# The Janus Face of Diversity in Australian Sport

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**Abstract**

In this paper, Janus is used as a metaphor for examining the nature of cultural diversity in Australian sport. It does so by firstly presenting a historical context for sport in Australia and the relative lack of cultural diversity found in sport. Within a country dominated by the running codes of football and cricket, the position of soccer in Australia was somewhat unique as it became a bastion for many non- Anglo migrant groups. However, in the 1980s and 1990s soccer's lack of organisation success at the state and national level was negatively ascribed to the tensions between the ethnically affiliated clubs, the same clubs that were ironically the stalwarts driving the growing popularity of the sport. We examine the initiatives used to restructure the game in Australia to make football more appealing to mainstream (ie non-ethnically aligned) spectators. The contemporary situation is explored through secondary documentation and the results of a survey of 3056 spectators undertaken during the first season of the new A-League are presented. The paper concludes with a discussion about the relative success of the restructure in terms of changing the face of Australian soccer.

## INTRODUCTION

The dual face of Janus, the Roman god, was historically used to symbolize change and transition. Janus was also known to represent time because he could see into the past with one face and into the future with the other. Janus also stood for being two faced, that is not always being what it seemed on the face of it. In this paper, Janus, as depicted in Figure 1, is used as a metaphor for examining the nature of cultural diversity in Australian sport. Specifically, the discussion presented here draws on soccer (football) as a site of the changing faces of cultural diversity as waves of migrants arrive, acculturate, and forge new identities in this southern island.

**Insert figure 1 about here**

The original settlement of Australia by Aborigines occurred at least 40 millennia ago and the indigenous population remained relatively undisturbed until the eighteenth century [1] After this time substantial numbers of mainly European arrivals

fundamentally changed the country's composition. [2] Australia became a settler nation, one which "Europeans have settled, where their descendants have remained politically dominant over indigenous people, and where a diverse, gendered society has developed in class, ethnic and racial terms". [3] Contemporary Australian national identity has been conspicuously forged by continuing migration that has occurred since the initial colonisation. However, it was not until a 1972 pronouncement of policy change by the Federal Labor government that the country officially was deemed to support multiculturalism. [4]

Historically, visible minority ethnic communities in Australia were subject to widespread systemic discrimination perpetrated under the banner of government policies promoting cultural purity, assimilation, integration and even multiculturalism. [5] While most Australians agree that people should not be subject to prejudice due to their ethnic background, equally "most Australians also expect migrants to embrace their new home and to do in Rome as the Romans do". [6] The presence of cultural pluralism due to the immigration of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds has appeared threatening to hosts who "often express the fear that they are being 'swamped' by foreigners". [7] To some, multiculturalism implies that the face of Australian national identity will be reshaped and lose its unique and quintessential 'Aussieness'. Nevertheless, multiculturalism was put "at the heart of Australia's developing nationhood and national identity" by 1982 [8] and as history has shown, writing valuing different cultures and ethnicities into policy did not always directly translate directly into putting it into practice.

Sport is a particularly useful site for examining the changing and complex interplay of race, nation, culture and identity in very public contexts. [9] The role that sport has played in Australian society with respect to both creating and alleviating cultural tensions, particularly with regard to minority ethnic involvement in the sport of soccer has been widely discussed and debated. [10] Notably, celebrations of national identity as expressed through support of an ethnically aligned soccer team have been viewed by some sections of the Australian community as a direct challenge to any notion of a culturally inclusive community or multiculturalism. That is to say, the expressions of support and nationalistic pride in countries other than Australia, by groups of individuals living in Australia, has often times been construed as non-Australian and certainly non-assimilationist.

The face that one presents to the outside world is comprised of a complex set of identifiers. In this paper we look at the 'Janus face' of soccer as an allegorical representation of the fragmented and seemingly contradictory nature of cultural identity in Australian society. The Janus face of soccer is explored by examining the sport's cultural history in Australia. The discussion then outlines the strategic changes that the Football Federation Australia has implemented in soccer in Australia since 2003. The relative effect of these changes is assessed through the results of an FFA survey of non-members gathered during the first season of the A-League competition. The online survey participants were recruited by each A-League club during home matches in the first season of the competition. The survey was completed by 3056 A-League non-member spectators. The analysis of the survey included frequencies and cross tabulations of age, gender and cultural affiliation of the non-member spectators of the

seven Australian A-League clubs. This study aims to provide empirical data to compliment the qualitative studies of Hallinan, Hughson and Burke [11] and Hay [12] conducted with fans of Melbourne Victory since the A-League was launched in 2005.

**SPORT AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY**

In this section, we briefly address sport and cultural diversity to provide a basis to discuss the role soccer has played in Australia's migrant communities. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the migrant arrivals consisted largely of convicts, free settlers and colonial gentry [13], bringing with them British social, political, ideological and educational discourse. Links to England were maintained through various institutions, including sport. [14] British arrivals influenced the type of sports that were popular into the middle to latter part of the nineteenth century, namely horseracing, prize fighting and cricket. Each of these sports established exclusive clubs for its middle and upper class members and membership was highly selective. "Nostalgia no doubt led to the adoption of many British sporting activities, but others were the result of deliberate attempts by the colonial wealthy and educated classes to replicate English social life, including its social structure". [15] There was noted resistance to the cultural domination of the English by the predominantly Irish convict and working class, and women's sport opportunities were limited to a few 'suitably feminine' sports. [16] Scottish and English working class migrants who set up soccer clubs in Australia at this time began a tradition of naming clubs after their homelands or existing clubs overseas, such as the Caledonians, Northumberland and Durhams, Rangers, Celtics, and Fifers. [17]

While the government tried to encourage more migrants from Britain in the early part of the twentieth century by offering them financial assistance, immigration from the UK was in decline by the early 1930s and it became apparent that the dream of a self-supporting British Empire was unattainable. Consequently, Australia was forced to start looking beyond the British Isles to sustain its commitment to a large immigration intake. [18] Although not targeted, and arriving mainly unassisted, mainland European immigrants began to significantly contribute to the growth of the early twentieth century Australian population. In the aftermath of World War II, Australia's immigration policy gave British immigrants predominance, and tried to uphold a White Australia intake. [19] However, over 170,000 displaced persons from the refugee camps of Europe arrived in Australia between 1947 and 1954. [20] The arrivals were encouraged to assimilate into the Australian way of life as quickly as possible and become inconspicuous in their new land. [21] There was a strongly expressed public expectation that, "everyone would learn English, everyone would look alike, and everyone would share values, beliefs and practices". [22]

Despite this assimilation expectation, ethnic affiliated clubs, newspapers, cultural, religious and sporting bodies expanded [23] but newly arrived ethnic minority groups did not fully embrace the established Australian sports of cricket, rugby or rowing. [24] Instead, soccer flourished as the newly arrived males from Europe swelled the player ranks and quickly made the game their own. Soccer subsequently went from an English-controlled game to a sport administered and played by large numbers of European Australians. As noted in a government report (on Croatians in Australia), "perhaps the sphere that has come closest to uniting the Croatian-born is sport, and especially soccer,

in which many Croatian teams and players have competed with great distinction in the top grades". [25] In many ethnic communities, sport participation was a counter balance for government and community expectations of cultural assimilation as it provided the participants with an avenue to express their cultural identity. [26] By the 1970s the federal government finally bowed to pressure and replaced its assimilation focus with a policy of supporting multiculturalism and valuing cultural diversity, [27], however, soccer continued to be supported by ethnically based community clubs, and consequently the sport was not fully embraced as Australian. [28] As soccer grew globally, the prevailing perception of soccer as a migrant sport was problematic and seen a hindrance to its development as an Australian sport. However, it was not until the later part of the century that the sport was forced to undergo a "major facelift" and purge the game of its ethnic appearance.

## THE CHANGING FACE OF SOCCER

There is a significant body of research on sport and ethnicity which discusses the role of soccer/football in multi-cultural Australian society during the second half of the 20th century. [29] However, the changed face of soccer in Australia, represented by its name change to football, followed a structural overhaul to the sport which commenced in 2003. The restructure of football was designed to provide an avenue for the expression and appropriation of cultural distinctiveness and change through the renaming, repositioning and re-conceptualisation of the game in Australia. Notably, the new face of football was to reflect the national competition and national federation's (the FFA) strategic agenda of de-ethnicisation and the development of a 'new' football culture in Australia.

The sport of soccer was introduced to the country by British migrants in the 19th century. While soccer originally had British roots, as noted earlier in this paper, its popularity with post-war migrants shifted its participant base to encompass non-English speaking ethnic communities, and this orientation earned soccer the derogatory colloquial title of 'Wogball'. The ethnic orientation of football and its use in maintaining specific cultural identities has been widely acknowledged. [30] Socio-historical narratives of ethnic involvement in the game have chronicled the sport's role in the lives of selected migrant communities [31] and sociological studies on football hooliganism and expressive nationality have investigated the darker side of this allegiance. [32]

Mainland European involvement in football grew enormously in the mid 1940s [33] when migrants were brought to Australia to fill gaps in the antipodean labour market. [34] Many migrants lacked competency in the English language and culture, and unsurprisingly friendships formed on the boat trip to Australia or in the migrant camps with others who spoke the same language, had the same cultural background or were of the same religion. These relationships were carried into settlement, and enclaves of migrants formed in "inner-city locations, long abandoned by the middle classes". [35] These patterns of development were similar in Sydney and Melbourne with significant inner-city enclaves of Italians (Leichhardt and Carlton), Greeks (Marrickville and Lonsdale St, Melbourne), Chinese (respective Chinatowns), while other immigrants decided to settle in the middle suburbs in Asian 'ethic precincts' (Bankstown and

Richmond) and outer suburbs (Cabramatta and Springvale) due to the advantages of space and price. [36]

The role of the soccer club in migrant acculturation in Victoria has been extensively reviewed in relation to the plethora of ethnically aligned clubs in and around Melbourne. [37] As Hay argued, soccer provided an avenue into mutual support systems, invaluable to new migrants. [38] Ethnically aligned communities formed around soccer clubs in Perth, although these communities became fragmented as migration rates reduced. [39] Soccer was presented as a game for lower-class migrants, just as the upper classes lay claim to the sport rugby union through its prevalence in the private school system. [40]

Ethnically based football clubs developed and served to reinforce settlement patterns, as the sport became a focal role in many migrant communities. [41] These football clubs established a point of common ground for migrants, and provided opportunities to socialise and converse with their compatriots. Such clubs attracted members from their constituent countries or religion (eg Hakoah Football Club – Jewish) but there was limited appeal outside of the cultural and religious boundaries. Playing, watching and participating in football was a pastime which was familiar and the space provided a transition avenue between their former home country and the new Australian environment. [42] Soccer was henceforth known as a "multicultural affair". [43] However, as many of these clubs conducted their business and social activities in languages other than English, a stereotype emerged that football clubs "were creating barriers for Australians of long standing, who were not prepared to work at overcoming

their initial feelings of strangeness when they came into contact …there was a fear of the foreigner". [44] In other words, the public face of soccer was decidedly non-Anglo and these clubs were seen as unwelcoming and non inclusive of cultures other than their own.

**The question of de-ethnicisation**

Attempts to remove the ethnic names, symbols and linkages present in many football clubs were driven by imperatives to develop football's following beyond specific ethnic communities and to disassociate the sport with ethnic rivalries. The notion of de-ethnicisation was first mooted in Canberra in 1960, when local football officials raised it as a means to curb the violence associated with ethnic rivalries. [45] Despite three attempts to de-ethnicise the NSL, in 1977, 1992 and 1997 [46] the process failed to eventuate as clubs with strong cultural ties and values were not about to simply renege on long-established traditions. [47]

The outcome of forcibly removing explicit demonstrations of ethnicity (such as a club name, through de-ethnicisation legislation), merely led clubs to espouse their cultural heritage and pride in alternate ways. Expressive forms of culture have endured; Sydney United (formerly Sydney Croatia), Marconi Stallions (Italian heritage), and Sydney Olympic (Greek heritage) all compete in the NSW state league with clearly visible allusions to their historical nationalities in kit and insignia. The unsavoury side of maintenance of expressive identities was evidenced in the 2005 season when fans of Sydney United (Croatian) and Bonnyrigg White Eagles (Serbian) rioted during a NSW Premier League fixture. The events of March 13th, 2005 prompted an independent

enquiry report, which heavily criticised Soccer NSW and both clubs [48], while also proposing measures for improving the implementation and management of football in Australia. Hughson [49] has provided a tempered argument on the de-ethnicisation agenda, discussing its paradoxical standing with Australian multicultural policy which espouses the value of cultural diversity. [50]

The various incarnations of football governance (Australian Soccer Federation (ASF), Soccer Australia (SA), Australian Soccer Association (ASA), and Football Federation Australia (FFA)) have viewed ethnicity as a divisive factor, which limited the appeal of the game to a broader audience. More specifically, de-ethnicisation, from a governance perspective, is based around the notion that anyone should be able to play, support, or work in any football club, regardless of their ethnic heritage. Such considerations of inclusiveness and the necessity to engage football's huge participation base at a youth level (the popularity of football as a participant sport is 2nd to only swimming in Australia) [51] underpinned the radical overhaul of football in Australia, initiated by the intervention of the Australian federal government.

Two documents outlined the proposed changes to the structure of football governance [52] and the constitution of the National Soccer League (NSL). [53] The recommendations of *The Crawford Report* and *The Report of the NSL Task Force* provided the basis for a dramatic change to soccer governance. Australian business tycoon, Frank Lowy, who brought with him strong connections to soccer/football, was recruited to provide a new approach to leadership and drive change in Australian football. The appointment of John O'Neill as Chief Executive Officer signalled a break from

tradition and an ushering in of a new era for the sport. O'Neill was the driving force behind the development of the Australian Rugby Union and the 2003 Rugby World Cup, and had not been previously associated with soccer. This was followed by a name change for the governing body of soccer, to the Football Federation of Australia (FFA). O'Neill's mandate was to replace the old face of soccer with a new face for football [54] from 'wogball' to 'football for all Australians'.

The new image was championed though the introduction of the national competition, the A-League, comprised of city-based franchises, without any links to specific ethnic communities. [55] The strategy to completely disconnect the League from its ethnic heritage was designed to create a completely new public face for football as represented in the A-League slogan "it's football, but not as you know it". [56]  The newly created A-League clubs [57] were disassociated from previous traditions and had no identifiable existing fan base, making the creation of a new identity paramount. Or can there be two faces of football in Australia?

Ethnically oriented clubs are still strongly represented in the state premier league and other divisions. [58] Hallinan, Hughson and Burke suggest that, despite acceptance of the corporate de-ethnicised model, suburban teams with non-Anglo ethnic derivatives remain a vital area for both sport and their respective communities. These clubs, with their rich history and traditions, represent the grass roots face of football and the ongoing relationship that ethnic communities maintain with their football club.

The composition of the new face of the A-League teams is further examined here via features that encompass ethnic, cultural, generational and national boundaries. These features are intended to be attractive to the youth market, and specifically emphasize the commonalities between young supporters and their multiethnic and mainstream peers ie the "sweet spot of youth culture" (ages 16-24 years). [59] While the youth market has been the prime focus of the league's marketing efforts, the retention of long-term fans of the game and mainstream support are equally essential to the success of the A-League. [60] Just how successful the A-League has been in creating a new face for football in Australia, and its key features, is discussed below.

**A NEW SUPPORTER FACE FOR FOOTBALL?**

The new national level football league was designed to appeal to a multi-ethnic mainstream Australian society. Notably, almost one quarter (24%) of the Australian population was born overseas in over 250 different countries [61] and of these the largest groups are the United Kingdom (5.6%), and New Zealand (2.3%). [62] Multiculturalism creates a paradox in relation to football. [63] At the grassroots level, football participation is universally popular and statistics demonstrate this clearly with football being the most played team-sport for children. [64] [65] However, there are apparent differences to this pattern based on public and private schools, the state one resides in and geographic location (city vs. rural). Professional national and semi-professional state football competitions have traditionally attracted a limited spectator following and have not been able to capitalise on grass-roots participation and develop a strong spectator base for the sport. [66] A strong body of qualitative ethnographic

research [67] has consistently found that specific ethnic communities provided the majority of NSL supporters, although, supporting statistical evidence is limited.

Have the changes to the national league attracted a diverse population and is this supporter base reflective of the cultural diversity of Australia? The subject of this paper is A-League non-member supporters in the period prior to and post Socceroos qualification for the World Cup in Germany 2006. While significant publicity was created by the Socceroos qualification for Germany, this study covers a period prior to the World Cup where the major impact of television spectatorship had not occurred. However, it is recognised that qualification led to unprecedented media coverage and television spectatorship of soccer in Australia. This effect could be the focus of another paper. This paper focuses on non-members of the A-League clubs. In the remainder of this paper, the question of whether the A-League has been successful in attracting a culturally diverse market, or conversely if ethnic patterns of sports spectatorship are still visible is addressed.

In his research into A-League club Melbourne Victory, Hay [68] provides us with a starting point and an insight into the potential cultural shift since the re-development of the A-League:

In one respect the current boom is different from all those which have gone before. Those were precipitated and sustained by high levels of inward migration of football-cognisant people; this one is virtually entirely driven by the interest of the existing domestic population.

Hay examined whether there had been a shift from ethnic to mainstream and suggested that changes made to top-level football structure have opened up football to a broader cross-section of Australians. These findings corroborate research into Sydney FC's membership base that identified Sydney FC's fan base as highly multi-cultural with the clubs members representing a myriad of ethnicities. Fans of Sydney FC were characterised by a vociferous support of football, with respondents primarily supporting globally branded football teams and, secondly, by a belief that their membership of the new A-League team is symbolic of allegiance to football in Australia. [69] The latter is indicative of the latent demand for a high profile professional league competition. Both of these studies indicated that the A-League has been successful in developing a more diverse, mainstream following, due to the removal of specific ethnic references and the associated perceptions of hooligan behaviour and deviance, which had dogged the previous National Soccer League.

**METHOD**

To test these findings on a national scale (i.e. across all Australian A-League clubs) a survey was conducted in conjunction with the Football Federation Australia (FFA) at the end of the inaugural 2005-2006 A-League season. Non-member spectators of the eight A-League clubs were surveyed, with the New Zealand sample excluded for this study. This sample group represented a more transient group of supporters than club members that had committed financially to A-League clubs. The online survey participants were recruited by each A-League club during home matches in the first season of the competition. Only non-members from each A-League club were sampled, which was facilitated by an initial screening question, and then consent and an email

contact was obtained for their involvement for the online survey. The survey was subsequently completed by 3056 A-League non-member spectators. The results are now presented through frequencies and cross tabulations of cultural affiliation of A-League non-member spectators.

**RESULTS**

The findings provide some insights into the characteristics of A-League fans after the first season of the competition. As Figure 2 shows, not surprisingly, that supporter groups in the A-League are still highly male-dominated. [70]  Despite failing to broaden their gendered following, the degree to which the A-League had been successful in attracting the youth market is striking. *Sydney Morning Herald* football writer Michael Cockerill [71] described this previously ambivalent market as: "football's silent majority, the hundreds of thousands of youngsters playing the game who have never felt connected to it at professional level".

Some 70 percent of respondents were under the age of 35 years, while the most prominent age bracket was 18-25 years, the specific group targeted by the FFA, which represented some 28 percent of the sample group. The engagement of this previously disenfranchised market appears to have been a significant success for the FFA. Additionally, the significant number of supporters drawn from ages 36 years and upwards demonstrates that a broad spectrum of the population has been attracted.

**Insert Figure 2 about here**

In relation to the question of cultural diversity, 23 percent of the respondents were born overseas, approximately the same proportion as found in the general Australian population. Some 77 percent of respondents were born in Australia and of these, 33 percent were born in Australia but had one or more parents born overseas (compared with 20% in the general population). This statistic is notable as it demonstrated that the A-League has attracted a high number of Australian born fans. In doing so, findings suggest that the FFA has been successful in attracting a market that was previously disconnected from football support in Australia. [72] The cultural diversity of the respondents parallels the general population, with a slight over-representation of second generation Australians.

The respondents, who did not identify themselves solely as 'Australian' were asked about their cultural identification. Some 51 percent of the sample group identified themselves solely as Australian. The remaining 49 percent identified with over 100 nationalities, spread across the globe. Respondents identifying with the 'United Kingdom' including England (11.4%), Scotland (2.5%), and the UK (3.5%) formed the largest cultural group outside of solely Australian [1]. [73] In addition, a significant identification with Italian heritage (5.8%) was evident, followed by Greek (3%), Netherlands (1.4%), Croatia (1.2%), Macedonia (1.2%), Poland (1.1%), Malta (0.9%), Germany (1.1%), New Zealand (1.1%) and Ireland.

**Insert table 1 about here**

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[1] The cultural background of participants was included as an open ended question. It is for this reason that the UK, England and Scotland are all included.

The cultural diversity of supporters provides evidence that A-League football clubs now appeal to Bradley's ideal of broader areas and regions. [74] However, the substantive presence of second generation Australians suggests that the sport has continued to attract a strong 'ethnically based' following. However, what is not entirely clear is whether these supporters are attending games as a continued expression of ethnicity or are simply supporting the sport of football as 'Australians'. Questions such as these are relevant to determine the extent to which soccer has retained its capacity for developing and maintaining specific cultural identities.

In examining the cultural heritage of the seven Australian A-League clubs, an interesting contrast is provided by Figure 3. Figure 3 highlights that in the majority of A-League clubs, spectators and their parents were born in Australia. However, the cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide all have a high number of 1st generation Australians. In fact, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide's non-member supporter base demonstrates that a high proportion of spectators in these cities have one or both parents born outside of Australia. While there was no dominant cultural identification in Sydney, Melbourne was more strongly identified with Italian (14%) and Adelaide with UK (20%). In contrast, the non-member spectator bases of Newcastle Jets, Central Coast Mariners and Queensland Roar each represent a distinctly Australian non-member support. Perth Glory was notable as its highest proportion of non-member spectator base was naturalised Australians, with 35 percent of its supporters identifying with UK cultural heritage. A Chi-square test for independence (p= .000) indicated a significant association between club supported and cultural origin. This finding has implications

for the marketing and promotion of the game in the three groupings of cities/teams for non-member spectators.


**Insert Figure 3 about here**


## CONCLUSION

In redefining the cultural boundaries of Australia's top-level football league, the FFA risked alienating the ethnic communities that had been the lifeblood of the game. [75] Vitriolic arguments against the removal of ethnicity from football [76] presented de-ethnicisation as a return to colonial roots and the rise of the British Empire and its chauvinistic trappings. [77] Empirical research into the effects of the change since the start of the A-League outlined in this paper would lend credence to the dispute of this treatise. [78]

The Janus face of football reflects the changing supporter base and repositioning of the sport to attract a more mainstream Australian population. Dominant social groups have always had more power to (re)construct and convey particular meanings and ideologies than minority social groups. The FFA imposed initiatives were clearly devised to alter the appearance of 'soccer', from an image that was strongly associated with ethnicity to a more diverse and culturally pluralist 'football' competition. The changes represent an ambitious strategy that required sophistication to implement, as a delicate balance was necessary to assimilate the historically based multitude of ethnic affiliations into the seemingly 'faceless' new, "one team, one city" A-League. Evidence to date would suggest that this repositioning of football has been effective and the new face of football
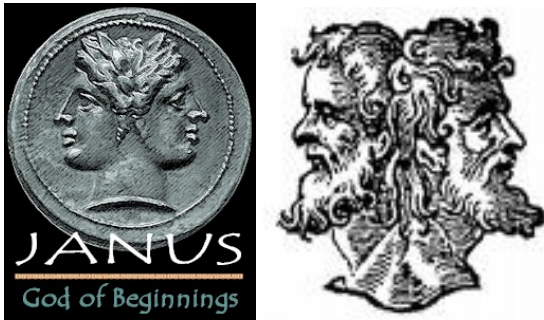
is attractive to a young and culturally diverse audience, and spans a broad spectrum of Australian society. The FFA was able to construct a public face that simultaneously embraced multicultural Australia.

The changes to football also reflect what is currently happening within Australian contemporary society. The federal government has recently shifted emphasis from promoting multiculturalism in favour of promoting a society which values Australian citizenship, appreciates cultural diversity and enables migrants to participate equitably. This philosophical change is not dissimilar to what has occurred in elite level football. However, the more pragmatic financial imperatives provided the prime impetus for change to football, along with the desire of those involved in the sport to position Australian on the world stage.

Football is an important social space in which shifting notions of identity and belonging can be articulated and contested, however, the degree to which the game can realistically facilitate wider transformations in social relations is limited. [79] However, the sport can make changes that will broaden its spectator appeal and at the same time embrace cultural diversity and develop culturally inclusive practices. While a dualist argument exists over the decision to implement a league without expressive ethnicity, the declining number of immigrants entering Australia [80] and the ongoing acculturation of those who preceded suggest such measures are required for the future success of the sport. It is difficult to argue from the data presented here that removing expressive ethnicity from top-level football has deprived ethnic specific groups of access to football, as the sheer diversity of the current supporter base disputes this.

Further research is required to ascertain the impact of these changes at a state league level where ethnic affiliations are still predominant. As Hallinan et al [88] clearly articulate, ethnic clubs still play a role in the life of migrant communities and the impact of the governance restructure on these communities needs further attention. Have the changes alienated ethnic communities across Australia, or does the newfound accessibility of football to mainstream Australia provide migrant communities with greater acceptance, and hence, opportunities for socialisation, mobility and acculturation? Whether 'soccer' is the backward looking face of Janus and the FFA has successfully created a forward looking diverse and inclusive face of football in Australia will be tested over the coming decade in terms of the profile of participants, spectators, volunteers, administrators and the place that football has in the Australian sporting psyche.
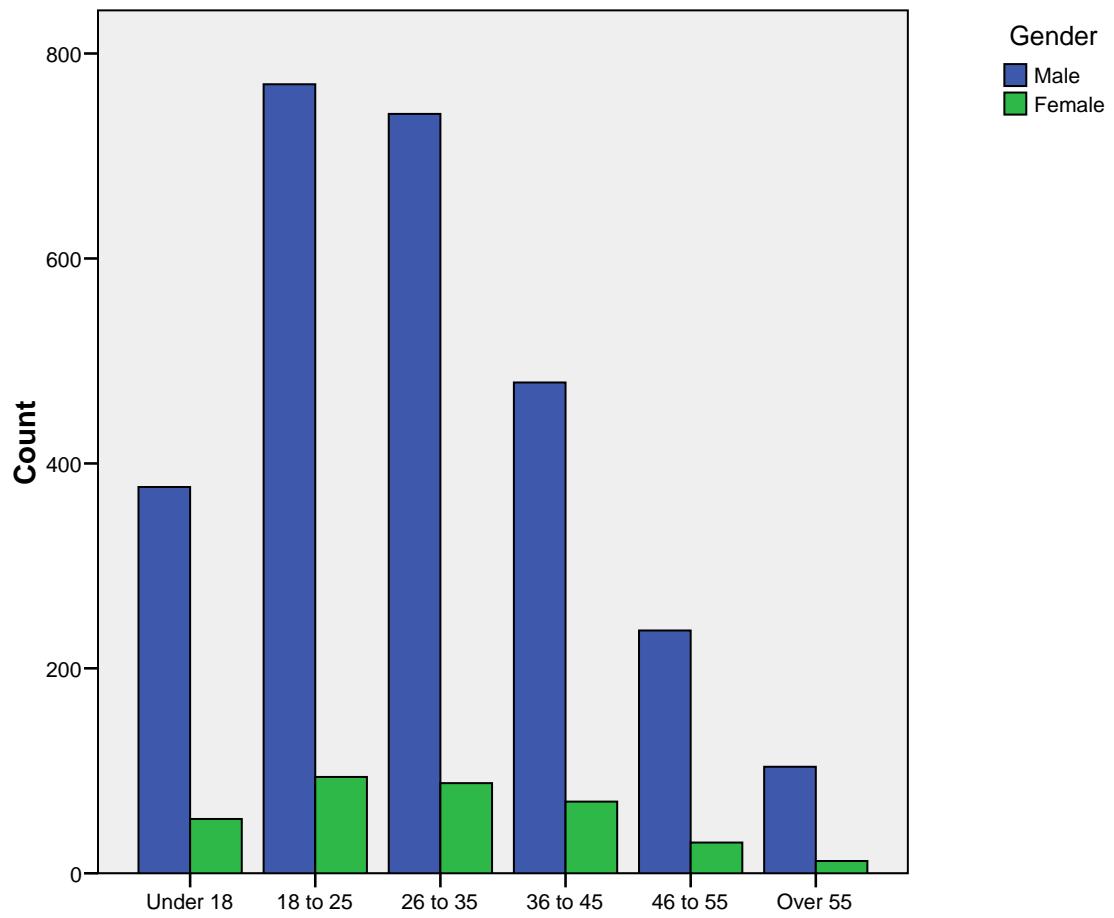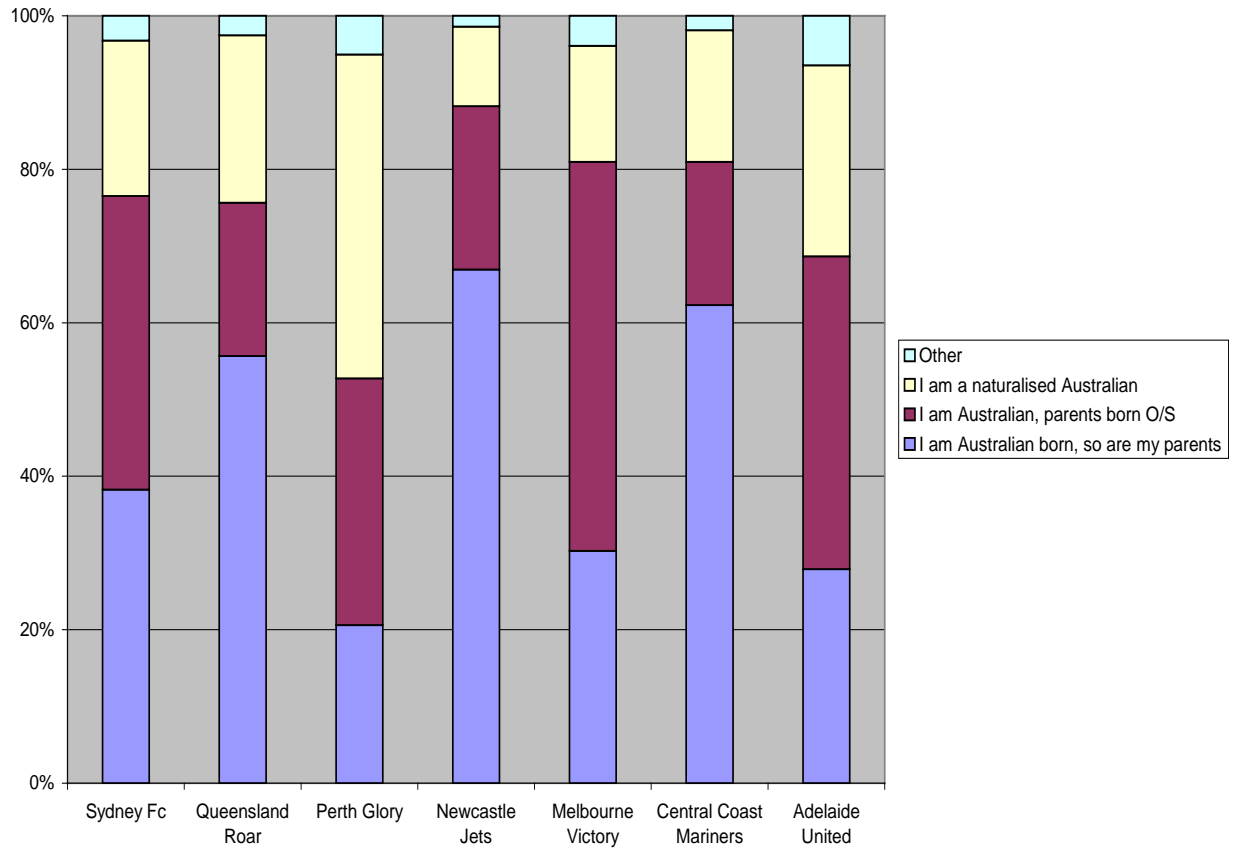
Figure 1: Janus



Source: http://www.meridiangraphics.net/janus.htm

Source: http://www.meridiangraphics.net/janus.htm

Figure 2: Non-member survey age and gender



Male n=2708 Female n=347

Figure 3: Cultural origin based on each A-League club



N=3051

Table 1: Cultural Identification

| Cultural identification | % |
|---|---|
| Australia | 50.9 |
| UK | 17.8 |
| Italy | 5.8 |
| Greece | 3 |
| Holland | 1.4 |
| Croatia | 1.2 |
| Macedonia | 1.2 |
| Poland | 1.1 |
| Germany | 1.1 |
| New Zealand | 1.1 |
| Ireland | 1 |
| Other | 14.4* |
| *Only groups with a percentage higher than 1% were included | |

Notes

[1] Hanna, *Reconciliation in Olympism: Indigenous Culture in the Sydney Olympiad.*

[2] Sherington, *Australias Immigrants 1788-1988.*

[3] Stasiulius and Yuval-Davis, *Unsettling Settler Societies.*, p3

[4] Hallinan and Krotee, 'Conceptions of Nationalism and Citizenship among Non-Anglo-Celtic Soccer Clubs in an Australian City'.

[5] Castles, 'Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States, and International Migration'.

[6] Birrell and Betts, 'Australians' Attitudes to Migration Review'., p3

[7] Jayaraman, 'Inclusion and Exclusion: An Analysis of the Australian Immigration History and Ethnic Relations'., p136

[8] Galligan and Roberts, *Australian Multiculturalism: Its Rise and Demise.*, p7

[9] Carrington and McDonald, *Race, Sport and British Society.*

[10] Hallinan and Krotee, 'Conceptions of Nationalism and Citizenship among Non-Anglo-Celtic Soccer Clubs in an Australian City'; Harrison, 'What's in an Ethnic Name?  Soccer Clubs in Australia'; Hay, "Our Wicked Foreign Game': Why Has Association Football (Soccer) Not Become the Main Code of Football in Australia?'; Hughson, *Building a Brotherhood from Otherhood: A Case Study of Soccer, Male Identity and Ethnicity in Western Sydney*; Mosely, 'Balkan Politics in Australian Soccer, '.

[11] Hallinan *et al.*, 'Supporting the 'World Game' in Australia: A Case Study of Fandom at National and Club Level'.

[12] Hay, 'Fan Culture in Australian Football (Soccer): From Ethnic to Mainstream?'

[13] Jupp, 'Waves of Migration to Australia'.

[14] Sherington, *Australias Immigrants 1788-1988.*

[15] Vamplew, 'Violence in Australian Soccer: The Ethnic Contribution'.

[16] Foley, 'Subversive Possibilities: Exploring Women's Leisure Resistance Using Historical Case Studies'; Lynch and Veal, *Australian Leisure.*

[17] Hay, "Our Wicked Foreign Game': Why Has Association Football (Soccer) Not Become the Main Code of Football in Australia?'

[18] Sherington, *Australias Immigrants 1788-1988.*

[19] Jupp, 'Waves of Migration to Australia'.

[20] Sherington, *Australias Immigrants 1788-1988.*

[21] Murphy, *The Other Australia: Experiences of Migration.*

[22] Jupp, 'Waves of Migration to Australia'., p25

[23] Waterhouse, *Private Pleasure, Public Leisure: A History of Australian Popular Cultural since 1788.*

[24] Cashman, *Paradise of Sport: The Rise of Organised Sport in Australia*

[25] Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Croatian Born Community Profile.*, p3

[26] Mosely, *Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer: A History 1950-1990.*

[27] Jupp, 'Waves of Migration to Australia'.

[28] Hay, "Our Wicked Foreign Game': Why Has Association Football (Soccer) Not Become the Main Code of Football in Australia?'

[29] Hay, 'British Football, Wogball or the World Game? Towards a Social History of Victorian Soccer '; Mosely, *Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer: A History 1950-1990*; Vamplew, 'Violence in Australian Soccer: The Ethnic Contribution'.

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[58] Hallinan *et al.*, 'Supporting the 'World Game' in Australia: A Case Study of Fandom at National and Club Level'.

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