

Sport in Society

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Aborigines, sport and suicide

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It is disappointing that a nation so dedicated to sport has ignored its role in trying to alleviate youth suicide. Involvement in sport has been shown to deflect, even deter, juvenile delinquency. Similarly, there is evidence (and reason) enough to show a strong connection between sport and deferred or deflected suicide among the young. This has particularly important implications for Aboriginal Australians because sport is such a major element in their contemporary life: it provides meaning, a sense of purpose and belonging; it is inclusive and embracing in a world where so many Aboriginal youth feel alienated, disconnected, disempowered, rejected and excluded. Sport can address and mitigate the chronically high levels of suicide among young Aborigines.

Expectations

There have been few exalted or enlightened moments in Australian race relations since white settlement began in 1788. For Aborigines, the consequences of colonialism — and post-colonialism — have been calamitous. Their contact history has been one of ignominy and the mood for the most part has been miserable. Considered a 'doomed-to-extinction' special species of mankind, they have nevertheless survived — with remarkable resilience at times — introduced diseases, genocidal massacres, incarceration on reserves and missions, geographic and cultural dislocation, forcible removal of their children, gross discrimination, maltreatment,

exploitation, neglect and disdain. These experiences have had profound implications for the collective and the individual. Survival has come at a price, one expressed so powerfully by Chief Jean-Charles Piétacho of the Mingan First Nation in his address to the Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996. His words (quoted by Hunter & Harvey 2002:14) are appropriate enough in a context where Australian Aboriginal youth exhibit lack of purpose and meaning in life, lack of respect for elders and for self, and where the suicide rate is close to 40 per cent greater than the national average (Elliott-Farrelly 2004:2):

Collective despair, or collective lack of hope, will lead us to collective suicide. This type of suicide can take many forms, foreshadowed by many possible signs: identity crisis, loss of pride, every kind of dependence, denial of our customs and traditions, degradation of our environment, weakening of our language, abandonment of our struggle for our Aboriginal rights, our autonomy and our culture, uncaring acceptance of violence, passive acknowledgement of lack of work and responsibilities, lack of respect for elders, envy of those who try to keep their heads up and who might succeed, and so on.

The expectations of improved race relations in Australia were greater after the racial and eugenic nightmare of the Holocaust became more widely known. The assimilationist ideas and (at times) integrationist policies of federal Minister for Territories Paul Hasluck from 1951 onward seemed to embrace a modicum of racial equality, albeit in a contorted and distorted form of that inclusive ideal. But little of his philosophy or administrative prescriptions came to fruition either in the Northern Territory or in the states (Tatz 1964). The old protection–segregation statutes and programs — established across the country essentially between 1897 and 1911 — continued, but with new names: all Northern Territory Aborigines of ‘full-blood’ became ‘wards’, still incarcerated on remote settlements, missions and cattle stations, still unable to vote (until 1962), attend normal schools, drink, marry non-Aborigines without permission, have sex across the colour line, join trade unions, be paid social service benefits, earn award wages, and so on. Most of that kind of draconian control continued in the states and Northern Territory until the 1960s and in Queensland until the mid 1980s (see McCorquodale (1987) for a digest of such laws).

The 1967 national referendum purported to be, but in reality never was, an offer of a 'new deal' granting 'citizenship rights', a new era to be driven by [enlightened] federal rather than by [outmoded] state-level philosophies (Attwood & Markus 2007). The public's very positive 90 per cent yes-vote response was quite beyond expectation. But the euphoria quickly subsided into a few legislative changes, producing little that was better, let alone new, in the daily lives of people. Labor in federal office in 1972 began with promise of radical change — which soon proved to be more of the same though in somewhat altered guise. The asylums of government-run settlements and Christian missions became 'communities'; the earlier authoritarian administrative systems were dismantled; many of the old-style official guardians were replaced; and elected and funded councils came into being. But 'liberation' after nearly a century of protection and segregation was beyond the resources of under-trained, welfare-dependent, sequestered people faced with governmental demands for fiscal accountability and insistence on 'measurable outcomes' of 'policy goals'. The structures of colonial-style administration were disassembled but there were few replacement systems to hand, leaving communities to implode under the weight of 'self-rule'. The machinery of day-to-day administration became an abysmal struggle to keep afloat. The rusty historical mechanisms remained, and many remnants are still to be found; and Aborigines generally remain the most administered minority in the Western world. What really changed from the 1950s were the slogans that came and went and those that continue to come and go: assimilation, integration, bi-culturalism, self-determination, self-management, autonomy, consultation, reconciliation, 'practical reconciliation' and more recently, shared responsibility agreements, 'intervention' and compulsory 'income management'. The words have changed but most realities have not (Tatz 2005b; Rothwell 2009).

The legacies of history, geography, and demography, the poverty, absence of economic resources, failure to provide elementary services and utilities, and the lack of will to effect major change are indelible (Tatz 2005b). Author and journalist Nicholas Rothwell has well described the Northern Territory as 'the failed state', one in which 'the Territory helps itself to special -purpose federal funding meant to alleviate remote area disadvantage, then delivers grossly inadequate services to the

indigenous societies in the bush' — a system designed to perpetuate the administration of 'an Aboriginal underclass' (Rothwell 2009). Yet each generation of policy-makers and administrators believes it can discover fire, or invent the wheel, each convinced it can start afresh; each, in turn, admits either cynicism or defeat or both — and awaits the next cohort who will 'close the gap' on vital statistics, health, nutrition, education, housing, employment, and training. As Pholi et al (2009:1) point out, this is an approach that reduces Aboriginal Australians 'to a range of indicators of deficit, to be monitored and rectified towards government-set targets'. As each set of statistics on key social indicators, like life expectancy and infant mortality, appears to improve, so other indicators, like deaths from non-natural causes, worsen. As more and more babies survive their first years, so more and more young adults develop diabetes, heart, lung and kidney disease. As more education, training and intervention programs are established, so more and more youth are imprisoned.

In sum, long political, social and environmental contexts underlie and explain the current crises in much of Aboriginal life, with evidence of a collective despair in many communities that now very much includes astounding levels and rates of youth suicide.

Significant inquiries

In the twentieth century alone, a remarkable number of public inquiries concerning Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders were held under federal and state jurisdictions — 118 in all (Horton 1994:1286–90). The great majority failed to produce change of any kind, but several did, including the inquiries that led to federal voting rights and to land rights in the Northern Territory. Two others concerned life and death across the continent.

Paul Keating (Labor prime minister from 1991 to 1996) seemed to have some sense of what was amiss and what was needed. His 10 December 1992 Redfern speech acknowledged the disasters, the murders, the land dispossession, the cultural destruction, the stolen children, the exploitation and the alcohol brought by white society. His somewhat tardy preparedness in 1995 to establish an inquiry into the stolen generations, the children forcibly removed from their parents, was in retrospect

quite monumental — at least insofar as it became a compendium of witness records of those genocidal policies and practices (HREOC 1997, Tatz 1999). So too was the earlier appointment (in 1987) by Labor prime minister Bob Hawke of a royal commission into Aboriginal deaths in custody — to enquire into ‘growing public concern’ that these deaths ‘were too common and public explanations were too evasive’. There were, indeed, rumours and accusations about ‘assisted deaths’ — of ‘murder if not on behalf of the State at least by officers of the State’ (RCIADIC I:1). Public agitation about conspiracies, corruption, murders and cover-ups in remote community police cells or in prisons generally led to a massive enquiry into 99 custodial Aboriginal deaths in the period from 1 January 1980 to 31 May 1989 (RCIADIC 1991).

No common thread of abuse, neglect or racism was found but the royal commission found that ‘their Aboriginality played a significant and in most cases dominant role in their being in custody and dying in custody’ (RCIADIC I:1). The enormous shadow of that inquiry remains. Most state and territory jurisdictions now have laws and regulations governing the care of Aboriginal prisoners, with ‘suicide watch’ a routine ‘panic button’, for the most part. No one wants a repetition of those very public and painful interrogations of bureaucrats, police and prison guards.

The anthropologists: Marx, Turnbull and Brody

Suicide is usually the domain of sociology. But anthropology has given me greater insights into the troubled realms of hunter-gatherer societies. Emanuel Marx has done fascinating work on Arab refugees, the Bedouin in the Negev desert, and on Moroccan immigrants in the Galilee in Israel. The British -American Colin Turnbull wrote lovingly about the forest pygmies of Zaire but harshly about the mountain people of Uganda and Kenya, the Ik. Hugh Brody, the noted British anthropologist, immersed himself deeply in the life, times and language of the Inuit, in the place he called *The Other Side of Eden*. Each offers substantial clues about the nature of an observable ‘collective suicide’ among these peoples, but also indirectly about youth suicide in general.

In 1989 the Criminology Research Council in Canberra funded my study into

whether or not sports facilities and competition reduced the growing rates of delinquency in Aboriginal communities. The research spanned five years, with lengthy visits to 80 communities across the country and interviews with a total of 520 Aboriginal men and women, sports officials, policy and correctional service officers. This report, *Aborigines: Sport, Violence and Survival* (Tatz 1994), was the impetus for and basis of my later analysis of Aboriginal youth suicide in New South Wales, the Australian Capital Territory and New Zealand (Tatz 1999, 2001, 2005a). In brief, this sport and delinquency study coincided with the work of the RCIADIC and its investigators in the field. On visits to communities, especially in South Australia, I began to hear far too many 'stories' about youth suicide and attempted suicide (or parasuicide). It did not take long to conclude that there was far more self-destruction and self-harm outside than inside custody, and that the royal commission was looking very narrowly at the visible tips of ominous icebergs.

Suicide was a surprise. Perhaps it shouldn't have been. In the 1970s I had been reading Emanuel Marx on violent behaviour among North African youth in Israeli immigrant towns (Marx 1976:2–6). There is, of course, a social context to this violent behaviour: it occurs more frequently among a dislocated or transported or 'socially engineered' people from a different culture and geography. They are what the unconventional anthropologist Colin Turnbull called 'disordered societies' (Turnbull 1972). Marx wrote of 'appealing violence', a cry for help used by someone at the end of his/her tether, a person who feels unable to achieve a single social aim without the assistance of others. The person who cannot persuade his/her family to help, or to share his/her responsibilities, repeatedly attempts suicide as a desperate means of gaining family support. In sum, wrote Marx, this kind of appealing violence leads to harm to self or to others. At Raukkun in South Australia I witnessed a classic case: a young Aboriginal man had attacked his brother with an axe early in 1989. Admonished later by a local policeman's wife, he replied: 'Sorry, I'll never do it again: I'll only hurt myself' (Tatz 1994:28).

The much-vaunted human values of affection, social grouping for work or for play, systems of law and religion, respect for the old, care of the young, are not inherent in humanity at all. Colin Turnbull argues that such values are 'a luxury of

ordered societies'. He was writing of the Ik in Kenya and Uganda. Originally hunter-gatherers, they were forced to become farmers; forbidden hunting, faced with poor land and drought, they have struggled for bare survival. While Turnbull didn't like the Ik people, his portrait of relocated and diasporic peoples is generally considered an acute one. Hugh Brody, who likes the Inuit very much, has said that 'they have established and relied upon respect for their children, other adults, and the resources on which people depend. If these relationships are not respectful, then everything will go wrong' (Brody 2000: 308) — as indeed it has.

Gloomy concepts emerge from gloomy pictures. Yet apart from the references that don't belong in our context — to the farming and to the drought — if we substitute the calamity of incarceration on settlements, missions and pastoral properties, and the sudden withdrawal of white-imposed regimens (albeit harshly colonial and discriminatory), the description is astonishingly apt for many Aboriginal societies. Turnbull's breakdown of values and of systems, of harm to self and to others, was what I (and others) had been seeing and reporting across Australia (Tatz 1975, 1990, 1994; Atkinson 1988), what Michael Kral (2009) has been finding in Nunavut, particularly from 2003 to 2009, and what was so elegantly yet painfully expressed by Chief Piétacho in 1996.

Suicide in the literature

Nevertheless, there was surprise because so little Aboriginal suicide was to be found in any texts and records. In the *Aboriginal Suicide is Different* book (Tatz 2000, 2005a), I described the literature research on Aboriginal suicide. Prior to the 1960s there were no references to that phenomenon in the writings and records of missionaries, government officials in several fields, in anthropological and medical journals, local histories, newspaper reports, fiction, memoirs, in Aboriginal languages or artistic depictions. It is beyond reasonable belief that all those who interacted with Aborigines in so many ways could fail to notice suicide if it had been present, or somehow conspired to suppress it.

Australian psychiatrists were certainly suicide-aware. In the late 1960s, Malcolm Kidson and Ivor Jones (1968) found an absence of suicide in Western desert

people and John Cawte (1968) saw ‘nothing alarming’ about Aboriginal suicide rates in Arnhem Land. In the 1970s, Ivor Jones (1973:17–20) insisted that ‘there was no incidence of suicide ... among tribal full-blood Aborigines’. In the 1980s, Harry Eastwell (1988:338) reported on ‘the low risk of suicide among the Yolgnu of the Northern Territory’. Historian Richard Kimber told the Law Reform Commission in 1982 that there was then no evidence of suicide in traditional communities in Central Australia; my late friend, anthropologist Lester Hiatt, told me he had never heard of a case of suicide in the Liverpool Region of the Northern Territory in his 40 years of field work there — until the first report in 1998. In 1989 and 1993, Ernest Hunter’s study of 25 suicides in the Kimberley showed that in the decade 1959 to 1969, there was one suicide; between 1969 and 1979, three; between 1979 and 1989, there were nineteen (Hunter 1989, 1993). Hunter and others stated (1999:91) that ‘some three decades ago the suicide of an Indigenous Australian was a rare occurrence’, but this is so clearly no longer the case.

In 1981, an Honours student of mine at the University of New England, Christine McIlvanie (Stafford), examined in detail the case of Eddie Murray who died in a cell in the Wee Waa Watch-House, NSW in June that year. In the course of this particularly vexed and suspicious case, McIlvanie (1982) had written to several police statistics units to see how common Aboriginal suicide was in custody. Sergeant ‘K’ of the Scientific Investigation Section of the NSW Police confirmed that in the period 1971 to 1981 there had been one Aboriginal death in custody and five parasuicides in that state. Police figures for Queensland in this period appeared to have been nine suicides and eight parasuicides. For the Northern Territory, it is likely that there were five completed suicides in that decade (Tatz 2005a:20). In sum, there appeared to be no undue alarm bells before 1980; suicide was something new in Aboriginal life, but it was a phenomenon that escalated to a rate that was amongst the highest in the world by the end of the century. By 2002, Aboriginal male suicide rates in the Territory had reached a staggering 66.3 per 100,000 (Measey et al 2006:317), as opposed to an Australian norm of 20 per 100,000.

Something happened, or something ‘snapped’ as the century was coming to a conclusion. Elsewhere I have speculated on the causes of this eruption, of what looks

like, and is, a new regime of patterned, institutionalized and even ritualized self-death (Tatz 1990, 2001, 2004). I believe the answer is to be found not in the legacies of colonialism, which at first blush would seem logical enough, but in the vacuums created by the decolonisation processes. Loss of structure, albeit draconian structure, and the departure of the well- or badly-intentioned guardians who were the focus of resentment, antagonism and defiance, left spaces that an emasculated traditional eldership could no longer fill. The vacation by the missionaries and government officials coincided with the beginnings of a hitherto uncharacteristic Aboriginal phenomenon — suicide.

The reality is that the rates for those in the 15 to 24-year-old age cohort are astounding, with some 48 deaths per 100,000 Aboriginal people in my New South Wales study alone, compared to an Australia-wide rate of 20 per 100,000 for that age cohort (De Leo and Evans 2004: 25). Hunter and Harvey (2004:19) report a Queensland mainstream young male rate of 14.5 per 100,000 and an Aboriginal rate of 23.6 for the same cohort, a figure they believe should be much more startling than is reported. Even more disturbing is the NSW rate (some 15 per 100,000) for those under 15, a statistic not usually reported, let alone discussed, in the literature on suicide rates. If explanations lie anywhere, they are to be found in the historical, political, legal and social environments in which this behaviour occurs, and not, as some writers (like Goldney, 2002) assert, in the genes or brain chemistry of Aborigines.

Sport and delinquency

There is no *incontestable* proof that the presence of sporting facilities and competition reduces the level of violence against the person, or general criminal or delinquent behaviour. But, at a level just short of empirical proof, there is no doubt that sports facilities, participation and competition have had a marked impact on 'junior' crimes against property and on assaults. Among dozens of examples, Port Lincoln in South Australia is a striking case: in winter, during the football season, juvenile offending by Aborigines is virtually nil. Off season, it soars. Neither the police nor the Aboriginal community doubt the relationship. Broome and Geraldton in Western

Australia, Yuendumu, Barunga and Ngiuu in the Northern Territory, Cherbourg and Woorabinda in Queensland, and Condobolin in New South Wales, among many others, bear out both the assertion and the relationship. There is some evidence that sport and outdoor recreation have reduced drastically the normally high number of juvenile offenders at Groote Eylandt in the Northern Territory (Owston, 1991). In some places, like Alice Springs, the football season does seem to produce a greater level of vandalism, theft, graffiti and break-ins (Kimber, 2009, personal communication). In others, as shown so powerfully by Heidi Norman (2009), the venues chosen for the annual NSW Aboriginal Rugby League Knockout have resulted in the lowest number of 'problems' and arrests on record.

The 1994 report, while it did raise the matter of suicide escalation in some detail, kept close to the relationship between sport and delinquency, which at that time had become a major concern. It concluded that:

- sport plays a more significant role in the lives of Aborigines than in any other sector of Australian society;
- sport provides a centrality, a sense of loyalty and cohesion that has replaced some of the 'lost' structures in communities that so recently operated as Christian missions and government settlements;
- sport has become a vital force in the very survival of several communities now in danger of social disintegration;
- sport has helped reduced the considerable internalized violence — homicide, suicide, attempted suicide, rape, self-mutilation, serious assault — prevalent in some disordered communities;
- sport is a cheap enough option in the way it assists in reducing the second-highest cause of Aboriginal deaths, namely, from external and non-natural causes;
- sport has been effective in keeping youth out of serious (and mischievous) trouble during football and basketball seasons;
- sport has given several communities and regions an opportunity for some

autonomy and sovereignty when they organize sport and culture carnivals — such as at Yuendumu and Barunga in the Northern Territory;

- sport takes place despite the absence of facilities, equipment, money for travel, discrimination against teams and/or access to regular competition;
- sport in some regions takes place in circumstances and environs that often resemble the landscapes of Afghanistan in wartime and Somalia in drought time;
- sport is *essential* to counter the morale and moral despair of many Aborigines.

Sport and adolescent suicide

Harm and violence to property is not that far removed from harm to people. There is no concrete proof that they do belong in the same genre of behaviour. Nor is there ever likely to be such ‘scientific’ evidence. The best we can do is make reasonable and reasoned speculations, to work on what sociologist George Homans would call a high order proposition — in this case, that just as sport appears to deflect delinquent behaviour of various kinds, so that activity will deflect, postpone or even deter suicidal thoughts or their completion. I would go further and say that all the conclusions about sport and delinquency (above) apply in the case of sport and suicide. Several writers call sport one of the protective factors against suicide, but the connection has attracted remarkably little attention among suicide or sports scholars, particularly in Australia — a curious omission in one of the world's foremost sports-oriented societies. Of note is the special supplement to the *Australasian Psychiatry* journal (2007 (15), supplement 1), which contains 20 original articles on aspects of Aboriginal emotional and physical wellbeing. Apart from a brief mention of Australian football by McCoy (S63–7), not one other author has mentioned, let alone considered, sport as part of that major agenda. (Ironically, there has been much more scholarly and journalistic interest in the number of sports stars who have taken their lives.)

There is some important evidence that there is a protective relationship. Sabo

et al (2005:5–23) conducted a study of a representative sample of 16,000 United States public and private high school students to see if there was a connection between athletic participation and suicide. There was a significant reduction in the odds of participants considering suicide among both males and females, as well as reduced odds of planning a suicide attempt among females in particular. With an admirable breadth of mind, the authors looked at classic sociological thought in the tradition of Emile Durkheim ([1897] 1968). Their proposition was that being enmeshed in a social network of team mates, coaches, health professionals, community and family, the athletic participants experienced less anomie and a much greater sense of social integration. Moreover, they concluded, ‘a commitment to organized sports gives adolescent participants something to lose’ (Sabo et al, 2005:5). The authors are keenly aware that sport promotes access and mobility for some groups, but that class, gender and race still preclude others, either historically or even contemporarily.

Chioqueta and Stiles (2007: 375–90) studied 1,102 male military recruits, looking for the cognitive factors of engagement in sport and suicide risk. They found that ‘students actively involved in sports exhibited less hopelessness’. An even more compelling study by Babiss and Gangwisch (2009: 376–84) looked at sports participation as a protective factor against depression and suicidal ideation. Their findings are certainly encouraging. Sport, they state, typically boosts self-esteem, improves body image, increases social support and has an impact on substance abuse. As sport participation increases, the odds of suffering from depression decrease by 25 %, while the odds of having suicidal thoughts decrease by 12 %. The study took into account sex, age, race, ethnicity, public assistance, and physical limitations.

Brown and Blanton (2002) evaluated the relationship between physical activity, sports participation and suicidal behaviour among 4,728 college students in the United States. They found that sports participation was protective against suicidal behaviour: non-sporting men were 2.5 times more likely to report suicidal behaviour and non-sporting women 1.67 times more likely to do so. The Tomori and Zalor study (2000) is somewhat less helpful to that trend, but remains another pointer. In a study of 4,504 secondary students, aged 14 to 19, 458 self-reported their suicide attempts. In

that group, attitudes to sport were negative and their sport involvement was nil or negligible. This suggests that sport had some importance in the lives of the non-attempters, though the authors say they cannot claim that much about the relationship.

Curtis et al (1986:1–14) published a significant article on the 'dips' in suicide just before and during two important ceremonial sports events — the last days of the World Series baseball and the Super Bowl Sunday football event. Between 1972 and 1978, the suicide rates for the population were lower than normal on these specific days and higher thereafter; lower rates were also reported at the time of such public holidays as the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving. In essence, the study tested the Durkheimian propositions about the relationship between suicide and socially integrative activities — in this case, sport. [It would not be difficult to replicate that study at the times of the Barunga festival, the Yuendumu Games and the Nguiu football final in the Northern Territory, and of the Aboriginal Rugby League Knockout weekend in New South Wales.]

Closer to home, New Zealand has experimented with sport as a deflector. In 1997, the Aranui Sports Academy was established as a way of stopping the drift of Maori and Polynesian boys out of school (*North and South* 1997). Aranui High School switched from rugby league, at which they were champions, to rugby union in order to accommodate these young men. (The article does not explain why they switched codes.) In 1997, they beat St Bedes College in the final to win the schoolboys' championship. As the *North and South* magazine commented, such a predominantly Maori and Polynesian team victory would hardly arouse attention, but this was 'Christchurch, the most WASPish of all New Zealand cities and until this season, the final bastion of pre-Polynesian rugby'.

The organizers realized 'that one positive thing in many of these young people's lives was sport'. All 33 members of the Academy were properly enrolled in the school. The Academy's 'take (purpose) is about changing the kids' attitudes in order to make them more employable, *not* about winning on the sports field'. Students had to complete four years of senior schooling or have been away from school for a year. In addition to sports activities, classroom work is compulsory. The boys set the

agenda, 'no one else'. Needless to say, there was a howl of protest in Christchurch at the Academy's victory, with allegations of Aranui having brought in professional rugby league adults to demolish amateur children in union. The Aranui project could be emulated in any number of New South Wales towns, where the residential divide between East side and West side (as in Christchurch) is as great.

Building on the pioneering narrative therapy work of Michael and Cheryl White and New Zealander David Epston in the 1980s, David Denborough has been working with remote communities for many years. His recent book (2008), *Collective Narrative Practice: Responding to Individual Groups and Communities who have Experienced Trauma*, has an innovative chapter entitled 'The Team of Life: Offering Young People a Sporting Chance'. Sport, he contends, is a realm within which and through which life can develop richer meaning. It is indeed a glue that can hold a town or community together, a theme so brilliantly drawn about football in the depressed Texas town of Odessa by H G Bissinger in his 1990 Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Friday Night Lights: A Town, a Team, and a Dream*. Sport not only provides lasting memories but enables 'young people who have experienced grave difficulties to speak differently about their lives'. The narrative therapy involves getting youth to ask what they like about a game, about creating a team of life, celebrating goals, tackling problems, avoiding obstacles, and assisting others, whether in sport or beyond. Narrative therapy has developed as an effective process, especially in South Australia (Hunter and Milroy 2006:151). It makes eminent sense to use metaphors and experiences that are known, are not threatening, give pleasure (albeit transiently), which do not involve what for many are the alien worlds of white coats, consulting rooms and heavy-duty pharmaceuticals. (Plato, in Book III of his *Republic*, written some 2,391 years ago, told us that sport (gymnastics) was not just good for physical strength but for 'psychic harmony' and a way of avoiding doctors.)

Brian McCoy (2007, 2008) has analysed the meaning of *kanyirinpa* among Aboriginal desert society people. It is a process of *holding*, a manner of looking after and nurturing young people. When boys mature, there is a shift from their care by women to older men who induct them into social meanings and behaviours. Despite enormous onslaughts on traditional culture, *kanyirinpa* has persisted in holding

generations together, keeping traditional kinship relationships intact, even of regenerating a society. McCoy has shown how young men have explored experiences that offer the possibility of *kanyirinpa* while playing Australian football and being located in prison. Without *kanyirinpa* 'men grow up lost', resulting all too often in disasters like petrol-sniffing. This is consistent with the Chandler and Lalonde study (1998: 191) of British Columbia youth, where suicide is catastrophic in some Indian bands and almost non-existent in others. The construct of 'cultural continuity' is one where 'young persons undertake to construct and defend a sense of identity that allows them to survive despite dramatic change in their individual lives'. This, the authors claim, is the hedge (or protection) against suicide. That is also a central thrust of Michael Kral's work in Nunavut.

It is not unduly speculative to suggest that sport, especially the football codes, offer all young men in all cultures a mechanism for finding social meaning, 'a space of enjoyment and sociality', of not only being held or cradled but also of being held together, in the McCoy or Chandler–Lalonde analyses, in a process of protection and of wellbeing. It is worth noting, and regretting, that much of suicidology tries to rest on an 'evidence-based' empiricism. One of the giants of modern sociology, Pitirim Sorokin (1889–1968) developed a remarkable theory of integralism, that is, that truth can be arrived at in three ways: through the senses, by reason and intuition, and though what anthropologists tend to call intuitive understanding or *verstehen* (Sorokin 1941). Our present preoccupation with methodology, especially mathematical methodology, often diverts us from both reason and *verstehen* — tools essential in this domain of explanatory difficulty.

Elizabeth Parker et al (2006) introduced a program of restoring and teaching traditional Aboriginal games into the communities of Cherbourg and Stradbroke Island in Queensland. The games are clearly culturally appropriate, holistic in several senses, and have been found to be acceptable as well as supportive of community wellbeing. Kral's doctoral thesis (2009) reports a similar approach with a mix of scrabble, chess and ice hockey in Nunavut. In a personal communication (November 2009), he states that a school in Nunavut established a racquetball team: 'The students loved it, the team did well against other community teams, and the suicides in their

community stopped.' Almost all the literature we have on strategies to combat youth suicide suggests or even insists that they must be culturally sensitive or appropriate. These initiatives bode well. But my point is that many modern, organized competitive sports — any of the football codes, athletic events, water sports, cycling, field sports like cricket, baseball, softball, and hockey, or indoor games like basketball, netball, volleyball and darts — are integral to Aboriginal life, whatever their domains. They have seen these sporting activities live, or on television or film, and they have played one or another of its forms, even on the most bizarre of 'courts' and 'ovals'. They have long had teams and heroes they barrack for, identify with or have fantasies about. They are no different from other worshippers, the kind that Nick Hornby (1995:159) described in 'the agony of being a fan': 'The genius of the football supporter is that he has managed to convert something as unappetizing and unpromising as an English football season into something from which he can take pleasure.'

Modern, western sport is culturally appropriate; certainly, as we research and read the history of Aboriginal involvement in sport since the mid-nineteenth century, it has not been yet another colonial imposition, an institution they have had to 'endure' as some form of oppressive intrusion. Historically, it is an activity that they ran to, literally, to avoid or escape another kind of oppression. Sport is *there*: it is not a strategy we have to invent or construct (or manufacture in pill form) and then sell. The 'product' is available, but what is so often lacking is the ability to participate fully.

My colleague Daryl Adair has asked me a pertinent question. He wonders how sport participation has acted as a deterrent given that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth suicide rates have escalated in the past forty years. If one assumes that participation rates in sport among young men in Australia were as reasonably similar in the 1940s and 1950s as they were, for example, in the 1960s and 1970s, did the sportive nature of Australian society suddenly erode for young males? Or did those most at risk from suicide become disenfranchised from sport in the 1960s and beyond? I don't have a satisfactory answer for non-Aboriginal youth, except to say that physical regimens for ten years at school were clearly more imposed, even stringent, in the earlier era and that television, computer games, junk food, greater and easier access to drugs and alcohol, and the other ingredients of post-1960s life have

produced both languor, a sense of ennui, obesity, an almost narcissistic sense of self only, and, as if it were a new phenomenon from outer space somewhere, 'pressure' or 'stress'. For Aboriginal youth, the loss of 'holding' by elders, of structure within the community, the withdrawal of colonial structures imposed from without, and the realities of disadvantage, now viewable on all manner and size of screens, have produced dramatic changes in both individual and collective lives.

A matter of access

Because of their place in the political, legal, economic and social system, Aborigines, Torres Strait and South Sea Islanders rarely get onto squash courts or championship golf courses or into ski lodges. They don't hang-glide, play polo, sail yachts, ride bikes for Yamaha (apart from the amazing Chad Reed, now in the United States) or drive cars for Ferrari. On remote or rural reserves, where many Aborigines have lived, there was and is no grass, no facilities, coaches, nutritionists, physiotherapists, personal trainers, motivators, let alone floodlights or change-rooms. Scholarship money is rare and even then transfer to urban sports institutes down south pose a problem for most Aboriginal sports apprentices: homesickness. Most dislike travel from home territory, let alone relocating to another state.

Sporting success has not ended their harsh experiences back home. Much remains unchanged: short life-spans, gross ill-health, lack of housing and sanitation, massive unemployment, less than adequate education, social breakdown in many communities, and a devastating youth suicide rate so indicative of people feeling a purposelessness about life. Yet sport is not a luxury or a leisure activity at the end of an arduous working week. For youth in many communities, it provides a sense of belonging and a feeling of coherence. It has ritual, a set of formal and informal rules, and it provides a real sense of what the esteemed sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1957) called *gemeinschaft*, a sense of belonging to an association that puts the group ahead of self and self-interest. Sport also occupies time, postponing or even deflecting potential or actual boredom. Sport is more important to Aborigines than it is to any other segment of Australian society. It not only lessens delinquency and, in an era in which suicide rates are grossly abnormal, it gives youth a sense of *belonging*,

something *to stand for*. It provides what the late psychiatrist, existential psychotherapist and Nazi camp survivor Viktor Frankl called meaning and purpose, without which life is not worth living. Frankl (1984: 133) identified three ways to discover meaning and purpose in life: (1) by creating a work or doing a deed; (2) by experiencing something or encountering someone; and (3) by enduring and taking an attitude to unavoidable suffering. Aborigines and Islanders have no shortage of (3), and sport, however transient, is effective in enabling (1) and (2). There is enough evidence to show that even if sport does not actually *prevent* suicide, it clearly defers that action, often allowing a time-out period to reconsider life's chances (Tatz 2007). It also offers a chance for a period of wellness.

Wellness has been described as 'the healthy interconnection of mind, body, spirit [people], and the environment' — a perspective now at the forefront of the Inuit communities of Nunanvut in north Canada, a place of high youth suicide mortality (Kral, 2009). An essential ingredient of wellbeing is to be found in two letters of the alphabet: IQ, standing for *Inuit Qaujimatuqangit*, that is, traditional knowledge, including hunting, camping, tool- and clothes-making, in short, their cosmology and belief system. Music, dance and art are integral to that cosmos. Community empowerment has come to mean a blend of Inuit epistemology and Euro-Canadian philosophies: as Kral puts it, 'the challenge stems, in part, from what kind of community is imagined and by whom' (2009: 256–8). At this stage, only a small part of the holistic empowerment attack is about 'hockey skills development'. (Sport should, in my view, loom much larger in these strategies.) Unlike the stark terrain of places like Baffin Island, the Australian landscape and climate offers much greater opportunity for programs of mind and body. Yet many or most of us persist in seeing mind, body, spirit and terrain as distinct, discrete and disconnected domains.

Sport in one sense is ephemeral, here today, gone after the game. In another sense, it is an institutionalized behaviour, providing another game a week later and practice sessions in between. The off-season is a problem. Sport for non-players could be another difficulty, but only if one views sport narrowly as *actual playing*. Brian McCoy has suggested to me that sport is not always inclusive and that those who don't or can't play are outsiders. That is often true, but in reality all manner of activities are available for the non-athlete, for young mothers and the elderly: working on the team

newsletter or website, keeping records and scores, making uniforms, rosettes and flags, engaging in publicity, becoming a touch judge or referee, organising competitions and fund-raising — or, at the very least, attending matches in the misery and ecstasy of a fan. In a real sense, the sports organizers — whether trainers, coaches, managers — can as readily be, in McCoy's terms, the 'holders' of both players *and* their non-playing but involved supporters. In his book, *Suicide — The Ultimate Rejection?*, English academic Colin Pritchard posits that suicide is the culmination of unwantedness (1995). My view is that one of the very essences of active involvement in sport is being wanted in some capacity; it is almost always embracing rather than rejectionist. Even the bitterest of enemy teams see themselves as belonging and as bonded to a code and a culture. While music and art can and do play similar roles, those activities do not have the same sense of organisation, teamship and audience that are so much the essence sport.

Sport is a powerful weapon in the fight against rampant diabetes; and many of today's illnesses, especially of the cardiac, renal and respiratory systems, are better controlled by physical regimens, including sporting competition, especially where there are associated nutritional and dietary expectations. For Aborigines, in many ways *sport is survival*: it provides purpose in life, an activity of real meaning, a sense of coherence, a reason for being, a sense of power and empowerment, a space of enjoyment, of being and holding together, and a feeling of autonomy, however brief. In the words of one Aboriginal Tiwi Islander, 'for the Tiwi people football means hope, it means pride and most of all it means life.' (Moodie 2008:105).

Judd et al (2006) ask whether space is a factor in rural suicide, a domain where Aboriginal suicide appears to be occurring at a greater rate than in urban contexts. Rural and remote community space is precisely where every facility for a reasonably normal life is lacking — whether it be green vegetables, dialysis machines, regular medical and dental services, adequate water, electricity and sewage facilities, teachers who stay longer than half a year, and, of course, even tolerable sports facilities, let alone regular competition. Places like Kalumburu, Lombadina and Djarindjin in Western Australia, Wujal Wujal and Mornington Island in Queensland, Oenpelli, Kintore and Mt Liebig in the Northern Territory, Gingie Reserve in New South Wales

and Yalata in South Australia have either nothing, the very barest ground or salt pans to play on. I once wrote that if one considered the cost of playing sport as a tax, then remote and rural Aborigines pay the highest taxes in the continent for the very little they get.

The Clontarf Foundation operates in Western Australia and the Northern Territory. Its aim is to use Australian football as a vehicle for inducing young Aboriginal males to engage in health programs, education, employment and life-skills. From 25 pupils in 2000, the program has grown to an enrolment of 1530 in 2009. This excellent work appears to have no specific focus on suicide, but the youth involvement in sport may well prove to be a good 'side-effect'. Clontarf, like so many other programs, seems unconcerned about young Aboriginal females — among whom the suicide rate is growing (here and abroad).

We don't know precisely (or even imprecisely) *why* individual people commit suicide (apart from the very explicit self-euthanasia of the terminally ill or the bankrupt who doesn't wish to face his music). As psychoanalyst James Hillman (1997) argues, we don't [and can't] understand the *soul* of the suicide and we cannot get into the being of one, especially anyone young, who seeks cessation of life. But we do know from the social realities, and the observations of acute anthropologists, that groups like the American and Canadian First Peoples, the Inuit, and the Aborigines here are not only hurting others but are taking their lives at increasingly earlier ages, in greater numbers, in larger clusters, in families, and with similar methods. This is group behaviour, something that psychiatrists and others can't address by way of therapy or tablets. Sport, at least, has the merit of engaging more than the individual.

We, as a society, and sociology as a discipline, see suicide as a negative, as a wasteful exit from life, not as an entrance to death, a *voluntary death* in the words of Jean Améry, a Holocaust survivor who suicided and who wrote that 'people kill themselves out of a sense of dignity, preferring annihilation to the continuation of an existence lived in ignominy, desperate pain (physical or mental), or utter helplessness' (Améry 1999:xviii). For us, the young suicide is particularly 'unacceptable': he or she

appears to engage in the reverse of Pritchard's ultimate rejection — it is not we who are rejecting the individual suicide so much as the young suicide cohorts who are rejecting us — our love, family, faith, imagination, creativity, civilisation. Sport may or may not *prevent* suicide, but it can *alleviate* and defer suicidal ideas and actions, and even deflect or counter them.

The echo of Durkheim

There can be no debate about the role of sport in violent behaviour or of violent behaviour in sport. Violence is omnipresent — whether in chariot races in ancient Rome, or soccer matches in the United Kingdom from formal inception of the game, or in cricket riots in India, blood in the waterpolo pool at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, the killing of 39 people at the infamous Heysel Stadium in Brussels in 1969, the soccer 'war' that erupted after the El Salvador versus Honduras match in 1969, attacks on Tour de France cyclists, the seemingly inevitable stoushes at ice hockey games, Mike Tyson biting off Evander Holyfield's ear in a 1997 heavyweight bout, or serious physical clashes among Aborigines at Central Australian or Groote Eylandt football games. But sport, for the most part, is better at containing, dampening and restraining eruptions than most other activities.

The artificial enterprise we call sport provides what Emile Durkheim deemed essential where there is a lack of true social coherence, namely, a truly collective activity, something that can fill the empty place within a life. For many young Aborigines, the emptiness is all too evident. They often live in places of despond, with little or no social distractions apart from video and game parlours. Many live inland, distant from the kind of fishing and food collecting that often diverts coastal people. Sport has a unique capacity to lay down rules and places of engagement, to codify its conduct and to spell out the sanctions that referees and umpires can administer. It can and does establish a body of lore, ritual, anecdote, and mythology. It has the ability to become a cultural icon and a social institution; it can attract attention, gain adherents among players and supporters and elicit loyalty across racial, caste and class barriers. It becomes what Durkheim, in 1897, saw as essential — an occupational group, a domain of meaningful social affiliation (Spangler 1979:503), an avenue to what anthropologists Hugh Brody and Michael Kral call respect. It can help

reconstruct, or at least imitate, a sense of kinship and reciprocity that once was. Sport fills lives that are meaningful and those that are empty. It is these qualities that give it such a significant role as a protector, perhaps even a prophylactic, against self-destruction.

7,700 words of text

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