

WORKSHOP REPORTS

Media reporting of protest activity

1. There was discussion of the media's role in relation to public debate of laws perceived to be unjust, as in Queensland, and whether the media should publicly condemn such laws.
2. The effects of competition between newspapers on the quality of reporting were considered. The extent to which newspapers aim at specific markets was seen to be important in this context.
3. On what do the media focus in reporting protest activity? Does this lead to misrepresentation or bias in reporting?
4. The possibility of establishing an independent ombudsman to handle complaints against newspapers was discussed.
5. Where a complaint against the media is substantiated, one problem is the difficulty of obtaining a speedy retraction.
6. Freedom of speech brings with it a duty to use that freedom responsibly. The law of defamation can both increase and diminish a sense of responsibility in this regard.

Rapporteur: Peter Plunckett

Protest as a political strategy and responses to protest

A large number of issues were raised, but the very number of issues precluded anything much in the way of discussion taking place. The following themes emerged:

2.

1. Protest as part of history: There is a need to realise that all the major human rights enjoyed today were won through protest by groups of people often dismissed in their own time as troublemakers or members of the lunatic fringe. History can teach us how long it can take to win a right, that public and legal opinion can be changed, even if slowly. While not all protests prove successful in a limited period, it is nevertheless important to speak out on behalf of causes so that those of later generations will know that minority views did exist and draw inspiration from them.

2. The changing nature of protest: Protest has become much more organised and sophisticated with time. It is now rarely a simple matter of spontaneous marching and placard waving. There is widespread understanding of the need to develop a whole series of strategies when following a cause through the social and political process. It is important to put forward a positive program of preferred alternatives and communicate to the public the crucial issues; protest should not be simply negative. Taking to the streets is no longer necessarily seen as the first or best course of action. There is a growing awareness also of the need to liaise as closely as possible with both the police and the media. (The news worthiness of protest strategies has become a major consideration).

3. Apparent conservatism: The increased sophistication of protest activity has led to it often being less visible to the public, which may account for much of the apparent conservatism today, particularly among younger people. Many protest organisations have recognised that they should aim to win over rather than alienate 'the silent majority' (which is not a fixed entity but changed identity according to the issue). Hence much protest has become more conservative in appearance. This may partly explain the increasing willingness of politically and socially conservative groups to resort to protest action themselves.

3.

4. The legitimacy of particular causes: It is one thing to claim a legal right to protest, it is quite another to convince the public that protest on behalf of a particular cause is socially and morally legitimate. Protesters have to overcome public indifference and/or apathy, which required careful, clear presentation of their position and a sensitivity to the rights and values of others.

5. Punitive action against protest: Legislation introduced to prevent or limit protest activity is becoming increasingly punitive in nature (for example, ACT, Tasmania, Queensland). Such legislation, which may include provision for awarding costs against protest groups, makes the right to protest an empty right. Disparities between jurisdictions in laws governing protest activity may in themselves cause problems. Arrests for alleged offences unrelated to protest activities are not unknown as means of preventing protesters from pursuing their activities. Even apparently liberal protest laws may represent no more than 'repressive tolerance'.

Rapporteur: Aat Vervoorn

Policy Protest

1. Government intervention in policing was discussed. It was thought that the experience of police in most States indicated that the power to arrest is not interfered with. The workshop noted that police cannot be instructed not to enforce a law. South Australia legislation empowers the Minister to direct police action. A ministerial directory to arrest was given to police in Tasmania during the Franklin Dam protest.

2. The importance of police terminology was discussed. Words like 'intelligence gathering', 'sound intelligence' and 'psychological control' have sinister overtones. All police training notes on crowd control should be carefully checked for terminology.

4.

3. The workshop noted that the Bathurst riots had been mentioned frequently. This was worrying since the purpose of the workshop was to discuss peaceful protest and not riots. Nevertheless, it did indicate police concern at the ease with which a crowd can turn into a mob.

4. The workshop discussed whether there was any evidence to substantiate the belief, commonly held by protesters, that magistrates tend to be biased by their relationship with police, and that this is reflected in their decisions.

5. The workshop discussed police use of specialist equipment in controlling protests. There are no full-time riot squads in Australia and not all police are equipped with riot gear. Recent riots in the U.K. were discussed. It was thought that too much emphasis was given to television coverage of such incidents overseas.

6. The workshop noted the tendency of both police and protesters to categorise and pigeon-hole each other. There should be more communication and negotiation between the two groups. Specialist police squads are continually updating training, trying to keep abreast of current attitudes, and attempting to understand the needs and social problems of minority groups. One problem considered was that police are often working under stress, and there is a need to guard against over-reaction by police in such circumstances.

7. Generally, the workshop stressed the need for greater communication and more negotiation, and that all groups should be prepared to learn from experience overseas in order to avoid these events occurring in Australia.

Rapporteur: Barry Lewis

The right of peaceful protest in international law and Australia's obligations under the ICCPR: notification or authorisation requirements for public assemblies: protection of diplomatic personnel and premises

1. The workshop recommended that all A.C.T. legislation that affects civil liberties should be enacted by Act of Parliament and not in the form of delegated legislation.

2. The workshop recommended that since the A.C.T. is the one Australian jurisdiction where Federal Parliament unquestionably has power to legislate on public assemblies, the onus is on the Federal Government to ensure that any A.C.T. public assemblies legislation complies with the ICCPR and can be used as a model for other Australian jurisdictions.

3. The workshop recommended that the Australian Governments move to pass appropriate legislation, to adopt in State and Federal law, measures to give full effect to Australia's obligations under human rights treaties with respect to peaceful protest and assembly.

4. The workshop recommended that the Federal Government move to agree to the early ratification of the Optional Protocol to the ICCPR.

5. The Workshop discussed the distinction between 'peaceful' and 'non-peaceful' protest, and concluded that a judgement has to be made on the facts of each particular situation as to whether that situation can be regarded as peaceful or not. Among the matters to be taken into consideration are whether there is a risk of physical injury to 'persons present, whether there is a risk of significant damage to property, and whether serious alarm or affront is caused to persons of reasonable firmness and sensibility (i.e. an objective test).

6.

6. The workshop discussed the issue of reciprocity between nations in relation to protest at diplomatic missions. The workshop was of the view that Australia's response to protest against governments in the form of demonstrations at diplomatic missions should be in accordance with the provisions of international conventions. Australian commitment to these provisions should not be affected by the failure of other governments to act in accordance with them. To do otherwise would be to move towards a 'lowest common denominator' attitude and so lead to the undermining of the conventions themselves. Australia's commitment should extend beyond protest to the rules that apply through the Vienna Convention to diplomats, their agents and families.

7. The workshop discussed the protest by small boats against the entry of U.S. warships into Sydney Harbour. High pressure hoses on the warships were turned on protesters even though the latter were not intending any harm or damage. As a result some damage was done to the small boats. The parallels between this and the incident at the South African Embassy in Canberra were discussed. U.S. warships have sovereign immunity but are required to abide by the laws of the State visited. The State Immunities Act (Commonwealth), which restricts the immunities enjoyed by diplomatic missions, etc., took effect earlier this year.

8. Notification requirements for public assemblies were discussed briefly. The workshop stressed that any legislation should make provision for holding spontaneous assemblies.

Rapporteur: Robin Handley.

Picketing

1. Discussion began with an attempt to clarify how picketing relates to peaceful protest generally. A number of distinguishing characteristics of picketing were mentioned:

it involves patrolling particular premises;

- it involves trying to persuade passers-by not to do certain things or to take certain actions, that is, individuals are challenged to change their point of view and conduct;

picketing is usually directed against non-Government - organisations;

- pickets tend to be of longer duration than other forms of protest;
- nevertheless there is considerable overlap between picketing and other sorts of peaceful protest.

2. The question of when picketing becomes harassment was raised, particularly in relation to workers who want to continue at work rather than join in strike action. Attention was drawn to the democratic process which has been followed before a decision to strike: each worker has the right to vote for or against the strike; the decision is made by the rank and file. Where hardship and conflict occur in such situations, they are still subject to general laws prohibiting aggression and violence, and in themselves do not necessarily constitute a reason for placing limitations on the right to picket.

3. Picketing may be peaceful but nevertheless intimidating (e.g. very large assemblies, ostracisation of fellow workers), and this must be taken into consideration. However, moves such as those in recent British law which make the size of a picket in itself intimidatory are undesirable. Intimidation is difficult to define. One important distinction which needs to be drawn in this context is that between picketing individuals going about their private concerns and those who are representatives or members of organisations against which the action is directed.

8.

4. Under the U.S. First Amendment, sporadic acts of violence are accepted to the extent that they are not organised or planned. Generally speaking, spontaneous acts of violence may well be unlawful but this should not be seen as grounds for regarding as illegitimate the picketing or protesting in which they occur. The individuals committing such acts can of course be arrested. Ways of introducing First Amendment rights in Australia were discussed. This could be done through the Federal Government's power to introduce industrial legislation which overrides State laws on such matters. One problem with such a course is that picketing in non-industrial spheres would not be covered and to isolate industrial rights from others may be a bad strategy.

5. Should industrial picketing be regulated by laws different to those which apply to non-industrial pickets? One relevant consideration is the type of challenge issued by pickets. There are differences, for example, between picketing an abortion clinic, picketing a theatre screening Bail Mary and picketing a factory. Any definition of intimidation would need to take account of such differences.

6. An attempt was made to define intimidation in terms of the relative number and power of picketers. The relevance of other rights to picketing was stressed: the right to picket has to be balanced with the human rights of those subjected to picketing. For example, the right of privacy of patients at abortion clinics may need to be protected. Where privacy is an issue, intimidation may start earlier than in other picketing situations.

7. It was speculated whether the Australian Bill of Rights, if passed, would protect the right to picket, even though that right is not spelt out in the Bill. It was emphasised that regardless of the progress of the Bill, because of its obligations under the ICCPR the Commonwealth Government can enact Federal laws which would override State laws restricting the right of peaceful assembly. It was argued that another way

of securing protest and picketing rights is to establish those rights de facto by going out to protest or picket. Such action does not always lead to greater repression and can result in laws being improved. The Human Rights Commission's aim is to effect Australia-wide changes by formulating an ideal public protest law for the A.C.T. which could then be taken up by the States.

Rapporteur: Art Vervoorn

APPENDIX

THE NATURE OF PROTEST : SURVEY OF THE SYDNEY MORNING
HERALD AND THE SUN HERALD FOR 1983

by Robin and Jane Handley

THE NATURE OF PROTEST

SURVEY OF THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

AND THE SUN HERALD FOR 1983

by Robin and Jane Handley

1. INTRODUCTION

Aim

Media reporting is one of the main sources of information on the nature and level of protest activity in the community. This newspaper survey undertook to explore news reports with regard to:

- a) the different forms of protest (in what ways do people express their protest, e.g. public meeting, petition march, hunger-strike, picket?);
- b) the nature of the subject-matter of protest (what is the protest about, e.g. Government policies at home or abroad, protection of the environment?);

whom protest is directed (e.g. employers, home governments, overseas governments);
- d) who are the protesters (are they identifiable in terms of age, sex, occupation, class, race, residence Or any other specific attribute?);
- e) what are the features of the particular protests (e.g. how many people participate, does violence occur, are arrests made?).

The survey was not intended as a detailed scientific study but rather as a broad overview of the nature of protest activity. The difficulty of classifying the material recorded proved a major problem.

Choice of Paper and Year :

The Sydney Morning Herald and the Sun Herald (both published by Fairfax and Sons Ltd) were chosen because of ease of access to back issues on microfilm. The year 1983 was the most recent year available on microfilm in the University of Wollongong library, where the research for the survey was undertaken.

Terms of Reference of the Survey

The first problem to be confronted before undertaking the survey, was what should constitute a 'protest' for the purposes of the study. Although 'protest' can be defined simply as 'a public assertion of views', this proved too wide a definition for the purposes of the study, as a large proportion of any newspaper is devoted to a public assertion of views. Thus, for the purposes of the study, 'protest' was taken to be a public assertion of views using some other medium than the newspaper alone. This definition therefore excluded some protest-related material which appears in newspapers, such as letters to the Editor, editorials, press releases, advertisements, and background or in-depth articles.

Furthermore, because of the common occurrence of industrial action, it was decided to exclude industrial action from the definition, except where it was accompanied by some form of physical protest such as a walk-out or picket. Legal action taken before a court or tribunal was also excluded because of the use of other means to restore a dispute without the emphasis being on 'public protest'.

Three incidents described as 'riots', although not necessarily riots in a legal sense, were included because they appeared to be spontaneous and disorderly protests, influenced by particular social or economic conditions:

3.
2. SURVEY RESULTS

(a) The Forms of Protest

TABLE 1

Form of Protest	Number of	
Protests		
i) Stationary	97	47.32
ii) Mobile	14	6.83
iii) Industrial	3919.02	
iv) Non Law-Abiding	24	11.71
v) Mixed	32	15.12
TOTAL NUMBER OF PROTESTS	1 205	100

Five categories of protest were utilised for the purposes of the survey, and each protest reported in the newspapers was recorded in only one category so that the actual number of protests could be recorded.

i) Stationary Protest

Disruption of public ceremonies, cabinet meeting or parliamentary sessions.
 Conference. Forum. Public Meeting. Meeting with Politicians or Government Representatives.
 Sit-In. Sleep-In. Squat. Vigil. Barricade. Tent Embassy.
 Blockade.
 Rally.
 Gathering for entertainment for protest Purposes.
 Formation of protest group. Official launching of campaigns.
 'Campaign drives'.
 Endorsement of a political 'candidate by a non-political group as a protest,.

Resignation in protest. (Unrelated to employment.)
Hunger strike. Refusal to buy certain goods.
Wearing special clothing/costumes.
Petition. Written protest delivered to politician or
Government Department.
Singing/Dancing as protest.
Physical prevention of building/destruction (lying before
bulldozers, chaining to trees, occupation of building sites).

ii) Mobile Protest

March. Flotilla. Regatta. (Carrying placards or special
effects.)
Deputation (with or without petition).

iii) Industrial Protest

Boycott.
Secondary boycott.
Green bans. Work bans.
Stop Work.
Walk-out.
Picket. Strike-
breaking.
Bans on non-prescribed duties in employment.
Bans on uniform wearing.
Donation of wages/salary in protest as an alternative to
strike.
Resignation in Protest.
Meetings related solely to employment issues.

Non Law-Abiding Protest

This section was not labelled 'Civil Disobedience' as the
protesters had not deliberately violated the law for the
purposes of their protest in every instance. Whilst the
protests in this section were not law-abiding, they did not
Always result in the arrest of protAsters.

Graffiti.
Provoking prosecution by admitting breaches of the Crimes Act.
Destruction of equipment.
Freeing captive animals.
Breaking through barrierS.
Breaking And entering premises.
Attempt to resist eviction. ,
Trespass (or any activity involving alleged trespass such as
sit-in, barricade, physical prevention of development
projects).
Entering military or naval installations.
Riot. Jail riot.
Street fight or physical attack erupting from protest.

5.

v) Mixed Forms of Protest

Where a protest combined any number of the above forms it was placed in this category.

TABLE 2

<u>Nature of Protest</u>	<u>Number of Protests</u>	
Prolonged	23	(11.22% of 205 protests recorded)
Simultaneous	4	
Law Breaking (Alleged)	28	
Involving Personal Injury	9	
Involving Property Damage	10	21 (10.24% of 205 protests recorded)
Involving both Personal Injury and Property Damage		

Where applicable, protest was also

classified as:

. Prolonged

Where the protest was sustained over a period of several days or more

Simultaneous

Where more than one protest about the same issue occurred in separate locations on the same day.

Alleged Law Breaking,

Where arrests were made,

Personal Injury and Damage to Property

Where people were injured or property damaged.

N.B. There were also protests which were described as 'violent' or 'tense' and where persons were allegedly attacked or police carried batons, but in respect of which no arrests, damage, or injuries were reported.

6.

(b) The Subject-Matter of Protest

TABLE 3

Subject - Matter of Protests	I	Number of Protests	%
i) Defence		27	13.17
ii) Education		18	8.78
iii) Employment		47	22.93
iv) Entertainment		2	0.98
v) Environment		43	20.98
vi) Government Policy		27	13.17
vii) International		3	1.46
viii) Medical		7	3.42
ix) Moral/Social		5	2.44
x) Racial		18	8.78
xi) Women		9	4.39
TOTAL		205	100

Protest was stimulated by a wide range of issues. These issues were grouped in the following general categories and each protest was recorded in only one category:

i) Defence

This category included all protests about nuclear weapons, peace, and disarmament. Protest against uranium mining were also included here because a majority of protesters saw this as contributing to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nuclear arms testing in the Pacific by France was excluded from this category because this was seen in the main as an environmental issue (see Environment).

General

Protest following President Reagan's Star Wars scenario.
Visits by nuclear powered ships from U.S.A. and U.K.

Specific

Pine Gap.
Roxby Downs.

ii) Educational

General

Federal and State funding and staffing in public and private education from pre-school to tertiary institutions.

Specific

Proposed closure of Dover Heights Boys High School.
Federal cuts in funding to private schools.
Argument re Political Economics syllabus at Sydney University.
Numbers of overseas students in tertiary education.
Use of corporal punishment in schools.

iii) Employment

General

Protest about the protection or creation of employment in the face of resistance from the environment protection lobby.
General protest re unemployment, retrenchment, redundancy pay, working conditions and wages, technological changes, strikes and strike breaking.

Specific

Wide combs in the shearing industry.
Sunday trading in the retail industry.
The Macken Report on youth wages and employment.
Repeal of Section 48D of the Trade Practices Act.

See also Education and Medical for employment issues included in those categories.

N.B. The number of protests recorded in this category was bound to be unreliable given the definition of 'protest' adopted for the purposes of the survey (see p.2 above).

iv) Entertainment

Leisure-centred activities which escalated into what were described as 'riots'.

Specific

Bathurst Motor Races
Christmas Morning Riot, Adelaide.

v) Environment

General

Local Sydney protest re preservation of the environment against road building and office blocks.
Animal protection

Specific

Franklin Dam.
Cape Tribulation.
Second airport at Badgery's Creek.
French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

8.

vi) Government Policy

Included protest at federal and state policies and the operations of government departments and statutory authorities.

Excluded issues recorded in Defence, Education, Medical, Racial, International, Environment and Entertainment categories.

General

Housing and homelessness (including eviction).
Broadcasting law.
Freedom of speech (contempt).

Specific

Police harassment of homosexuals.
Demand for decriminalisation of homosexuality.
Means testing of Age Pension.
Amalgamation of Sydney Municipal Councils.

vii) International

Excluded issues in Defence.

General

Relations with USSR.

Specific

Shooting down of Korean airliner by USSR.
Ukraine Famine 1931.
Foreign troops in Lebanon.

viii) Medical

General

Conditions of employment for nurses.
Hospital issues concerning staffing, funding and management

Specific

Richmond Report on hospital services for the intellectually handicapped.
Anti-Smoking.

ix) Moral/Social

Excluded issues relating to medicine women, and race.

General

Issues raised by religious groups concerning community values.
Protests against alleged murderers.
Protest about protest methods.

9.

x) Racial

General

Treatment of Aboriginals in the community.
Protest against Asians in the community.

Specific

Redfern Riot.

N.S.W. Aboriginal Land Rights Bill, 1983.

Roxby Downs - preservation of sacred sites.

Todd River - preservation of sacred sites.

National Aboriginal Day protest.

Trial of 3 men charged with the murder of a Moree
Aboriginal.

xi), Women

General

Rape.

Abortion.

Women in prison.

Specific

Sex Discrimination Bill, 1983.

Women Against Rape in War (Anzac Day).

Ordination of women.

(c) To Whom is protest directed?

See Table 4, page 10.

For the purpose of analysing the survey material, protestees (those to whom protest is directed) were grouped in seven categories. However, because in practice these categories are not mutually exclusive, where appropriate a protest was recorded as being directed towards more than one of these categories. The categories of protesters shown are described in paragraph (e) (i) below.

i) Employers or Fellow Workmen

Included employers, management and fellow workmen, including hospital and university administrations where the issue did not concern government or government policy.

N.B. The number of protests recorded in this category was bound to be unreliable given the definition of 'protest' adopted for the purposes of the survey (see p.2 above).

TABLE 4

This table records the number of times particular categories of protesters protested to particular protestees.

PROTESTEES (To whom protest is directed)

		Employers Workers	Australian Governments	Non-Govt. Groups	Police	I Overseas Governments	I Community	<u>Values</u>
I	PROTESTERS (GROUPS)						I	
I	Defence		26	5		15		
1	Education	6	17	2		6		
CA, tol tu	Employment	45	36	4		7		
	Environment		27	15		1		6
	Medical		12	1		6		
	Racial/National		11	I 9		5		4
	Residential		16	3	2			
	Women		17	3		7		4
	Miscellaneous		35	7	4	8		
TOTAL		I 51	195	49	11	55		.20

ii) Australian Governments

Included federal, state and local governments, government departments, instrumentalities and statutory authorities.

Excluded overseas governments and the police. Included protests about judgments handed down by federal and state courts.

iii) Non-Government Groups

Excluded employers and fellow workmen. Included the following groups and their supporters: the Tasmanian Wilderness Society, other environmental protection groups, developers and builders, land and property owners, residential action groups, BHP Exploration, Asians, Parents and Citizens organisations, the Anglican Church, the Festival of Light, alleged murderers, and organisations experimenting with or mistreating animals.

iv) The Police Some protests were directed specifically at the police.

Overseas Governments and International Organisations

The USSR, the USA, France, the United Kingdom, Korea, the United Nations and all those nations having troops in the Lebanon not engaged in official peace-keeping activities.

vi) The Community and Community Values

Excluded those values associated with Defence and Environmental issues, where the protesters directed their protests at specific protestees (an overseas government or government policy) and not at values held in the community at large. Although these protests were intended to influence the way the community valued peace or the environment, the protests were aimed at specific institutions, policies or groups of people.

Included. rape, rape in war, abortion, money and morality, the role of women in society, racism,.- the treatment of and attitudes towards Aborigines and other racial groups, and morality in regard to 'God, Queen and Country'.

(d) The Protesters

A wide variety of people took part in protest activity. However, without more information than that provided by the newspapers, or a broader survey, it would be misleading to draw too many conclusions about the kinds of people who protest. Nevertheless, some comments can be made regarding certain observable characteristics of protesters:

Race and National Origin

Caucasians and Aborigines took part in protest activity, as did Australian, European and Middle Eastern national groups, and certain groups from the USSR.

Sex

Both men and women were active protesters, with women noticeably involved with defence issues.

Class

Not enough information was available on the relationship between class and protest activity, although it was clear that all classes were represented.

Religion

Whilst Christian groups were represented at protests, other religious groups, apparently, were not.

Age

People of all ages participated in protest activity.

Residence
Naturally, the two newspapers reported most often on protest in the Sydney environs. There were identifiable groups of protesters from the older inner areas undergoing redevelopment and the new outer western suburbs. Redfern, with its large Aboriginal population, was a focus of protest activity.

Occupation

Many identifiable occupational groups participated in protest.

Culture

There were some obvious cultural and sub-cultural groups who engaged in protest, notably Aboriginal groups and motor bike riders.

(e) Other Features of Protests

i) Size

See Table 5, page 14.

Obviously, not all people who protest do so as a member of a group. Lone demonstrators were not uncommon. However, in order to collate the information about protesters, they were classified according to the issues which brought them together. In this way, it is possible to get an idea of which people protest about which issues.

Defence Groups

Included people from a broad range of ages and occupations. Christians, politicians, doctors, scientists, nurses, lawyers, trade unionists, bank employees, actors, actresses, students and women's groups took part in protests on defence issues. These protests were also, numerically, the largest. Women appeared to take a particular interest in these issues. Specific groups in this category were:

Australians for Nuclear Disarmament
 Women's Action Against Global Violence
 Women for Survival
 Coalition for Nuclear Free Australia
 Campaign Against Nuclear Energy

Education Groups

Included teachers, parents and students from pre-school to tertiary years. Specific groups were:

Dover Heights Boys High School Parents and Citizens Association
 Federation of Parents and Citizens Association
 N.S.W. Teachers Federation
 Parents and Teachers Against Violence in Education
 Parents of Children in Private Schools
 Students of the University of Sydney
 Students of the University of N.S.W.
 Students of Adelaide Parks Community Centre

TABLE 5

This table records the number of protests at which the following categories of protesters were present.

NUMERICAL SIZE OF PROTEST

	1	2-49	50-99	100-499	500-999	1000+
Category of Protesters						
Defence		3				4
Education	1		2		5	
Employment		11	5		1	4
Environment	1	3	3	4	1	1
Medical		1		1		
Racial/National		4	1	11		
Residential		4			1	11
Women ,		3			1	3
Miscellaneous	6	12			1	51
TOTAL	8	41	11	16	7	69
%	5.67	29.9	7.80	23.19	10.14	50.00

N.B. These figures reflect only what figures were reported in the newspaper. It is notoriously difficult to estimate crowd size.

to
9
.4

Employment Groups

In combination with the employment-oriented groups in the Medical and Education categories, these groups participated more often than any others in protest, although not always on employment issues. Protection of the environment and defence protests also attracted these groups. Included in these groups were pro-Franklin dam protesters and young people, as well as the following:

- Australian Workers Union
- Brisbane Waterside Unions
- Builders Labourers Federation
- Electrical Trades Union
- Federated Engine Drivers and Firemans Association
- Federated Miscellaneous Workers Union
- Federated Plumbers
- Livestock and Grain Producers Association
- Metalworkers Union
- Miners Federation (various branches)
- Organisation for Tasmanian Development
- Shop Assistants Union
- Shop Distributive and Allied Employees
- Sydney Dock Workers
- Unemployed Peoples Union
- Wollongong Out-of-Workers Union
- Storeman and Packers Union
- Ford Workers at Broadmeadow Factory, Melbourne, Vic.
- ZEA Broadcasters (SBS)
- Unemployed Workers Union (Vic)
- MacDonald's Youth Employees

Environmental Groups

This group of protesters included politicians, scientists (researchers, zoologists and botanists), as well as specific organisations set up to protest environmental issues. Residential groups often focused their protests on these issues. Like the defence groups, these environmental groups were frequently involved in alleged law breaking activities. The environmental groups were allegedly more often involved in damage to property than the other groups. Specific groups in this category were:

- Animal Liberation
- Australian Association for Humane Research
- Australian Fund for Animals
- Australian Wilderness Society
- Kangaroo Protection Co-operative

Tasmanian Wilderness Society
The Australian Conservation Society
The Bloodwood Association
The Friends of the First Government House Site

See also Residential Groups.

Medical_Groups

Included doctors, psychiatrists, hospital patients and their relatives, former patients and their relatives, mental health workers and nurses. Specific groups were:

Prince Alfred Hospital Nurses
N.S.W. Nurses Association
Public Medical Officers Association

Racial or National Groups

Included anti-Asian protesters, Lebanese Australians, Ukrainian Australians as well as:

Aboriginal Land Rights Groups
Kokatha Tribe, Roxby Downs

Residential Groups

These were almost exclusively engaged in environmental issues:

Friends of the Rocks Society
Hornsby Shire Residents
Kings Cross Residential Action Group
Pennant Hill Residential Action Group
Brisbane jail residents
The South-West Flood Action Group
Residents of Randwick
Squatters (Bona Vista House, Melbourne, Vic.)
Gosford Residents (Mangrove Mountain)
Residents of Dapto
Women Behind Bars

Women's Groups

Included nurses, female politicians, Aboriginal women and:

- Movement for the Ordination of Women
Women Against Rape Collective
Women Behind Bars
- Tasmanian Women Golfers
Women's Action Against Global Violence
Women for Survival

Miscellaneous Groups

Included sporting groups, public servants, politicians, alleged rioters, pensioners, Christian groups, entertainment groups, anti-abortionists, lone demonstrators, youth, homosexuals, graffitiists, prisoners and students.

The specific groups and some of the individuals were:

- Billboard Utilising Graffitiists Against Unhealthy Promotions
- Combined Pensioners Associations
- N.S.W Branch of the Motor Cycle Riders Association
- N.S.W. Labor Party
- 'Prisoners Action Groups, Parklea Maximum Security Prison
- Rapville Christians
- The Reverend Fred Nile and the Festival of Light
- Prince Leonard, Hutt River Province

ii) Alleged Law-Breaking

TABLE 6

This table records the number of protests at which the following categories of protesters were arrested.

<u>!Groups of Protesters!</u>	<u>I Law Breaking</u>	<u>I Personal Injury,</u>	<u>I Property Damage</u>	<u>I Personal Injury; I & Property Dan.</u>
1 Defence	7	1	f 1	
1 Education	1	1	0	3
Employment	1 2	1	1 ²	1
Environment	1 7	I 0	5	0
Medical		0	0	0
1 Racial/National	2	1 ³		1 ⁵
1 Residential	3	1 0		0 I 0
1 Women	5	I 0	1	0
1 Miscellaneous	⁵ I			

- 1 A policeman injured at Roxby Downs.
- 2 The shearers' dispute re wide combs.
- 3 Australia Day. Aborigines charged with assault.
- 4 (a) The Christmas Day riot in Adelaide.
(b) A charge of obstructing a person during an anti-abortion protest.
- 5 The Redfern Riot (Aborigines and Police).
- 6 The Bathurst Motor Races riot.

N.B. Not all arrests result in Charges being laid, and not all charges laid result in a conviction.

The largest protests (the Peace Rallies and the largest Anti-Franklin Dam protests) involved little damage to property and personal injury, and occasioned few arrests. Violence and arrests most commonly occurred in smaller group protests (one to 300 people). Of these, those protests which were spontaneous or in which there was a perception of aggression or threat (from either the protestee or the protester) - for example the Bathurst Motor Races, the Redfern Riot, Animal Liberation protests, the political economy dispute at Sydney University, and the Wide Combs dispute- occasioned most personal injury and property damage. Protests of a similar size about environmental or anti-war issues, most commonly involved arrests (especially for trespass, obstruction or disobeying a police instruction), but did not involve personal injury or property damage. However, charges were often not pursued or were dismissed by the courts. '

The degree of organisation of the protesters, the perception of threat or grievance, and the importance of the issues protested for the personal lives of the protesters, had a greater influence on the pattern of violence and law-breaking than the number of people present at protests.

3. CONCLUSIONS

- a) The survey recorded a wide variety of different forms of protest, the most numerous category being stationary protests (47%). Of the 205 protests recorded, 10% involved some personal injury or damage to property, and 11% were prolonged over a period of several days or more. The largest protests did not necessarily involve violence and arrests. This occurred more commonly in smaller protests and was probably a result of lack of organisation, the perception of threat or grievance, and the importance of the issues protested for the personal lives of the protesters.

- b) Protest was stimulated by a wide range of issues. Notwithstanding that the definition of 'protest' for the purposes of the survey would have substantially reduced the apparent incidence of employment related protest, nevertheless, employment was recorded as the subject of most protests (23%), followed by the environment (21%), defence (13%) and government policy (13%), education (9%) and race (9%).

Protest was most commonly directed at Australian governments (195) compared with overseas governments (55) and non-government groups (49).

- d) People taking part in protests were from a variety of backgrounds - racial and national origins, class, age and occupation. Both men and women were active protesters, with women noticeably involved in defence issues.

The number of people involved in protests varied widely. Acknowledging the notorious unreliability of estimates of crowd size, where figures were reported:

in 43% of protests there were less than 100 protesters;
in 22% of protests there were at least 100 but less than 500 protesters;
in 12% of protests there were at least 500 but less than 1000 protesters; and
23% of protests involved 1000 or more protesters.

Apart from employment related protests in respect of which it has already been noted that the figures recorded are unreliable, defence issues attracted the largest protests.

Protests about the environment and defence involved arrests more often than other protests.