| Work colleagues                | 14.2             | 6.4   | 11.2               | 31.8  | 74     |
| Business acquaintances         | 7.7              | 6.0   | 8.6                | 22.3  | 52     |

Table 9.18

Percentage of Associates who were Accompanied  
to the Club over the Past Month (Females = 73)  
(Row Percentages)

| Persons Accompanying<br>Member | Number of Visits |       |                    |       | Number |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|--------|
|                                | Once             | Twice | More than<br>Twice | Total |        |
| Spouse                         | 21.9             | 23.3  | 20.5               | 65.7  | 48     |
| Boyfriend                      | 2.7              | 1.4   | 2.7                | 6.8   | 5      |
| Relatives                      | 13.7             | 9.6   | 8.2                | 31.5  | 23     |
| Friends, neighbours            | 24.7             | 11.0  | 20.5               | 56.2  | 41     |
| Work colleagues                | 11.0             | 0.0   | 4.1                | 15.1  | 9      |
| Business acquaintances         | 1.4              | 0.0   | 1.4                | 2.8   | 2      |

#### 9. Means of Transport to the Club

The fact that over 95 per cent of the male and female samples come to the club by car indicates that the club serves functions that are much wider than those of the neighbourhood tavern. Only 4 per cent of the male sample and just under 3 per cent of the female sample walk to the club or use public transport (see Table 9.19).

Table 9.19

Method of Transport that Members use to  
get to the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club  
(Column Percentages)

| Method                 | Males (233) | Females (73) |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Use own car            | 66.1        | 73.0         |
| Friend's car           | 3.0         | 4.1          |
| Public transport       | 1.7         | 1.4          |
| Walk                   | 2.6         | 1.4          |
| Own or friend's<br>car | 28.8        | 17.8         |
| No response            | 0.4         | 2.7          |
| Total                  | 102.6       | 100.4        |
| Number of responses    | 239         | 74           |

### Conclusions

Not only has the QIC emerged as the largest single leisure organization in the Canberra/Queanbeyan region, but also the biggest business in the town of Queanbeyan. Its political and economic role is therefore significant.

The claim that the large Leagues' clubs draw their membership from "all walks of life" is substantiated by an analysis of the occupations of QIC members. Although there is some over-representation of managers, clerks and public servants and under-representation of professionals, operatives and process workers, shop assistants and labourers, the social class composition of the membership is broadly rather than narrowly based.

There is clear justification for concluding that the QIC, like consumer co-operatives, has an "open" or inclusive membership rather than an exclusive one.

Traditionally, Australian men, like Ashton miners, have participated in leisure separately from their wives, who have had very little opportunity to satisfy their leisure needs. The fact that three-quarters of the married members and associates of the QIC visited the club with their spouses in the month prior to the distribution of the questionnaire demonstrates that this leisure apartheid policy is withering away. If further evidence is needed, then observation of activities at the QIC is final proof that couples and groups of acquainted men and women visit the club in

large numbers.

Further, all age groups are represented in the QIC membership in much the same proportions as that of the A.C.T. population at the 1966 Census. Thus the QIC has a broad appeal across social class and age group lines.

What is the basis of this appeal? What activities do the members participate in when they go to the QIC? How does the club raise and spend its income? In the next chapter these questions shall be answered.



## Chapter 10

INCOME, DISTRIBUTION OF PROFIT AND  
MEMBERS' ACTIVITIES

One of the main objects of a co-operative is the provision of services to members (Stephenson, 1963: 13-16). But this provision has to be balanced against the payment of the dividend to members.

In consumer co-operatives, there are often tensions between the two aims; where there is emphasis on service the dividend may be reduced and where the accent is on dividend, some services may be abandoned. The position is further aggravated in a co-operative society since the one and same person wants to maximise simultaneously the rate of dividend and the range of goods and services.

At the QIC, this tension is not apparent, as the dividend comes in the form of services. The members of the QIC do not receive a cash dividend at the end of each financial year as with other consumer co-operatives, but receive it in the form of leisure facilities and subsidised meals.

Income of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, 1963-71

Before discussing the facilities and services that the QIC provides for its members, and the use that members make of these facilities it is appropriate to give an overview of the club's income and expenditure.

The QIC draws its income from three main sources: poker machines, bar and canteen profits, and subscriptions. The proportion of annual income from poker machines after taxes, has never fallen below 75 per cent and in 1966 was nearly 90 per cent of the club's total income. In the past three years, the percentage takings from poker machines has been stable at 85 per cent. The proportion of bar and canteen profits has varied from a low of 13 per cent in 1964 to a peak of 16 per cent in 1966. The percentage contribution from joining fees and annual subscriptions has been more variable, with a low of 3 per cent in 1964 to a high of 9 per cent in 1967 (see Table 10.1).

As the club's membership has risen so has its income. However, in the period from 1964 to 1970, membership increased by 329 per cent, income by 239 per cent and net profits 144 per cent.

Expenditure

How does the QIC spend its income? In the first place, it pays for the cost of club buildings. At the end of 1970, the club's

Table 10.1: Income Sources of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, 1963-70  
(Row Percentages)

| Year<br>Dec. 31 | Bar,<br>Canteen<br>\$   | Net Revenue<br>from Poker<br>Machines<br>after Taxes<br>\$ | Subscrip-<br>tions<br>\$ | Sundry<br>Receipts<br>\$ | Loss on<br>Dining Room<br>\$ | Total<br>Income<br>\$    | Net<br>Profit<br>\$ | Total<br>Membership |
|-----------------|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1963            | 8,696<br><u>14.41</u>   | 49,160<br><u>81.49</u>                                     | 3,444<br><u>5.70</u>     | 184<br><u>.30</u>        | - 1,154<br><u>- 1.91</u>     | 60,330<br><u>99.99</u>   | 22,390              | 750                 |
| 1964            | 38,148<br><u>13.07</u>  | 219,896<br><u>75.34</u>                                    | 8,145<br><u>2.79</u>     | 1,209<br><u>.41</u>      | -12,158<br><u>- 4.16</u>     | 291,870<br><u>100.00</u> | 140,025             | 2272                |
| 1965            | 55,623<br><u>14.56</u>  | 287,200<br><u>75.18</u>                                    | 12,904<br><u>3.38</u>    | 167<br><u>.04</u>        | -25,277<br><u>- 6.61</u>     | 381,996<br><u>100.00</u> | 136,674             | 3405                |
| 1966            | 60,962<br><u>15.87</u>  | 342,590<br><u>89.18</u>                                    | 18,988<br><u>4.94</u>    | 679<br><u>.18</u>        | -39,047<br><u>-10.16</u>     | 384,172<br><u>100.01</u> | 94,054              | 5171                |
| 1967            | 77,318<br><u>14.29</u>  | 442,766<br><u>81.85</u>                                    | 46,836<br><u>8.66</u>    | 307<br><u>.05</u>        | -26,262<br><u>- 4.85</u>     | 540,965<br><u>100.00</u> | 220,073             | 6589                |
| 1968            | 85,147<br><u>14.10</u>  | 514,881<br><u>85.25</u>                                    | 47,431<br><u>7.85</u>    | 1,234<br><u>0.20</u>     | -44,743<br><u>- 7.40</u>     | 603,950<br><u>100.00</u> | 198,118             | 7599                |
| 1969            | 96,374<br><u>13.29</u>  | 619,378<br><u>85.41</u>                                    | 52,969<br><u>7.30</u>    | 4,796<br><u>.66</u>      | -48,344<br><u>- 6.66</u>     | 725,173<br><u>100.00</u> | 251,614             | 8458                |
| 1970            | 142,871<br><u>14.46</u> | 844,726<br><u>85.48</u>                                    | 68,839<br><u>6.97</u>    | 6,032<br><u>.61</u>      | -74,344<br><u>- 7.52</u>     | 988,124<br><u>100.00</u> | 341,949             | 9750                |

Figures underlined indicate percentage of total yearly income

assets amounted to \$1,746,466. The club also covers the usual expenses involved in running a large trading organization: advertising, accountancy and audit fees, cleaning and laundry, insurance, light and heating, payroll tax, printing, stationery and postage, rates, repairs and maintenance, depreciation, telephone, and management.

In addition to the constant improvements and additions to the main club premises, there are other major items of expenditure which represent direct and indirect returns (or dividends) to members of this consumer co-operative leisure organization - expenditure on salaries, entertainment, donations to sport and charity, and a subsidy to the dining room.

Table 10.2

Annual Expenditure on Selected Items (expressed as a Percentage of Annual Total Expenditure),  
Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, 1964-1970

| Year Ending<br>Dec. 31 | Salaries<br>\$          | Entertain-<br>ment<br>\$ | Charity<br>Donations<br>\$ | Sporting<br>Donations<br>\$ | Total Exp-<br>enditure<br>\$ |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1964                   | 55,520<br><u>36.56</u>  | 4,805*<br><u>3.16</u>    |                            | 11,583**<br><u>7.62</u>     | 151,846                      |
| 1965                   | 78,417<br><u>31.96</u>  | 10,241<br><u>4.17</u>    |                            | 24,669<br><u>10.05</u>      | 245,326                      |
| 1966                   | 100,573<br><u>28.22</u> | 13,413<br><u>3.76</u>    | 2,232<br><u>0.62</u>       | 27,220<br><u>7.63</u>       | 356,385                      |
| 1967                   | 97,915<br><u>30.51</u>  | 15,559<br><u>4.84</u>    | 5,088<br><u>1.58</u>       | 42,419<br><u>13.21</u>      | 320,892                      |
| 1968                   | 141,319<br><u>34.82</u> | 20,150<br><u>4.96</u>    | 8,528<br><u>2.10</u>       | 60,609<br><u>14.93</u>      | 405,832                      |
| 1969                   | 178,964<br><u>37.79</u> | 24,142<br><u>5.09</u>    | 4,663<br><u>0.98</u>       | 60,190<br><u>12.71</u>      | 473,559                      |
| 1970                   | 238,964<br><u>36.98</u> | 33,215<br><u>5.14</u>    | 3,514<br><u>0.51</u>       | 92,048<br><u>14.24</u>      | 646,175                      |

\* includes social and sporting expenses

\*\* includes charity donations

Note: Underlined figures indicate percentage of total expenditure for the year

#### 1. Wages and Salaries

Since 1964, between 28 and 37 per cent of the club's total income expenditure has been absorbed in wages and salaries (see Table 10.2). The club employs 83 full-time and 55 part-time personnel. Thirteen

full-time staff are in supervisory roles; fifty part-time and full-time employees work in the bar, while another 31 full-time and 21 part-time are employed in the preparation and distribution of meals. The distribution of full and part-time workers in the various departments of the club is given in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3

Employees of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club - October, 1971

| Section                                  | Full-time | Part-time | Total |
|--|-----------|-----------|-------|
| <u>Administrative</u>                    |           |           |       |
| Secretary/Manager                        | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Assistant Secretary/Manager              | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Chief Clerk                              | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Office                                   | 5         | -         | 5     |
| Supervisors                              | 6         | -         | 6     |
| Bar Manager                              | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Total                                    | 15        | -         | 15    |
| <u>Bar</u>                               |           |           |       |
| Head Barman                              | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Barmen, barmaids                         | 22        | 22        | 44    |
| Poker machine attendants                 | 1         | 4         | 5     |
| Total                                    | 24        | 26        | 50    |
| <u>Store</u>                             |           |           |       |
| Storemen                                 | 3         | -         | 3     |
| <u>Catering</u>                          |           |           |       |
| Catering Manager                         | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Head Chef                                | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Cooks                                    | 5         | 1         | 6     |
| Dining room supervisor                   | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Waitresses                               | 5         | 12        | 17    |
| Kitchen staff                            | 18        | 8         | 26    |
| Total                                    | 31        | 21        | 52    |
| <u>General</u>                           |           |           |       |
| Publicity Officer                        | 1         | -         | 1     |
| Receptionists                            | -         | 2         | 2     |
| Cloakroom attendants                     | -         | 2         | 2     |
| Doormen                                  | 1         | 1         | 2     |
| Musician                                 | -         | 1         | 1     |
| Clerks                                   | 2         | -         | 2     |
| General hands                            | 2         | -         | 2     |
| Total                                    | 6         | 6         | 12    |
| <u>Bowling Club, Sports Ground Trust</u> |           |           |       |
| Groundsmen, greenkeepers                 | 3         | -         | 3     |
| Barmen                                   | 1         | 2         | 3     |
| Total                                    | 4         | 2         | 6     |
| Grand Totals                             | 83        | 55        | 138   |

## 2. Donations to Rugby League and Sport

As indicated in chapter 8, the Leagues' Club was the offspring of the Queanbeyan United Rugby League Club. The successful offspring now supports the Football Club financially in a manner to which it was never accustomed. While the Football Club has sources of income from gate receipts at football matches, its funds come mainly from the QIC. Of the \$57,000 it received from the QIC in the 1970-71 year, approximately \$18,000 was passed on to other football teams in the district. The Leagues' Club also gives \$6,000 annually to one other football club in Queanbeyan, the Queanbeyan Kangaroos.

The QIC supports competitive rugby league teams in order to maintain a good standard of football and to ensure that the Queanbeyan United team does not dominate the competition. In 1967 this team was so crushing in its victories that other teams were dropping out of regular professional competition. A social competition was conducted simultaneously. The winning 1967 team, the Queanbeyan Kangaroos Football Club, was selected by the Leagues' Club as an appropriate team to elevate to professional status. To strengthen the rugby league competition, the QIC provided both players and finance to the Kangaroos. Several of the best players from the Queanbeyan United Football team (including the captain/coach) were assigned to the new team. To the chagrin of QIC officials, the Kangaroos have performed successfully, winning the 1969, 1970 and 1971 grand finals from the arch-rival Queanbeyan United, the team supported by the Leagues' Club. Plans are afoot for the Kangaroos to build their own premises, and to become a registered club.

A major community role of large N.S.W. registered clubs is that of providing funds for organized junior sport, especially rugby league - as mentioned in chapter 5. The QIC gives junior teams considerable support. In 1965, there were five Queanbeyan and eighteen Canberra junior teams playing rugby league. By 1970 this had grown to twenty Queanbeyan and sixty-five Canberra teams - all of which receive support from the QIC - for example, in the purchase of football jerseys, socks and shorts, and the payment of fares.

The QIC subsidises other sports as well. For the past five years cricket coaches for the Canberra/Queanbeyan district have been paid for by the Leagues' Club. The most recent appointee plays with the Queanbeyan Cricket Club, but performs coaching duties in the

whole area. He works also as a supervisor at the QIC. The QIC acts as an employer not only for the cricket coach but to a much greater extent, for footballers. Capable footballers who play with the Queanbeyan football teams are often employed by the club as supervisors, barmen and cleaners. Outside organizations and individuals are sometimes given financial support by the Leagues' Club; not only do organizations benefit, but the cost of fares for outstanding local sportsmen who are to compete in State, national or international competition are often subsidised by the QIC.

How many sporting organizations benefit from donations from the QIC? In 1970 fourteen rugby league, seven QIC intraclubs, and at least twenty-two outside sporting bodies received a total donation of \$91,150. Indeed, more than fourteen rugby league clubs benefitted; of the \$57,808 given to the Queanbeyan "Blues" Football Club, approximately \$18,000 was distributed to competing football teams (see Table 10.4).

Table 10.4

Individual Donations to Sporting Organizations  
made by Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, 1970

|  | \$       |
|--|----------|
| A.C.T. Amateur Basketball                        | 50.00    |
| A.C.T. 505 Yacht Racing Association              | 350.00   |
| A.C.T. Amateur Snooker and Billiards Association | 16.00    |
| Ainslie-Campbell Rugby League Football Club      | 50.00    |
| Australian Schoolboys Cricket Club               | 20.00    |
| Belconnen Junior Rugby League Football Club      | 80.00    |
| Boxing Association of the A.C.T.                 | 150.35   |
| Canberra Girls Marching Association              | 50.00    |
| Canberra Rugby League Football Club              | 3,639.11 |
| East Canberra Rugby League Football Club         | 10.00    |
| Great Britain Rugby League                       | 190.22   |
| Junior Rugby League                              | 4,345.00 |
| N.S.W. Public Service Rugby League Football Club | 30.00    |
| North Canberra Rugby Minor League Football Club  | 80.00    |
| Queanbeyan Ladies Hockey Club                    | 70.20    |
| Queanbeyan Minor League                          | 460.00   |
| Queanbeyan Basketball Club                       | 385.00   |
| Queanbeyan Swimming Club                         | 24.00    |
| Queanbeyan/Canberra Gun Club                     | 50.00    |
| Queanbeyan Junior Golf Club                      | 20.00    |
| Queanbeyan Baseball Club                         | 194.33   |
| Queanbeyan Junior Baseball Club                  | 214.30   |
| Queanbeyan Hockey Club                           | 194.97   |
| Queanbeyan and District Cricket Club             | 450.00   |
| Queanbeyan Junior National Football Club         | 100.00   |
| Queanbeyan Polo Crosse Club                      | 50.00    |
| Queanbeyan Softball Club                         | 7.26     |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Billiards Club          | 5.04     |

|   | \$           |
|---|--------------|
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Dart Club                                | 43.90        |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Ski Club                                 | 335.15       |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Golf Club                                | 732.60       |
| Queanbeyan United Rugby League Football Club<br>"Under 18"        | 4,210.00     |
| Queanbeyan United Rugby League Football Club                      | 57,808.17*   |
| Queanbeyan Kangaroos Rugby League Football Club                   | 6,000.00     |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Amateur Swimming and<br>Life Saving Club | 1,089.20     |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Photographic Club                        | 241.99       |
| Queanbeyan Leagues' Girls Sporting Association                    | 250.00       |
| South Canberra P.S.S.A.   | 50.00        |
| Royal Military College Golf Club                                  | 10.00        |
| Woden Valley Rugby League Football Club                           | 50.00        |
| Yass Boys Rugby League Football Club                              | 80.00        |
| Sundry Sporting Distributions                                     | 1,336.80     |
| Queanbeyan Sports Ground Trust                                    | 7,326.51     |
| N.S.W. Womens Squash Association                                  | 300.00       |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$ 91,150.10 |
|   | <hr/> <hr/>  |

\* of which \$18,500 was distributed to local and district rugby league teams.

### 3. Donations to Charity

Whereas increasingly heavy donations have been made to the support of rugby league football and sport, since 1968 donations to charities have declined - from a peak of \$8,257 in 1968 to \$3,514 in 1970 (see Table 10.2). During 1970, fifty charitable and community organizations received donations, and a perusal of Table 10.5 gives a complete list of the recipient organizations and the size of donation. The largest charity donation made by the QIC was \$5,000 to the Queanbeyan and District Handicapped Peoples' Association for the construction of a Handicapped Peoples' Centre in April, 1969. Not all, but most requests for donations are successful. In large part the success of a request and the size of the donation are dependent upon the financial commitments of the club at the time. If expensive renovations are being undertaken, then the chances of donations being given are diminished.

The considerable financial resources of the QIC enable it to act in a welfare role, and recently the club has given assistance to a source that would not normally seek help from an organization such as the Leagues' Club. There are many Macedonians in the Queanbeyan area and recently a priest (with a university degree but no knowledge of English) arrived to take up duties in the Queanbeyan area.

Table 10.5

Individual Donations to Charitable and Community  
Organizations by the QIC - 1970

|  | \$                 |
|--|--------------------|
| A.C.T. Paraplegic and Handicapped Persons<br>Association | 200.00             |
| Anti T.B. Appeal   | 51.00              |
| Austcare   | 25.00              |
| Australian Forces Overseas Fund                          | 228.00             |
| Braidwood High School                                    | 6.90               |
| Deaf and Dumb Society                                    | 5.00               |
| Diabetics Association of A.C.T.                          | 25.00              |
| Hospital Cot Fund Appeal                                 | 10.00              |
| Koomarri   | 5.00               |
| Guide Dogs for the Blind                                 | 50.00              |
| Marist Brothers School                                   | 9.00               |
| Marymead Childrens Centre                                | 60.50              |
| Old Age Pensioners Association                           | 60.00              |
| Orphans Fund   | 9.75               |
| Queanbeyan District Ambulance                            | 500.00             |
| Queanbeyan Hospital Auxiliary                            | 10.00              |
| Queanbeyan High School                                   | 25.00              |
| Queanbeyan Public School Library Fund                    | 50.00              |
| Queanbeyan West Public School                            | 25.00              |
| Queanbeyan Legacy  | 215.00             |
| Red Cross  | 10.00              |
| South Queanbeyan Public School                           | 11.90              |
| Salvation Army   | 100.00             |
| St Vincent de Paul Society                               | 50.00              |
| Spastic Centre of N.S.W.                                 | 156.12             |
| Smith Family   | 384.11             |
| United Hospital Auxiliary                                | 50.00              |
| Walkathon - Charity                                      | 60.00              |
| Wheel-Chair and Disabled Persons Association             | 30.00              |
| Youth Club - Queanbeyan                                  | 168.75             |
| Youth Call 70  | 25.00              |
| Canberra Technical College                               | 18.00              |
| Canberra Highland Society and Burns Club                 | 50.00              |
| Canberra/Queanbeyan Poultry Club                         | 50.00              |
| J. Keers Fund  | 10.00              |
| J.R. Fraser Memorial Pipe Band                           | 20.00              |
| Police Boys Clubs  | 20.00              |
| Queanbeyan Floral Festival Committee                     | 21.00              |
| Queanbeyan Boy Scouts                                    | 125.00             |
| Queanbeyan Art Society                                   | 183.00             |
| Queanbeyan Captain Cook Bi-Centenary Celebrations        | 22.00              |
| Queanbeyan Girl Guides                                   | 20.00              |
| Queanbeyan Rotary Club                                   | 10.00              |
| Queanbeyan Quota Club                                    | 10.00              |
| Queanbeyan School Scholarships                           | 300.00             |
| Rats of Tobruk Association                               | 59.25              |
| R.A.L. Appeal  | 10.00              |
| R.S.L. Ladies Auxiliary                                  | 10.00              |
| Sister Armour Appeal                                     | 10.00              |
| Sundry   | 50.00              |
|  | <u>\$ 3,514.00</u> |



However, his church was not able to give him full financial support. Officials from the church contacted the QIC seeking assistance. The club has now provided him with a part-time job and for four hours a day he is employed at the club.

Over the past five years, donations to football, sporting, charitable and community organizations made by the QIC have varied from about 7.7 per cent (1966) of total income to 11.4 per cent (1968) (see Table 10.6).

Table 10.6

Gross Football, Sporting, Charitable and Community  
Donations made by the QIC, 1964 - 1970

| Year | Football | Sport<br>Other than<br>Football | Charity | Total<br>Donations | Total Club<br>Income | Donations<br>as a %<br>of Club<br>Income |
|------|----------|---------------------------------|---------|--------------------|----------------------|--|
|      | \$       | \$                              | \$      | \$                 | \$                   | \$                                       |
| 1964 |          |                                 |         | 15,830             | 291,870              | 3.97                                     |
| 1965 |          |                                 |         | 24,669             | 381,996              | 6.46                                     |
| 1966 | 25,855   | 1,334                           | 2,232   | 29,422             | 384,172              | 7.66                                     |
| 1967 | 41,555   | 864                             | 5,087   | 47,507             | 540,965              | 8.78                                     |
| 1968 | 56,080   | 4,529                           | 8,257   | 68,866             | 603,950              | 11.40                                    |
| 1969 | 52,382   | 6,132                           | 5,339   | 64,851             | 725,173              | 8.94                                     |
| 1970 | 77,032   | 14,118                          | 3,514   | 94,664             | 988,124              | 9.58                                     |

#### 4. Entertainment

The most popular nights at the QIC are those when entertainers are performing. The proportion of the club's expenses given over to entertainment has risen from 3.2 per cent in 1964 to 5.1 per cent in 1970. In one six-month period ending in March 1971, \$6,370 was paid to visiting entertainers who performed about once a week. Artists were paid from \$80 to \$800 a performance and included a top international artist (Lovelace Watkins) and a singer with a national weekly television show (Kamahl). In addition, \$11,038 was paid to musical groups who supported the visiting artists and provided music at dinner dances on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights.

#### 5. Loss on Dining Room

The single most popular attraction for members is the provision of meals. Unlike restaurants, the Leagues' Club does not aim to make a profit on meal catering, and in fact is prepared to incur losses. For instance, in 1968 the QIC lost just under \$45,000, in

1969 \$48,000 and in 1970 \$74,000 on catering.

Meals are served in various parts of the club at different times and costs. Smorgasbord (\$1.20) is served at lunchtime on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the auditorium; on Fridays a sea-food luncheon is served in the same area. At lunchtime meals can be purchased in the bistro bar (main courses costing from 60c to \$1.25) and in the sports-men's bar (maximum cost 50c). The bistro bar is open until half an hour before closing time.

The above meals are essentially self-service. However, the dining room operates in much the same way as a normal restaurant, with waitresses and wine stewards. In the dining room, the menu is varied with main courses costing up to a maximum of \$3.00. Bottles of wine can be bought at bar prices with little mark-up - in contrast to other licensed restaurants which have a mark-up of up to 50-100 per cent. At the QIC dining room, four people can have a three-course meal for less than \$20. A comparable meal in one of Canberra's licensed restaurants would cost almost double.

In effect then, members receive part of their co-operative dividend from subsidised meals. There is little doubt that members feel that by eating at the club rather than at a restaurant, they are saving money which can be invested in the poker machines.

It is likely that associates and wives of members find the provision of meals the major feature of the QIC's facilities. It is one of the club facilities about which the society expresses no ambivalence, whereas other club activities (drinking and gambling) are viewed disdainfully by some sections of the public.

#### Activities at the QIC

The most popular activities at the QIC are eating, drinking, gambling and watching entertainment. The usual pattern is for a member to come with his spouse, work colleagues, relatives or neighbours and participate in a variety of pursuits depending upon the time of day, availability of activities, and the reasons for coming. Members, associates and guests visit the club for a variety of reasons: informally, as a family, friendship or business group to eat, drink and gamble; to celebrate a wedding anniversary, birthday, job promotion or success; and as a place to have lunch, or drink at the end of the work day. In addition, organizations such as Rotary and Lions meet regularly at the club; public service department sections hold Christmas socials or farewell parties;

and insurance or sales firms meet for conferences.

There are facilities other than those for drinking, eating and gambling - for example, a sauna. Billiards and snooker, darts and carpet bowls have been played in the club but only moderate use was made of these indoor facilities - to the disappointment of club officials. During the last half of 1971, billiard tables have not been available. However, in the new upstairs games room there are now two billiard tables, dart boards and bowls mats, and increased patronage in this area is apparent. Some members also attend meetings of the intracclubs such as the golf club and photo club. In addition to the weekly entertainment on Sunday evenings, the club provides a three, four or five-piece orchestra for dancing in the auditorium on Friday and Saturday nights. In the past, an orchestra was available on week-nights but the response did not warrant continuance.

How well are these facilities patronised? On busy days as many as 3,000 people visit the club, with dining being one of the most popular activities. In the July/September 1971 period, 72,500 meals were served, representing a daily average of just over 800 meals. For the six-month period from January 1 to June 30, 1971 bar sales totalled \$192,808, a daily average of \$1,065. Not all liquor purchased at the club is consumed on the premises. Beer and spirits are also bought for home consumption.

For those wishing to gamble, there are, at the time of writing, 230 poker machines in the club. In the 1971 year a total of \$1,360,552 was taken from the club's machines, before licence fees and supplementary taxes were subtracted. This represents an average daily take of \$3,737 - \$767 more than the average for the previous year.

In the six-month period ending March 31, 1971 twenty-four entertainment nights were held at the QIC. The estimated average audience at the twenty-four performances was 330.<sup>1</sup> The QIC holds two types of entertainment shows - the cabaret/dinner dance evening in which the capacity of the auditorium is 337 and a concert type function which 419 members can attend.

How regularly do members visit the club, how long do they stay, and what activities do they participate in? Questions on these items

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<sup>1</sup> The range of attendance was from 285 to a large overflow audience of 500.

were included in the 1970 survey, and the results follow.

### 1. Frequency of Visits

40.3 per cent of males and 30.1 per cent of females in the sample say that they visit the club once a week or more; 15 per cent of males and 20.5 per cent of females are infrequent attenders (see Table 10.7). Men frequent the club slightly more often than women. It is impossible to say whether this visitation rate is high or low, for there are no comparable rates for other types of leisure organizations. The fact that 40 per cent of males and 50 per cent of females visit the club twelve or fewer times a year indicates that it is unlikely that the club is a very important leisure organization for them.

Table 10.7

Frequency of Visits by Members  
(Column Percentages)

| Attendance        | Males | Females |
|-------------------|-------|---------|
| Very infrequently | 15.0  | 20.5    |
| Monthly           | 24.5  | 28.8    |
| Fortnightly       | 20.2  | 20.5    |
| Weekly            | 20.2  | 13.7    |
| More than weekly  | 13.7  | 12.3    |
| Every day         | 6.4   | 4.1     |
| Total             | 100.0 | 99.9    |
| Number            | 233   | 73      |

### 2. Weekly Visitation Breakdown

Respondents were asked to state the days of the week on which they had visited the club during the previous month - and whether they had attended once, twice or three or more times on those days. Saturdays and Sundays were the most popular for both males and females - and Mondays and Wednesdays were the least popular. For the other days of the week, there is considerable variation between the sexes (see Table 10.8).

During the day, the club is much busier at some times than others. Over half the members (both male and female) had been at the club for the evening meal in the month prior to the receipt of the questionnaire. About a third of both men and women had a mid-day meal at the club, reinforcing the conclusion that provision of meals is one of the most attractive features for members. About

43 per cent of males and 37 per cent of females had visited the club during the evenings.

Table 10.8

Percentage of Male and Female Members Visiting Club  
on Each Day of the Week during Previous Month  
(Row Percentages)

| Day        |   | Once | Twice | Three or<br>More Times | Total | Number<br>M = 233<br>F = 73 |
|------------|---|------|-------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Mondays    | M | 9    | 3     | 3                      | 15    | 35                          |
|            | F | 3    | 1     | 3                      | 7     | 5                           |
| Tuesdays   | M | 18   | 6     | 4                      | 28    | 64                          |
|            | F | 23   | 3     | 3                      | 29    | 21                          |
| Wednesdays | M | 15   | 6     | 4                      | 25    | 58                          |
|            | F | 11   | 0     | 3                      | 14    | 10                          |
| Thursdays  | M | 22   | 10    | 7                      | 39    | 90                          |
|            | F | 22   | 3     | 3                      | 28    | 20                          |
| Fridays    | M | 19   | 8     | 10                     | 37    | 86                          |
|            | F | 16   | 1     | 3                      | 20    | 15                          |
| Saturdays  | M | 30   | 9     | 8                      | 47    | 109                         |
|            | F | 21   | 10    | 10                     | 41    | 29                          |
| Sundays    | M | 16   | 7     | 7                      | 30    | 72                          |
|            | F | 22   | 6     | 10                     | 38    | 27                          |

The most significant difference occurs with the two-hour period after work. While just less than 10 per cent of females had spent time at the club during this period, about 20 per cent of males had done so (see Table 10.9).

Table 10.9

Percentage of Males and Females Visiting Club at  
Specified Times of the Day over the Past Month

| Time of Day       | Total Males (233) |      | Total Females (73) |      |
|-------------------|-------------------|------|--------------------|------|
|                   | Freq.             | %    | Freq.              | %    |
| Before lunch      | 12                | 5.2  | 5                  | 6.8  |
| Lunch             | 85                | 36.5 | 23                 | 31.5 |
| Afternoon         | 43                | 18.5 | 13                 | 17.8 |
| 5 p.m. - 7 p.m.   | 57                | 20.2 | 7                  | 9.6  |
| Evening Meal      | 131               | 56.2 | 38                 | 52.1 |
| 9 p.m. - Midnight | 100               | 42.9 | 27                 | 37.0 |

How long do members usually stay at the club during weeknights and on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights? During weeknights, slightly less than half the male and female members stay for three hours or more. On week nights, the percentage of those who usually stay for period of three hours rises sharply; on Friday nights to 75 per cent for males and 73.7 per cent for females; on Saturday nights to 87.6 per cent (males) and 90.5 per cent (females); and on Sunday nights to 73.2 per cent (males) and 85.7 per cent (females). At weekends especially, a visit to the club is a night out, and not just the occasion for a brief drink (see Table 10.10).

Table 10.10  
Usual Length of Weekend Evening Visit  
(Frequencies)

| Length of Time at Club                      | Weekdays   |           | Fridays    |           | Saturdays  |           | Sundays    |           |
|---|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
|   | M<br>(233) | F<br>(73) | M<br>(233) | F<br>(73) | M<br>(233) | F<br>(73) | M<br>(233) | F<br>(73) |
| 1 hour                                      | 16         | 2         | 3          | 1         | 1          | 1         | 4          | 1         |
| 2 hours                                     | 51         | 15        | 20         | 4         | 15         | 3         | 22         | 6         |
| 3 hours or more                             | 63         | 16        | 69         | 14        | 113        | 38        | 71         | 36        |
| Total                                       | 142        | 33        | 92         | 19        | 129        | 42        | 97         | 43        |
| Percentage who usually stay 3 hours or more | 44.4       | 48.5      | 75.0       | 73.7      | 87.6       | 90.5      | 73.2       | 85.7      |

### 3. Number of Activities Participated In (Days of the Week)

If we classify the main activities at the QIC as (1) eating meals, (2) dancing or watching entertainment, (3) playing poker machines, (4) drinking, (5) attending intraclub meetings and (6) playing indoor games, then of those who attend at nights (whether during the week or at weekends) a range of 50 to 64 per cent of males and 44 to 58 per cent of females participate in three or more activities (see Table 10.11). We take for granted of course, that members spend time in conversation with their friends. These results reveal that roughly half the membership participate in several activities, accenting the club's multi-functional purposes as a leisure organization.

Table 10.11

Usual Number of Activities that Members Participate In  
on the Days of the Week when Visiting the Club  
(Percentages)

| No. of<br>Activities | Weekdays        |                 | Fridays         |                 | Saturdays        |                 | Sundays         |                |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
|                      | M               | F               | M               | F               | M                | F               | M               | F              |
| 1                    | 18.7            | 25.0            | 14.6            | 17.4            | 14.0             | 20.0            | 24.5            | 24.3           |
| 2                    | 21.1            | 27.1            | 35.4            | 39.1            | 22.4             | 22.2            | 23.6            | 21.6           |
| 3<br>or more         | 60.2            | 47.9            | 50.0            | 43.5            | 63.6             | 57.8            | 51.8            | 54.0           |
|                      | 100.0<br>(N=62) | 100.0<br>(N=25) | 100.0<br>(N=96) | 100.0<br>(N=23) | 100.0<br>(N=143) | 100.0<br>(N=45) | 99.9<br>(N=110) | 99.9<br>(N=37) |

Total males in sample = 233

Total females in sample = 73

Perhaps a more meaningful statistic is to calculate the mean of the number of activities usually participated in by those members who visit the club on the various days of the week.<sup>1</sup>

Table 10.12

Average Number of Activities Usually Participated  
In by Members Visiting the Club on Weekdays and  
Weekends

| Sex     | Weekdays      | Fridays      | Saturdays     | Sundays       |
|---------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Males   | 2.7 (N = 171) | 2.6 (N = 96) | 2.8 (N = 143) | 2.6 (N = 110) |
| Females | 2.2 (N = 48)  | 2.3 (N = 23) | 2.6 (N = 45)  | 2.5 (N = 37)  |

In comparing these means between males and females there is a decreasing divergence from weekdays through to Sundays - i.e. weekdays (0.5), Fridays (0.3), Saturdays (0.2) and Sundays (0.1).

#### 4. Number of Activities Participated In (Daily Breakdown)

Results in Table 10.13 reveal that members participate in a variety of activities most during the evening and least during the afternoon. Both Tables 10.12 and 10.13 show that males usually participate in more activities than do females.

<sup>1</sup> The means for Tables 10.12, 10.13, 10.14, were calculated from extended data not included in these tables.

Table 10.13

Usual Number of Activities that Members Participate  
In when Visiting the Club (Daily Breakdown)  
(Percentages)

| No. of<br>Activities | Lunch            |                 | Afternoon       |                 | 5 p.m.-7 p.m.   |                | After 7 p.m.     |                 |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
|                      | M                | F               | M               | F               | M               | F              | M                | F               |
| 1                    | 25.9             | 52.8            | 34.5            | 37.5            | 33.6            | 53.3           | 12.6             | 16.0            |
| 2                    | 30.6             | 8.3             | 56.9            | 56.3            | 36.4            | 13.3           | 27.3             | 36.0            |
| 3<br>or more         | 43.5             | 38.9            | 8.6             | 5.3             | 29.9            | 33.3           | 60.1             | 48.0            |
|                      | 100.0<br>(N=108) | 100.0<br>(N=36) | 100.0<br>(N=58) | 100.1<br>(N=26) | 99.9<br>(N=107) | 99.9<br>(N=30) | 100.0<br>(N=183) | 100.0<br>(N=50) |

Total Males in Sample = 233

Total Females in Sample = 73

If the mean difference on the number of activities between males and females are compared on a daily breakdown, then the range is from 0 to 0.3 (see Table 10.14).

Table 10.14

Average Number of Activities Usually Participated  
In by Members Visiting the Club (Daily Breakdown)

| Sex     | Lunch         | Afternoon    | 5 p.m.- 7 p.m. | Evening       |
|---------|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| Males   | 2.2 (N = 108) | 1.7 (N = 58) | 2.0 (N = 107)  | 2.8 (N = 183) |
| Females | 1.9 (N = 36)  | 1.7 (N = 27) | 1.8 (N = 30)   | 2.5 (N = 50)  |

Not only is it of interest to know how many activities members participate in, but to what extent members participate in each activity. For instance, the percentage of male members and associates who play poker machines when they are at the club ranges from 42 per cent (females at lunchtime) to 76 per cent (women after 7 p.m.); have drinks from 44 per cent (females at lunchtime) to 93 per cent (males during the afternoon); eat meals from 50 per cent (females after 7 p.m.) to 100 per cent (females at lunchtime); and dance and watch entertainment from 9 per cent (females on Fridays) to 57 per cent (males on Saturdays).

From Table 10.15 it can be seen that attendance at club meetings and the playing of indoor games are almost exclusively the preserves of males. Apart from these two activities, all of the other activities are popular and testify to the QIC's importance as a multi-functional



leisure organization.

Table 10.15

Comparative Activity Participation Rates of Male  
Members and Associates who visit the QIC  
(percentages)

| Weekly<br>Breakdown    |   | Eating<br>Meals | Dancing<br>Watching<br>Enter-<br>tainment | Playing<br>Poker<br>Machines | Having<br>Drinks | Club<br>Meeting | Playing<br>Sport |
|------------------------|---|-----------------|---|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <u>Weekdays</u>        |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 171)              | M | 69.5            | 18.1                                      | 66.1                         | 66.7             | 6.4             | 16.1             |
| (n = 48)               | F | 83.0            | 12.5                                      | 64.6                         | 64.6             | 4.2             | -                |
| <u>Fridays</u>         |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 96)               | M | 51.0            | 15.6                                      | 72.9                         | 88.5             | 4.2             | 18.8             |
| (n = 23)               | F | 78.2            | 8.7                                       | 73.9                         | 73.9             | -               | -                |
| <u>Saturdays</u>       |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 143)              | M | 68.5            | 56.6                                      | 72.7                         | 79.7             | 3.5             | 5.6              |
| (n = 45)               | F | 84.4            | 42.2                                      | 68.9                         | 60.4             | -               | -                |
| <u>Sundays</u>         |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 110)              | M | 50.0            | 51.8                                      | 63.6                         | 80.0             | 2.7             | 4.5              |
| (n = 37)               | F | 78.4            | 40.5                                      | 67.6                         | 62.2             | -               | -                |
| <u>Daily Breakdown</u> |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| <u>Before Lunch</u>    |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 24)               | M | 4.2             | -   | 58.3                         | 75.0             | 4.2             | 20.0             |
| (n = 4)                | F | -               | -   | 75.0                         | 75.0             | -               | -                |
| <u>Lunch</u>           |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 108)              | M | 93.5            | -   | 51.9                         | 71.3             | -               | 1.9              |
| (n = 36)               | F | 100.0           | -   | 41.7                         | 44.4             | -               | -                |
| <u>Afternoon</u>       |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 58)               | M | 6.9             | -   | 58.6                         | 93.1             | 3.4             | 15.5             |
| (n = 16)               | F | 12.5            | -   | 75.0                         | 81.3             | -               | -                |
| <u>5 - 7 p.m.</u>      |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 107)              | M | 58.9            | 7.5                                       | 51.4                         | 74.8             | 4.7             | 6.5              |
| (n = 30)               | F | 73.3            | -   | 46.7                         | 56.7             | -               | -                |
| <u>After 7 p.m.</u>    |   |                 |   |                              |                  |                 |                  |
| (n = 183)              | M | 56.3            | 55.7                                      | 69.9                         | 84.2             | 4.4             | 6.0              |
| (n = 50)               | F | 50.0            | 40.0                                      | 76.0                         | 74.0             | -               | -                |

Number of Males = 233

Number of Females = 73

The Intraclubs within the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club

Middle class individuals within N.S.W. often express strong disapproval of the large clubs such as the Leagues' clubs. They object to them on at least two grounds: first, that many people consume their time and money in the useless, mechanical, alienated, isolated combat with poker machines; second, that the presence of a mass of individuals on one premises is antithetical to the traditional notion of a club in which a small number of people with similar interests meet for social intercourse. Such complainants argue that individuals at a mass club cannot possibly know one another and are prevented from developing meaningful social relationships. In a large Leagues' club, members may be strangers to one another; but the very popularity of the large Leagues' clubs (400,000 members in 40 clubs) indicates their success in satisfying leisure needs.

Even within large clubs, social interaction can and does occur in the style usually associated with the traditional small club. Many (if not all) of the Leagues', Workmen's and R.S.L. clubs have given birth to small, special interest clubs within each large club, and we shall call these intraclubs. In most cases, these small organizations have a sporting focus, but some are of a cultural nature (e.g. photography, chess, public speaking, art).

In May 1971, the following intraclubs were listed in the Annual Report of the QIC: Darts, Golf, Amateur Swimming and Life-Saving, Indoor Bowling, Bowling (Lawn), Ski, Snooker, Women's Hockey, Junior Baseball, Athletic, Women's Sporting, Amateur Boxing and Gymnastics, Basketball and Photographic.

In fact, there are two types of clubs. The first are those which consist entirely of members of the QIC, and each has its own management committee.<sup>1</sup> Four clubs (golf, lawn bowling, ski and photography) have been functioning successfully for a year or more. Two other clubs are less formally organized - the table tennis club and the indoor sports club. With the opening of the new games room a committee has been set up which has organized concurrent championship tournaments for darts, carpet bowls and snooker with the aim of establishing a permanent club.

The second type of club are Queanbeyan sporting clubs composed

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<sup>1</sup> Both the golf and ski clubs have had juniors participating with them.

of men, women and children, many of whom are not members of the QIC. These are organizations which have been established outside the Leagues' Club and receive financial support from the QIC. For instance, in February 1968, the Queanbeyan Swimming Club (with 120 members), which had functioned since 1960 was "adopted" by the QIC, and changed its name to the Queanbeyan Leagues' Amateur Swimming and Life-saving Club (QIC Journal, February 1968).

Both types of clubs are listed in Table 10.16. Throughout the history of the QIC, intraclubs have been established and then faded away through lack of support - for example, holiday and cruise club, amateur boxing and gymnastics, tennis and marching girls.

Table 10.16

Intraclubs and External Clubs Supported by the QIC

| Name of Club   | Year Established | Regular Number of Participants | Total Number of Participants | Number of Meetings per Month |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <u>(i) Intraclubs</u>  |                  |                                |                              |                              |
| 1. Lawn Bowling  | 1967             | 40                             | 100                          | 12                           |
| 2. Golf  | 1970             | 120                            | 350                          | 5                            |
| 3. Ski   | 1966             | 150*                           | 250                          | 5 (Winter)                   |
| 4. Indoor Sports<br>(Carpet Bowls, Darts,<br>Billiards and<br>Snooker) | 1972             | 32                             | 32                           | By arrangement               |
| 5. Photography   | 1969             | 15                             | 25                           | 2                            |
| 6. Table Tennis  | 1971             | 20                             | 30                           | 4                            |
| <u>(ii) Supported Clubs</u>  |                  |                                |                              |                              |
|  |                  | 1. Junior Baseball             |                              |                              |
|  |                  | 2. Women's Sporting            |                              |                              |
|  |                  | 3. Swimming and Life-saving    |                              |                              |
|  |                  | 4. Water Polo                  |                              |                              |
|  |                  | 5. Women's Hockey              |                              |                              |

\* including children

I joined two intraclubs in order to observe and participate in activities and interaction - the golf and photography clubs - selected largely because I had some degree of skill and experience in both these leisure pursuits.

### 1. Queanbeyan Leagues' Golf Club

In the February 1969 Journal, it was announced that one of the QIC supervisors was anxious to organize a golf club within the QIC (QIC Journal, February 1969: 26). The subsequent issue of the Journal gave notice of the first meeting, commenting that the immediate response to the earlier item showed that there were sufficient members to form a club. I was not able to attend the inaugural meeting, but I played golf on two successive Sundays with the club. The organizer's football coaching duties prevented him from accompanying the golfers and as a consequence, interest in the club dissipated and no more activities were held after the third round of golf.

About a year later, a notice in the February 1970 Journal indicated that the golf club was reforming with the same club supervisor acting as the contact. I was present at the meeting on February 16 (at which ten men and one woman attended) and discussion centred on the following subjects:

- a) the obtaining of price reductions at the various golf courses in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area,
- b) the possibility of arranging matches with other organizations,
- c) the holding of regular weekend competitions and the type of handicap system to be used,
- d) the possibility of eventually establishing a golf course and being affiliated as a registered golf club with the N.S.W. Golf Association,
- e) the appreciation of the excellent prizes that the Leagues' Club had donated for the three competition rounds that had been held a year earlier.

A decision was made to play the first golf round some two weeks following the meeting. During the evening the QIC supervisor bought two rounds of drinks for the members present, presumably at the parent club's expense. The provision of free drinks and the prospect of receiving good trophies must have acted as considerable incentive for these foundation members to continue participating. Although organizational skills were scarce, the history of the club has shown that a nucleus of enthusiastic people emerged from these eleven members to create a very successful organization.

At the second meeting, held on March 4, 1970 (with thirteen males and one female in attendance), the election of officers was held.

Apart from one married couple, it appeared that the individuals were all strangers to one another. The more extroverted individuals were elected to office. One cannot account for the success of this organization without analysing the roles and personalities of its executive. All office-bearers were united in their enthusiasm for, and commitment to, making a success of the golf club. The President has occupied a strategic position because of his association with the QIC Directors. As a supervisor at the QIC, he had direct daily contact with them enabling him to push the interests of the golf club. Other intraclubs have not always enjoyed this advantage. The Treasurer also performed a strategic role. He telephoned the golfers each week to see if they were playing on the following Sunday. This technique ensured a good turn-out of members. The Secretary was extremely enthusiastic - and at times some members have regarded him as being over-enthusiastic. The Secretary's contribution rested on his continual encouragement of individuals to join the club, his advocacy of regular social activities and his attention to the duties of secretary.

#### Frequency of Meetings and Attendance

The golf club has three types of meetings, and there are at least five per month. On each Sunday, members play golf at one of the three Canberra courses - rotating each week from one course to another. An average of 60-70 golfers play weekly - compared with the original tally of twenty-eight who played on March 1, 1970.

A business meeting is held on the third Wednesday of each month and an average of fourteen to fifteen males and three females have attended the seventeen business meetings held from March 1970 to September 1971. Using the minutes of the meetings, I have been able to draw out the pattern of attendance. A total of 104 people have attended; over half have participated only once, although eighteen people have more than six meetings to their credit. The pattern of participation is summarised below (see Table 10.17).

The third type of meeting is the social evening held at the QIC. During the first year, socials were held monthly, but in the past twelve months they have been quarterly events. At the 1970 Christmas social, 130 members, spouses, relatives and friends attended; and at the Club Championship Social more than 170 participated. To date, 350 individuals have joined the golf club and are receiving the monthly

newsletter. Thus the executive's desire for an expanding membership has been realised.

Table 10.17

Frequency of Attendance of Members at Business Meetings of the QIC Golf Club

| No. of times attended meeting | No. of Males | No. of Females | Total |
|-------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------|
| Once                          | 49           | 9              | 58    |
| 2 - 4                         | 24           | 4              | 28    |
| 6 - 9                         | 8            | 3              | 11    |
| 10 - 17                       | 6            | 1              | 7     |
| Total                         | 87           | 17             | 104   |

Up until July 25, 1970, nineteen rounds of golf had been played by members on successive Sundays. Eighty-four players had participated and of these, six had played from 16 to 19 times, fourteen from 11 to 15 times, sixteen from 5 to 10 times and forty-eight from one to four times. Many of the last named group were new to the club. These figures suggest that a solid core of individuals played regularly with the QIC golf club.

#### Membership Characteristics

It has not been possible to keep an accurate record of the occupations of the individuals who have joined the golf club. Amongst the foundation members the following occupations were represented - accountant, nuclear physics technician, shift engineer, surveyor, butcher, spare parts manager, barman, club supervisor, security firm employee, but no public servants.

Because no record exists of the occupations of the golf club's membership, any data on occupations had to be derived from conversation with members. However, constraints have prevented me from pursuing this matter too closely. During 1970, I played at least twenty times with the golf club. Both during the rounds and at the nineteenth hole, I observed that members did not offer, nor seek details of each other's career, family life or lifestyle; rather, conversation dwelt on such activities as sport, the quality of one's golf, success on the poker machines and other non-controversial impersonal topics. As a consequence, I was reluctant to ask questions seeking personal data.

The reticence of the golfers was outmatched by the almost complete absence of any personal communication by members of the photographic club. Why such reticence? A likely reason is that members wished to maintain equality of status. Members declined to find out the occupations and personal details of other members, not only because it is "not done", but for the more basic reason that shared knowledge of such information would introduce social status gradations. The impersonal but friendly interaction was conducted in order to prevent the surfacing of status differences and to maintain apparent social equality.

If this interactional style is more akin to working class culture, then in one other important way, the interaction patterns were middle class. Frankenberg (1966: 130-138), in commenting upon the lives of Ashton miners and their wives (as described by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter) comments that women saw their men only at table and in bed; and for the rest of the time the miner was at work or in a club. Women were excluded from the world of ideas because they were excluded from the actions of Ashton men. From the outset, members of the golf club have encouraged the participation of women. In contrast to established golf clubs, women always play with the male golfers, although for a separate trophy. While male golfers predominate, women have participated at business meetings, and at the 1971 election of officers, were included on the committee. When a male member suggested that women should be committee members, one woman countered that only men should serve on the executive. The members, led by the club's captain, strongly rejected the notion, maintaining that the club was "for everybody" and not just for males.

#### Aims of the Golf Club

In addition to members' desire to play golf and participate in social activities regularly, at least two other aims have motivated the actions of the executive. First, the club has constantly sought to expand its membership. This aim has been pursued with enthusiastic persistence as reflected in the frequent statements about the growth of the club. For instance, in the November 1970 edition of the QIC Journal, the club's Secretary wrote: "Don't forget we are still keenly looking for new golfers so, experienced or not, please do not hesitate to contact any of the committee if you are interested" (QIC Journal, November 1970: 11). In a later issue, a similar

welcome was issued and expression was given to a related aim of establishing a golf course:

It has been most encouraging for your Committee to see the number of golfers who play each Sunday. Lately we have had around the forty mark teeing off some Sundays. What is more pleasing is that we are seeing new faces more and more each week.

Since the Leagues' Golf Club was formed in 1970, we have had about 130 members play with the Queanbeyan Leagues' Golf Club. However, the most surprising factor is the number of members of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club itself who are unaware that a Golf Club does exist. So come on all you golfers sitting on the sidelines - how about enlarging our ranks to the 200 mark. Remember, when we do have our own golf course (and we believe that it is not too far in the future), we know we will be snowed under with golfers wishing to join, so don't say we didn't warn you (QIC Journal, April 1971: 7-8).

The desire to have a course of its own has become the major aim of the golf club. This goal has generated a subsidiary one - that of raising sufficient money to convince the parent Leagues' Club of its financial viability and good faith. It is unlikely that land for a golf course can be purchased and established without major funding from the QIC. The conduct of successful money-raising ventures is considered by the golf club as the most convincing way of impressing the parent Leagues' Club of its seriousness of purpose, determination and stability - and once convinced, the parent club will purchase a piece of property for a golf course.

At the 1971 Annual General Meeting, it was suggested that in order to raise money, an annual subscription might be instituted and raffles should be conducted each week with prizes of large bottles of Scotch whisky, fowls and occasionally a set of golf clubs. Although the primary and utilitarian aim was the raising of funds, the more expressive concern of participating in gambling was also apparent.

#### Relations with the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club

The golf club owes some of its success to the generosity of the parent club - for example, the donation of four weekly prizes for Sunday golf competition, the annual championship trophies, a set of golf clubs (costing \$440) for a raffle, and \$100 annually for running expenses. In addition, the monthly business meetings are held at the club with its attendant comfort and facilities. The monthly



social is held in the QLC auditorium. Part or all of the auditorium is set aside for the golf club's members, and an orchestra (and sometimes an entertainer) provide music.

Although the QLC has been generous in financing the golf club, the QLC itself benefits from the golfer's activities. Golfers spend leisure time at the QLC drinking and playing poker machines, so that the co-operative principle works to their mutual benefit. The more incentive the golfers receive from the Leagues' Club, the more patronage the QLC receives.

However, communication between the golf club and the parent club has shown signs of listlessness. In May 1971, the golf club, cognisant that the ski club's operations were underwritten by the parent club, sent a letter to the QLC Directors asking for the same privilege. By June, the Leagues' Club had not replied and the golf club despatched another letter. Further, the golf club had prepared a proposed 55-item constitution which it had asked the Directors to approve. Despite promises to respond by July, no reply had been received in September. In the minutes of the golf club's meeting of September 18, 1971, this paragraph appears:

However to date no correspondence had been received re the request as contained in previous letters. It was also felt that the nonchalance shown to the Queanbeyan Leagues' Golf Club be so recorded in the minutes.

Despite this problem, the golf club's liaison with the Directors has been much more successful than the photographers have been able to develop. The Leagues' Club President attended one golf meeting and stated that the parent club was negotiating for the purchase of 175 acres of land for the construction of a golf course. He indicated that the Leagues' Club's plans to build a \$5 million complex (which had just been announced) would not affect the plan to create a golf course; that a golf architect, hired by the parent club had designed a championship course of 7,008 yards; and completion of the course would take three years.

#### Reasons Accounting for the Success of the Golf Club

A number of reasons account for the success of the golf club. Mention has been made of the enthusiasm, efficiency and the hard-working efforts of the club executive. The executive has also handled communication extremely well. Before each Sunday's golf, a

draw for hitting off times must be prepared. In the early months of the club's establishment, the Treasurer phoned prospective players to see if they wanted to play and to allot them a starting time. While the club was comparatively small, this was an excellent way of maintaining communication and establishing social solidarity. Since that time, members have been required to phone the Captain or the Secretary for a hitting-off time.

In addition, the monthly newsletter has informed members of results and forthcoming events, proving a more useful and up-to-date bulletin than the QIC Journal - although the golf club always submits items for each Journal. The QIC Journal is often late, and sometimes articles prepared for the Journal are outdated by the time it reaches the members.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the social skills of the golf club's executive has created a climate where newcomers have been welcomed. Not only is the club able to recruit new members, but it appears that it retains many of them. Currently, the club has too many golfers who wish to play each Sunday.

The most important reason for the golf club's success is that its members have generated considerable social solidarity. Evidence of in-group consciousness can be seen in the purchase of lapel badges and golf shirts with the QIC insignia incorporated, and in behaviour patterns at social evenings.

In August 1970, at a social in the Leagues' Club auditorium, three tables had been reserved for golfers who constituted a majority of those present. At one table were middle-aged hard-core golfers and their spouses, including most of the golf club's executive; at the second, a younger group of hard-core golfers and spouses in their 20's; the third, consisted of more middle class people mostly over 35. Interaction among all three groups was quite free. The last dance of the evening was danced to the theme music from "Zorba the Greek". Two large circles were formed and as the dancing progressed, an air of carnival abandon and group feeling emerged. In participating, I experienced a gaiety, a sense of vertigo, of emotions and consciousness flowing with the group experience. It was for this researcher a rare and sharp experience within the context of

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<sup>1</sup> In early 1972, new arrangements were made for the preparation of the QIC Journal, and the first issue was free of outdatedness.

Australian culture. As usual on weeknights, the evening's activities concluded at 11 p.m.; and this early closure unceremoniously deflated the enjoyment which had peaked at that time.

Another successful social evening was the Christmas Dance held at the Leagues' Club on December 2, 1970. About 130 members and their spouses attended this function for which each person paid \$2. For this sum (which does represent little more than the admission to a cinema on any weeknight), the fare included smorgasbord, free liquor, a four-piece band and exclusive use of the QIC auditorium. Both the golf club and the QIC had subsidised the cost of the evening to the extent of approximately \$100 each.

The evening's activities were marked by its conviviality; the style of interaction was relaxed and open, although relationships were uncomplicated rather than complex. Most members participated in a variety of activities - eating, drinking, dancing, talking, and playing poker machines. Traditional Australian drinking patterns (even at mixed social occasions) are characterised by heavy, resolute, single-minded drinking - an opportunity to "get really stoned". But at this Christmas Dance conducted by the golf club behaviour was natural and unforced, without any sign of resolute drinking. Perhaps the mixed company, variety of activities and the presence of relatives contributed to the relaxed atmosphere.

#### The Photographic Club

Unlike the golf club which emerged from within the QIC, the photographic club was grafted on as an existing organization. According to the minutes of the Directors' meetings, in mid-1969 a request was received from the Queanbeyan Photographic Society to join the Leagues' Club. However, the present Secretary of the photographic club recalls that the Leagues' Club approached the Society in 1967 asking it to join the QIC, an offer which was declined. The QIC renewed its invitation in 1969, allegedly arguing that it wanted some "culture" and offered the Society incentives such as prizes and funds for the purchase of photographic equipment including a projector. In retrospect, the photographers may have over-estimated the largesse that would flow from the Leagues' Club.

On this occasion, the Society agreed to join the QIC. The July 1969 edition of the Journal stated that the QIC was organizing a cultural club and that arrangements were well in hand with the

Queanbeyan Photographic Society to join the other intraclubs within the Leagues' Club (QIC Journal, July 1969: 12). The name of the Photographic Society was changed to the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club Photographic Club and the first meeting was conducted on October 13, 1969 (QIC Journal, November 1969: 8).

#### Type and Frequency of Meetings

The photographic club meets twice monthly, for a photographic competition night and a "work night". On the second Monday of each month, a colour slide competition is held. The skilled photographers compete in "A" grade while the less skilled are in "B" grade. Photographers are permitted to submit up to four slides on a previously assigned subject. In 1971, the topics included portrait, seaside, wild life, sunset, twilight, rain, humour, silhouette and open. A progressive points score is kept to determine the most successful competitors over the year. Attempts have been made to encourage black and white print competitions without much success.

Before the showing and judging of slides takes place, an informal business meeting is conducted. Attendance rarely exceeds a dozen people - except at the "Slide of the Year" contest, the premier event in the club's calendar, when up to forty members and friends attend. The lowest attendance recorded was eight persons at the 1971 Annual General Meeting.

The photographers also meet on the third Monday of each month to view prepared sets of slides, discuss photo techniques, select slides for inter-club competitions and photograph a model. The only other activity during 1971 has been one photographic excursion to a country home.

#### Membership Characteristics and Interactional Styles

My most consistent impression as a participant-observer in the photographic club was the restrictions of social relationships. Members functioned as isolated individuals rather than as a cohesive group. The club was not wracked with internal conflict, but represented an aggregate of isolated individuals. Unlike the golf club, where there was some evidence of incipient primary relationships, the lack of interpersonal involvement in the photographic club could be characterised as ideal-typical secondary relationships. Members did not converse with one another very often. Conversations never included questions or comments relating to members' jobs, families,

life-styles, values or ideas.

This very limited interaction did not appear to be deliberate policy aimed at reducing involvement, but stemmed rather from the members' lack of social and communicative skills. While many of the golfers were extroverts, the photographers were much more introverted. Three of the club's ten regulars were German immigrants (including a husband and wife team) and the husband often launched into long, rambling and obscure arguments at business meetings.

Business meetings were marked by indecisiveness, perhaps because of a distinct concern not to offend anybody. There was no clearly defined leader - and no one seemed anxious to assume the role. Some of the meetings were so indecisive that I had to resist the temptation to take a more direct hand in proceedings. Had I done so, I would have assumed leadership and thus altered the research context.

Members' inability to communicate effectively and to take decisive action had dysfunctional effects. The President handled communication with the parent club. He did not apparently, relate very successfully to the Directors and the Secretary/Manager of the QIC. At one stage the photographic club was given a verbal agreement by the Secretary/Manager for the purchase of a slide projector. The club spent some five or six months attempting to determine what projector best suited the club's needs. To date, the projector has not been bought. However, the Leagues' Club did make a donation of \$220 towards expenses incurred by the photographic club in 1970. About 65 per cent of this amount was spent on constructing stands for an exhibition.

Because of the ineffective communication channels, the members often expressed hostility towards the Leagues' Club on the grounds that the parent club did not supply equipment and funds which the photographic club felt that it had been promised. One member (and the only regular interested in black and white photography) repeatedly criticised the Leagues' Club for not building a dark-room for developing black and white film and prints.

Two examples of criticism arising from members' inability to communicate their needs to the Leagues' Club can be given. At the 1970 Annual General Meeting of the photographic club, the Secretary, in her report, first praised the QIC and then criticised it for not making sufficient funds available. She concluded that the club might have to give serious consideration to withdrawing from the QIC. As

a specific example of the parent club's negligence, she pointed out that \$25 worth of prizes had been bought on account from a local department store - to be paid for by the Leagues' Club, which it had so far failed to do. In response to my questions the executive agreed that it was the parent club's inefficiency rather than policy that this debt had not been discharged. As evidence of the Leagues' Club's willingness to assist intraclubs, I referred to the donation of four weekly prizes to the golf club and suggested that the photographic club might ask for monthly prizes. Despite the fact that a motion to this effect was moved, seconded and accepted, the request did not apparently go forward to the Directors.

My questions did stimulate a rare session of discussion. The President made the comment that "it was the best meeting they had had in a long time"; and the Secretary concurred stating that it was the first time that they "had had a chat". On this occasion, members lost their detached politeness and became involved. Clearly the photographic club lacks extroverts who can initiate discussion and thus stimulate members to contribute.

A further illustration of this unhappiness with the parent club is illustrated in a letter despatched to each photographic club member in December, 1970:

The work night scheduled for the 25th January, 1971 will be held as a General Meeting with a member of the Leagues' Club, to discuss the future of our Club, its connections with the Leagues' Club and a possible move to other premises, withdrawing the name Leagues' from our title and becoming independent.

However, a Board Meeting of the parent club was held on the same evening and as no Director was available, the meeting was cancelled. No subsequent meeting to replace this scheduled event was held.

Another reason accounting for the photographic club's dissatisfaction with the QIC during 1970 was the inadequacy of available meetings rooms. The judging of colour slides requires a small darkened room suitable for their projection and quietness so that the judge's comments can be heard. 1970 was a year of frequent renovations of the QIC premises and the photographic club was shifted from one unsuitable venue to another - for instance, the auditorium, where the sound of poker machines, the lack of darkness and the size of the auditorium mitigated against these required conditions. At least four or five meetings were held in the bowling club premises.

While it was possible to darken the area adequately, it was not possible to obliterate the sound of poker machines from a neighbouring section of the premises. In 1971, however, the photographic club was allotted permanent first class premises in an unlicensed area on the ground floor, and dissatisfaction on this score has dissipated. It seems that a better relationship between the photographic club and the QIC is beginning to develop. In October 1971, the Leagues' Club sent two representatives from the photographic club to Sydney for an inter-club Leagues' club photographic competition.

A socio-psychological reason for the dissatisfaction of some photographers appears to be status inconsistency. By joining the Leagues' Club, some members feel they have suffered a lowering of their social status. Most of the members appear to be non-drinkers and I have never seen any member play the poker machines. The basic reason for the existence of the club is the development of the photographers' artistic, technical and competitive skills, and the gambling that takes place in the QIC may be an anathema to them. Rejection of the QIC is one solution to their felt inconsistency.

#### Attempts to Expand the Membership

I have referred to the golf club's aggressive campaign in recruiting new members. The photographic club, especially during 1970, conducted such a campaign but it was pitched at a much lower key. At least five times in the 1970 QIC Journals overtures to new members were made. However this welcome was tempered by the statement that the club had certain photographic standards which members would have to meet eventually. For instance, in the September 1970 Journal, this paragraph appeared:

Don't forget to come along and join us. Even if you are not ready to participate yet, we shall be pleased to see you (QIC Journal, September 1970: 16).

and

...our opinion therefore is, if you want to show off your pics and slides, join the Club. At least come along to the meeting - each second and fourth Monday at the Leagues' Club - and view the type of picture that we have. If you are not up to standard, join and work on them. If you are above our standard we will be pleased to learn some lessons from you. Criticism will either make or break a photographer but we always approach in a friendly way, to help (QIC Journal, May 1970: 8).

However, in the page devoted each month to the photographic club in the 1971 QIC Journals no welcome to new members has been extended - probably an oversight rather than policy.

Although members have been encouraged to join the club, their reception at meetings has not been marked by displays of hospitality and warmth - due mainly to the shyness and lack of social skills of the photographers. Some newcomers have attended meetings without a word being spoken to them.

Despite these problems of interaction, communication and liaison with the QIC, the club has survived. About ten members have attended consistently. The technical and artistic skills of some photographers are considerable, and are developing as a result of exposure to evaluation and the work of others.

Obviously there are considerable differences between the golf and photographic clubs. The golf club has more extroverts among its members than the photographic club whose membership is introverted. Golf requires physical co-ordination skills, where photography is a creative and artistic endeavour. The golf club welcomes newcomers irrespective of their ability, whereas the photographic club is ambiguous about newcomers, requiring that they reach an appropriate level of skill. The photographic club meets less frequently and its members have fewer organizational and social skills than the more expressive golfers.

### 3. Other Intraclubs

There are two other successful sporting bodies under the QIC umbrella. The lawn bowling club has the most intimate link with the parent club. In 1967, the Queanbeyan Ladies' Bowling Club was purchased by the QIC and later was tastefully remodelled at QIC expense. While the membership of the bowling club is limited to one hundred, the core of the membership consists of long-standing officials of the parent club (supervisors, clerical staff, Directors and ex-footballers) and Queanbeyan residents who have been closely associated with the QIC since its inception. It is the most male-oriented of the intraclubs.

Unlike the golf club, the bowling club has its own private sporting facilities. Members play socially on Thursdays and weekends, and competitively in district competition. In 1971, thirty-two bowlers went on a 10-day goodwill tour to Northern Queensland. The bowling clubhouse is also used by members and officials of Queanbeyan's



second football team, the Kangaroos.

The ski club is the oldest intraclub with a six-year history. During 1971, the club's membership expanded matching the golf club's rate of growth. At monthly business meetings in 1971, at which ski films were shown, attendance ranged between 60 and 100. During the winter, visits were made to the Snowy Mountains predominantly for alpine skiing, although some cross-country excursions were held. On alternate weekends, ski instruction was given by professional teachers to novice, intermediate and advanced classes; in 1972, it is planned to provide instruction to seven groups of skiers graded according to ability. These lessons represent one of the chief attractions for ski club members, for the lessons are paid for by the ski club.<sup>1</sup> Members also obtain concessions on chair lifts at these ski resorts. Competitions and championships are conducted, and the club is attempting to make a name for itself in inter-club competition.

The golf and ski clubs appear to share much in common; golf and skiing are boom sports, and the facilities for them in the region are inadequate. Newcomers to these sports cannot join existing clubs, for membership in golf and skiing clubs in the Canberra/Queanbeyan region is closed. The intraclubs of the QIC represent for newcomers a chance to participate at a serious level. The golf club wants its own golf course, and the skiers want a ski lodge in or near the mountains. While Directors of the QIC are aware of the demand for these facilities, both intraclubs are uncertain of how much the Directors are prepared to assist. The Board is endeavouring to provide these facilities, but in considering the feasibility of certain properties and subsequent negotiation, the Board acts on behalf of, not in consultation with the intraclubs. The relationship then, is paternalistic. Both intraclubs sense, but have not identified, this paternalism, and the flow and exchange of ideas between Directors and intraclubs is not as free as it might be.

The success of the intraclubs illustrates how viable such clubs can be. However, it can be argued that neither members nor officials of the QIC give sufficient attention to developing the activities of

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<sup>1</sup> In 1971, the ski club received \$335 from the Leagues' Club for expenses, part of which subsidised ski instruction.

intraclubs. The Directors are proud of the number and range of activities supported by the Leagues' Club but the contributions have been almost totally financial. Alternative types of assistance might be considered. For instance, a recreation or leisure director might be employed to promote and organize intraclubs. His duties would involve the identification and satisfaction of intraclub needs, assist the Directors in the allocation of resources, provide information for newcomers wanting to play different sports, advertise the activities of each special interest club, encourage the establishment of others, and generally develop leisure activities. Such a need was recognised by the QIC as far back as September 1964, when consideration was given by the Directors to the appointment of a Sports Secretary and Organizer. No appointment was made, nor to my knowledge, has any registered club employed trained persons to organize and stimulate interest in leisure and recreation within the clubs. While no courses in leisure and recreation are conducted in Australian colleges or universities to train such people, in North American tertiary institutions, two and three-year courses are offered. A number of Australians, formerly teachers of physical education have taken higher degrees in recreation and physical education at North American universities. Although many Australians who complete such degrees are anxious to return to this country, employment prospects are few. Large clubs, such as the Workmen's, R.S.L. and the Leagues' might encourage the establishment of leisure and recreational courses at tertiary institutions, utilising the pool of trained Australian personnel.

The QIC has had a Public Relations Officer, a position probably unique in N.S.W. registered clubs.<sup>1</sup> He performed some of the tasks that a Recreation Director might carry out. As Editor of the Journal he received and processed information about the intraclubs for publication, although some publicity officers have been remiss in publicising their intraclub activities. In the last six months a page in the QIC Journal listed the intraclubs. Members interested in joining clubs were asked to select the desired clubs and send their names and addresses to the Journal Editor, who distributed them. According to the Editor some 180 responses were received from QIC

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<sup>1</sup> He resigned in January 1972, and no replacement has been made.

members. Of the 101 that I examined, some members had wanted to join more than one club. Forty-three had expressed interest in the golf club, seventeen in the photo club, thirty-six in the ski club, fourteen in the pony club, thirty-three in the travel and cruise club, fourteen in tennis and thirteen in table tennis.<sup>1</sup>

Liaison between QIC Directors and intraclubs is not always effective for two basic reasons: no formal communication structure exists, and the Board has adopted a paternalistic stance which discourages the confidence of the intraclubs in arranging meetings.

In what ways might these problems be overcome? A quarterly meeting might be held between Directors and intraclub officials at which the needs of the intraclubs could be made known, and the intraclubs become more sensitised to one another. At a photography club meeting, for instance, a joint excursion to the Snowy Mountains with the ski club was suggested. The golfers and lawn bowlers have considered a joint sports day in which golf would be played in the morning and bowls in the afternoon. Thus there is a desire on the part of intraclubs to socialise with the other QIC groups. More importantly however, Directors and intraclub officials would become increasingly aware of the significance of these intraclubs in the provision of leisure facilities at the QIC.

In time, a systematic structure for communication between QIC Directors and officials of intraclubs will develop - perhaps with the use of specialised personnel. But the contribution of funds by the QIC (as a result of the massive inflow of finance from poker machines) to intraclubs enabling them to pursue their leisure interests without excessive expenditure of time and energy in fund-raising activities is a very significant development in the field of leisure in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area.

#### Summary and Conclusions

It is clear that the QIC is a highly successful multifunctional leisure organization with about forty per cent of male members visiting the club once a week or more. Most members and associates participate in a variety of activities and the major portion of the club's income comes from poker machines.

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<sup>1</sup> A common phenomenon at the QIC is the expression of interest in a particular sport or hobby, followed by an attempt to set up an intraclub. However, the initiators often lack the organizational skills and contacts within the QIC to establish the intraclub on a firm footing.

This income is spent on the provision of large and comfortable premises, subsidisation of the cost of meals, entertainment and sporting activities within the club. The large clubs have been criticised because they are mass organizations. Nevertheless within them small leisure and sporting groups have emerged. At the QIC, four well-established intraclubs are operating and two are in the formative stages. In addition, the QIC is subsidising a wide range of sporting, community and charitable organizations within the Canberra/Queanbeyan area.

Only about 5 per cent of the QIC's membership participate in the intraclubs. If Directors and members recognised the potential of the intraclubs, then they might assume a more significant and vital role. There is need for more structured channels of communication between Directors and both established and incipient intraclubs, and the hiring of a Recreation Director might provide this structure. As a resource person, organizer, and liaison officer between Directors and intraclubs, he would help to enrich the leisure experiences of members.

It is clear from this chapter that the Directors play a vital role in the direction of the QIC activities. Just how much control do the Directors exercise? How much do members participate in policy and decision-making? Is there turnover amongst Directors? With such a large membership, how are club decisions relayed to the membership? Does the club have to place curbs on individual behaviour on club premises? In what ways does the QIC have to accommodate itself to events occurring in the external environment? In the next chapter, we shall address ourselves to the answering of these and related questions.

## Chapter 11

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL CONTROL, COMMUNICATION  
AND RELATIONS WITH THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE  
QUEANBEYAN LEAGUES' CLUB

This chapter discusses four problems facing the QLC as a large consumer co-operative: to what extent is the QLC a democratic organization? is its control structure homogeneous or heterogeneous, uninodal or multinodal?; what standards of behaviour are members expected to observe and how does the club exercise social control over its members?; how does the club communicate with its large membership?; and what problems does the club have with the external environment?

The Extent of Democracy in the QLC

The operative ideal which distinguishes consumer or retail co-operative societies from private enterprise companies is the breadth and basis of democratic control exercised by the members (Stephenson, 1963: 5-8). Members ultimately control their society on the basis of one member-one vote, and not according to the capital they hold in the society or the purchases which they can make from it. The basic principle of control is egalitarianism. Co-operative societies are not exclusive bodies open only to those with capital, nor is membership limited on grounds of nationality, race, religion or political creed.

Stephenson suggests that the issue of democratic control becomes important when a co-operative society becomes large, and that the form of democratic control becomes the crucial concern. While a co-operative may have a formal democratic structure, it may be ineffective if members do not participate. The most common way of assessing democratic participation in co-operatives is by measuring the percentage of members who vote for the management committee or Board of Directors and attend business meetings. Carr-Saunders et al. (1938, 1942: 290) say that in British co-operatives before the Second World War, the participation rate was about 2 per cent. Ostergaard (1963), in a 1955 inquiry on British retail co-operatives revealed that only 0.5 per cent attended business meetings and only 1.65 per cent voted for the management committee or Board of Directors. Both Carr-Saunders et al. and Stephenson argue that a low percentage rate does not necessarily mean that democratic control has been lost, as long as inactive

members still retain their full democratic power in reserve, and as long as there is an "active minority" which is truly representative of the whole.

However, Stephenson (1963: 9-11) insists that democratic control is more than voting in elections and attendance at general meetings, for voting indicates merely consent or dissent. Free informal discussions and criticism from the members to guide the governing body is also necessary for democratic participation in co-operative societies.

In an attempt to discover the extent of democratic control in the QIC, I shall consider the following: (1) the formal control structure; (2) the proportion of members voting for Directors; (3) the social characteristics of the Directors and candidates to assess the representatives of the "active minority"; (4) duties of Directors; (5) the proportion of members who attend the Annual General Meetings and the extent of discussion, criticism and suggestions from members; and (6) the ways in which members are consulted by the Directors and the management.

#### 1. Formal Control Structure

The fact that the QIC is the offspring of the Queanbeyan United Rugby League Club complicates the formal control structure of the QIC. Clauses 14 and 16 of the Articles of the Association of the QIC state that the business affairs of the club shall be managed by a Board of seven Directors (elected by the members) which shall appoint one of their number as President. Not less than four Directors shall be members (at the time of nomination) of the general committee of the Queanbeyan District United Rugby League Football Club (Articles of the Association: Clause 16(2)).

Effectively this puts the power of the QIC firmly in the hands of the Rugby League Club. Such a provision is quite common in the Articles of the Association of Leagues' clubs. The purpose is to ensure that control resides with the Rugby League Club and is not usurped by a special interest group that may organize itself sufficiently to be elected, gain control, and channel more of the club's financial resources towards supporting that special interest (for example, other football codes such as soccer or Australian rules, or indeed old-time dancing). Under a recently introduced amendment to the Constitution of the Rugby League Club, no individual can become one of the four football-nominated Leagues' Club Directors unless he has served actively in the

Rugby League Club for three successive years.

Nomination forms must be signed by two members of the Leagues' Club and by the nominee consenting to his nomination (Articles of the Association of QIC: 17(b)). Nomination forms are displayed within the club and voting takes place during the two-week period prior to the Annual General Meeting. Only male members are eligible to stand and vote for the Directors.

In the eight-year history of the club the members have shown great faith in the Directors. Only once has a retiring Director standing for re-election been defeated - although in 1967, a Director who had resigned before completion of his term of office, unsuccessfully sought re-election. In 1969, fifteen nominated for the seven directorships, in 1970, seventeen, and in 1971, fourteen.

However, because of resignations and retirements, changes in the composition of the Board have occurred. To date, there have been six resignations during terms of office, two retirements and one defeat. One of those who retired and another who had resigned have been re-elected and are currently serving as Directors. In fact, of the original Board in 1961-62, three are current Directors and one is the Secretary/Manager.

On the ballot papers, names of the Football Club candidates are not distinguished from other nominees.<sup>1</sup> Because retiring Directors have always been re-elected, no Football Club nominee has been defeated, although in one election, this phenomenon almost happened. If a Football Club nominee were defeated in election, and an "elected" candidate of the QIC membership had to stand down in favour, there would be some loss of confidence in the democratic nature of control. Some Leagues' clubs overcome this problem by allowing members to vote only for their Leagues' club nominees, and Football Club members for football nominees.

Why are the names of the football nominees included with other nominees on the ballot paper, when they are guaranteed election under the Constitution? These Directors can argue that their election demonstrates their support from both Football and Leagues' Club members.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt in my mind, that few of those Leagues'

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<sup>1</sup> Although a minimum of four Directors must be representatives of the Football Club, currently five of the seven QIC Directors are from the executive of the Football Club.

<sup>2</sup> It can be argued that if five or more candidates from the Football Club stand, then QIC members can choose four or more from this range of candidates.

club members who do vote, realise that they can only elect three Directors, for the QIC does not openly advertise this fact.

## 2. Formal Participation in Voting for Directors

To what extent do Leagues' Club members participate in voting for Directors? In 1968, 7.5 per cent of members voted; in 1970, 11 per cent; and in 1971, 9.7 per cent (QIC Journals, May 1968: 6; May 1970: 5; May 1971: 3) - higher percentage votes than in British co-operatives. The low rate of voting has been of some concern to the President, Secretary/Manager and the Journal Editor. For instance, in May 1968 the Editor complained that despite the arduous and important tasks that elected Directors performed, "for some strange reason the members of this Club have usually shown an amazing apathy towards the Club Directors and the annual elections". The Editor noted that in the previous year the club had made a profit of more than a quarter of a million dollars and that

...surely the men who are prepared to offer their services to control the Club deserve the interest of members at least during the annual elections. More than 5,000 male members of the Club will be eligible to vote this year and, while it would be nice to have a 100 per cent vote, it should be expected that at least 50 per cent of membership will exercise their rights. At least, let's hope it rises considerably higher than the ridiculous figure of 7.5 per cent of last year. No matter which candidates are elected as Directors of the Club it is important that they carry out their work in the confidence that they have been supported by the majority of Club members (QIC Journal, May 1968: 6).

The club President was not very impressed with the 9.7 per cent rate of voting at the 1971 elections.

It is obvious that the Directors would like a larger vote from members as an endorsement for their policies and decisions. They have consoled themselves with the view that a low rate of voting is indicative of members' satisfaction with the conduct of the club. In this assessment, the Directors are probably correct. Members are much more likely to vote when they wish to express their dissent, and two instances of rejection by Leagues' club members in Sydney can be cited. At the Canterbury-Bankstown Leagues' Club's annual elections in September 1969, a "Reform Team" scored an overwhelming victory. Its team of seven outpolled the Board of retiring Directors at the rate of three to one. Although precise figures are not available, four times as many members voted at the 1969



election than in 1968 (Daily Telegraph, September 23, 1969). The second membership rejection of Directors' policies occurred at the St George Leagues' Club in 1968, when the Directors' proposal to increase the annual membership fees from \$4.20 to \$10 was overwhelmingly defeated. Under that club's constitution, no rise in membership fees could be implemented without the consent of the members at an extraordinary general meeting. Reports vary as to the number of members who attended this meeting. The lowest estimate is 3,000 and the highest 6,000. The lower figure represents  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the membership and the higher figure 25 per cent. Reports also suggest that the auditorium was so crowded that many members could not be admitted and some were excluded because they were not wearing ties.

At the QIC, as with most other Leagues' clubs, no serious attempt has been made to question the judgment of the Directors or Management. Because members seem satisfied with the Directors' decisions and the Football Club has a constitutional stranglehold on the composition of the Board, an oligarchy has emerged at the QIC.

Broom and Selznick (1968: 218-219), in discussing Michel's "iron law" of oligarchy state that the concentration of skills in the leaders' hands, the spoils system and the willing submission of the rank and file create opportunities for the self-perpetuation of the leaders. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that leaders try and stay in office. The President and the Secretary/Manager of the QIC are the two dominant figures in the power structure of the QIC. The Secretary/Manager is a paid official and does not have to seek re-election. However, the President is very conscious of the need to retain power in his hands, but not for reasons of self-aggrandizement, social status or the desire to dominate for domination's sake. The President is totally devoted to the game of rugby league and his actions are motivated to ensure that power is retained by the rugby league executive (of which he is the driving force) and not overtaken by some other interest group.

There are several ways in which control of the QIC is retained by the Football Club other than the constitutional provision requiring that at least four of the seven Directors be members of the Football Club. First, it is enormously difficult for a candidate to campaign openly for the position of Director. In the Journal of March, 1971 the following paragraph appeared:

All prospective nominees are advised that, in accordance with the Articles and By-laws of the Club, canvassing for votes, either by advertising, use of tickets or oral campaigning is not permitted. Any person or persons acting in a manner which circumvents this instruction will immediately be disqualified (QIC Journal, March 1971: 5).

I can find no reference to this clause in the Articles of the Association so that presumably it is a recent by-law. This prevents a nominee from conducting any campaign at all. The only exposure to the mass of members that nominees (and retiring Directors) are permitted is the insertion of a short biography consisting of approximately 75 words (with photograph) in the Journal, issued before the election of the Directors. Policy statements are totally absent in these biographies, suggesting that no such statements are permitted. These severe constraints upon campaigning place neophyte nominees at a considerable disadvantage when compared with the retiring Directors, whose names and achievements are given publicity in the annals of the Journal throughout the year.

Second, as indicated earlier, a person nominated by the Football Club for a Leagues' Club directorship must have participated actively within the Football Club for three years. A person who has so served in this capacity is likely to be well socialised.

Third, Article 19(a) states that in the event of a Director's death or resignation or failure to attend three consecutive meetings without leave of absence or appropriate reasons, then the Board may appoint a successor to hold office until the next election. Thus, if a Director can be persuaded to retire in mid-term, the Board can select its own nominee. Not surprisingly, the Board tends to hand-pick an individual likely to support the policies of the current Board. On the eve of the election, the newcomer is listed as a retiring Director - giving him enormous advantage in the forthcoming election.

Another method by which the present leadership retains control is the procedure adopted by some officials at election time. The view is held (rightly or wrongly) by at least one official that the higher the number of candidates, the greater the certainty that retiring Directors will be returned. The rationale rests on the premise that the Directors are known to the membership and most of the nominees are untried and unknown. Therefore the larger the group of unknown nominees, the more likely that votes will be given to the

experienced Directors at the expense of inexperienced nominees. Sometimes individuals are encouraged to stand for election in order to increase the number of candidates.

However, the machinery exists for Directors to be replaced at annual elections (although voting members have shown a great reluctance to do this) and at extraordinary general meetings. Under Clause 27 of the Articles of the Association an extraordinary general meeting may be called on any date by the President of the Board and shall be called by the Secretary upon receipt by him of one or more documents, signed by not less than twenty ordinary members stating the business to be considered. Such a meeting must be conducted within fourteen days. At this meeting, members may, by special resolution, remove any or all of the Directors before the expiration of their period of office, and appoint another Director or Directors in his or their place. Persons appointed so shall hold office until the end of the financial year when the new elections take place (Articles of the Association: 19(b)). No such meeting has been called by members of the QIC.

I have referred to the fact that the Football Club, because it has at least four Directors is in effective control of the Leagues' Club. I am not suggesting that the views of the Directors who represent QIC members, and those who represent the Football Club are in conflict or have caused confrontations, although arguments have occurred among Directors about the functions of the QIC. Mention has already been made to the difference of opinion as to whether the Football Club is subsidiary to the QIC, or vice versa. The Secretary/Manager and the President, the two founders of the organization have worked in close harmony, but there are occasional divisions of opinion revolving around these two key figures.

In sum, at the QIC an oligarchy has developed, a phenomenon that is typical of voluntary organizations. Sills (1968: 369) quotes from Weber, who wrote:

...in every organization, whether it be called a party, society or club, or whatever, authority in effect always takes the form of minority rule - sometimes the dictatorship of an individual. It is the rule of one or more persons who are qualified by a process of selection or by virtue of their competence to assume the tasks of leadership and to have de facto authority in the organization.

The Articles of the Association of the QIC and the Constitution

The final Director (also a Football Club nominee) is the youngest, aged 36, and is a stock, station and real estate agent. A resident of Canberra/Queanbeyan for 22 years he is a former rugby league player and cricketer.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from these profiles. All have been Directors for at least six years; have lived in the Canberra/Queanbeyan area for over a decade; have been known more for their sporting service in Queanbeyan than for their public service; have or have had a keen interest and proficiency in sport; and are mostly over 50 years of age. A strategic role in the club is played by the Secretary/Manager, who is Queanbeyan's Mayor, a position he has held for eight years. While the President was the driving force in the establishment of the club, the Secretary/Manager provided the necessary diplomatic, social and political skills to gain a club licence and act on the club's behalf at various subsequent social, administrative and legal proceedings.

The contribution of these two individuals has been acknowledged by the QIC in a number of ways. Firstly, a plaque has been placed in the foyer of the club giving permanent testimony to their efforts. Secondly, in 1970 the club paid for these executives to tour the world for a two-month period. The club did this for two reasons - as a mark of appreciation for their efforts (and this did not receive publicity) and to allow them to study club practices overseas and encourage top entertainment talent to perform at the QIC. Thirdly, the President has been made a life member.

The Board of Directors of the QIC thus represents a considerable resource group. The building contractor and electrical contractor have been used to develop the physical structure of the club; and the political skills and contacts of the State member and the Mayor have been used to facilitate agreement to, and acceptance of, the club's activities. The presence of the Mayor on the Executive and the State member on the Board has helped to legitimate the club's status in the community. Further, the knowledge and experience of a real estate agent has no doubt been used by the club in deciding whether or not to purchase various properties for the club.

Below is a summary of some of the biographies (as set out in the Journals for 1967, 1969, 1970 and 1971) of unsuccessful and successful candidates for the Board (see Table 11.1). The current Directors are

Table 11.1: Successful and Unsuccessful Candidates for Directors of QIC, 1967-1971

| Candidate  | Age     | Marital Status and Children | Country of Birth | Club Association                       | Length of Residence in Queanbeyan/Canberra | Occupation                                      | Sporting and Community Interests                         |
|--|---------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|--|---|--|
| Successful Candidates - 1967 (All Currently still Directors - 1971-72) |         |                             |                  |  |  |   |  |
| 1  | 33      | M (2)                       | Wales            | Director Lighting                      | Qbyan 8 years                              | Electrician<br>Own business                     | Former R.U., R.I. player. Member Rotary                  |
| 2  | 46      | M (3)                       | Australia        | Director                               | Qbyan/Canberra 41 years                    | State Parliamentarian and qualified Engineer    | Former R.I. player. Served in R.A.A.F.                   |
| 3  | 51      | M (2)                       | Australia        | President Foundation Member            | Qbyan 50 years                             | Registered Bookmaker and Rugby League Secretary | Rugby League Organizer for District                      |
| 4  | 61      | M (3)                       | Australia        | Director Foundation Member             | Over 50 years                              | Master Builder                                  | Vice-Pres. Qbyan Racing Club. Former all-round sportsman |
| 5  | 59      | M (4)                       | Australia        | Director                               | 28 years                                   | Concrete Inspector                              | Trainer, Football Team                                   |
| 6  | 31      | M (2)                       | Australia        | Director Pres. Entertainment Committee | Qbyan 10 Canberra 6 years                  | Auctioneer, Stock and Station Agent             | Ex-Secretary of Football Team. Former R.I. player        |
| 7  | Over 60 | M (2)                       | Australia        | Director                               | Over 60 years                              | Retired Building Contractor                     | Former Boxing Instructor                                 |

Table 11.1: (Continued)

| Candidate                             | Age | Marital Status and Children | Country of Birth | Club Association           | Length of Residence in Queanbeyan/Canberra | Occupation  | Sporting and Community Interests  |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|--|---|---|
| <u>Unsuccessful Candidates - 1967</u> |     |                             |                  |                            |  |   |   |
| A                                     | 37  | Single                      | Australia        |                            | 8 years                                    | Foreman Printer                                     | On R.L. Committee.<br>Pres. Qbyan Branch<br>of A.I.P. Secretary<br>to 2 charity orgns.<br>Team Manager R.L.<br>Team |
| B                                     | 40  | M<br>(2)                    | Holland          |                            | Aust. 16 yrs<br>Qbyan 6 yrs                | Plant Operator                                      |   |
| C                                     | 51  | M<br>(2)                    | Australia        | Director -<br>part of 1966 | 16 years                                   | Barman  | R.L. International<br>Former Captain/Coach<br>Queanbeyan area   |
| D                                     | 25  | Single                      | Australia        |                            | 3 years                                    | Officer - Motor<br>Transport Dept.                  | J.P. Rugby League,<br>Rugby Union player  |
| E                                     | 34  | M<br>(2)                    | Australia        |                            | 13 years                                   | Company Director<br>of own Station-<br>ery Business | Member of Rotary,<br>Canberra South<br>Bowling  |
| F                                     | 40  | M<br>(2)                    | Australia        |                            | 5 years                                    | Van Driver  | Member of Church,<br>Political, P.& C.<br>Assn. J.P. Follows<br>football, golf,<br>racing                           |

Table 11.1: (Continued)

| Candidate                             | Age | Marital Status and Children | Country of Birth | Club Association      | Length of Residence in Queanbeyan/Canberra | Occupation  | Sporting and Community Interests                           |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--|---|--|
| <u>Unsuccessful Candidates - 1969</u> |     |                             |                  |                       |  |   |  |
| G                                     | 62  |                             |                  |                       | 10 years                                   | Contractor  | Active in R.I., bowling in Canberra/Queanbeyan area        |
| H                                     | 27  |                             |                  | Member                | 3 years                                    | Public Servant  | Former basketballer, footballer                            |
| I                                     | 28  |                             |                  | Foundation Member     | 28 years                                   | Partner-- Demonstration Firm. Service Station Manager | President of Qbyan Kangaroos R.I. Team                     |
| J                                     | 31  |                             |                  | Pres. QIC Travel Club | 5 years                                    | Lawyer (also has Arts degree)                         | Member A.C.T. Advisory Council and Canberra Hospital Board |
| K                                     | 46  |                             |                  |                       | 2 years                                    | Army Major  | Active in basketball, fencing Administration               |
| L                                     | 44  |                             |                  |                       |  | Qualified Accountant - Snr. Programmer                | Interested in Australian rules, soccer, golf and tennis    |
| M                                     |     | (candidate E in 1967)       |                  |                       |  |   |  |
| N                                     | 42  |                             |                  |                       |  | Asst. Director of Auto. Data Processing               | Interested and active in tennis, golf and Australian rules |

Table 11.1: (Continued)

| Candidate  | Age                   | Marital Status and Children | Country of Birth | Club Association         | Length of Residence in Queanbeyan/Canberra | Occupation   | Sporting and Community Interests              |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--|--|---|
| <u>Successful Candidate in 1969 (replacing retiring Director (6) who did not seek re-election, but in 1970 became a Director again).</u>   |                       |                             |                  |                          |  |  |   |
| O  |                       | M<br>(2)                    |                  |                          | 7 years                                    | Former Policeman in charge of security at Nat. Library | Vice-President of Football Club               |
| <u>Successful Candidate in 1970 (replacing retiring Director (0) who was elected in 1969. This successful candidate subsequently resigned in late 1970 based on his misconduct at the Club).</u> |                       |                             |                  |                          |  |  |   |
| P  | 45                    |                             |                  |                          | Born in Queanbeyan                         | Bookbinder   | R.I. International                            |
| <u>Unsuccessful Candidates in 1970</u>   |                       |                             |                  |                          |  |  |   |
| Q  | 26                    |                             |                  | Member, QIC Bowling Club | 26 years                                   | Composer   | R.U. player. Interested in most sports        |
| R  | 36                    |                             |                  | Member 6 years           | Resident in Canberra                       | Finance Manager  | Pres. and promoter of Junior R.I. in Canberra |
| S  | (candidate I in 1969) |                             |                  |                          |  |  |   |
| T  | 40                    |                             |                  |                          | At least 4 years                           | Serviceman R.A.A.F.                                    | Member of lower grade Football Team           |
| U  |                       |                             |                  | Member 7 years           | Queanbeyan Resident                        | Steel Fabricator                                       |   |



Table 11.1: (Continued)

| Candidate                              | Age | Marital Status and Children | Country of Birth | Club Association                   | Length of Residence in Queanbeyan/Canberra | Occupation                       | Sporting and Community Interests                              |
|--|-----|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| V                                      | 30  |                             |                  | Member 6 years                     | 10 years                                   | Insurance Manager                | Committee man - Kangaroos Football Club, tennis player        |
| W                                      | 26  |                             |                  | Member 5 years                     |  | Compositor                       | Union official, squash player. Supporter of Aust. Rules, R.I. |
| Candidate E (1967, M in 1969)          |     |                             |                  |                                    |  |                                  |   |
| <u>Unsuccessful Candidates in 1971</u> |     |                             |                  |                                    |  |                                  |   |
| Candidate T in 1970                    |     |                             |                  |                                    |  |                                  |   |
| X                                      | 41  |                             |                  |                                    | 6½ years                                   | Company Proprietor               | Former official Football Club                                 |
| Y                                      | 25  |                             |                  |                                    | Canberra 3 years                           | Public Servant B.A. (Economics)  | Keen R.I. follower, squash player                             |
| Z                                      | 29  |                             |                  | Member 2 years                     | Canberra 4 years                           | Public Servant                   | Enthusiastic squash player                                    |
| AA                                     |     |                             |                  | Candidate E in 1967, 1969 and 1970 |  | Officer-in-Charge, Fire Brigades | Director of Licensed Club in Sydney. J.P.                     |

itemised first. Each year, there have tended to be changes in the type of biographical items included. For instance, in 1967, the biographies indicated the marital status of the nominees, but in subsequent years this item has been dropped.

Several observations can be made about the unsuccessful candidates' backgrounds compared to those of the current Directors. They tend to be younger and newer residents to the Canberra/Queanbeyan area, usually (but not always) less committed to rugby league football, and come from a variety of occupations, although public servants and businessmen predominate. One candidate has stood unsuccessfully on four occasions; two others have nominated twice and another has been elected once and unsuccessful twice.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. Duties of Directors

The powers and duties of the Directors are wide-ranging. The Directors have full control of the club's property and absolute authority subject to the Memorandum and Articles of the Association. The Board can -

- a) appoint sub-committees giving them such powers as the Board designates,
- b) make and rescind any by-laws or rules necessary or desirable for the proper control, administration and management of the club's affairs, interests, effects and property, and for the convenience, comfort and well-being of members,
- c) enforce these by-laws and suspend members who do not subscribe to them,
- d) appoint delegates to represent the club for any purpose that the Board thinks fit,
- e) appoint, pay and dismiss staff,
- f) purchase property and obtain privileges for members,
- g) secure fulfilment of contracts or any engagements that the club has undertaken,
- h) institute, conduct, defend, compound or abandon any legal proceedings by or against the club or its officers,
- i) transact business on the club's behalf including borrowing, selling, exchanging or disposing of any of the club's property,

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<sup>1</sup> This candidate was elected for a full term, which he served. However, he was defeated at the end of the term, and was unsuccessful the following year (1971).

- j) fix the maximum number of each class of members who may be admitted to the various types of membership,
- k) fine, caution, or suspend for any period any member who wilfully infringes any provisions of the Memorandum, Articles of the Association or by-laws, either in or out of the club premises when the individual's conduct is adjudged as unbecoming to a member or as being prejudicial to the interests of the club.

The Directors can impose restrictions or limitations on the rights and privileges of members, honorary members and visitors when their conduct, behaviour, clothing and dress is assessed as unsuitable for the designated premises (Articles of the Association, Section 22, Clauses A-0).

Article 24(a) requires that the Board meet at least once a month (currently it meets fortnightly) for the transaction of business, and the President or two Directors may call extra meetings. Minutes of all resolutions or proceedings of the Board meetings are required to be kept, and I have had access to these minutes.

Stephenson (1963: 29-65) and the Co-operative Independent Commission (1958) have given attention to the role of the Boards of Directors. The Commission grouped Co-operative Boards into three categories - (i) the Board's prime role was that of scrutineer of management action, rather like a consumers' vigilante committee, (ii) the Board considered itself to be part of management, and (iii) the Board was principally involved in the making of policy. As Stephenson suggests, a mixture of these functions occurs in the activities of most Boards, but Boards tend to place more emphasis on one of them at the expense of the others.

It has not been possible to assess accurately which functions the Board of the QLC stresses and neglects. Since the minutes provide only a brief summary of the discussions at a Board meeting, it would be hazardous to rely on these alone to make an assessment.

However I was invited to one Board meeting (October 1971), after I had requested that privilege from the President. Six of the seven Directors were present as well as the Secretary/Manager and the Assistant Secretary/Manager. Apart from the signing of the purchase of the nearby hotel for \$250,000, matters considered included a discussion of the minutes of the previous meeting, the extent of payments due in the coming months and the consequent necessity to consider increasing the bank overdraft, and four incidents of social control

requiring action from the Directors.

The first concerned an individual who had cashed a number of cheques which had "bounced". In accordance with the Articles of the Association, he was asked to appear before the Board meeting. His failure to attend resulted in the usual automatic cancellation of his membership. A second incident involved a fight between a club official and the husband of a staff member. The official had been encouraging members and guests to leave the club at closing time; his manner had irritated the staff member's husband who promptly hit the official on the head while his back was turned and a fight ensued. This individual was banned from the club, and the Directors decided to warn the official that he had no authority to encourage members to leave the club at closing time. A third incident discussed was the alleged misbehaviour of two policemen at a police social gathering. Because of apparent misunderstanding between supervisors and the two policemen, the Directors decided that further information should be sought before taking action. The fourth incident concerned the visit of two entertainment agents, one of whom had given large tips at dinner, including \$20 to one of the waitresses, hinting that he expected sexual favours. The Directors decided to write to the agent informing him that he was no longer welcome at the club. One more problem was discussed. The Catering Manager had instructed the club's builder (one of the Directors) to install a special stove in the kitchen, an instruction that the Catering Manager had no authority to give.

As far as decision-making is concerned, three patterns were evident: deferment until more information had been obtained; delegation of a decision to the Executive (President, Secretary/Manager and one Director); and delegation to Management (the Secretary/Manager and Assistant Secretary/Manager). In practice, the Secretary/Manager and the President make all the key decisions in regard to policy and management at the Leagues' Club, and the rest of the Directors rubber-stamp their decisions, at times begrudgingly.

At this meeting, there was evidence of the consumer vigilante and management roles, but only slight discussion of policy. Members of committees that adopt consumer vigilante roles see their function as communicating the complaints of members.<sup>1</sup> Towards the conclusion of

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<sup>1</sup> Often committees or Boards which adopt consumer vigilante roles become so involved in matters of detail that concerns of more general importance are neglected (Stephenson, 1963: 30-33).

this meeting (as at all Board meetings) every Director, in turn, was asked whether he had any matters for the Board's attention. Each brought up two or three matters of concern to him or a member. In one case, a member had been unable to purchase a particular brand of beer in the auditorium, although it was available elsewhere in the club. The waiter had refused to bring a jug of this brand of beer. After discussion, the Directors took steps to prevent a recurrence.

The Board meeting was marked by the frank exchange of opinion and information, the pragmatic quality of the discussions, and general participation by all but two of the Directors. As usual, after the Board meeting, the Directors dined; at the meal the President remarked that, fortunately, I had not seen them arguing vehemently, suggesting that the meeting may have been atypical. However, it was not possible to attend and monitor all Board meetings.

#### 5. Annual General Meetings

The Annual General Meeting (hereafter AGM) is generally held in April or May of each year and is usually attended by about a hundred members. At the first AGM after trading as a licensed club began, 106 members were present, representing 5.8 per cent of the membership. This participation rate decreased to a low of .9 per cent in May 1971 when only 78 members of the 9,570 male members attended. Over the past four years the highest attendance rate has been 1.8 per cent (see Table 11.2).

Table 11.2

Annual General Meetings of QIC and Attendance Rate  
(Percentages)

| Date of AGM | Number Present | Approx. Male Total Membership | % Attendance compared to Total Membership | Length of Meeting |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 4 Dec. 1961 | 32             | 52                            | 61.5                                      | 1hr. 55 min.      |
| 8 June 1962 | 34             | 250                           | 13.6                                      | 2hr. 30 min.      |
| 3 Apr. 1963 | 31             | 750                           | 4.1                                       | 1hr. 45 min.      |
| 3 July 1964 | 106            | 1822                          | 5.8                                       | 1hr. 40 min.      |
| 28 May 1965 | 122            | 2817                          | 4.3                                       | 1hr. 35 min.      |
| 6 May 1966  | 124            | 3981                          | 3.1                                       | 2 hours           |
| 15 May 1967 | 71             | 5050                          | 1.4                                       | 1hr. 45 min.      |
| 20 May 1968 | 50             | 5749                          | .9  | 45 min.           |
| 19 May 1969 | 114            | 6330                          | 1.8                                       | 25 min.           |
| 4 May 1970  | 80             | 7257                          | 1.1                                       | 45 min.           |
| 3 May 1971  | 78             | 9750                          | .8  | 18 min.           |

There are five items of business conducted at the AGM. The minutes of the previous AGM are distributed to members and taken as read; the Directors' report and balance sheet are presented; the declaration of the election of the seven Directors is made; the election of auditors and the remuneration that they receive is determined; and there is the discussion of general business.

The most remarkable feature of the three AGMs that I have attended is their brevity. The 1969 AGM last 25 minutes, and the 1971 Meeting only 18 minutes. Following the 1971 AGM the Secretary/Manager wrote in the Journal:

...the 79 members attending the Annual General Meeting obviously displayed a vote of confidence in the operation and management of the Club generally as the meeting only occupied eighteen minutes and in fact would have taken less than ten minutes had it not been for the Chairman going to great lengths inviting discussion and questions (QIC Journal, May 1971: 4).

As can be seen from Table 11.2 AGMs up until 1967, were never less than 1 hour and 35 minutes in length, but in the last four years none has exceeded 45 minutes. To make any judgements based on these figures alone is absurd. However, I did gain the impression at AGMs that members were hesitant to question the Board, according the Directors considerable respect, and even awe. Perhaps it can be concluded that as the membership increases and the organization becomes more complex in its operation, the less confident members will be about questioning the Directors and making recommendations.

At each of the three AGMs that I have attended, the President has called repeatedly for recommendations to assist the incoming Board of Directors, but without response. Thus if members have been unhappy about the conduct of the club over the past three years they have not taken advantage of the formal opportunity to be critical of decisions and policies. In fact, quite the contrary. At the 1970 Meeting, the manager of a hotel complimented the Directors for their fine work and his action was endorsed by the Meeting; he himself had served as a Director, and for a short time the Secretary, but for reasons that the Directors are reluctant to discuss he was for a period 'persona non grata' - although he has been re-admitted to membership.

The participation of members at AGMs is limited to two areas.

At the last three Meetings, a few questioners have sought clarification of specific items on the balance sheet. The other type of participation is more convivial. At the end of these Meetings the members have been treated to free liquor, a fact not advertised in the Journal. If it were, attendance might balloon.

Are members so bereft of ideas that they can make no recommendations to the Directors? Lipset et al. (1956: 262), in discussing union business meetings suggests that most unions are more or less firmly controlled by their incumbent officers and union meetings offer the ordinary member very little reward for attendance. He can hardly feel himself a significant participant in any decision-making process. Despite the fact that the President of the QIC has called for recommendations at the last three AGMs, the calls have not been invitations to participate in decision-making. Apart from voting for Directors, members have little chance (and probably, little desire) to participate in making decisions about the club and its future.

#### 6. Ways in Which Members are Consulted by the Directors and Management

The Annual General Meeting is the only regularly scheduled occasion when the Board and the Management consult the mass of members about the conduct of the club. The QIC is not unique in this respect, and to my knowledge no large N.S.W. registered club consults members more than once a year. The control of these leisure consumer co-operatives differs in this respect from the conduct of British retail co-operatives and trade unions. With retail co-operatives and trade unions regular monthly or quarterly business meetings are held to discuss the conduct of the organization.

Informal consultation between members and Directors and Management does take place - especially at the main bar. When a member has a complaint he will often communicate it to one of the Directors. The Public Relations Officer has sometimes received complaints which members were reluctant to take to the Directors, especially the President or Secretary/Manager. There were two basic reasons: members felt considerable social distance from most of the Directors and that the Board and Management were not always sympathetic to their complaints. For some time, a suggestion box was placed in the foyer of the club in which members could express their ideas about the club's activities - but members apparently took little advantage of it.

While the Directors have created an enormously successful leisure

and fund-distributing organization, participation by members in contributing to the organization is restricted largely to an informal level. RCA officials have sometimes alluded to the large Leagues' clubs as the "democratic" clubs, based on the premise that such organizations are sensitive to the needs of members and the members themselves are responsible for running the club. At the QIC the decisions and policies of the Directors have received the approval of the membership in that it has not rejected any decisions of the Directors. But the Directors might give some more attention to allowing for more democratic expression. While one can understand why the current Directors are motivated by a desire to retain control, the constraints upon campaigning for positions of Directors seem excessive. Instead of placing a complete blanket on campaigning, a meeting might be held just prior to the AGM at which nominees could express their aims and policies and be available to the membership to answer questions. Club officials would probably be reluctant to consider such a possibility on the grounds that the presentation of alternative policies would inevitably include criticism of the work of current Directors, and consideration of the basic goals of the club. However, if the club considers itself a democratic organization, more open expression about its functioning and future direction should be encouraged. Perhaps quarterly or monthly business meetings with open attendance might be a partial solution.

If the arteries of democracy harden within the QIC there are two clear dangers. The first is that there may be little chance for people of capacity and talent to become Directors of the Leagues' Club. The existing Board of Directors, with the Football Club nominees numerically dominating the Board, exercises very firm control over the direction of QIC activities. But in its anxiety to retain control of the Leagues' Club, the Football Club may have placed over-severe constraints on the healthy infusion of ideas and personnel with capacity, ability and imagination.

A small football club can be run reasonably effectively by inexperienced members but the operation of a large business organization is more demanding. Since the Football Club nominees constitute a majority of the Board of the Leagues' Club, the quality of that Board will be largely determined by the ability and competence of the Football Club personnel. At the RCA Annual General Meeting in 1971,



I talked to two Directors of the Bathurst Leagues' Club. Both were capable working class individuals who said that while they were doing their best to run the club, they needed more skilful people to help them. One of them lamented that real power lay with the Football Club which was unable to attract lawyers, doctors or accountants to participate in the administration of rugby league and become eligible to serve as Directors of the Leagues' Club.

If the Football Club can continue to provide capable Directors of the Leagues' Club, there is no real cause for concern. But formal organizations live longer than their creators. At the QLC, three of the current Directors are over 60 years of age and the President, whose influence is dominant, has recently indicated that he might retire - partly because at football matches, some spectators have jeered him.<sup>1</sup> His retirement will leave an enormous power vacuum, and as yet, there is no sign of an heir-apparent.

The second danger is that without frequent contact and interchange with members, the Directors may lose touch with the membership, whose needs may change over time.

Despite these possible dangers, the members seem content with the manner in which the club is conducted. If there is discontent<sup>2</sup> then there are three possible reasons why such discontent does not come to the surface - (i) there is little opportunity for members to express their discontent, (ii) the members do not take advantage of the opportunities available to them to express their discontent, and (iii) the members have expressed complaints but the Directors are impervious.

In theory, a leisure co-operative ought to be a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous organization. In practice, while the QLC is clearly a heterogeneous organization, it does seem that there is room for it to develop even further heterogeneity. In theory too, a leisure co-operative ought to be a multinodal rather than a uninodal organization. Yet the informal emergence of an oligarchy with the President and the Secretary/Manager at the peak of the hierarchical structure is a strong indication of uninodality.

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<sup>1</sup> The QLC, the "Blues" Football Club and the QLC President are so dominant in rugby league circles, that supporters of smaller clubs (and even Queanbeyan's second football team, the Kangaroos) are jealous and resentful of this dominance. They take especial delight in the defeat of the Queanbeyan "Blues" football team.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from complaints that poker machines are too "hungry", and the rigidity of the dress rules, the only consistent general complaint I have heard is that the club closes too early.

### Expected Standards of Behaviour and Exercise of Social Control

Leisure consumer co-operatives such as the QLC have a problem which is rarely encountered in retail co-operatives: the development of appropriate standards of behaviour and dress while members and guests are on the premises. Because sections of the society (such as churches and middle class groups) have been critical of the drinking and gambling on club premises, clubs are anxious to convince the community (including government regulatory agencies) that club activities and behaviour are respectable.

This problem is made more acute because of the club's open membership. The size of the QLC membership has risen from 750 in 1963 to 6,589 in 1967 and to 9,305 in June 1970. Currently there are 12,620 members. Such an organization, with a large rapidly expanding membership cannot adequately assess the membership suitability of applicants - in contrast to small élite voluntary organizations, where nominated persons are often well-known to the selection committee and are interviewed. Consequently, at the QLC, some persons may be accepted for membership who prove to be unsuitable.

Club officials expect members and guests to act in a "reasonable" manner - by dressing appropriately, acting in a manner so as not to infringe the freedom of other members, behaving in a quiet, restrained way rather than expressively, and showing respect towards staff, club Directors and other members.

There is, however, no initiation or apprenticeship period in which members are socialised. Once an individual has been accepted for membership, the club sends him his club admission badge or card. From then on, the only information he receives from the club about appropriate standards of behaviour are included in the Journal and on signs specifying dress rules (located in the foyer of the club) and rules for poker machine playing (in the appropriate areas).

Some Sydney clubs have initiation nights for neophytes who are introduced to the officials and the Board, and provided with details of the club's conduct, expected standards of behaviour and of course, liquid refreshment. Despite the absence of any socialisation period at the QLC, members "learn the ropes" very quickly. However, there are continuing problems of social control with which the Directors and the management have to deal. These are (1) excessive drinking, (2) cashing of cheques and "bouncing" cheques, (3) heavy poker machine playing, (4) standards of dress and (5)

disciplining members who break club rules.

### 1. Excessive Drinking

The easy availability of liquor in the club might suggest that problems with drinking could occur. Although I have been a regular participant-observer at the club, I have only once seen drunken behaviour. However, instances of such behaviour occur more frequently than this suggests, especially after football matches. Club officials do not have to exercise much direct control over members' drinking behaviour. A majority of the membership is middle class, and unrestrained drinking is not characteristic of that culture. Sociable, rather than individualistic drinking is the norm. Also, the presence of women inhibits heavy drinking. Members are aware that drunken behaviour will lead to expulsion from the club premises and perhaps cancellation of membership. Moreover, other facilities at the club divert members from drinking to excess.

When members do become inebriated, they are asked by Directors or Supervisors to leave. Occasionally the police are called to remove the culprit from the premises if he refuses to leave peaceably. Sometimes a taxi will be ordered (at the club's expense) to take the celebrant home.

### 2. Cashing of Cheques and "Bouncing" Cheques

Perhaps the most recurring problem of social control concerns the cashing of cheques. Restrictions have been placed on this practice because some members and visitors have cashed cheques which have not been honoured. In March 1964, January 1965, April 1967 and July 1968 the problem of "bouncing" cheques has been discussed by Directors at their meetings indicating that the problem is a continual one.

How severe is the problem? At the AGM in May 1970, the Secretary/Manager announced that 125,000 cheques constituting a total value of \$1.6 million had been cashed by members at the club since the first day of trading in September 1963. Dishonoured cheques totalling \$6,303 had not been recovered by the club representing 0.39 per cent of the total value of cheques cashed. According to the Assistant Secretary/Manager, about half the number of dishonoured cheques are eventually made good by the members.

Currently members may cash only one cheque per day for an amount not exceeding \$10. Should a member wish to cash more than one cheque or for an amount above \$10, he must obtain the authorisation of the Secretary/Manager. Before any cheque can be cashed, it must be

initialled by the Supervisor on duty, and the member's name and medallion number must be written thereon. Cheques from non-members must be authorised by the Secretary/Manager.

Despite these safeguards, some members proffer cheques which they cannot honour. The club writes to the members asking them to absolve the debt within seven days. Failure to do so brings another letter from the Management indicating that the matter will be placed before the Board. If the debt is not met after these warnings, the errant members are asked to appear before the Directors. If they fail to appear and meet this indebtedness, then their membership is cancelled.

Almost certainly, some individuals who present a number of cheques which cannot be honoured are those who are losing heavily on the poker machines. Of course, not all heavy losers present "bouncing" cheques. But the cheque-cashing procedure enables club officials to identify some heavy losers, who may be asked to curb their playing or be expelled.

### 3. Heavy Poker Machine Playing

In this research I have not concentrated upon the addictive aspects of poker machine gambling. The question is an important one, but demands different aims, methods of analysis and data collection than I have used in this research. Nevertheless, the most persistent criticism of the registered clubs is that members, especially those who can least afford it, spend too much of their income on playing poker machines and that poker machines encourage addiction.

On a number of occasions both the President and the Secretary/Manager have stated that the problem of addictive poker machine playing is virtually non-existent at the QIC. They maintain that they have never had a complaint from a wife whose husband has lost too much money on the machines. Yet clearly there are members who invest heavily in the poker machines. I have myself recognised a small number who can be described as addicts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The most notorious example is a woman known by staff as "Mrs Inca" because she plays "Inca" machines extensively. Club officials tell two stories to indicate the extent of her addiction. On arrival at the club one day she found that her favourite "Inca" machine was turned against the wall. She inquired as to why it was out of order and was told that the small payouts of three to five coins were not dropping. Undeterred, she insisted that the machine be turned round ready for play indicating that she was chasing jackpots rather than small pays. Secondly, she is reported to have returned to playing the machines some 24 hours after she had given birth. The Assistant Secretary/Manager contends that on one machine which she has played regularly, the "Moon" machine, she is able to detect the "rhythm" of the machine, knowing when it is about to start paying jackpots. "Mrs Inca" has been discouraged by the Secretary/Manager and a number of officials from playing machines but such warnings have gone unheeded.

Club officials are faced by a dilemma with heavy poker machine playing. The club is anxious to maintain an acceptable image within the community and the presence of addicts provides club opponents with evidence that poker machine playing is harmful. While officials might be anxious to curb the playing of addicts, it is distasteful to suggest to a person that he or she is playing the machines too heavily. It is seen by addicts and officials alike as a curb on freedom.

The most critical problem officials have in assessing whether members can afford to lose heavily on the machines, is that usually they do not have sufficient knowledge of a person's financial resources. One member, a senior public servant, is a heavy player, but because of his high income and status, no attempt is made to discourage his playing. But others have lower incomes. To determine a player's capacity to lose, officials would have to enquire as to the state of a person's finances, an enquiry which many individuals would resent.

The lack of feedback on heavy losses from players or their families is no certain indication that heavy poker machine playing is not a major problem. Rather it may measure players' refusal to admit the extent of their losses. The problem at the QIC may therefore be more serious than the Board or the Management suppose.

Before discussing ways of dealing with poker machine addiction, reference should be made to existing curbs on playing at the QIC. Women are not permitted to play the 20c machines (of which there are ten). The expressed rationale for this ruling is that some women might put too much of the family income into the poker machines without this prohibition.<sup>1</sup> Second, the fact that members may only cash one cheque daily with a ceiling of \$10, probably prevents some losers from cashing additional cheques and chasing their losses.

But such curbs are not sufficient to control or prevent addictive poker machine playing. Addictive machine playing is probably symptomatic of individual psychological problems. The abolition of poker machines would result in the gamblers seeking release in some other form of gambling or activity. However, clubs might consider some

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<sup>1</sup> It is curious how many middle class people with little or no experience of machines assume that women are easy prey for the machines. In fact, results from my survey show that women on average lose less than men.

remedial measures. For instance, Vinson and Cullen (1967: 54-55) have suggested that clubs might employ, on a trial basis, professionally trained personnel to deal with the welfare of club members. While clubs have developed leisure facilities for the enjoyment of members, they have made only token gestures for their social welfare. Clubs have given generous spasmodic support to a wide variety of outside local organizations and causes. Vinson argues that the provision of social welfare services for members and friends as a normal, integrated function of the club may prove to be an appropriate method of discharging an important social responsibility. With careful introduction, avoidance of pressure, and discreet use of referrals, the welfare service could be a natural and acceptable part of club life, thus locating welfare services in one of the social organizations that are central to people's lives.

If social workers were available on club premises to discuss individual problems of club members, such as heavy playing, a formal mechanism for dealing with these problems would be created. Alternatively, a club might allot one per cent (or some other fraction) of its poker machine profits to an outside agency such as the local council or Health Department. However, there seems to be a basic reluctance on the part of club officials to admit that addictive or excessive gambling losses occur on a scale to warrant corrective action.

#### 4. Standards of Dress at the QIC

Large clubs are characterised by stringent dress standards. At the QIC, males are not permitted to wear thongs, shorts without long socks, or shorts on entertainment nights, and women are not allowed to wear shorts. In the mixed lounge, dining room and auditorium, males must wear a tie, although full sporting attire such as regulation tennis, cricket or bowls dress is acceptable. In the men's lounge men are allowed to wear clean working attire until 7 p.m. from Mondays to Fridays inclusive and 1 p.m. on Saturdays. In the new dining room, men must wear a jacket and tie.

Occasionally some of these rules are changed. Trends in women's fashions often stimulate conflict between members and officials. At one stage Directors passed a by-law preventing women from wearing mini-dresses to the club. Such a by-law does not appear to have been rescinded, but clearly mini-skirts and dresses are now permitted. However, the latest fashion of "hot pants" has created additional

problems, and women wearing this trendy apparel have been turned away on the grounds that they are wearing shorts - much to their irritation. Generally speaking, the dress rules are rigidly adhered to and sometimes their application is arbitrary.<sup>1</sup>

Why are dress rules exercised so stringently and at times arbitrarily? The dress rules are to some extent a symbolic reminder to members that they must conform to the standards of the club. Dress rules represent a weapon of social control, as a conversation with officials in May 1971 confirms. The club had decided to tighten up on dress rules on Sunday evenings (after football matches) in order to improve the "tone" of the club. It was felt that without some control on behaviour, footballers would wreck the club after the match as they tended to manifest aggressive, uninhibited behaviour. By insisting on the strict application of dress rules, the members and footballers were being informed by the Management and Directors of the necessity to conform to club standards of behaviour.

Middle class styles of dress and behaviour are insisted upon at the QIC (and most other large clubs). Members appear to accept the dictum that when dressed in a semi-formal way, quiet restrained inhibited behaviour is expected. Conformity to some middle class norms of behaviour partially legitimates drinking and gambling, or at least forestalls criticism from middle class pressure groups.

##### 5. Suspensions and Cancellations of Membership at the QIC

When serious breaches in behaviour occur at the QIC disciplinary action has to be taken by the Directors. Article 41 states that if any member refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of the Memorandum and Articles of the Association, by-laws, rules or regulations of the club, or is guilty of conduct deemed by the Board to be unbecoming of a member or prejudicial to the interests of the club, he may be expelled by resolution of the Board (which need not state the grounds). However, the same provisions stipulate that at least seven days before the meeting at which the resolution is to be passed, the member shall be notified, either orally or in writing, of the intended resolution requesting that he be present to defend or explain his actions. A simple majority of the Directors enables

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<sup>1</sup> On one occasion when I was at the club, two females were prevented from entering the club because they were wearing "thongs"; I would unhesitatingly have described them as sandals, which are acceptable footwear in the club.

resolutions of suspension or cancellation to become effective. These provisions are also applicable to those who have incurred any debt to the club. Directors have additional power to fine, caution or suspend for any period a member who has wilfully infringed any club rules. Directors may also impose restrictions on members, honorary members and visitors relating to their conduct, behaviour, clothing or dress on club premises.

According to the minutes of the Directors' meetings, twenty-nine cases of serious misconduct came to the Board's attention during 1970. The memberships of thirteen persons were cancelled, one was suspended for five years, two for one year, six for three months or less; six received cautions or severe warnings and in one case, the member's reason for his misconduct was accepted. Of these twenty-nine cases, seventeen members appeared before the Board; one presented a written statement, while four did not appear at all. The reasons for the suspensions or cancellations are described only in vague terms in the minutes - for instance, "incident at club", "incident at desk", and so on. However, some are described in more detail - for example, use of members' medallions by non-members; fighting outside club premises; misappropriation of intraclub funds; breaking of window glass on a poker machine; abusive manner to employees, members and guests; the illegal playing of poker machines in Sydney clubs; the setting up of an illegal jackpot in the club; and damaging property at a Queensland hotel while with the football team on tour. Table 11.3 provides a summary of the length of suspensions, and the number of cancellations and cautions issued to members from 1964 to 1970.

Table 11.3

Cancellation, Length of Suspensions and Cautions  
issued to Errant Members of the QIC, 1964-1970

| Year   | M'ship<br>cance-<br>lled | 5<br>yrs       | 2<br>yrs | 1<br>yr | 6<br>mths | 3<br>mths | 2<br>mths | 1 mth<br>or<br>less | Cau-<br>tion | Reason<br>Accep-<br>ted | Total |
|--------|--------------------------|----------------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1970   | 13                       | 1              | -        | 2       | -         | 3         | 1         | 2                   | 6            | 1                       | 29    |
| 1969   | 13                       | -              | -        | 1       | -         | -         | 1         | 2                   | -            | -                       | 17    |
| 1968   | -                        | -              | 3        | 1       | -         | -         | -         | 1                   | -            | -                       | 5     |
| 1967   | 7                        | -              | -        | -       | -         | -         | 2         | 1                   | 1            | -                       | 11    |
| 1966   | 2                        | 1              | -        | -       | 1         | -         | -         | -                   | 1            | -                       | 5     |
|        | (+ Tra-<br>veller)       | (vis-<br>itor) |          |         |           |           |           |                     |              |                         |       |
| 1965   | 4                        | -              | 2        | -       | 1         | 3         | -         | 2                   | 2            | -                       | 14    |
| 1964   | 1                        | -              | -        | -       | -         | 1         | -         | 1                   | -            | -                       | 3     |
| Totals | 40                       | 2              | 5        | 4       | 2         | 7         | 4         | 9                   | 10           | 1                       | 84    |



The figures have been drawn from the minutes and is not an exhaustive list of the serious incidents at the club. At times, Directors discuss misbehaviour without recording the nature of the incident and the ensuing action.

Considering that 75 per cent of members are residents of Canberra and that middle class occupations are over-represented in the membership of the QIC, it is not surprising that problems of social control are not very serious. Any evidence of social control is unobtrusive. Wheeler (1967: 650) has stated that the most basic structure of the social control apparatus in any system is not the network of formal agencies established for that purpose. Instead, it is an invisible part of daily social life. In an effectively functioning society, most members will be guided by internalised shared standards of conduct and will feel uncomfortable at the thought of violating those standards. From my observations at the QIC, the norms are so well internalised or are so undemanding that there is little obvious exercise of formal social control.

#### Communication with Members - The Club Journal

In a small club with a few hundred members the problem of communication may not be significant. However, in a large organization with thousands of members, the problem is much more complex. Most large registered clubs in N.S.W. have attempted to inform members of future entertainment, new rules and the opening of new facilities, by publishing a monthly journal which is posted to members. The QIC began to publish its Journal in November 1966. In its first issue the Secretary/Manager pointed out

...that with our rapidly growing and widespread membership it was becoming increasingly difficult to keep in personal touch with everybody ...Your Board was insistent that the Journal had to be of a standard that would be in keeping with the standard expected of our Club.

In the same issue, the Editor, in a "folksy" piece urged members to contribute. He called for every snippet of information on births, birthdays, weddings, family happenings, stories and gossip from the Long Bar, beer garden and the ladies' lounge. He called for criticisms of the Journal and suggestions for improvement; "it MUST get better ... it WILL get better ...IF YOU the members help" (QIC Journal, November 1966: 2-3).

In February 1968 a new Editor was more specific about the Journal's

contents. He wrote:

...while naturally the accent will be on rugby league it is our intention to provide news of EVERY activity within the Club and we invite members to contribute news of their particular activities which could be of interest to other members ...let's have news of engagements, births, marriages, anniversaries and the like (QIC Journal, February 1968: 5).

What topics do receive attention in the QIC Journal? How much of the magazine is devoted to rugby league? What subjects are taboo? Is there a content change over time? In an attempt to answer these questions, I undertook a content analysis of all monthly Journals published by the QIC.

Generally speaking, content analysis is a method of studying "communication" using quantitative procedures. Costner (1965: 1) says that the term refers mostly to an attempt to describe or draw inferences from communication content, by means of procedures that are replicable and quantitative. Duverger (1964: 105) defines content analysis as "a special simplified form of quantitative semantics". The definition that has received most circulation is Berelson's (1954: 489) who defines it as "a research technique for the objective, systematic quantitative description of the manifest content of communication".

Berelson (1952: 147) suggests that content analysis stands or falls by its categories, and Duverger (1964: 118) remarks that "analytical categories must be defined according to the documents analysed". A pre-test was carried out on a dozen QIC Journals to develop appropriate analytic categories. A difficult problem is developing mutually exclusive categories, a process which carried to its logical end, can produce an unmanageable set of categories. I used the following twenty-one categories:

1. Intraclub activities. Intraclubs advertise their activities, giving competition results, dates of meetings and exhortations to interested QIC members to join the intraclub.
2. Entertainment. Details of regular cabaret entertainment, visiting performers and appearance dates are given. In the first year of the Journal, highly laudatory accounts of performances were given, but such eulogies are now absent. In 1971, most of this space was devoted to publicity photographs of the entertainers who were to perform at the club.

3. Social control. Dress rules, procedure for cashing cheques, limitations imposed by the Liquor Act, and rules for playing poker machines are documented. At times, members have been admonished for lending their club medallions to non-members (QLC Journal, June 1967: 15); pilfering; and selfishness in bringing more than the permitted number of guests (QLC Journal, March 1967: 9).
4. Club goals and aims. The general aims and functions of the club are specified - for example, to provide financial support to rugby league, charities and community organizations; and to attract top international artists to make the club the best entertainment centre outside Sydney (QLC Journal, February 1971: 4).
5. Individual profiles of members and administrators. Biographies of officials, staff and club members, photographs of engaged and newly married couples, announcements of births, members' humorous and embarrassing experiences and successes of club members are included.
6. Internal organization. Announcements of the approach of the AGM, notice of special extraordinary general meetings, and the election of Directors are specified at the appropriate times. Membership renewal forms are included in each December issue.
7. Business or trading arrangements. From time to time, hours of trading of the dining room, bistro bar or the club itself are changed and are detailed in the Journal. Further, as the club has increasingly relaxed restrictions on women's access to various sections of the club, so these changes have been specified. The removal of billiards from the sportsman's bar, and the full menu for the regular Friday fisherman's basket luncheon are also mentioned.
8. Club facilities. As the club has grown in size more facilities have become available to members. For instance, the opening of the cloakroom and the sauna, descriptions of renovations, and the purchase of the bowling club, etc. are examples of items included in this category.
9. Image-building. The club's role in the community and its achievements are subjects for occasional vanity. For instance, the President expressed pleasure at the way members proudly showed visitors around the club (QLC Journal, December 1966: 2). In

February 1967, in a short article entitled "Fame is the Spur", the Editor commented that the club was pleased and proud to accede to a request from the National Library of Australia for regular copies of the Journal. In July 1968, the club announced its support of the A.C.T. and Southern Tablelands Kidney Foundation, observing that:

...the fact that the members of the original Board of Directors of the Kidney Foundation have agreed to the dinner being held at Queanbeyan is also proof of the standing that the Club has earned itself within the community.

Tributes from visitors and organizations about the facilities and services of the club are sometimes included.

10. Membership participation. When the election of Directors and the AGM are about to take place, members are encouraged to participate by voting and attending. Statements indicate that the Directors would welcome constructive criticisms and are anxious to hear about members' views of the club. Intraclub publicity spokesmen are reminded to contribute in the Journal by providing copy on the activities of the intraclubs for publication (QLC Journal, January 1971: 9).
11. Directors' photographs. The entire front leaf is usually taken up by individual photographs or a collective portrait of the Directors. These photographs are usually, but not always included.
12. Members photographs. At stages in the Journal's history four or five pages of each issue have been given to photographs of couples and groups of members attending club social functions. The members are identified in the photographs. Usually the photographs show the members sitting drinking, dancing, or occasionally, playing poker machines.
13. In Memoriam. The death of an important or well-known sportsman, businessman or member is often followed by an obituary in the Journal.
14. Visitors, outside organizations at QLC. Citations are made in the Journal to various dinners and conventions held at the club - for instance, the Road Safety Convention (November 1966), Canberra Educational Principals' Committee (February 1967) and the Kidney Foundation Dinner (July 1968). Mention has also been made of some V.I.P.'s who have visited the club - for example, Dame Enid Lyons and the President of the World Health Organization.

21. Miscellaneous. Some articles are so varied in their subject matter that they defy neat categorisation. Such items might best be described as "fillers" - material included to fill up a page or pages of the magazine. Jokes, advice for safe driving, Readers' Digest style analyses of women, work and management, are the sort of items that are used as "fillers".

Stone and others (1966: 19) state that the content analysis procedure involves the interaction of two processes - the specification of the content characteristics to be measured and the application for identifying and recording the characteristics when they occur in the data. In this simple analysis each article was assigned a score equal to its length in pages and included in the appropriate category based on the nature of the subject matter. Unfortunately, some articles had subject matter which could be legitimately included (in part or in whole) in two or more categories. For instance, an individual's biography might deal with the individual's past sporting prowess. As a rule, if the article was primarily concerned with the individual's sporting prowess then it was included in the sports category. Alternatively, if the article was predominantly biographical with some reference to sporting prowess, it was assigned to the individual profiles category. In cases where articles had subject matter concerned equally with two different categories, the score was divided.

Although the classification of Journal contents rests solely on my own judgement, and has not been validated by another coder, the results suggest reliable trends. Yearly totals from 1967 to 1971 are given in Table 11.4. Analysis of the 1966 Journals have been excluded, whereas eight of the 1971 Journals have been included. Apart from commercial advertisements all material in the Journals has been assigned to the twenty-one categories. The number of pages in each Journal has ranged from twenty to fifty-two.

What trends have emerged over time? First, increasing coverage has been given to intracclubs from a low of 6.7 per cent to 25.3 per cent in 1971. Second, the percentage of pages given to entertainment has almost doubled from 12.5 per cent in 1970 to 22.4 per cent in 1971. Third, increased attention to internal organization is reflected in the growth from less than half a per cent to 11.3 per cent (1970) with a slight decline in 1971. Space devoted to rugby league has

Table 11.4  
Content Analysis of QIC Journal  
(Column Percentages)

| Subject  | 1967  | 1968  | 1969  | 1970  | 1971  |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Intraclubs                                  | 7.3   | 6.7   | 13.8  | 17.1  | 25.3  |
| 2. Entertainment                               | 13.1  | 9.2   | 8.8   | 12.5  | 22.4  |
| 3. Social control                              | 1.3   | 3.3   | 1.6   | 1.9   | 3.7   |
| 4. Club goals, aims                            | -     | 1.2   | -     | -     | .8    |
| 5. Individual profiles                         | 14.0  | 10.2  | 5.3   | 2.3   | 4.1   |
| 6. Internal organization                       | .3    | 2.7   | 8.1   | 11.3  | 7.7   |
| 7. Business, trading<br>arrangements           | .5    | .8    | 5.0   | 3.0   | 1.6   |
| 8. Club facilities                             | 3.7   | 2.6   | 5.3   | 5.0   | 5.2   |
| 9. Image-building                              | 3.2   | 3.5   | .5    | 1.8   | 1.2   |
| 10. Membership participation                   | .2    | 1.4   | .5    | 1.9   | .2    |
| 11. Directors' photographs                     | 4.9   | 4.6   | 4.0   | 1.6   | .9    |
| 12. Members' photographs                       | 1.4   | 18.7  | 16.3  | 7.0   | 3.1   |
| 13. In Memoriam                                | .5    | .1    | 1.0   | .3    | .3    |
| 14. Visitors, outside<br>organizations at club | 3.4   | 3.2   | 1.0   | 1.2   | .2    |
| 15. Charitable donations                       | 2.7   | 1.2   | .6    | .6    | -     |
| 16. Rugby league                               | 32.7  | 24.2  | 13.2  | 23.7  | 17.4  |
| 17. Reciprocal rights, etc.                    | .3    | -     | 1.6   | 3.0   | 1.9   |
| 18. Defence of club life                       | .4    | .4    | 4.7   | 1.0   | .8    |
| 19. Other sports                               | 3.1   | 3.1   | 8.4   | 2.1   | .5    |
| 20. Community activities                       | 1.5   | 1.0   | .4    | 2.0   | .9    |
| 21. Miscellaneous                              | 5.5   | 1.9   | -     | .7    | 1.7   |
| Total  | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.1 | 100.0 | 99.9  |
| Total Number of Pages                          | 257.8 | 227.3 | 224.4 | 242.5 | 277.4 |

ranged from 32.7 per cent in 1967 to 13.2 per cent in 1969.

The coverage given to individual profiles of members and administrators has declined over the past three years. In 1968-69, photographs of members at the club occupied up to four or five pages in each Journal, but the last two years have seen a drop in coverage. There is less emphasis on the photographs of club Directors falling from 5 per cent in 1967 to 1.6 per cent in 1971.

Increased space has been given to details of internal organization partly due to the inclusion of the Annual Report for the past three years. On most other items, the coverage has been so minor that it is difficult to draw out significant trends. Most attention is given to the role of the intraclubs, details of entertainment and news of rugby league. For instance, in the eight issues of the 1971 Journal approximately 65 per cent of the space has been given over to these three categories.

As already noted, the results indicate a decline in emphasis upon individual members and administrators and increased attention on the role of the intraclubs. As interpretation, one could suggest that while the accent was formerly on the individual, increasing emphasis on intraclubs suggests a swing from individual to collective activity. Second, the increased attention to entertainment (watching entertainment is also a collective activity) suggests that as the quality of entertainment has improved, so it has assumed a more significant place in the club's leisure provisions. Finally, as membership size has increased, the importance of rugby league has declined. In 1967 and 1968, an average of 28.5 per cent of space in the Journals was concerned with rugby league; in the past three years, the average has dropped to 18.1 per cent.

Do these changing orientations represent shifts in the value of the Executive and members, or reflect the interests and idiosyncrasies of the different Editors? Both influences have been at play, although over the past three years, the Editor has felt very constrained in what he can, and cannot publish in the Journals. He has been required to obtain the approval of the Secretary/Manager and the President before including any article that might be controversial. The Editor has felt irked by these constraints and has lamented the blandness of the finished product. He would have liked to have made it a more lively organ; but Executive constraint has operated to such an extent that it is free of controversy and interest. It is clear then, that the changes of orientation in the Journals have had the approval of the Executive.

There are some interesting gaps in the Journals. Not included are items from ordinary club members; criticism of the club for its method of operation (although occasionally the President or the Secretary/Manager will write rebuttals to criticism of the club) and

discussions of alternative policies or directions which the club might take.<sup>1</sup>

How much is the Journal read by the club members? Considering the blandness of the Journal, it is likely that members do not read the publication intensively. Nevertheless, the Editor has indicated that there have been immediate responses to Journal items. For instance, the announcement of a boat cruise will bring twenty to thirty immediate enquiries. Over a six-month period, 180 members expressed interest in joining one or more of the QIC intraclubs in response to a Journal invitation.

However, as an organ of information, the Journal's effectiveness is diminished because frequently it is outdated by the time it reaches the members. Often, announcements of intraclub events are historical artifacts when the Journal is posted. The most substantial reason for this tardiness is that the President and Secretary/Manager are so anxious to avoid controversy that they do not face writing their columns with enthusiasm and their subsequent procrastination results in the late publication of many issues. As indicated earlier, the 1972 Journals have been published on time.

Other N.S.W. club Journals are remarkably similar in content, style and blandness. If some registered club journals became more controversial others might follow, for club officials read other club journals and sometimes incorporate ideas in their own magazine.

#### The Club's Relationship with the Environment

Emery and Trist (1965, 1969: 242-243) have spotlighted the importance of relations existing between the environment and the organization, "the causal texture of the environment". In the historical chapters I have pointed to the interchange between N.S.W. registered clubs and their associations, their competitors (hotels, restaurants, retailers), regulators (the State Government, the Licensing Court) and those who oppose the clubs on moral grounds (the churches).

The QIC has been faced with similar problems, and one not faced by Sydney clubs. Ever since the club commenced trading there have been potential threats to its financial position from the possible legalization of poker machines in the A.C.T. There have been several moves in recent years to legalize poker machines in the Territory -

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<sup>1</sup> This is not to suggest that the Executive has prevented the publication of such articles. It is more likely that the members have not felt moved to do so.



in 1964, 1968, 1969 and in the last months of 1970. In November 1968, bowling clubs in the Territory initiated a campaign to have the poker machines legalized, pointing out that while four Canberra bowling clubs had incomes from punch-boards (which are legal in the A.C.T.) ranging from \$2,095 to \$8,700, two Queanbeyan bowling clubs had poker machine revenue of \$57,000 and \$88,000 (Canberra Times, November 19, 1968). In November 1969, a weekly newspaper published successive front-page articles advocating the introduction of machines in the A.C.T.

In 1970, the Canberra Workmen's Club sparked off the longest and most serious attempt to bring about legalization in the A.C.T. and it became a major community issue. Pro- and anti-poker machine committees were established; a spate of letters (usually critical of poker machines) and two articles were published in the daily Canberra Times; two television debates were held on the subject; speakers at the Humanist Society and Rotary Club discussed the reasons for and against their legalization; and representatives of the Canberra licensed clubs voted 20 to 2 in favour of introducing poker machines - a result questioned by the anti-poker machine committee which, after conducting its own poll among the clubs, concluded that 15 of the 36 licensed clubs were against legalization.

The issue culminated in a consideration of the matter by the popularly elected, but powerless, A.C.T. Advisory Council. It recommended to the Department of the Interior that poker machines in licensed clubs be legalized in the A.C.T.; that legislation to control and limit their operations in those clubs desiring to use them be prepared subsequent to an enquiry by the Joint Parliamentary Committee into the desirability of introducing them into the A.C.T.; and that clubs, organizations, associations, committees, churches and individuals be permitted to make submissions.

However, the Minister for the Interior, who at the outset had expressed his suspicion of poker machines decided not to permit their use in the A.C.T.; nor did he refer the matter to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the A.C.T. Before making his decision the Minister had sought advice and information from his department and departmental officials did, for instance, consult this researcher.

If legalization of poker machines in the A.C.T. had occurred at that time it is difficult to predict the repercussions upon the trading

at the QIC. Although approximately 75 per cent of the 1969 club members were Canberra residents, an immediate drop of membership or patronage would have been unlikely, for no Canberra club has matching facilities or resources. It would have been some years before any Canberra club would represent a serious competitive threat to the supremacy of the QIC as a leisure organization. In private conversation with senior QIC officials, one maintained that if Queanbeyan clubs were entitled to use poker machines then Canberra clubs should have the same right; another indicated that he would prefer that poker machines be legalized in a number of years hence rather than immediately, while the third did not want the legalization of poker machines in the A.C.T. at all.

However, by September 1971, the views of these officials had hardened. The decision to build an 11-storey leisure complex had been stimulated by a variety of factors - the ideas gathered by them on their overseas tour, the concepts presented by the club's architect and the realization that the more attractive the range of facilities at the QIC, the greater the probability that it would maintain its position as the area's most popular club. Taking the view that legalization in the A.C.T. would threaten the club's ability to raise money through poker machines and pay for the new building, QIC officials, at the RCA AGM in September 1971 objected to the motion that the RCA of N.S.W. should do all in its power to assist the legalization of poker machines in the A.C.T. Because the RCA Constitution does not permit assistance to non-member clubs, the motion was not accepted.<sup>1</sup>

The debate in the A.C.T. about the legalization of poker machines placed the club in an awkward position. The club hoped that the legalization of the machines in the A.C.T. would not eventuate, but it was not able actively to influence the result. Any public pronouncement on poker machines would have been against the club's best interests. The club could not argue that the machines were a social evil - nor was it prepared to advocate publicly the benefits flowing from poker machine profits.

A.C.T. clubs are continuing the fight. A petition has been organized (and rather surprisingly at least one Canberra hotel has

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<sup>1</sup> Canberra clubs, because they are not N.S.W. clubs cannot join the RCA of N.S.W.

allowed the petition to be placed in its premises) seeking support for legalization. Thus the QIC can never be certain when pressure within the A.C.T. will lead to legalization of poker machines and a consequent threat to its trading position.

Aside from this special problem, the QIC has to take account of community and official reaction to club activities. First, under the provisions of the N.S.W. Liquor Act, every club's licence must be renewed annually. Individuals and organizations can object to the renewal of club licences - and on occasions, objections have been successful, usually on the grounds that the errant clubs were not operating as bona fide clubs. In such cases, the clubs have appealed (enabling the club to continue trading) and before the appeals are heard, the clubs rectify the specific misdemeanour which led to the loss of the licence. The QIC has not suffered this experience and conducts itself in a manner to minimise the risks of objection. For example, the Editor of the Journal asked me to write an article summarising the growth and activities of the N.S.W. registered clubs. Subsequently I wrote this article, but the Secretary/Manager vetoed its publication in the Journal on the grounds that my analysis of N.S.W. hotels' inability to satisfy drinking needs in the 1940s and 1950s might lead Queanbeyan hotelkeepers to object to the renewal of the QIC licence. The club's Executive is reluctant to permit the publication of any remotely controversial material for fear that any offended parties may, in the future, object to the renewal of the club's licence. Although the club's financial situation is very sound, the club from year to year is threatened with the possibility that it may lose its registration and consequently its source of funds from poker machine profits and liquor sales. It cannot be over-emphasised how deeply this fear affects the thinking of the club's Executive. These fears are not groundless and all N.S.W. clubs face this problem. In fact, the President of the RCA has stated, in August 1971, that the Licensing Court was adopting a harder line in the administration of the Liquor Act (Club Management in Australia, August 1971: 6).

Earlier he had stated that it was

...abundantly clear that the Liquor Act provides grounds under which an objector to an application for the renewal of a licence could, on production of acceptable evidence, convince a Court it would not be in the public interest to renew the licence because members did not recognise or observe the constitution under which it was originally granted (Club Management in Australia, January 1971: 8).

Another way in which the club has endeavoured to come to terms with its environment is by seeking community approval and acceptance. In order to enhance community acceptance, and forestall middle class criticism, club officials have encouraged middle class patterns of behaviour such as respectable dress, restrained behaviour, moderate consumption of liquor and an emphasis on family entertainment. In addition, substantial donations have been made to sporting, community and charitable organizations.

In common with most other clubs, the QIC has encouraged conservative entertainment and interaction. Unlike the bars of San Francisco described and analysed by Sherri Cavan (1966), registered clubs such as the QIC are not locales where single persons of the opposite sex meet for potential interaction. Single girls visit in small groups (as do single men in groups) but I have seen no evidence of the beginnings of new cross-sexual relationships at the QIC. If it occurs, it happens as the result of introductions by mutual acquaintances. The norm is for couples, both married and single, to visit the club.

One might expect that with the presence of liquor and gambling facilities at clubs, prostitutes might be found; but to my knowledge this has never occurred at the QIC and I have heard of it happening at only one club. Further, it is surprising that the barmaids and waitresses at the QIC are not particularly attractive.<sup>1</sup> In discussions with the Public Relations Officer, I learnt that when attractive women are hired as barmaids there is a consequent increase in trading. However, after a short period, older waitresses and barmaids tend to become unco-operative complaining that the newcomer is either "lazy" or "dirty". Usually such social pressure is sufficient to force the attractive female to seek employment elsewhere.

Apart from one or two notable occasions, the type of entertainment presented at the Leagues' Club is usually free of risqué jokes or exotic dancing. Some Sydney clubs have presented entertainment for men only on Sunday mornings euphemistically called "Prawn Mornings". A male entertainer presents a considerable variety of "blue" jokes and occasionally some dirty songs - and an "exotic" dancer may perform. At the QIC only three prawn mornings have been

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<sup>1</sup> However, attractive waitresses and hostesses are now employed in the new dining room.

held. The first was an important event in the club's history for it clarified for the members and officials what were inappropriate forms of entertainment. In December 1967, at the request of some male members who had seen similar shows in Sydney, the QIC hired an exotic dancer named Jackie Kane. According to the Secretary/Manager's account of the events (in the January 1968 Journal) the club informed the agency that her performance "would have to be in keeping and to conform and be in accordance with standards always expected by this club", and this assurance was given by the agency. The Secretary/Manager indicated that he had talked with the girl before the presentation of her act, impressing upon her the need for propriety.

I have talked with officials and members who were at the performance; while none are very explicit on the actual nature of her performance, there is general agreement that "she went too far" - as acknowledged in the Journal. As far as I can gather, the following events took place on that morning: the audience was responsive to her performance and she said that she would go as far as the audience wanted. She was apparently completely naked, poured beer over her breasts and asked for and succeeded in getting some members to drink underneath, and rubbed her breasts in some of the members' faces. One Director saw the performance from above the auditorium. He commented that the members were so absorbed in her performance that they were oblivious to which parts of the prawns they were eating - the edible or the inedible.

The girl's performance did stimulate two types of reactions amongst the audience - a tremendous amount of enjoyment and a high degree of guilt. One could hypothesise that some members, suspecting that the story of the performance may become public, indicated to their wives that her act went "too far" in order to establish with their wives their decent moral standards.

Indeed, some complained "that the show was permitted to continue beyond the limits set down by the club". In the Journal the Secretary/Manager made these comments:

...it is deeply regretted that this dancer went beyond the limits we stipulated and agreed upon, and members that were disappointed at this part of the show can rest assured that the entertainment committee will not be considering any further entertainment of this type. Certain action is being taken by the Club following the disregard by the artiste of the rulings stipulated by the Club (QIC Journal, January 1968: 6-7).

Community reaction to the performance was instantaneous. A deputation of church ministers visited the club to show their disapproval. An account of the performance was published in the local press. One weekly Melbourne newspaper with a heavy concentration of sex stories made frequent reference to this performance, months after the actual event.

It was not just the unfavourable publicity which discouraged officials from permitting performances of a like nature. The Chief Secretary's Department sent a two-page letter to the QIC intimating that future similar performances would lead to a cancellation of the club's licence - in line with one of its 1966 amendments to the Liquor Act which allowed the Chief Secretary to prohibit undesirable performances such as stripping on licensed premises (SMH, July 6, October 28, 1966).

In fact, it was two years before a second prawn morning was held in November 1970, and another year before the third in December 1971. Both of these performances have been much more staid than the original epic. It is probable that as the community's attitudes liberalise, so performances will be more daring. Already the St George Leagues' Club has presented a show with topless performers to mixed audiences. As a general rule, however, club entertainment has been conservative.

#### Summary and Conclusions

We have suggested that clubs, because they are in essence consumer co-operatives, ought to be heterogeneous rather than homogeneous and multinodal rather than uninodal. Heterogeneous organizations are used by their members as instruments for the satisfaction of their needs. Heterogeneous organizations must therefore be responsive to the will of the members, and must be aware of what the needs of the members are.

At the simplest level, the growth in membership and patronage at the QIC clearly demonstrates that members' needs are being satisfied. But what appear to be lacking at the QIC are the mechanisms by which members can make their goals known. The possibility must be faced that if mechanisms existed within the QIC for Directors and members to discuss members' needs on a more regular, formal basis than currently exists, then members' needs might be more diverse and

different than the Directors had anticipated. At the QLC, the apathy and/or satisfaction of members and the reluctance of Directors to permit the members to share in policy and decision-making have helped to create an oligarchy. But the problem of maintaining actual democracy in a large democratic organization is not peculiar to registered clubs but to virtually all social organizations, especially of a voluntary character. In political parties, unions and pressure groups, the emergence of an oligarchy is the norm.

In terms of the authority structure, the QLC is both a bureaucracy and a co-operative organization. As a bureaucracy it is a uninodal organization; as a co-operative, it is more of a multi-nodal organization, in that the Directors are elected; they are available informally to receive the suggestions from members and at AGMs they call for recommendations to assist the incoming Board; and the intraclubs are free to make their own decisions about the conduct of their activities, independent of any directions from the Board.

On the other hand, the Board in its anxiety to retain firm, even absolute control, may be in danger of closing off feedback from the members, and preventing competent members from holding office. Further, if we take the ten "conditions" for the existence of democracy in organizations as outlined by Craig and Gross (1970), then clearly there are some weaknesses in democratic operation - e.g. lack of a two-party system, monopolization of communication by the leadership, low distribution of leadership skills and absence of participation by ordinary members in decision-making. Further, there is a total absence of opportunity or forum within which contending value and policy positions may be heard by members (Craig and Gross, 1970: 32).

Finally, the Executive of the QLC is loathe to incur community displeasure, and the fear of losing the club licence constrains the club in providing members with some of the facilities they might desire - for instance, more risqué entertainment, a livelier Journal, and greater subsidies on the cost of liquor and meals.

## Chapter 12

POKER MACHINE INCOME AND MEMBERS' SUCCESS ON  
POKER MACHINES

The exclusive right to operate poker machines has been by far the most controversial aspect of the N.S.W. club movement. In the historical chapters I mentioned the criticisms that have been levelled against poker machines. In chapter 6, a description of the style of poker machine playing and the extent to which clubs rely upon poker machines, were detailed. In this chapter, I shall present statistics to show the extent of poker machine income at the QIC, the portion which the N.S.W. Government extracts in poker machine taxation, and trends in per capita investment on the machines.

In addition, using results from the survey, I shall provide some answers to questions on which absolutely no information has been available - the percentage of members who are non-players, winners and losers, the extent of wins and losses; the percentage of players who lose more than intended and the motivation and expectations which members have in playing poker machines.

The QIC is heavily dependent upon poker machines. At least 75 per cent of its income is drawn from this source. In Table 10.1 it was shown that after paying poker machine taxation to the State Government, the QIC drew 75.3 per cent of its total income from poker machines in 1964, 75.2 per cent in 1965, 89.2 per cent in 1966, 81.9 per cent in 1967, 85.3 per cent in 1968, 85.4 per cent in 1969 and 85.5 per cent in 1970.

In financial terms, gross and net profits have risen substantially. In 1964, net machine revenue was just under \$220,000. By 1970, it had risen to \$1,100,000 - an increase of 400 per cent (see Table 12.1). In the same period gross machine revenue rose by 430 per cent, government taxation by 620 per cent and membership by 411 per cent - so that while growth in machine profits and membership have expanded at virtually the same rate, government taxation has outstripped them.

But are the per capita machine losses rising or falling? Are members gambling more on the machines than they used to? If there are more machines, do players gamble more? In 1964, the club had twenty-two machines, and the average profit (before tax) on each machine was \$11,660. By 1971, this had declined to slightly under \$6,000.



Table 12.1

Gross and Net Revenue from, and Government  
Taxation on Poker Machines at QLC, 1963-71

| Year Ending<br>December 31       | Gross Poker<br>Machine Revenue<br>\$ | Total Govt.<br>Poker Machine<br>Taxes<br>\$ | Net Revenue<br>from Poker<br>Machines<br>\$ | Govt. Share of<br>Gross Revenue<br>(Percentage) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1963<br>(from 27 Sep-<br>tember) | 49,160                               | -   | 49,160                                      | -   |
| 1964                             | 256,526                              | 36,630                                      | 219,896                                     | 14.21   |
| 1965                             | 338,579                              | 51,378                                      | 287,201                                     | 15.17   |
| 1966                             | 417,540                              | 74,950                                      | 342,590                                     | 17.95   |
| 1967                             | 561,514                              | 118,748                                     | 442,766                                     | 21.15   |
| 1968                             | 658,810                              | 143,929                                     | 514,881                                     | 21.84   |
| 1969                             | 797,269                              | 177,891                                     | 619,378                                     | 22.31   |
| 1970                             | 1,081,216                            | 236,489                                     | 844,726                                     | 21.87   |
| 1971                             | 1,360,552                            | 258,991                                     | 1,101,561                                   | 19.03   |
| Total                            | 5,521,166                            | 1,099,006                                   | 4,422,160                                   | 19.90   |

However, since 1966, the number of members per machines has halved from 112 to 55 (see Table 12.2).

Table 12.2

Annual Per Capita Membership Losses on Poker Machines,  
and Annual Average Profit on each Poker Machine  
(Before Taxes) QLC, 1963 - 1971

| Year<br>Ending<br>December<br>31 | No. of<br>Members | No. of<br>Poker<br>Machines | No. of<br>Members<br>per<br>Machine | Annual Aver-<br>age Profit<br>per Machine<br>\$ | Gross Revenue<br>from Poker<br>Machines<br>(before Tax)<br>\$ | Average<br>Loss<br>per<br>Member<br>\$ |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 1963                             | 750               | 22                          | -                                   | 2,235   | 49,160  | 65.54                                  |
| 1964                             | 2272              | 22                          | 103.3                               | 11,660  | 256,526   | 112.90                                 |
| 1965                             | 3405              | 46                          | 74.0                                | 7,360   | 338,579   | 99.43                                  |
| 1966                             | 5171              | 46                          | 112.4                               | 9,077   | 417,540   | 80.74                                  |
| 1967                             | 6589              | 75                          | 87.9                                | 7,487   | 561,514   | 85.21                                  |
| 1968                             | 7599              | 100                         | 76.0                                | 6,588   | 658,810   | 86.69                                  |
| 1969                             | 8458              | 128                         | 66.1                                | 6,229   | 797,269   | 94.26                                  |
| 1970                             | 9750              | 162                         | 60.2                                | 6,674   | 1,081,216   | 110.89                                 |
| 1971                             | 12,620            | 230                         | 54.9                                | 5,912   | 1,360,552   | 107.75                                 |

Another measure of trends in poker machine gambling can be ascer-  
tained by calculating the average annual loss on machines by members.  
This is not an entirely accurate guide, because we have no way of  
knowing just how much visitors play the machines or whether the percen-

tage of visitors has increased. In 1964, the average loss was \$113; in 1966, \$81; in 1970, \$111; and in 1971, \$108. In other words per capita losses declined from 1964 to 1966; increased from 1967 to 1970 (but not to the 1964 level) and declined again in 1971 (see Table 12.2).

The QLC has made available the gross profits from poker machines for each month since the club commenced trading. What patterns emerge over the years? In the first place, February, with only one exception (1965, when it ranked eleventh) has always been the month with the lowest income - partly because it is the shortest month of the year. On the other hand, October has only once ranked worse than second and December never worse than third (see Table 12.3).

Another clear pattern that emerges is that the second half of the year produces substantially higher income than for the first half. There are several reasons for such a trend - as the year progresses the size of the membership increases. At the end of each year, there are more poker machines in the club than at the beginning. In November and December, organizations such as business firms and public service branches will hold end-of-year Christmas celebrations at the club. Further, income tax returns are received in the second half of the year, so that members are more affluent.

Although I have made reference to the patterns of poker machine playing in chapter 6, I have not given any details of members' wins or losses on the machines, and what expectations they have about playing poker machines.

#### Survey Questions on Poker Machines

In the questionnaire five questions were asked relating to poker machines - main reasons for playing; whether members normally used loose coins or changed notes into coins; the extent of wins or losses on the last occasion that they visited the club; how members rated their luck on the poker machines; and whether they had lost more than they intended during the past month.

No doubt, as indicated in chapter 6, there are many conscious and unconscious reasons why people gamble on poker machines which are not included in the range of choices offered to respondents - to win jackpots (jackpot players); to win, but not necessarily jackpots (win players); to play for amusement (amusement players); other reasons which the respondent might specify; and a category for the

Table 12.3: Monthly Poker Machine Takings, as Percentage of Annual Takings and Monthly Rankings, 1964-1971 at QIC (Before Taxes)

| Month     | 1964      | Rank  | 1965      | Rank | 1966      | Rank | 1967      | Rank | 1968      | Rank | 1969      | Rank | 1970        | Rank | 1971        | Rank |
|-----------|-----------|-------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
| January   | 7.7       | (8)   | 6.7       | (10) | 6.9       | (11) | 6.8       | (11) | 7.4       | (11) | 6.7       | (11) | 7.8         | (10) | 7.2         | (10) |
| February  | 6.0       | (12)  | 6.7       | (11) | 6.1       | (12) | 6.4       | (12) | 6.5       | (12) | 5.5       | (12) | 6.5         | (12) | 6.2         | (12) |
| March     | 6.9       | (11)  | 7.4       | (9)  | 7.0       | (10) | 7.9       | (9)  | 7.8       | (9)  | 7.5       | (9)  | 7.6         | (11) | 6.9         | (11) |
| April     | 7.3       | (10)  | 7.8       | (8)  | 7.6       | (8)  | 8.2       | (8)  | 7.8       | (10) | 7.8       | (8)  | 7.9         | (9)  | 7.4         | (9)  |
| May       | 8.2       | (6.5) | 8.4       | (7)  | 7.5       | (9)  | 7.8       | (10) | 8.4       | (6)  | 8.2       | (6)  | 8.4         | (6)  | 8.0         | (7)  |
| June      | 7.4       | (9)   | 6.3       | (12) | 7.7       | (7)  | 8.4       | (7)  | 8.4       | (7)  | 7.3       | (10) | 7.9         | (8)  | 7.7         | (8)  |
| July      | 8.2       | (6.5) | 8.4       | (6)  | 8.9       | (6)  | 8.9       | (5)  | 8.4       | (5)  | 8.1       | (7)  | 8.0         | (7)  | 9.5         | (2)  |
| August    | 9.0       | (5)   | 9.0       | (5)  | 9.1       | (5)  | 9.0       | (4)  | 9.7       | (1)  | 9.0       | (5)  | 8.9         | (5)  | 9.4         | (3)  |
| September | 9.7       | (2)   | 9.7       | (3)  | 9.6       | (3)  | 9.1       | (3)  | 8.7       | (4)  | 9.3       | (4)  | 8.9         | (4)  | 9.1         | (5)  |
| October   | 11.0      | (1)   | 10.5      | (1)  | 10.5      | (1)  | 9.1       | (2)  | 9.5       | (2)  | 10.2      | (2)  | 9.3         | (2)  | 9.3         | (4)  |
| November  | 9.0       | (4)   | 9.1       | (4)  | 9.3       | (4)  | 8.6       | (6)  | 8.3       | (8)  | 9.8       | (3)  | 9.1         | (3)  | 8.4         | (6)  |
| December  | 9.5       | (3)   | 10.1      | (2)  | 9.9       | (2)  | 10.0      | (1)  | 8.9       | (3)  | 10.7      | (1)  | 9.8         | (1)  | 10.8        | (1)  |
| Total     | 99.9      |       | 100.1     |      | 100.1     |      | 100.2     |      | 99.8      |      | 100.1     |      | 100.1       |      | 99.9        |      |
| Annual    |           |       |           |      |           |      |           |      |           |      |           |      |             |      |             |      |
| Total     | \$258,220 |       | \$337,358 |      | \$417,400 |      | \$561,853 |      | \$658,975 |      | \$797,301 |      | \$1,081,233 |      | \$1,360,552 |      |

Note: Rankings were assigned based on two decimal places.

occasional gamblers and non-players.

Some respondents gave more than one reason for playing poker machines, and the results in Table 12.4 reveal a great similarity between males and females.

Table 12.4  
Reasons for Playing Poker Machines  
(Column Percentages)

| Reason                       | Males | Females |
|------------------------------|-------|---------|
| <u>Non-Players</u>           |       |         |
| Don't play, hardly ever play | 10.7  | 11.0    |
| <u>Stages 1 and 2</u>        |       |         |
| Amusement players            | 36.5  | 38.4    |
| <u>Stage 2</u>               |       |         |
| Win/Amusement players        |       |         |
| Win money, amusement         | 11.6) | 19.2)   |
| Win money                    | 23.2) | 16.4)   |
|                              | 34.8  | 35.6    |
| <u>Stages 3 and 4</u>        |       |         |
| Jackpots, money, amusement   | 2.1)  | 4.1)    |
| Jackpots, win money          | 3.9)  | 2.7)    |
| Jackpots, amusement          | 4.7)  | 2.7)    |
| Jackpots                     | 6.9)  | 4.1)    |
|                              | 17.6  | 13.6    |
| Other                        | 0.4   | 1.4     |
| Total                        | 100.0 | 100.0   |
| Number                       | 233   | 73      |

About 11 per cent of both samples are non-players or occasionals; 36.5 per cent of males and 38.4 per cent of females are primarily amusement players; about 35 per cent appear to be primarily win players; and 17.6 per cent of males and 13.6 per cent of females list winning jackpots as one of their main reasons for playing.

The results in Table 12.4 can be simplified by obtaining a frequency count for each reason given (see Table 12.5). About 55 per cent of males and 65 per cent of females list amusement as one of their main reasons for playing.

One question was suggested by club officials - "When you play machines, do you usually play with just your loose change or do you exchange some dollar notes for coins?" The assumption behind the question was that those who used only loose coins were not really

Table 12.5  
Main Reasons for Playing Poker Machines.  
Frequency Count of each Reason Given  
(Column Percentages)

| Reason                                   | Males |       | Females |       |
|--|-------|-------|---------|-------|
|  | Freq. | %     | Freq.   | %     |
| Don't play them                          | 25    | 10.7  | 8       | 11.0  |
| Win jackpots                             | 41    | 17.6  | 11      | 15.1  |
| Win some money, not necessarily jackpots | 95    | 40.8  | 31      | 42.5  |
| Amusement                                | 128   | 54.9  | 47      | 64.4  |
| Total                                    | 289   | 124.0 | 97      | 133.0 |

No. of Males = 233

No. of Females = 73

gamblers at all. Once again (as in Table 12.6) there are very significant similarities between males and females. About 6 per cent of the sample don't play, 16 per cent of males and 18 per cent of females use only loose change (suggesting that they are infrequent or neophyte players); of the more committed players, 61 per cent of males and 56 per cent of females change notes into coins, and 17 per cent of males and 19 per cent of females both change notes and use loose coins when playing machines (see Table 12.6).

Table 12.6  
Usual Use of Coins or Notes when Playing Poker Machines  
(Column Percentages)

|                                | Males | Females |
|--------------------------------|-------|---------|
| Don't play them                | 6.0   | 6.8     |
| Use loose change               | 16.3  | 17.8    |
| Change notes into coins        | 60.5  | 56.2    |
| Use loose change, change notes | 16.7  | 19.2    |
| No response                    | 0.5   | -       |
| Total                          | 100.0 | 100.0   |
| Number                         | 233   | 73      |

To my knowledge, no data has ever been collected on the extent of wins or losses by individuals on poker machines. Asking gamblers about their success or lack thereof is an enterprise fraught with problems. As Devereux (1968: 55) has noted, gamblers often tend to

think they are ahead when they are not, because positive events are learned more rapidly and extinguished more slowly than negative events. Despite this difficulty, asking gamblers about their wins and losses provides more accurate answers than an observer's estimate.

Question 12 in the QLC survey was - "On your last visit to the club, did you play the poker machines, and if so, can you remember: How much you won? How much you lost? Can't remember. Didn't play them". The results are tabled in Table 12.7.

Table 12.7

Summary of Poker Machine Wins and Losses on  
Members' Last Visit to the Club

| Males                 |                  |             | Females              |                  |             |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------|
|                       | Freq.            | %           |                      | Freq.            | %           |
| Didn't play           | 34               | 14.6        | Didn't play          | 10               | 13.7        |
| Winners               | 29               | 12.4        | Winners              | 7                | 9.6         |
| Losers                | 107              | 45.9        | Losers               | 30               | 41.1        |
| Square                | 5                | 2.1         | Square               | 1                | 1.4         |
| Can't remember (CR)   | <u>58</u>        | <u>24.9</u> | Can't remember (CR)  | <u>25</u>        | <u>34.2</u> |
|                       | 233              | 99.9        |                      | 73               | 100.0       |
| Can't remember        | 39               |             | Can't remember       | 20               |             |
| CR but won            | 2                |             | CR but won           | 0                |             |
| CR but lost           | 14               |             | CR but lost          | 3                |             |
| No response           | <u>3</u>         |             | No response          | <u>2</u>         |             |
|                       | 58               |             |                      | 25               |             |
| 29 winners won \$199  | \$6.86 (average) |             | 7 winners won \$67   | \$9.57 (average) |             |
| 107 losers lost \$663 | \$6.19 (average) |             | 30 losers lost \$149 | \$4.97 (average) |             |
| Range of Wins         | \$1 - \$55       |             | Range of Wins        | \$1 - \$24       |             |
| Range of Losses       | \$1 - \$40       |             | Range of Losses      | \$1 - \$20       |             |

Of the 179 players who could remember how much they won or lost there were 36 winners (20.1 per cent), 137 losers (76.5 per cent) and 6 (3.4 per cent) who finished square - in other words, for every winner there were roughly four losers.

But a considerable number of players cannot remember how much they won or lost (25 per cent of males and 34.2 per cent of females). There are at least two reasons why players cannot remember the outcome - that players' losses have been high and they prefer not to remember; alternatively, although playing the machines may have been pleasant enough, the outcome was not important and was forgotten. It is not possible from these figures to assess which reason was the more important.

Of the male players who stated how much they had won or lost, 29 won an average of \$6.86, 107 lost an average of \$6.19 and 5 finished square. Amongst the females, seven won an average of \$9.57 and 30 lost an average of \$4.97, with one finishing square (see Table 12.7). Thus it appears that of the players who can recollect the outcomes of their last experience with machines, the females were luckier than males - for on average, males lost \$3.29 while females lost only \$2.15.

Not only are females luckier (or say they are more lucky) but less venturesome. The limits of their losses are narrower than for males (see Table 12.8). While about 6 per cent of male losers lost more than \$20, there were no females who lost above this amount.

Table 12.8

Range of Wins and Losses by Members on  
Last Visit to QIC

| Range (\$) | Wins  |         | Losses |         |
|------------|-------|---------|--------|---------|
|            | Males | Females | Males  | Females |
| 0-2        | 10    | 1       | 35     | 13      |
| 3-5        | 13    | 1       | 40     | 9       |
| 6-10       | 3     | 3       | 20     | 5       |
| 11-20      | 1     | 1       | 6      | 3       |
| 21-30      | 0     | 1       | 3      | 0       |
| 31-40      | 1     | 0       | 3      | 0       |
| 41-50      | 0     | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| 51-60      | 1     | 0       | 0      | 0       |
|            | 29    | 7       | 107    | 30      |

Number who could remember outcomes = 179

What proportion of players are light or heavy losers? Of the losers who could remember the extent of their losses, 35 per cent lost \$2 or less and 36 per cent lost between \$2 and \$5. For nearly three-quarters of losers, then, the losses are not substantial, although for those on low incomes, \$5 may represent a significant loss.

Do players underestimate their losses? Officials of the QIC maintain that machines pay back between 85 and 90 per cent of the money invested in them, which suggests that a large proportion of players are not going to lose very much.

I was interested in how members evaluated their luck on the machines. None of the 306 respondents said their luck was

"marvellous"; four designated their luck as being "pretty good" while seven said that it was "better than average". While about one third of each sample described their luck as "fair", a majority felt that their luck was either "not too good" or "very poor" (see Table 12.9).

Table 12.9

Members' Evaluation of their Luck  
on the Poker Machines  
(Column Percentages)

|                     | Males | Females |
|---------------------|-------|---------|
| Didn't play them    | 6.4   | 8.2     |
| Marvellous          | -     | -       |
| Pretty good         | 0.9   | 2.7     |
| Better than average | 1.7   | 4.1     |
| Fair                | 34.3  | 32.9    |
| Not too good        | 32.2) | 30.1)   |
| Very poor           | 23.6) | 20.5)   |
| No response         | 0.8   | 1.4     |
| Total               | 99.9  | 99.9    |
| Number              | 233   | 73      |

These responses suggest that a good many members have a realistic perception of the success that they are likely to have. If over 50 per cent of the sample rate their luck as "very poor" or "not too good" it suggests that although they may be playing in the hope of winning overall, there are other reasons which motivate them to play - for instance excitement, amusement or the occasional success.

A common criticism of the poker machines is that players are seduced by them and tend to put in much more money than they can afford. Respondents were asked whether in the last month they had lost more than they intended. It could be argued that the respondents might interpret the question in a variety of ways - for instance, most people hope not to lose anything (although the results in the above table can be interpreted as indicating that about half the respondents expect to do so), and if they do lose, then it can be said that they lost more than they intended. However, most players set a limit on the amount that they are prepared to lose. If after losing this amount, they play more to chase their losses, and lose the additional stake, then in my view they have lost more than they intended. "Chasing losses" is a frequently coined expression amongst



players indicating that the phenomenon is a real one, and that on occasions, players do lose more than they had originally intended.

About a quarter of both samples said that they lost more than they intended - while 60 per cent of males and 50 per cent of females said that they did not (see Table 12.10). I have no guidelines or criteria for determining whether a quarter of the sample losing more than they intended represents a serious problem. For instance, if an individual loses \$2 more than he intended, then this probably does not represent a major problem - if he loses \$20 or more than intended, cutting substantially into his weekly pay packet, then this may be an indication of a much more serious problem.

The fact that a quarter of the sample lost more than they intended suggests that further research is necessary to determine the seriousness of this phenomenon.

Table 12.10

Percentage of Members who Lost More than they  
Intended on Poker Machines over Past Month  
(Column Percentages)

|                                   | Males | Females |
|-----------------------------------|-------|---------|
| Didn't play them                  | 8.6   | 12.3    |
| Lost more than intended           | 25.3  | 24.7    |
| Didn't lose more than<br>intended | 60.1  | 50.7    |
| Can't remember                    | 0.4   | 4.1     |
| No response                       | 5.6   | 8.2     |
| Total                             | 100.0 | 100.0   |
| Number                            | 233   | 73      |

#### Summary and Conclusions

That the club is heavily dependent upon poker machines for the major source of its income is demonstrated by the fact that the QIC has drawn from 75 to 90 per cent of its total income from this source. Since its establishment, the QIC has taken \$5,500,000 in poker machine profits of which the State Government has annexed almost exactly one-fifth in poker machine taxes. Both the size of membership and poker machine profits have increased about fourfold since 1964, although Government taxation has increased sixfold.

In the first chapter I asked whether the use of poker machines in clubs was a culturally acceptable way of raising money for the

financing of club leisure. The fact that machines have been legal in N.S.W. clubs for fifteen years and club members and visitors have played machines with persistence indicates in N.S.W., the practice is accepted and condoned. Nevertheless, some people argue that it would be better for the society if the members voluntarily contributed to the financing of leisure in ways other than through poker machines.

But, as we have indicated, Australians have a predilection for gambling, and even if one form of gambling is suddenly eliminated, many Australian devotees of that form will seek another. Given this predilection, it can be argued that the profits of gambling might well be used for the good of the community and those who gamble, rather than for the enrichment of individual entrepreneurs who organize the gambling forms (for example, bookmakers). This is precisely what occurs with poker machines in N.S.W. clubs.

I have heard senior club officials admit that they do not like poker machines, and they wish it were possible for clubs to operate without them.<sup>1</sup> But they argue that there is absolutely no other way for clubs to function in their present fashion without finances from poker machines.

This system in large N.S.W. clubs of small entrance fees and annual subscriptions with voluntary contributions through the poker machines has created a form of leisure democracy. Substantial numbers of adults in N.S.W. earning from high to low incomes have become members of these large clubs. Further, it is possible for the members, through the club Directors, to determine the nature and scope of club activities.

In the final chapter, I shall consider the broad behavioural changes that N.S.W. clubs have helped to bring about, their current problems and future prospects.

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<sup>1</sup> In the same way that a State or Federal Government might wish to function without having to levy taxes.

Australians confined themselves almost exclusively to beer.

Associated with this change in drinking behaviour is that men and women, particularly husbands and wives are increasingly spending their leisure time together within the clubs. Before the expansion of clubs, mixed drinking was not very common, as it was felt that the hotel was no place for a woman. The pubs were spartan, male-oriented institutions and women were not welcome. Clubs, however, have become very acceptable places for men to take their wives and girlfriends, so that men and women visit the clubs in approximately equal numbers. The leisure apartheid policy for the sexes, characteristic of past social relationships in Australia is losing its sharpness. There are still some barriers to equality. Women are not permitted to stand for the posts of Directors, nor participate in voting. Even in large clubs, there are Members' bars from which women are excluded, although the number is decreasing. But the actual attendance and participation of women in large clubs appear to differ little from that of males.

It is curious that in the smaller élite golf and bowling clubs, the discrimination against women is more total. Very often, the presence of women at the club is limited to one or two days a week and the occasional social evening - restrictions virtually absent from the large clubs. These smaller clubs still act as male refuges as well as sporting centres.

A third major impact that clubs have made is the decentralisation of leisure facilities. In N.S.W. country towns clubs have become important social centres replacing the churches as the locales for sociability and recreation. One specific instance is the Balranald R.S.L. Club, situated near the border of N.S.W. and Victoria. A town of some 1,200 people, it has a 1,000-member R.S.L. Club. Many of the club's members are Victorians who have no access in their own State to poker machine clubs. The large main bar area, reserved for males, has facilities for table tennis, billiards, drinking and eating. The mixed lounge is as luxurious as any room I have seen in larger and wealthier clubs. I was told that eventually the whole club would have a standard of luxury to match that of the mixed lounge. The fact that the mixed lounge was chosen first for renovation indicates that the development of facilities for mixed couples ranks higher than the development of

the area reserved for males. On Saturday evenings in the town, there were only three public entertainment places: the cinema, patronised by young teenagers more interested in conversational and physical interaction than the film; the hotel in which the clientele were isolates or small groups of men; and the club, where the action was.

Because clubs in country towns are relatively new, are constantly being modernized and have the most comfortable furnishings, they are selected by local organizations such as Rotary, Lions and branches of political parties as the places in which to hold regular meetings. Clubs in country towns usually have modern and comfortable auditoria, encouraging the holding of civic functions on club premises. Even a recent anti-poker machine newspaper article admitted that "the R.S.L. or Leagues' Club in N.S.W. (financed by poker machines) does provide the great escape outlet not found outside the State in rural areas" (The Australian, February 21, 1972). In fact, the clubs have helped to rejuvenate some country towns. Without attractive club leisure facilities in N.S.W. rural towns of all sizes, the incentive for people to remain in the country would have lessened, and the shift from rural to city areas may have accelerated. Clubs not only provide leisure facilities but employment opportunities, especially for women.

In one other way rural clubs have contributed to the quality of life for New South Welshmen. Businessmen and tourists make use of club facilities when travelling (especially for meals). Although visitors are expected to be members of other clubs, clubs welcome out-of-town visitors. In the past, tourist centres lacked any night life apart from primitive facilities at the local hotel. Tourists use the clubs for meals and evening entertainment. That the clubs have become major town assets is indicated by the considerable publicity given to clubs in each town's tourist literature.

In suburban areas of Sydney, clubs have decentralised leisure facilities providing nightclub, restaurant and entertainment outlets in the suburbs. It is easy for Sydney residents to go to a club without having to embark on a major expedition into the entertainment or city centre. Furthermore, the clubs are clearly able to entice N.S.W. adults away from T.V. sets and the home. In fact, as recently as February 1972, the Anglican Church in Sydney, in a pamphlet distributed to parishes throughout the archdiocese complained that

large clubs were destroying family life because parents would rather spend an evening at the club than a quiet evening at home (The Australian, February 10, 1972). The pamphlet declared that clubs were not evil, but that drinking, gambling and clubs might eventually destroy family life. The Church's arguments neglect the fact that parents might be better able to rear children if they are experiencing leisure satisfactions which they may not often find at home but more frequently in organizations such as clubs. Circumstantial evidence for this view is supported by a recent police statement. During the first weekend of March 1972, many registered clubs were closed because 15,000 club employees of the Liquor Trades Union were on strike. Sydney police reported that they were called to a record number of domestic arguments on the Saturday night. They blamed the closure of clubs for the epidemic, and said that some arguments went on well into the night (The Australian, March 6, 1972).<sup>1</sup>

One issue associated with decentralisation must be discussed here. Since 1956, when poker machines were legalized and became subject to State taxes, just under \$200,000,000 have been added to the State coffers. In 1970/71, the tax amounted to nearly \$35,000,000. Large clubs are the most heavily hit, and many pay from 19 to 23 per cent of their poker machine income in licensing fees and supplementary taxes. It can be argued that these taxes are, at the very least, excessive. The clubs are local co-operative organizations raising funds from its membership for the support and encouragement of sport, leisure or other social interests. Sanction for this high rate of taxation comes from groups such as churches (who feel that if sin is to be permitted at all, it should be heavily taxed) and from competitive organizations which wish to delimit the clubs' economic position. Essentially, the clubs are providing local community leisure facilities and are being heavily taxed for their pains. However, clubs must face up to the responsibility of ameliorating the individual and family dysfunctions caused by heavy poker machine playing - for example, the employment of social workers and the establishment of a fund from which finances can be drawn to assist

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<sup>1</sup> One would hypothesise that if family life in Sydney is as good as church people would have, the closure of the clubs might lead to alternative patterns of activity within the family - for example, love-making. On the night of the New York blackout there was a sharp rise in the birth-rate nine months later. The record number of domestic arguments suggests a sharp increase in the Sydney birth-rate around Christmas in 1972 is unlikely.

individuals and families who fall victim to heavy poker machine losses.

The growth of the clubs has affected political and economic shifts in N.S.W.. While clubs have endeavoured to maintain political and religious neutrality, a few Catholic and Labour Party Clubs are operating in N.S.W.. But the RCA and member clubs have refused to support one political party or another, although it is by no means sure that the RCA and the large clubs will be able to maintain this stance permanently. The religious and political orientations of adults seeking membership of large clubs have not been factors in their acceptance or rejection. In the past, those planning a political career often began by seeking election as local councillors. Now, serving as a Director of a large club has become another avenue for individuals seeking political office. After a successful career as a Director, an individual may feel he has sufficient community exposure to proceed to the next rung of the ladder by seeking office at the local council or State level.

But by far the greatest political and economic impact of club growth is that it represents the main thrust of an increasingly powerful co-operative movement. While the co-operative movement has not been strong in Australia, its strength is growing. Credit Unions, Co-operative Bookshops, Friendly and Building Societies are assuming a greater significance in Australian economic life. The vigorous leader of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) Mr Robert Hawke, is a supporter of worker capitalism and in a trip to West Germany and Israel in late 1971 he talked to officials concerned with the development of worker capitalism and co-operative organizations (The Australian, December 13, 1971).

The most telling evidence is the announcement in February 1972 of the application to register a "joint national trade union co-operative finance company" to be known as the Australian Community Credit Services Corporation Limited. The Corporation will concentrate initially on consumer credit, housing, merchant banking, tourism and mass communications, and will give special emphasis to the establishment of a co-operative bank. Organizations connected with this Co-operative organization are the Friendly Societies of Australia, the Australian Bank Officials' Association, the RCA of N.S.W., co-operative societies and some credit unions, representing a membership of more than four million people. In addition, the Corporation is

likely to be joined by the ACTU; the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations and the Australian Federation of Public Service Organizations have also been involved in negotiations.

Organizers hope that these bodies, with a further 1.9 million members will join the proposed Corporation (SMH, The Australian, February 5, 1972).

There is no doubt then, that the RCA of N.S.W. is part of the mainstream of an expanding co-operative movement in Australia. Full consciousness of the co-operative nature of N.S.W. registered clubs has not infiltrated all parts of the N.S.W. club movement. But the 1969 legislation introduced by the conservative capitalist coalition of the Liberal/Country Party Government in N.S.W. is a clear indication that the clubs are perceived as an economic threat to the present capitalist system. Although not as strong ideologically as the British co-operative movement, the clubs and the RCA in N.S.W. have frequently made statements justifying the importance of clubs to the community, especially that clubs have brought about a social revolution in providing for mass leisure needs. The club movement will have to develop a coherent ideology and value system if it is to survive the legislative curbs and social criticism that are directed towards it.

The unique feature of the growth of the N.S.W. clubs is that it represents one of the first successful attempts at establishment of leisure consumer co-operatives. Gide (1921: 102-3) indicates that a small number of co-operative restaurants and cafés operated in France in the first two decades of the twentieth century but were not very successful. Barou (1948: 11) described what he called "functional co-operative organizations" established in or around places of employment which he said "should be used to provide extended cultural and social service amenities and not merely to distribute goods". Kaplan (1970: 128) in commenting upon a study of leisure in an English town of 40,000 people, refers to the social centre run on co-operative principles, the wide use of clubs for leisure purposes, and the high interest in sport and betting. But these are isolated examples, whereas the large N.S.W. registered clubs are institutionalized, pervasive and enormously successful. They represent a new institution for the pursuit of leisure.

Evaluation of the Registered Clubs as Leisure Organizations

How successful are the clubs as leisure organizations? While there is a mass of literature dealing with the functions of leisure, I can find none which provides criteria by which the effectiveness of leisure organizations can be determined. If we employ the usual criteria used in evaluating business organizations (growth, healthy profits and efficiency) then the large clubs are enormously successful organizations. Large clubs are also clearly successful, if the criteria of membership usage is applied. But we are interested in the clubs primarily as leisure organizations, and we must therefore assess the clubs in terms of leisure functions. Dumazedier (1968: 248-253) says that the positive functions of leisure are recuperation and relaxation, entertainment and personal development.

The large registered clubs in N.S.W. have emphasised the functions of recuperation, relaxation and entertainment by providing the opportunity for quiet drinking and talking in comfortable surroundings, moderately priced meals, entertainment and dancing. For a majority of club members even poker machine playing is a form of relaxation and amusement. Some people have criticised the large clubs precisely because they are large mass organizations. Without having spent much time in these clubs, the critics are ready to brand them as vulgar and common because they lack the intimacy of a small club or restaurant.

Yet the size of the large club premises and the presence of many members constitute some of their basic appeals. In the small restaurant, one is virtually anchored to one's table. But the large club is an organization allowing freedom of movement and a choice of activities. One can commence an evening with drinks in one of the club's bars or lounges; move to a bistro bar or dining room for an evening meal; play poker machines; on certain evenings, dance; go to the games room for darts or snooker; watch entertainment or television. Thus there is freedom of movement, and a sense of space. Furthermore, one is free of people other than those in one's group. Nobody cares how a group behaves or what it talks about, as long as there is no infringement on others' freedom. No-one interrupts conversation; the constraints of work, of status, of routine matters, dissipate in the club atmosphere. Unquestionably, the club is a place to relax in and to be entertained.



But what of opportunities for self-development? My description of the intraclubs of the QLC suggests that the intraclubs provide opportunities for the development of skills and sociability. The QLC golf club has been in existence only two years and golf has become the major leisure interest for many members and the people they play and mix with (consisting of both males and females) is an important reference group. However, intraclubs tend to be limited to sporting clubs with the exception of the QLC photographic club.

Large clubs have neglected the intraclubs and the opportunities for self-development they provide. Commentators on leisure have been concerned about the balance between active and passive participation. Usual examples of passive leisure are watching television, playing bingo and being spectators at sporting contests. Passive leisure is generally negatively defined. Dumazedier (1967: 221-22) observes that the development and maintenance of a generalised leisure passivity in modern industrial society is a terrifying possibility. But he cautions that the usual distinction between active and passive leisure is untenable<sup>1</sup> and that the motivation of the individual towards the leisure activity is the important criterion rather than whether the activity itself is active or passive.

For Dumazedier, the "active" attitude represents "a combination of physical and mental attitudes capable of assuring the optimum growth of the personality through an optimum participation in social and cultural life" (Dumazedier, 1967: 223). Similarly Kaplan argues that the "new leisure, because it is more than a recuperation from work, can become a potential source of the deepest values and can provide a variety of activity for creative expression" (Kaplan, 1960: 297). Both these authors are arguing for increased emphasis on the creative and cultural aspects of leisure. Dumazedier (1967: 222, 242) recognises that the functional balance between relaxation, amusement, and continuous and harmonious growth of the personality will vary from individual to individual. He also suggests that the emergence of large-scale leisure for the mass of the people has created the vast problem of "cultural democratisation" in the latter half of the twentieth century (ibid.: 243).

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<sup>1</sup> As Dumazedier points out, some people regard watching a movie as passive, while attending a theatrical performance as active.

Large clubs have not emphasised cultural activities, even though some have chess, photographic, art, French and public speaking intra-clubs. This may be more the fault of the "culture vultures" or the carriers of culture rather than the large clubs themselves. Those in dramatic, musical, artistic, and educational groups often have a deep suspicion about the conduct of their activities on large club premises. The ambivalence of the QIC photographic club is one striking example. Even so, it continues to operate within the parent club, indicating that clubs can become scenarios for the process of the democratisation of culture. Nevertheless, there is an apparent strain between elitist and mass egalitarian values, which remains to be dissolved.

If large clubs are to become comprehensive leisure organizations they must cater not only for recuperation and entertainment needs but encourage conditions for self-development. As large consumer co-operatives, they are structurally heterogeneous with enough financial resources to broaden their activities. For instance, there is no reason why adult or continuing education classes might not be located within large clubs. While working class people would not consider attending classes at a school or university campus, they might have fewer reservations about attending a club. On the announcement of President Nixon's visit to China, the former Public Relations Officer of the QIC regretted his ignorance of social life in China. I raised the possibility with him that the club might consider the presentation of a course on China, on club premises. At that stage, the suggestion was too foreign for it to be considered seriously. However, in the future, the conduct of continuing education classes at clubs might not be as wild a possibility as it now stands.

In addition the range of cultural entertainment might be broadened. Country and suburban areas in Australia have always had musical comedy societies presenting popular musical comedies, once or twice a year, usually at the local Town Hall. Such entertainment might be held at the superior auditoria of large clubs. Indeed at the RCA Annual Meeting at Dubbo in 1969, local music hall entertainment was conducted. Further, local dramatic groups, also a feature of Australian community life might also present their performances within the clubs. The type of entertainment at large clubs has consisted almost entirely of variety shows. Perhaps in the future clubs might vary the entertainment fare, with occasional ventures

into light classical music, light opera, such as Gilbert and Sullivan, and even chamber music.

It is an obvious fact that many of these activities are favoured by middle class, rather than working class people. But many middle class people reject the whole atmosphere and style of the clubs - their size, decor, drinking and gambling. If clubs are to cater to both middle class and working class people, then some reconciliation of values and life style is assumed. As mass society weakens earlier distinctions, the middle class rejection of clubs might dissipate sufficiently for more "cultural" activities to be held within clubs leading towards the democratisation of culture. Thus, Carr-Saunders et al. (1942: 524) comment that in the period before the Second World War, British Co-operatives appealed mainly to "the superior sections of the working class", without much attraction to the poorer sections of the community or middle class consumers. Although they had reservations about whether the Co-operative Movement could maintain its democratic, working class character, the authors maintained that if appeals were made to the upper levels of middle class demand, "a general levelling-up in the quality and taste of co-operative supply, for the benefit of the members as a whole, would be all to the good" (ibid.).

Modern societies lack institutionally organized ways of channelling abundance into grants for the improvement of both the quality and substance of daily living (Dumazedier, 1967: 238). However, the large N.S.W. consumer co-operatives represent one avenue to achieve just this. In fact, they have already replaced hotels as public locales for sociable behaviour. Whether clubs will develop into community leisure organizations committed to the enrichment of daily life depends upon a complex set of factors. The first is that various sections of the society must recognise the contributions that clubs are making to leisure activities in N.S.W., instead of assuming that clubs are concerned only with the "vices" of drinking, gambling and the passive consumption of leisure. Second, the clubs must be given greater freedom to develop as family centres. To the great credit of quite a number of R.S.L. and some Leagues' clubs, facilities for young people have been built - for example, gymnasias, indoor sports facilities and occasionally, swimming pools. However, there are legal restrictions preventing people under the age of 18 from being on licensed premises. Large clubs might give greater emphasis to the provision

of baby-sitting facilities and playrooms (as on large cruise ships), so that children will not be left at home or in cars outside clubs. While it may not be possible to provide many facilities so that the family can participate as one unit, separate facilities for children, teenagers and adults within the one complex might be developed.<sup>1</sup> Certain sections of the society may resent clubs adopting the role of family and community leisure organizations, partly because they do not want the young to be socialised into hedonistic ways. As I indicated in chapter 1, there is a clash of puritan and hedonistic values in Australia. Taft and Walker (1958: 148-149) and Spate (1968: 309) have given most systematic attention to basic tensions within Australian society, although only Spate refers to this specific division. He argues that Australian society is still largely puritan in official theory, but increasingly hedonistic in unofficial practice (*ibid.*: 275). While clubs have accelerated the acceptance of hedonism, breaking down puritanism more effectively than any other single institution in N.S.W. society, the clubs face the possibility of a puritan backlash.

Third, the clubs should be released from increasingly heavy taxation burdens so that they have the financial resources to expand the leisure facilities for the region in which the clubs are located. Governments have been too ready in recent years to tax the large clubs, not only to curb the clubs' power, but meet their own budgetary requirements.

Finally, and of greatest importance, the clubs themselves will have to produce individuals whom Selznick (1957) calls "institutional leaders". Institutional leaders are primarily experts in the promotion and protection of values (Selznick, 1957: 28). Their functions are to define the ends of an institution's existence, design an enterprise distinctively adapted to meet these ends, and to see that the design becomes a living reality (*ibid.*: 37). The institutionalization of an organization is marked by the making of value commitments, that is to say

...choices which fix the assumptions of policymakers as to the nature of the enterprise - its distinctive aims, methods, and role in the community. These character-defining choices are not made verbally;

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<sup>1</sup> Some Sydney Leagues' clubs have purchased holiday cottages and complexes at which members and their families may vacation together.

they may not even be made consciously. When such commitments are made, the values in question are actually built into the social structure (ibid.: 55, 56).

The institutional leaders must decide the purposes for which these large clubs exist - in Selznick's terms, their mission (Selznick, 1957: 67-68). My impression is that Directors of large clubs are too often concerned with growth, efficiency, the difficulties of handling unions and making larger and larger profits, without giving sufficient weight to wider purposes. I see them as community leisure organizations and, while club Directors and Secretary/Managers recognise this purpose, it is sometimes lost in the day-to-day affairs of the clubs. The RCA is probably not the most appropriate body to select and train institutional leaders, since it consists of clubs with quite different purposes and clienteles. Although some RCA club leaders are trying to mould a unity out of the club movement these attempts may be doomed because small golf and bowling clubs have different functions from those of the large clubs such as the Leagues' and Workmen's clubs. The lead could be taken by the Registered Leagues' Club Association which at the moment has only minimal resources. Once again the judgements of Carr-Saunders et al. on the British co-operative movement are relevant here. They argued that it was essential in any attempt to "give meaning to Co-operation or to envisage its future place in the life of the community, to define its present character and, in the process of doing this, to lay bare the general principles which may serve as guide-posts when there are further advances to be made or obstacles to be overcome" (Carr-Saunders et al., 1942: 518). Furthermore, as Selznick points out, an organization's true commitment, or institutional aims are not unchanging. They must be reassessed continuously and are conditioned by changing self-definitions and alterations in the external commitments of the enterprise (Selznick, 1957: 73, 81).

Clearly, institutional leaders within the large club movement must not only determine the aims of the organizations but also continuously reassess them. They must consider, for instance, just what sort of community social welfare the clubs wish to be involved in, and to what extent they see their roles as community leisure organizations. In making these sorts of decisions, they will have to take account of several factors.

In the first place, the large clubs must avoid the danger of stagnation. Both Carr-Saunders et al. (1942) and the Co-operative Independent Commission (1958) dealt with the possibility of stagnation in British co-operatives. Florence (1968: 393-394) says that the decline in co-operatives could be attributed to the low investment in both fixed capital and research when compared to large-scale capitalist trading; the co-operatives do not secure managers of the necessary ability and enterprise for growth under competition; co-operatives, because of their working class tradition, seldom allow the removal of co-operative managers or the unseating of elected directors, however inefficient they may prove to be;<sup>1</sup> the incentives to growth are weak; and with the rise in the standard of living and the wider variety of goods demanded by the working class, the co-operatives have met much enterprising competition. The large N.S.W. clubs may fall prey to some of these trends. Certainly the clubs have spent very little, if anything, on research. Profits from poker machines are in the vicinity of \$140,000,000 a year. The clubs are being short-sighted if some of these profits are not invested in research to ensure the economic and social viability of the clubs. The clubs must also give attention to the type of personnel they wish to employ. A British academic was criticised heavily by the Co-operators for suggesting that co-operatives should consider recruiting for senior posts people who had outside experience and qualifications rather than confining their choices to those who had worked their way up from schooldays in the movement's service (Cole, 1971: 258). In fact, as organizations develop, personnel changes have to occur. As new problems emerge, individuals whose ways of thinking and responding served the organization well in an early stage may be ill-fitted for the new tasks (Selznick, 1957: 107-8). Within the club movement, I have heard the view expressed a number of times that while some club officials could establish, manage and direct a small organization, they were out of their depth when the club expanded. Selznick (1957: 112) refers to the theories of Pareto on the circulation of elites. Innovators (the "Foxes") are needed to devise new programmes and techniques. To be effective, the "Foxes" must be associated with more forceful but conservative

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<sup>1</sup> Carr-Saunders et al. (1942: 87) said that in co-operatives "it seems to be assumed that the only cause which can lead to a member leaving the committee is death".

personnel who have strong institutional loyalties and perseverance. As the new institution grows in strength and has something to defend the "Foxes" become more expendable, and the "Lions" assume complete control, cutting down on innovations to meet the needs of survival. However, new conditions may force adaptation. The institutional problem is to keep a proper balance of the social types needed at each stage. Some club officials (and the President and Secretary/Manager of the QLC are notable examples) have grown with the job. But in the N.S.W. club movement there are likely to be a significant proportion of officials, directors and managers who have not the vision or the skills to operate a large organization. Increasingly clubs must employ professionalised personnel not only to manage the clubs but to be employed in them - for instance, recreation directors, social welfare officers and entertainment organizers.

Courses for Management training called the Club Managers' Executive Development Course are held at the East Sydney Technical College. The courses are conducted over a 12-week period on two days per week. A great number of topics are covered although the subjects of recreation, leisure and club functions are not listed, indicating that too little attention is being given to institutional leadership.<sup>1</sup> However, the movement does not, as far as I know, suffer from the reluctance shown by the British co-operatives to employ officials from outside the club movement.

In the case study of the QLC I have documented the emergence of an oligarchy and the tendency to retain existing Directors. The Directors and Management at the QLC have built an expanding and

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<sup>1</sup> Topics listed are: Catering Principles and Practice, Kitchen Planning and Practice, Food Preparation, Wine Appreciation and Dispensing, Beer Dispensing and Bar Plumbing, Meat Appreciation, Engagement of Entertainers, Accounting Procedures and Balance Sheets, Payroll Preparation, Budgetary Control, Financial Management, Cost Control in Catering and Liquor, Poker Machine Operation, Security and Taxation, Economic Conditions affecting Clubs, Introduction to Data Processing, The Companies and Co-operation Acts, Report Writing, Management Principles and Exercises in Decision Making, Personnel Management, Industrial Law, Awards affecting Club Industry and Commercial and Liquor Laws affecting Clubs.

enormously successful organization. But at other large clubs, Directors (if one can judge by their photographs in the front of club journals) appear to be men in their fifties and sixties, many of whom have been Directors for years. It is likely that many of these individuals may act as conservative influences in their organizations, have conceptions of the organization's functions which are outdated, and be too inflexible to consider necessary institutional changes.

Unlike the British co-operatives, clubs have had strong incentives to expand. In fact, physical and membership expansion may have been over-emphasised. The large clubs must consider whether building bigger and more luxurious clubs is the best way in which they can serve their membership. I have suggested that clubs, instead of investing in physical resources, might invest in human resources, by employing recreation directors and social welfare officers. It is possible that in a few years, the State Government's 1969 legislation limiting the size of individual clubs' membership might force clubs to move precisely in this direction.

In one other way, the N.S.W. registered clubs have differed from the British co-operatives. The clubs have not met enterprising competition, principally because the clubs have had abundant financial resources from poker machines and have been able to satisfy the relaxation and entertainment needs of members. But the success of the large clubs must not lull them into a sense of false security. The clubs must move increasingly to institutionalizing their role as community leisure organizations, so that no Government will want to curb their influence or role.

George Molnar, Professor of Architecture at the University of N.S.W. delivered a paper in 1969 to the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science. In his paper on "The Architecture of Leisure" he said "that clubs may become, far-fetched as it sounds, the Australian version of the cultural and community centres of Europe" and although perhaps there would be a little less culture and more beer, the same aspirations were being expressed. The institutionalization of these community centres would be accomplished without the levy of taxes, subsidies or government policy-making, but by voluntary contributions of the citizens. Molnar described the phenomenon as a "small miracle indeed".

Whether the large clubs embrace successfully this community



leisure centre role depends upon the number and wisdom of the large clubs' institutional leaders, and whether they will call upon the professional resources of the community to help them to develop the large clubs as community leisure organizations. In an age when leisure is emerging as a major factor in the physical, emotional and mental health of the community, the task of the institutional leaders of the large clubs is a major one.

I have been a little distressed sometimes to realise that Australians have lost the claims to social imagination that they once had in introducing the secret ballot, the early introduction of social welfare policies, voting rights for women and minimum wage legislation. The large registered clubs may help to redress this imbalance, although it is perhaps ironic that two pillars of Australian culture - drinking and gambling - may serve as the means for enriching daily life in unanticipated ways.

What we have in the large N.S.W. registered clubs is an unpredicted leisure phenomenon. The large clubs provide an excellent foundation for the development of a co-operative, grass-roots, democratic collection of leisure organizations in a society that is increasingly turning to leisure.

## Appendix 1

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE GROWTH OF N.S.W.  
REGISTERED CLUBS

At the end of chapter 5, brief reference to statistical data illustrating the growth and nature of N.S.W. registered clubs was given. In this Appendix, I shall document and comment upon the following dimensions of club growth: (1) the number of licensed clubs in each Australian state in 1956/57, 1961/62 and 1967/68 to demonstrate the financial and numerical dominance of N.S.W. clubs; (2) the growth and decline in the various types of liquor licences in N.S.W. since 1944; (3) the distribution of registered clubs throughout N.S.W., 1944-70; (4) the ratio of the number of clubs and hotels to the total N.S.W. population since 1920; (5) the licence renewal fees assessed on N.S.W. clubs and hotels from 1944 to 1970 to show the rising share of liquor purchases made by clubs; (6) a classification of the various types of clubs and the number of members who belong to each type of club (e.g. Leagues', R.S.L., Workmen's, Sporting, etc.); (7) range of membership sizes of the various types of clubs; (8) the reasons for the pre-eminence of the Leagues' clubs.

1. Number of Licensed Clubs in each Australian State, 1956/57, 1961/62, 1967/68

Since 1956, N.S.W. has had over half the number of registered clubs in Australia, despite the fact that at the 1966 Census the State's population composed just over a third of Australia's total. In terms of the ratio of clubs to population, N.S.W., Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania and the two Territories have high figures, while South Australia and Victoria have relatively low ratios (see Table A1.1).

In 1967/8, of the 39,950 persons working in the club industry in Australia, over 75 per cent were employed in the N.S.W. clubs (Economic Census, 1968-69: 10). The pre-eminence of the N.S.W. clubs becomes even more apparent when the "value added" figures compiled by the Bureau of Census and Statistics are perused. The 1967/68 value added total for Australian clubs was \$200.7 million dollars, and the N.S.W. clubs share was \$167.4 million - or 83.4 per cent of the total (ibid.: 16). The N.S.W. share is high because of

Table A1.1: Number of Licensed Clubs in Each State of Australia, 1956-57, 1961-62, 1967-68, 1968-69

| State                     | 1956-57 (1) |         | 1961-62 (1) |         | 1967-68 (2) |         | State's proportion of Population 1966 (3) |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|---|
|                           | Metrop.     | Country | Metrop.     | Country | Metrop.     | Country |   |
| N.S.W.                    | 349         | 627     | 472         | 793     | 1265        | 1375    |   |
| Percentage of Aust. total |             |         | 52.8        |         | 54.0        | 51.3    | 36.7                                      |
| Victoria %                | 113         | 52      | 145         | 98      | 243         | 309     |   |
|                           |             |         | 8.9         |         | 10.4        | 11.5    | 27.9                                      |
| Queensland %              | 78          | 333     | 96          | 358     | 454         | 514     |   |
|                           |             |         | 22.2        |         | 19.4        | 19.2    | 14.4                                      |
| South Australia %         | 16          | 7       | 23          | 12      | 33          | 48      |   |
|                           |             |         | 1.2         |         | 1.4         | 1.8     | 9.5                                       |
| West Australia %          | 68          | 83      | 151         | 117     | 199         | 255     |   |
|                           |             |         | 8.2         |         | 8.5         | 9.5     | 7.2                                       |
| Tasmania %                | 30          | 70      | 100         | 86      | 117         | 132     |   |
|                           |             |         | 5.4         |         | 5.0         | 4.9     | 3.2                                       |
| North Territory %         | 6           | -       | 6           | -       | 10          | 21      |   |
|                           |             |         | .3          |         | .4          | .8      | 0.3                                       |
| A.C.T. %                  | 17          | -       | 17          | -       | 21          | 28      |   |
|                           |             |         | .9          |         | .9          | 1.0     | 0.8                                       |
| Total %                   | 677         | 1172    | 11849       | 878     | 1464        | 2342    | 2682                                      |
|                           |             |         | 99.9        |         | 100.0       | 100.0   | 100.0                                     |

(1) Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Census of Retail Establishments and other Services, Year Ended 30th June, 1962

(2) Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Retail Establishment and Selected Service Establishments. Preliminary Statement. Economic Censuses: 1968-69.

(3) Commonwealth Year Book, 1967: 173.

Table A1.2

Number and Types of Liquor Licences in N.S.W. 1944-70

| Year<br>Ending<br>Dec. 31 | Clubs | Hotels | Wine | Spirit<br>Merch-<br>ants | Rest-<br>aur-<br>ants | Rail-<br>way<br>Refr-<br>esh-<br>ment<br>Rooms | Others<br>Packet<br>Licences &<br>Brewers |              | Total |
|---------------------------|-------|--------|------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--|---|--------------|-------|
|                           |       |        |      |                          |                       |  | Pkt.<br>Lic. ers                          | Brew-<br>ers |       |
| 1929                      | 80    | 2142   | 363  | 255                      | -                     | 35   | 8   | 9            | 2892  |
| 1939                      | 84    | 2038   | 348  | 237                      | -                     | 43   | 4   | 6            | 2760  |
| 1944                      | 85    | 2028   | 347  | 232                      | -                     | 55   | 1   | 6            | 2754  |
| 1945                      | 85    | 2028   | 347  | 234                      | -                     | 55   | 1   | 6            | 2756  |
| 1946                      | 85    | 2028   | 347  | 295                      | 25                    | 55   | 1   | 6            | 2842  |
| 1947                      | 253   | 2028   | 347  | 365                      | 58                    | 55   | 1   | 6            | 3113  |
| 1948                      | 337   | 2028   | 347  | 408                      | 74                    | 55   | 2   | 6            | 3257  |
| 1949                      | 359   | 2028   | 347  | 427                      | 90                    | 55   | 2   | 6            | 3314  |
| 1950                      | 376   | 2028   | 347  | 456                      | 99                    | 54   | 3   | 6            | 3369  |
| 1951                      | 384   | 2028   | 347  | 500                      | 98                    | 54   | 2   | 10           | 3423  |
| 1952                      | 388   | 2028   | 347  | 539                      | 109                   | 54   | 2   | 10           | 3477  |
| 1953                      | 393   | 2028   | 347  | 575                      | 112                   | 54   | 2   | 10           | 3521  |
| 1954                      | 398   | 2028   | 347  | 599                      | 128                   | 55   | 2   | 9            | 3566  |
| 1955                      | 793   | 2026   | 347  | 603                      | 155                   | 55   | 7   | 9            | 3995  |
| 1956                      | 932   | 2025   | 347  | 591                      | 168                   | 48   | 7   | 8            | 4126  |
| 1957                      | 1050  | 2022   | 347  | 581                      | 167                   | 50   | 6   | 9            | 4232  |
| 1958                      | 1125  | 2019   | 347  | 581                      | 187                   | 46   | 12  | 9            | 4326  |
| 1959                      | 1174  | 2015   | 347  | 582                      | 212                   | 46   | 15  | 9            | 4400  |
| 1960                      | 1225  | 2014   | 342  | 580                      | 229                   | 44   | 17  | 9            | 4460  |
| 1961                      | 1253  | 2009   | 345  | 577                      | 259                   | 44   | 14  | 6            | 4507  |
| 1962                      | 1285  | 2001   | 344  | 569                      | 279                   | 44   | 14  | 6            | 4542  |
| 1963                      | 1317  | 1992   | 343  | 570                      | 315                   | 39   | 14  | 6            | 4543  |
| 1964                      | 1344  | 1978   | 341  | 567                      | 337                   | 36   | 16  | 6            | 4625  |
| 1965                      | 1373  | 1966   | 340  | 577                      | 333                   | 36   | 15  | 6            | 4646  |
| 1966                      | 1402  | 1966   | 339  | 588                      | 365                   | 36   | 15  | 6            | 4717  |
| 1967                      | 1430  | 1964   | 340  | 624                      | 414                   | 17   | 15  | 6            | 4810  |
| 1968                      | 1437  | 1964   | 340  | 641                      | 443                   | 16   | 18  | 6            | 4865  |
| 1969                      | 1457  | 1965   | 337  | 701                      | 527                   | 16   | 18  | 6            | 5027  |
| 1970                      | 1465  | 1964   | 337  | 740                      | 617                   | 16   | 18  | 8            | 5165  |

Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1944-70

Table A1.3

Number of City and Country Clubs, and Percentage Increase over Previous Year, 1944-70

| Year | City Clubs | % Increase over Pre-vious Year | Country Clubs | % Increase over Pre-vious Year | Total No. of Clubs | % Increase over Pre-vious Year |
|------|------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1944 | 46         | -                              | 39            | -                              | 85                 | -                              |
| 1945 | 46         | -                              | 39            | -                              | 85                 | -                              |
| 1946 | 46         | -                              | 39            | -                              | 85                 | -                              |
| 1947 | 135        | 193.5                          | 118           | 202.6                          | 253                | 197.7                          |
| 1948 | 144        | 6.7                            | 193           | 63.6                           | 337                | 33.2                           |
| 1949 | 146        | 1.4                            | 213           | 10.4                           | 359                | 6.5                            |
| 1950 | 147        | .7                             | 229           | 7.5                            | 376                | 4.7                            |
| 1951 | 148        | .7                             | 236           | 3.1                            | 384                | 2.1                            |
| 1952 | 148        | -                              | 240           | 1.7                            | 388                | 1.0                            |
| 1953 | 150        | 1.4                            | 243           | 1.3                            | 393                | 1.3                            |
| 1954 | 151        | .7                             | 247           | 1.6                            | 398                | 2.6                            |
| 1955 | 278        | 84.1                           | 515           | 108.5                          | 793                | 99.3                           |
| 1956 | 332        | 19.4                           | 600           | 16.5                           | 932                | 17.5                           |
| 1957 | 381        | 14.8                           | 669           | 11.5                           | 1050               | 12.7                           |
| 1958 | 408        | 7.1                            | 717           | 7.2                            | 1125               | 7.1                            |
| 1959 | 437        | 7.1                            | 737           | 2.8                            | 1174               | 4.4                            |
| 1960 | 458        | 4.8                            | 767           | 4.1                            | 1225               | 4.3                            |
| 1961 | 474        | 3.5                            | 779           | 1.6                            | 1253               | 2.3                            |
| 1962 | 492        | 3.4                            | 793           | 1.8                            | 1285               | 2.6                            |
| 1963 | 506        | 2.8                            | 811           | 2.3                            | 1317               | 2.5                            |
| 1964 | 514        | 1.6                            | 830           | 2.3                            | 1344               | 4.6                            |
| 1965 | 529        | 2.9                            | 844           | 1.7                            | 1373               | 2.2                            |
| 1966 | 545        | 3.0                            | 857           | 1.5                            | 1402               | 2.1                            |
| 1967 | 558        | 2.4                            | 872           | 1.8                            | 1430               | 2.0                            |
| 1968 | 560        | .4                             | 877           | .6                             | 1437               | .5                             |
| 1969 | 569        | 1.6                            | 888           | 1.3                            | 1457               | 1.4                            |
| 1970 | 576        | 1.2                            | 889           | .1                             | 1465               | .6                             |

Licences Reduction Board Reports, 1944-70

Table A1.4 (continued)

| Licensing District               | 1946 | 1951 | 1956 | 1961 | 1966 | 1970 |
|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Brisbane Water (Gosford) (Total) | 19   | 29   | 47   | 65   | 69   | 78   |
| Hotels                           | 11   | 11   | 13   | 18   | 18   | 19   |
| Clubs                            | -    | 2    | 9    | 20   | 24   | 25   |
| Broken Hill (Total)              | 67   | 68   | 74   | 72   | 71   | 73   |
| Hotels                           | 47   | 47   | 47   | 45   | 44   | 44   |
| Clubs                            | 8    | 9    | 12   | 12   | 12   | 12   |
| Deniliquin (Total)               | 28   | 32   | 33   | 36   | 37   | 37   |
| Hotels                           | 26   | 26   | 26   | 26   | 24   | 23   |
| Clubs                            | -    | 4    | 5    | 8    | 9    | 9    |
| Dubbo (Total)                    | 37   | 42   | 48   | 48   | 48   | 53   |
| Hotels                           | 26   | 26   | 26   | 24   | 23   | 23   |
| Clubs                            | -    | 5    | 10   | 14   | 14   | 14   |
| Goulburn (Total)                 | 32   | 36   | 43   | 42   | 44   | 46   |
| Hotels                           | 25   | 25   | 25   | 25   | 21   | 22   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 5    | 8    | 10   | 13   | 14   |
| Grafton (Total)                  | 35   | 39   | 43   | 44   | 45   | 45   |
| Hotels                           | 28   | 28   | 26   | 25   | 24   | 23   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 5    | 8    | 9    | 10   | 10   |
| Manning River (Taree) (Total)    | 16   | 23   | 32   | 41   | 40   | 49   |
| Hotels                           | 13   | 13   | 13   | 14   | 14   | 14   |
| Clubs                            | -    | 3    | 12   | 18   | 20   | 23   |
| Murwillimbah (Total)             | 24   | 33   | 43   | 50   | 53   | 56   |
| Hotels                           | 23   | 23   | 23   | 23   | 23   | 22   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 4    | 12   | 12   | 19   | 18   |
| Narrandera (Total)               | 24   | 36   | 51   | 57   | 58   | 62   |
| Hotels                           | 17   | 17   | 17   | 17   | 17   | 17   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 3    | 16   | 19   | 20   | 20   |
| Penrith (Total)                  | 30   | 48   | 68   | 73   | 78   | 94   |
| Hotels                           | 21   | 22   | 24   | 26   | 27   | 29   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 4    | 18   | 22   | 26   | 28   |
| Tamworth (Total)                 | 36   | 42   | 47   | 45   | 48   | 50   |
| Hotels                           | 24   | 24   | 22   | 21   | 21   | 20   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 5    | 11   | 14   | 15   | 14   |
| Wagga Wagga (Total)              | 36   | 42   | 47   | 45   | 45   | 48   |
| Hotels                           | 30   | 30   | 30   | 28   | 27   | 27   |
| Clubs                            | 1    | 5    | 10   | 10   | 10   | 10   |

#### 4. Ratio of Number of Hotels and Clubs to N.S.W. Population, 1920-70

From Table A1.5, it can be seen that since 1920, the number of persons to each liquor licence has been steadily increasing, apart from the 1945-50 period (when the number of clubs expanded as the result of 1946 legislation), and a very significant drop in the 1955-60 period (when the number of clubs mushroomed as a consequence

of 1954 legislation). The 1970 figure is very close to the 1945 figure, suggesting that there is a good case for an expansion in the number of hotel or club licences - especially since the Government's 1969 legislation placing a ceiling on the membership size of clubs.

Table A1.5

Hotels and Clubs in Relation to Population  
1920-70 (five-year intervals)

| Year | Population of<br>N.S.W. on Dec-<br>ember 31 | No. of Hotels<br>in existence<br>on Dec. 31 | No. of<br>Clubs in Hotel,<br>Exist-<br>ence | Total<br>Club<br>Licences | No. of<br>Persons to<br>each<br>Licence |
|------|---|---|---|---------------------------|---|
| 1920 | 2,039,723                                   | 2,539                                       | 76  | 2615                      | 780.00                                  |
| 1925 | 2,273,101                                   | 2,193                                       | 79  | 2272                      | 1000.48                                 |
| 1930 | 2,519,887                                   | 2,142                                       | 80  | 2222                      | 1134.06                                 |
| 1935 | 2,636,460                                   | 2,057                                       | 84  | 2141                      | 1231.41                                 |
| 1940 | 2,764,782                                   | 2,037                                       | 85  | 2122                      | 1302.91                                 |
| 1945 | 2,901,039                                   | 2,028                                       | 85  | 2113                      | 1372.95                                 |
| 1950 | 3,175,936                                   | 2,028                                       | 359   | 2387                      | 1330.51                                 |
| 1955 | 3,462,313                                   | 2,026                                       | 398   | 2424                      | 1428.35                                 |
| 1960 | 3,790,270                                   | 2,018                                       | 1174  | 3192                      | 1187.43                                 |
| 1965 | 4,158,926                                   | 1,978                                       | 1344  | 3322                      | 1251.93                                 |
| 1970 | 4,595,400                                   | 1,964                                       | 1465  | 3429                      | 1340.16                                 |

5. Licence Renewal Fees Assessed on N.S.W. Clubs and Hotels, 1944-70

In Tables A1.3, A1.4 and A1.5, the gradual decline in the number of hotels and the dramatic growth in the tally of clubs since World War II are documented. There are further statistical indicators of the ballooning importance of clubs. Holders of liquor licences (including clubs) have had to pay annual licence renewal fees based on the quantity of liquor sold - 2 per cent of sales till 1927; 5 per cent of sales till July 1963, and 6 per cent since that date. In 1946, the hotels paid \$96.31 to each dollar that the clubs paid in licensing fees. A year later, this had dropped spectacularly to \$35.71. By 1954, hotel licence fees amounted to \$14.60 to each dollar that the clubs paid. There has been a consistent decline in the hotels' share of liquor sales - by 1970 for every dollar the clubs paid in licensing fees, the hotels were now paying only \$2.59 (see Table A1.6).

Table A1.6

Licence Renewal Fees Assessed on N.S.W.  
Hotels and Clubs, 1929-70

| Year | No. of Licences           | Licence Renewal Fees - Dollars | Increase over Previous Year<br>\$ | Ratio of Hotel Fees to Club Licensing Fees |
|------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1929 | Hotels 2142<br>Clubs 80   | 909,504<br>8,082               | -<br>-                            | 112.53                                     |
| 1939 | Hotels 2038<br>Clubs 84   | 881,236<br>8,636               | -<br>-                            | 102.04                                     |
| 1944 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 85   | 1,275,488<br>11,350            | -<br>-                            | 112.37                                     |
| 1946 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 85   | 1,347,470<br>13,990            | 71,982<br>2,640                   | 96.31                                      |
| 1947 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 253  | 1,831,756<br>51,292            | 484,286<br>37,302                 | 35.71                                      |
| 1948 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 337  | 2,055,012<br>90,426            | 223,256<br>39,134                 | 22.72                                      |
| 1949 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 359  | 2,065,924<br>110,662           | 10,912<br>28,336                  | 17.26                                      |
| 1950 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 376  | 2,264,674<br>138,886           | 198,750<br>19,224                 | 16.31                                      |
| 1951 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 384  | 2,553,692<br>150,690           | 289,018<br>11,804                 | 16.94                                      |
| 1952 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 388  | 3,166,170<br>190,598           | 612,478<br>40,508                 | 16.61                                      |
| 1953 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 393  | 3,919,702<br>255,432           | 753,532<br>64,234                 | 15.35                                      |
| 1954 | Hotels 2028<br>Clubs 398  | 4,220,035<br>289,126           | 300,648<br>33,694                 | 14.60                                      |
| 1955 | Hotels 2026<br>Clubs 793  | 4,631,936<br>394,666           | 411,586<br>105,540                | 11.74                                      |
| 1956 | Hotels 2025<br>Clubs 932  | 5,121,780<br>452,388           | 489,844<br>57,722                 | 11.32                                      |
| 1957 | Hotels 2022<br>Clubs 1050 | 5,836,944<br>680,876           | 715,166<br>228,488                | 8.57                                       |



Table A1.6 (continued)

| Year | No. of Licences | Licence Renewal Fees - Dollars | Increase over Previous Year<br>\$ | Ratio of Hotel Fees to Club Licensing Fees |      |
|------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------|
| 1958 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 2022<br>1078                   | 6,198,714<br>845,044              | 361,770<br>164,168                         | 7.34 |
| 1959 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 2021<br>1140                   | 6,101,678<br>939,870              | less 97,036<br>94,826                      | 6.49 |
| 1960 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 2018<br>1193                   | 6,040,296<br>1,045,434            | less 61,382<br>105,564                     | 5.78 |
| 1961 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 2018<br>1237                   | 6,351,134<br>1,208,010            | 310,838<br>162,576                         | 5.26 |
| 1962 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 2018<br>1265                   | 6,399,984<br>1,334,760            | 48,850<br>126,750                          | 4.79 |
| 1963 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1992<br>1317                   | 7,793,486<br>1,788,732            | 1,394,062<br>453,972                       | 4.36 |
| 1964 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1994<br>1324                   | 8,059,852<br>1,951,972            | 266,366<br>163,240                         | 4.13 |
| 1965 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1978<br>1353                   | 8,429,704<br>2,197,940            | 369,852<br>245,968                         | 3.84 |
| 1966 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1963<br>1383                   | 8,873,125<br>2,622,092            | 443,421<br>424,152                         | 3.38 |
| 1967 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1966<br>1414                   | 9,355,713<br>2,940,900            | 482,588<br>318,808                         | 3.18 |
| 1968 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1964<br>1437                   | 9,651,746<br>3,286,385            | 296,033<br>345,485                         | 2.94 |
| 1969 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1967<br>1447                   | 10,226,168<br>3,750,677           | 574,422<br>464,292                         | 2.73 |
| 1970 | Hotels<br>Clubs | 1964<br>1461                   | 10,318,261<br>3,990,192           | 92,093<br>239,515                          | 2.59 |

#### 6. Types of N.S.W. Registered Clubs, 1969

There is a great variety of club organizations which have taken out both liquor and poker machine licences, although there are some clubs which have taken out only one. In late 1965, there were 1,348 clubs licensed to operate poker machines and 1,380 to sell liquor - but some had poker machine licences and not liquor licences (Sun, December 3,

1965).

I have classified the N.S.W. registered clubs using three broad categories: (1) Institutional, e.g. Workmen's, ethnic, professional, religious, Masonic, etc.; (2) Sporting; (3) Returned Soldiers' Leagues', Leagues' and Ex-Servicemen's. The taxonomy is based on the interest which led to the establishment of the club. In the allocation of specific clubs to each sector, the names of specific clubs were used. On those occasions when a club's name was either too broad or obscure to permit confident classification, it was included in the miscellaneous category (see Table A1.7).

Table A1.7

N.S.W. Registered Clubs, Numbers of Clubs in  
each Category - June 30, 1969

| Club Type                                   | Number    | Total       |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| <u>1. Institutional</u>                     |           |             |
| Masonic                                     | 7         |             |
| Workmen's                                   | 29        |             |
| Ethnic                                      | 10        |             |
| Religious                                   | 8         |             |
| Businessmen's                               | 16        |             |
| Professional, Occupational                  | 24        |             |
| Recreation and Welfare                      | 12        |             |
| Political                                   | 5         |             |
| District                                    | <u>30</u> | 141         |
| <u>2. Sporting</u>                          |           |             |
| Golf  | 251       |             |
| Bowling                                     | 544       |             |
| Tennis                                      | 18        |             |
| Fishing                                     | 4         |             |
| Football (Rugby, Soccer)                    | 25        |             |
| Leagues'                                    | 38        |             |
| General Sport                               | 36        |             |
| Motor Boat or Car                           | 11        |             |
| Horse Racing                                | 4         |             |
| Yachting                                    | <u>20</u> | 951         |
| <u>3. Returned Soldiers' Clubs</u>          |           |             |
| Returned Soldiers' Leagues'                 | 176       |             |
| Ex-Servicemen's                             | 38        |             |
| Returned Soldiers, Sailors                  | 15        |             |
| Miscellaneous Service, Returned<br>Soldiers | <u>84</u> | 313         |
| <u>4. Miscellaneous</u>                     |           | 46          |
|   | Total     | <u>1451</u> |

It is obvious that Sporting and R.S.L. Clubs are dominant numerically. The Leagues', Workmen's and R.S.L. are the clubs with the largest memberships. Although there are just over 800 golf and lawn bowling clubs representing approximately 55.7 per cent of the total number of clubs, their membership is 320,000 or approximately 21.3 per cent of the total club membership. On the other hand, in 1970, there were 38 Leagues' clubs (2.6 per cent of the total N.S.W. clubs) with just over a quarter of the total club membership (380,000 members).

#### 7. Size of Membership of N.S.W. Registered Clubs, 1969

Clubs vary in average membership size - while the Leagues' clubs have an average of over 10,000 members in each, the Bowling clubs have about 312, Golf 581, R.S.L. 1,382 and Workmen's 2,187. In Table A1.8, the number of clubs in various size ranges are shown as prepared by the N.S.W. Justice Department. These statistics represent club membership sizes before the 1969 membership limitations were introduced. In the month of June, 1969, some of the large clubs expanded their memberships substantially as a move to nullify the Government's provisions. For instance, North Sydney Leagues' Club raised its membership from 17,248 to 29,000; Manly-Warringah from 15,195 to 18,500; and South Sydney Juniors from 42,337 to 51,500.

Table A1.8

Size of Memberships of N.S.W. Registered Clubs as at 30 June, 1969

| Size of Membership | No. of Clubs in Metrop. Licensing District | No. of Clubs in Country Licensing District | Total No. of Clubs | Total Membership | Average Membership |
|--------------------|--|--|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Up to 200          | 10   | 181  | 191                | 29,414           | 154                |
| 201-400            | 156  | 303  | 459                | 134,929          | 294                |
| 401-600            | 101  | 132  | 233                | 113,436          | 487                |
| 601-800            | 71   | 73   | 144                | 101,361          | 704                |
| 801-1,000          | 52   | 46   | 98                 | 87,983           | 898                |
| 1,001-2,000        | 97   | 95   | 192                | 264,447          | 1372               |
| 2,001-3,000        | 31   | 23   | 54                 | 128,361          | 2377               |
| 3,001-5,000        | 23   | 17   | 40                 | 152,271          | 3807               |
| 5,001-10,000       | 9  | 8  | 17                 | 118,122          | 6948               |
| 10,000-25,000      | 13   | 3  | 16                 | 214,654          | 13428              |
| Above 25,000       | 3  | 0  | 3                  | 97,844           | 32615              |
| Total              | 566  | 881  | 1447               | 1,442,822        |                    |

Figures supplied by the N.S.W. Department of Justice

In 1969, 883 clubs had memberships of less than 600, while 130 had memberships above 2,000, of which 36 had more than 5,000 people in their ranks. In Table A1.9, the sizes of the Leagues' clubs' memberships are shown, and these are clearly the giants of the registered clubs. Some other clubs have large memberships - Blacktown Workers Club (6,547), Apia Club (8,347), Harbord Diggers' Memorial Club (8,961), N.S.W. Masonic Club (9,158), Blacktown RSL (11,751), Bowlers Club of N.S.W. (12,500), City Tattersall's (13,138), Tamworth Workmen's (12,045), Newcastle Trades' Hall Council Workers (7,959), Lismore and District Workers' Club (7,335) and the Sydney Cricket Ground (14,592) (N.S.W. Department of Justice Statistics, 1969).

#### 8. Pre-eminence of Leagues' Clubs and Size of Leagues' Club Memberships, 1969

We have, at the end of chapter 5, referred to the openness of the Leagues' clubs' memberships, and the mass support which rugby league enjoys - reasons which might account for the pre-eminence of the Leagues' clubs.

Another important reason rests with the strategic role that the N.S.W. Leagues' Club has played. In effect, it acted as a guarantor to those neophyte rugby league clubs anxious to build premises suitable for a registered club. The growth of the membership of the rugby league clubs was rapid. By admitting members freely who played the poker machines with great consistency, such clubs were not only able to repay loans quickly, but expand the size and comfort of club premises - which in turn attracted new members who manifested the same poker-machine playing tendencies. Because they offered large comfortable premises, subsidised meals, entertainment and an almost complete absence of membership entry restrictions, the Leagues' clubs were able to attract members in considerable numbers. Membership sizes of each of the Leagues' clubs are shown in Table A1.9.

Table A1.9

Membership Size of Leagues' Clubs (Department  
of Justice and R.C.A. Figures)

| Name of Club                              | Official<br>Membership<br>June 30,<br>1969 | R.C.A.<br>Membership<br>Figures |
|---|--|---------------------------------|
| <u>City Leagues' Clubs</u>                |  |                                 |
| Balmain                                   | 13,088                                     | 13,000                          |
| Canterbury-Bankstown                      | 11,954                                     | 13,000                          |
| Cronulla-Sutherland                       | 11,503                                     | 13,500                          |
| Eastern Suburbs                           | 19,801                                     | 22,000                          |
| Manly-Warringah                           | 15,195                                     | 18,500                          |
| Newtown                                   | 3,593                                      | 3,000                           |
| North Sydney                              | 17,248                                     | 29,000                          |
| New South Wales                           | 24,585                                     | 25,000                          |
| Parramatta                                | 12,000                                     | 11,000                          |
| St George                                 | 30,922                                     | 32,000                          |
| Wentworthville                            | 6,507                                      | 9,000                           |
| Western Suburbs                           | 10,000                                     | 11,500                          |
| South Sydney                              | 18,034                                     | 18,000                          |
| South Sydney Juniors                      | 42,337                                     | 51,500                          |
| Ryde-Eastwood (commenced trading<br>1970) | -  | 4,010                           |
| Total                                     | 236,767                                    | 272,010                         |
| <u>Country Leagues' Clubs</u>             |  |                                 |
| Bathurst                                  | 3,543                                      | 3,500                           |
| Central Coast                             | 11,004                                     | 12,000                          |
| Corrimal                                  | 2,992                                      | 3,000                           |
| Dapto                                     | 4,492                                      | 3,500                           |
| Griffith                                  | 1,566                                      | 1,500                           |
| Group 7                                   | 1,691                                      | 1,800                           |
| Guildford                                 | 1,381                                      | 1,800                           |
| Illawarra                                 | 9,182                                      | 9,000                           |
| Maitland                                  | 2,280                                      | 2,400                           |
| Newcastle                                 | 1,724                                      | 2,000                           |
| Northern Suburbs (Coledale)               | 3,177                                      | 3,000                           |
| Parkes                                    | 4,180                                      | 4,000                           |
| Penrith                                   | 8,142                                      | 8,500                           |
| Port Kembla                               | 4,968                                      | 5,000                           |
| Queanbeyan                                | 7,566                                      | 10,000                          |
| Rugby League Country                      | 4,282                                      | 4,500                           |
| South Newcastle                           | 5,079                                      | 5,000                           |
| Thirroul                                  | 4,978                                      | 5,000                           |
| Wagga                                     | 4,250                                      | 4,500                           |
| Western Suburbs                           | 2,953                                      | 3,000                           |
| Western Suburbs (Newcastle)               | 10,800                                     | 11,000                          |
| West Tamworth                             | 2,332                                      | 2,500                           |
| Wollongong                                | 2,487                                      | 2,500                           |
|   | 105,049                                    | 104,000                         |
| Grand Total                               | <u>341,816</u>                             | <u>376,010</u>                  |

## Appendix 2

Summary of Poker Machine Taxation Rates

As from 1956, the operation of poker machines in non-proprietary clubs has been permissible under the relevant statutes of the Gaming and Betting Act, 1912, as subsequently amended (Part IIIA) and the Gaming and Betting (Poker Machines) Taxation Act, as subsequently amended.

Before non-proprietary clubs may be issued with a licence to keep, use or operate poker machines, registration is necessary under Part X of the Liquor Act, 1912, as subsequently amended (which deals with the issue of liquor licences to non-proprietary clubs), or under Part IIIA of the Gaming and Betting Act. The clubs are required to obtain licences for the machines and annual licence taxes are payable.

Currently the basic licence tax is \$20 for each 1 cent machine, \$40 for each 2 cent machine, \$100 for each 5 cent machine and \$200 for each 10 cent machine. The licence tax on 20 cent machines is as follows:

| <u>Number of Machines</u>       | <u>Tax per Machine</u> |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 - 2                           | \$1,100                |
| 3 - 5                           | \$1,200                |
| 6 - 10                          | \$1,800                |
| 11 - 20                         | \$2,400                |
| each machine in excess<br>of 20 | \$3,000                |

The licensing year dates from July 1 to June 30 of the following year. In the first, second and third year of registration of clubs concessions on the rates of licence tax are allowed to clubs having 250 members or less.

Supplementary licence tax is at present charged at the rate of 15 per cent on net revenue derived from poker machines. Additional supplementary licence tax at the rates of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, 5 per cent and 9 per cent is payable on net revenue in excess of \$100,000 but not more than \$200,000, in excess of \$200,000 but not more than \$500,000, and in excess of \$500,000 respectively (see Table A2.1).

Clubs with annual net revenues of \$17,000 or less are exempted from payment of supplementary licence tax whilst clubs with annual net revenues between \$17,000 and \$34,000 are taxed at the rate of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent after allowance of a concession which is calculated on

a sliding scale. Where a club derives a net revenue between \$34,000 and \$35,000, a flat rate of \$4,250 supplementary licence tax is levied (Chief Secretary's Department, 1970: 3,4,9,10,13).

Table A2.1

Schedule of Supplementary Licence Tax Rates  
Summary

| Annual Net Revenue    | Rate   |
|-----------------------|--|
| \$1 - \$17,000        | Nil.   |
| \$17,001 - \$34,000   | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on sliding scale.  |
| \$34,001 - \$35,000   | Flat rate of \$4,250.  |
| \$35,001 - and over   | 15 per cent.   |
| \$100,001 - \$200,000 | 15 per cent overall, plus additional supplementary licence tax at the rate of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent payable on amount of net revenue in excess of \$100,000 but not exceeding \$200,000.  |
| \$200,001 - \$500,000 | 15 per cent overall, plus additional supplementary licence tax at the rate of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent payable on amount of net revenue in excess of \$100,000 but not exceeding \$200,000 plus additional supplementary licence tax at the rate of 5 per cent payable on amount of net revenue in excess of \$200,000 but not exceeding \$500,000.  |
| \$500,001 - and over  | 15 per cent overall, plus additional supplementary licence tax at the rate of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent payable on amount of net revenue in excess of \$100,000 but not exceeding \$200,000 plus additional supplementary licence tax at the rate of 5 per cent payable on amount of net revenue in excess of \$200,000 but not exceeding \$500,000, plus additional supplementary licence tax at the rate of 9 per cent payable on amount of net revenue in excess of \$500,000. |

Source: Chief Secretary's Department, 1970: 14.

To illustrate how the various tax rates apply to a club with a large poker machine profit, we shall take the case of the QIC. During 1970, the QIC earned \$1,081,215 from its 160 poker machines, on which it paid \$38,440 in licence fees, and \$198,049 in supplementary taxes. If the club achieved exactly the same result in 1971 under current taxation rates, its total poker machine tax (as outlined in Table A2.2) would be \$269,931.

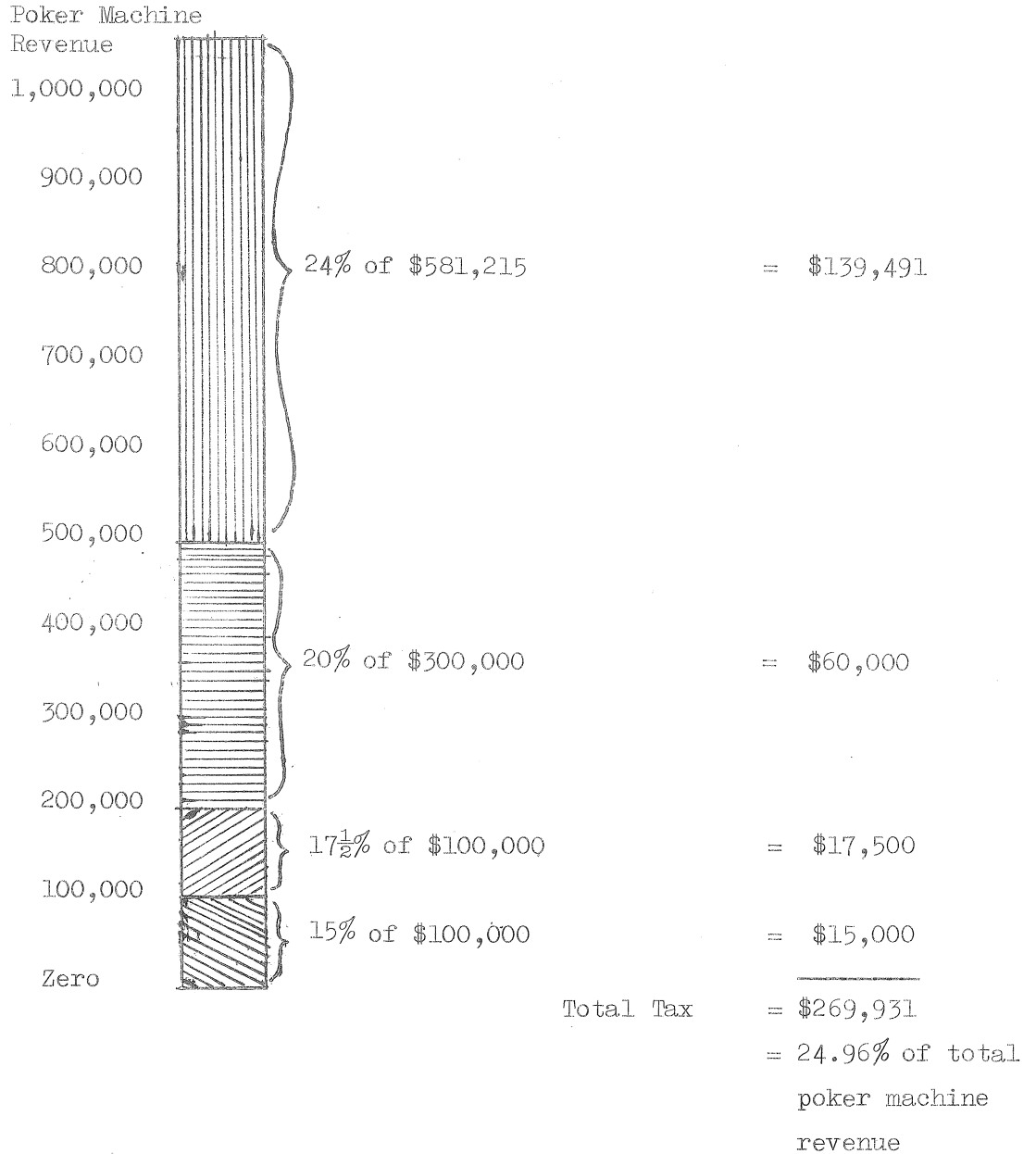
Table A2.2

Poker Machine Taxation Paid by a Club Earning a  
Total Poker Machine Revenue of \$1,081,215

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|                              |                   |              |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Gross Poker Machine Revenue: | \$1,081,215       |              |
| Licence Fees on Machines:    | 10 - 20c machines | } = \$38,440 |
|                              | 126 - 10c "       |              |
|                              | 24 - 5c "         |              |

Supplementary Taxes





Percentage Payout on 3-Reel Machines

Assuming that a machine is working perfectly, it is possible to calculate the percentage that should on average be returned to the player. For example, in the case of an ordinary three-reel "Gold Award" machine there are twenty symbols on each of the three reels in the machine. If each of the reels were numbered from one to twenty respectively, there would be 8,000 (20x20x20) different combinations which the machine could produce. Whilst it cannot be anticipated that a particular combination would regularly appear once in every 8,000 plays of the machine, it is understood that over many thousands of plays of a machine, which may involve a period of time of anything up to twelve months, a particular combination does in fact, average out so as to appear approximately once in every 8,000 plays of the machine. Accordingly, by multiplying the chances a specific winning symbol may appear on the first reel by the number of chances such as may appear on the second and third reels and then by the number of coins such a combination would return to the player as a prize, it is possible, again based on the averaging system, to determine the number of coins which would be returned to the player from such winning combinations over 8,000 plays of the machine, e.g.

3 "Jacks" pays 10 coins.

Number of "Jacks" appearing on each reel - first 3, second 5, third 6.

Coins returned to players =  $3 \times 5 \times 6 = 90 \times 10 = 900$  coins.

By making this calculation for each paying combination installed in the machine, it is possible to assess the average number of coins which may be returned to the player each 8,000 plays of the machine (Chief Secretary's Department, 1970: 20).

In Table A2.3 the specific symbols imprinted on each reel of a 3-reel poker machine are noted; the numbers of each type of symbol and the value of each pay-out are recorded. In Table A2.4, the percentage that is returned to the player and that retained by the club on this machine are documented. According to these calculations, such a machine would return 86.4 per cent to the player and the club's profit would amount to 13.6 per cent.

Table A2.3

Symbols, Number of Each Symbol and Value of  
Payouts on a 3-reel Gold Award Scattered  
Ace Machine

SCHEDULE: Twenty symbols on each reel.

COMBINATIONS: 8,000 (20 x 20 x 20).

A. Symbol disposition:

| No. | 1st reel   | 2nd reel   | 3rd reel   |
|-----|------------|------------|------------|
| 1   | Gold Award | Gold Award | Gold Award |
| 2   | Ten        | Ten        | Queen      |
| 3   | Queen      | Queen      | Nine       |
| 4   | King       | Ten        | Jack       |
| 5   | Ten        | Jack       | Nine       |
| 6   | Jack       | Ten        | King       |
| 7   | Queen      | King       | Jack       |
| 8   | Ten        | Ten        | Queen      |
| 9   | Queen      | Jack       | Nine       |
| 10  | Ace        | Queen      | Ace        |
| 11  | Queen      | Ten        | Jack       |
| 12  | Ten        | Jack       | Queen      |
| 13  | Ten        | Ten        | Jack       |
| 14  | Jack       | King       | Nine       |
| 15  | Nine       | Ace        | Queen      |
| 16  | Ten        | Ten        | Nine       |
| 17  | King       | Jack       | Jack       |
| 18  | Ten        | Queen      | Queen      |
| 19  | Ten        | Jack       | Nine       |
| 20  | Jack       | King       | Jack       |

B. Number of symbols on each reel:

| Symbol     | 1st reel | 2nd reel | 3rd reel |
|------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Gold Award | 1        | 1        | 1        |
| Ace        | 1        | 1        | 1        |
| King       | 2        | 3        | 1        |
| Queen      | 4        | 3        | 5        |
| Jack       | 3        | 5        | 6        |
| Ten        | 8        | 7        | -        |
| Nine       | 1        | -        | 6        |

C. Payouts

|                  |                                    |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Gold Awards      | \$24 jackpot plus drop of 20 coins |
| Aces             | \$12 jackpot plus drop of 20 coins |
| Scattered Aces   | 20 coins                           |
| Kings            | 18 coins                           |
| Queens           | 14 coins                           |
| Jacks            | 10 coins                           |
| 2 Tens/king/nine | 5 coins                            |
| 2 Tens           | 3 coins                            |

Source: Chief Secretary's Department, 1970: 21

Table A2.4

Percentage Returned to Players and Retained  
by Club every 8,000 Plays of Machine

| Combination  | Reel<br>1 | Reel<br>2 | Reel<br>3 | Chance of<br>Combination<br>Appearing<br>in 8,000 | Coins Ret-<br>urned by<br>Machine to<br>Players | Average Total<br>Coins Returned<br>to Player from<br>Combination<br>each 8,000<br>Plays of<br>Machine |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|---|---|---|
| Gold Award   | 1         | x 1       | x 1       | = 1   | x 260*  | = 260   |
| +Aces/Jackpot<br>and Scattered   | 3         | x 3       | x 3       | = 27  | x 20** plus<br>120 coins=                       | 660   |
| Kings  | 2         | x 3       | x 1       | = 6   | x 18  | = 108   |
| Queens   | 4         | x 3       | x 5       | = 60  | x 14  | = 840   |
| Jacks  | 3         | x 5       | x 6       | = 90  | x 10  | = 900   |
| 2 Tens plus<br>Nine/King   | 8         | x 7       | x 7       | = 392   | x 5   | = 1960  |
| 2 Tens plus any<br>other symbol  | 8         | x 7       | x 13      | = 728   | x 3   | = 2184  |
| Total coins returned to player   |           |           |           |   |   | = 6912  |
| Percentage returned to player = $\frac{6912}{8000} \times \frac{100}{1}$ |           |           |           |   |   | = 86.4 per cent   |
| Percentage retained by club  |           |           |           |   |   | = 13.6 per cent   |

\* Inclusive of \$24 jackpot

\*\* One of the twenty-seven chances of Aces appearing would be a jackpot (i.e. Aces appearing across middle line of the machine).

+ Although only one Ace appears on each reel, there are three chances of the Ace appearing in the window of machine for the payment of scattered Aces.

Source: Chief Secretary's Department, 1970: 22

## Appendix 3

1. Letter of Introduction

## QUEANBEYAN LEAGUES' CLUB LIMITED

20-8-70

Dear Member,

As the result of recent amendments to the New South Wales Liquor Act a new section 134A has been added, placing limitation on Club Membership. You have already been advised to this effect through the Club Journal, more particularly so in the column "From the Secretary/Manager's Desk" Vol. 5 No. 7 July 1970.

However, the Club may apply, subject to conditions, to the Licencing Court for a variation of membership ceiling and accordingly action is being taken in this regard in an endeavour to have the limit raised from 10,000 to 20,000.

In view of the fact that the Act allows one application only to be made irrespective of any decision given by the Court, it is essential that all information possible relevant to this matter be obtained and appropriately collated for submission through the Club's Barrister.

Therefore to assist in this regard the Club is fortunate in having been able to obtain the services of Mr Geoff Caldwell, Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra A.C.T. who during the past two (2) years has been studying the growth of the Registered Clubs in New South Wales and the functions that the Leagues Clubs serve generally. Recently Mr Caldwell presented a thirty one (31) page paper - "Clubs as a social welfare phenomenon" at the 6th National Conference of Australian Council of Social Services conducted at Canberra A.C.T.

Mr Caldwell has prepared a Questionnaire, approved by the Directors, with the view of obtaining information that can be used in a manner considered to be most beneficial in presenting a good Club image through various channels to the proper authorities concerned. The questionnaire is attached and is being forwarded to Club members

(as the result of random selection) for completion and return in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope.

All information, will of course, be treated as confidential and as will be seen from the questionnaire there is no question asking your name so that your answers will be strictly anonymous.

Members' co-operation in this matter would be appreciated as the details so obtained will be of considerable value to the Club organization, in particular, your Club.

It will be appreciated if YOU WOULD RETURN THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, and by no later than September 10.

Yours faithfully,

F.E. LAND  
SECRETARY/MANAGER

2. Questionnaire

QUEANBEYAN LEAGUES' CLUB QUESTIONNAIRE

AUGUST - 1970

Please tick in the appropriate places. On some questions you may tick in more than one place.

1. How long have you been a member of the Club? ..... years
2. Of what other clubs or organizations are you a member?  
 R.S.L. .... Golf .... Bowling .... Lions' ....  
 Apex .... J.Cs .... Political party ....  
 Church Club .... Other. Please specify .....
3. How often do you go to the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club?  
 Very infrequently ..... Monthly ..... Fortnightly .....  
 Weekly ..... More than once a week .....  
 Just about every day .....
4. In the past month, on what days have you been at the Club?

| Days      | Once | Twice | More than Twice |
|-----------|------|-------|-----------------|
| Monday    |      |       |                 |
| Tuesday   |      |       |                 |
| Wednesday |      |       |                 |
| Thursday  |      |       |                 |
| Friday    |      |       |                 |
| Saturday  |      |       |                 |
| Sunday    |      |       |                 |

5. In the past month, at what times have you been at the Club?

|  | Once | Twice | More than Twice |
|--|------|-------|-----------------|
| Before lunch                               |      |       |                 |
| For lunch                                  |      |       |                 |
| In the afternoon                           |      |       |                 |
| After work for a drink<br>(5 p.m.- 7 p.m.) |      |       |                 |
| For the evening meal<br>(7 p.m.- 9 p.m.)   |      |       |                 |
| For the evening<br>(9 p.m.- Midnight)      |      |       |                 |

6. If and when you go to the Club of an evening, how long do you usually stay?

Weekdays ..... hours.      Fridays ..... hours.  
 Saturdays ..... hours.      Sundays ..... hours.

7. When you are at the Club, which activities do you usually participate in?

|           | Eating Meals | Dancing, Watching Entertainment | Playing Poker Machines | Having Drinks | Club Meeting | Playing Sport, Darts, Billiards, etc. | Other Please Specify |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Weekdays  |              |                                 |                        |               |              |                                       |                      |
| Fridays   |              |                                 |                        |               |              |                                       |                      |
| Saturdays |              |                                 |                        |               |              |                                       |                      |
| Sundays   |              |                                 |                        |               |              |                                       |                      |

8. What activities do you usually engage in at these times?

|                | Eating<br>Meal | Dancing,<br>Entertain-<br>ment | Playing<br>Poker<br>Machines | Liquid<br>Refresh-<br>ment | Club<br>Meeting | Playing<br>Sport | Other<br>Please<br>Specify |
|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| In the morning |                |                                |                              |                            |                 |                  |                            |
| Lunch          |                |                                |                              |                            |                 |                  |                            |
| Afternoon      |                |                                |                              |                            |                 |                  |                            |
| 5 p.m.- 7 p.m. |                |                                |                              |                            |                 |                  |                            |
| After 7 p.m.   |                |                                |                              |                            |                 |                  |                            |

9. Many members attend the Club with friends and relatives. During the past month with whom have you come?

|                            | Once | Twice | More than<br>Twice |
|----------------------------|------|-------|--------------------|
| Your husband, wife         |      |       |                    |
| Boy friend, girl<br>friend |      |       |                    |
| Relatives                  |      |       |                    |
| Friends                    |      |       |                    |
| Work colleagues            |      |       |                    |
| Business<br>acquaintances  |      |       |                    |

Other, please specify .....

10. When you play the poker machines, what do you play mainly for?

To win jackpots ..... To see if you can win some money,  
not necessarily jackpots ..... To play largely for  
amusement ..... Never play them, or hardly ever play  
them .....

Other reasons. Please specify .....  
.....

11. When you play poker machines, do you play usually with just your loose change, or do you exchange some dollar notes for coins?  
 Use loose change ..... Change notes into coins .....  
 Don't play them .....
12. On your last visit to the Club, did you play the poker machines and if so, can you remember:  
 How much you won? ..... How much you lost? .....  
 Can't remember ..... Didn't play them .....
13. How do you rate your luck on the poker machines?  
 Marvellous ..... Pretty good .....  
 Better than average ..... Fair .....  
 Not too good ..... Very poor ..... Never play them .....
14. Have you in the past month lost more than you intended?  
 Yes ..... No .....  
 Can't remember ..... Don't play them .....

---

In order to get a proper representative sample of the members of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club, we would like to get details of the following. Please remember that we do not require your name, and so you will remain anonymous.

15. Occupation .....
- 15a. Male member? ..... Associate? .....
16. Which age group are you in? 21-29 ..... 30-39 .....  
 40-49 ..... 50-59 ..... 60 and over .....
17. If you are married, is your spouse a member of the Queanbeyan Leagues' Club?  
 Yes ..... No ..... Unmarried .....
18. What other members of your family, friends and acquaintances are members of the Club?  
 Your son and/or daughter ..... Your parent/parents .....  
 Your relatives ..... Your work mates or colleagues .....  
 Your neighbours ..... None that you know of .....
19. Where do you live? (If in Canberra, please state the Suburb)  
 .....
20. In what state were you born? If not in Australia, please name the country where you were born  
 .....
21. When you visit the Club, do you come in your own car, in a friend's car or by other means?  
 Own car ..... Friend's car ..... Public Transport .....  
 Walk ..... Other. Please indicate .....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION



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