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**HEDONISTS, LADIES AND LARRIKINS: CRIME, PROSTITUTION AND
THE 1987 AMERICA'S CUP**

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ABSTRACT

This article examines crime and prostitution within the context of the hosting of a hallmark tourist event--the 1987 America's Cup Defence in Fremantle, Western Australia. Although there are substantial difficulties in undertaking research on prostitution, the authors observe there was a substantial increase in prostitution in the Perth metropolitan area during the Cup defence. Similarly, official police statistics indicate that criminal activity was also affected by the hosting of the Cup. However, evidence also suggests that the Cup may have contributed to a more permanent impact on social mores and the

expression of anti-social behaviour in Perth and Fremantle.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has emerged as a significant force in the Australian economy, and is regarded as a major mechanism for economic development and employment generation. Tourism is often enthusiastically espoused as a means to correct Australia's trade imbalance, attract foreign investment and create employment (23). However, with all the promotion of the tourist industry in Australia, and the common use of hallmark events as a tourism development, relatively

little attention has been paid to the less popular impacts of tourism (21, 37).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of the 1987 America's Cup Defence with respect to crime and prostitution on the host communities of Fremantle and Perth. Post-event evaluations of hallmark events are relatively uncommon (34). However, the authors were in a fortunate position to be able to monitor some of the effects of the Cup while the Defence was being held and to be able to return to Perth and Fremantle to monitor some of the Cup's social impacts (33, 34, 40, 41, 65, 66)

Several government sponsored studies were undertaken on the potential economic impacts of the America's Cup (6, 7, 8). Relatively little analysis was done on the social effects, with research being undertaken on the possible impact of the Cup on low-cost housing in the Fremantle area (2) and a study of Fremantle residents' attitudes to the Cup (6, 7, 8, 9). However, even in these instances there was an unstated assumption that the Cup would prove of net benefit to the host community and that any social dislocation would be a relatively minor externality. The economic and social impacts of crime and prostitution, two of the "most significant and least desirable by-products of tourism" (52), were almost completely overlooked in the State and Federal Governments' analyses of the event. Nevertheless, concern was expressed prior to the hosting of the Cup that Fremantle and Perth could be the target of potential terrorist attacks, that as a result of the Cup there would be a significant increase in crime (88) and, in addition, there would be a major increase in the activity of prostitutes (28). These fears were the subject of media attention and were anticipated by the Western Australian Police Department in the

establishment of a special Cup Division Task Force (58).

TOURISM AND CRIME

The relationship of tourism to crime and prostitution is a relatively overlooked, but nevertheless important, avenue of tourism research. Tourism centres and tourist events create a range of externalities, such as crime, that need to be incorporated into the planning process (29, 30, 63). The response to actual or potential increases in rates of crime and prostitution can lead to government and private organizational adjustments in law enforcement practices, possibly resulting in increased expenditure on crime prevention (60, 61, 68, 79, 80). At worst, it may lead to cover-up, lack of access to data, and harassment of legitimate researchers investigating such phenomena (97, 98). Crime and prostitution are commonly regarded as detrimental to the character and public image of a neighbourhood or a tourist resort (52, 57, 62, 63), while fear of criminal activity may well be a major deterrent to tourists (70). Conversely, the less salubrious attractions of the seedy side of town have, since the earliest days of tourism, drawn to them those whose normal lives are devoid of titillation (69).

A positive relationship between tourism and crime has emerged in several studies. McPheters and Stronge (53) in their study of crime in Florida concluded that, "crime is to some extent an externality or by-product of a [seasonal] tourist industry". Positive relationships between tourism and crime have also been recorded in Mexico (46), the continental United States (57, 60, 61) and Hawaii (11, 29, 30).

In Australia, the research of Walmsley, Boskovic and Pigram (83, 84) has tended to support overseas findings. In their study of criminal behaviour in tourist and non-tourist centres in eastern New South Wales they demonstrated that, 'in coastal resorts, the peaks and troughs in the occurrence of crime coincided with highs and lows in tourist activity' (83). However, they were not prepared to state categorically that a causal relationship between tourism and criminal behaviour existed. But, in a study of the development of one of Australia's tourist meccas, the Gold Coast, Jones (44) characterised the resort as "*A Sunny Place For Shady People*". The high rates of crime in the region, which has been described as "the State's rape capital" (44), are regarded by Jones as being closely related to the inherent nature of the local tourism industry. Jones (44) has maintained that the higher crime rates in the region are at such a level as to demand that, "The Coast will simply have to put more resources into crime control and public safety, or face the possibility of being known as the regional crime capital of Australia". Similarly, tourism growth in the Cairns region of northern Queensland is reported to have had attracted a large population of temporary residents associated with problems of crime, vagrancy and social stress. "In general, tourism growth per se has not caused these problems. But such growth, in the absence of counter social policies, assists in sustaining some of these problems" (54), a conclusion finding support in the more recent research of Ross (59) and Kelly (47).

Criminal activity has not been a focus of hallmark event research in Australia, although in New Zealand, Kinder and Ryan (48) noted that Auckland "massage parlours and escort agencies reported very high levels of business" during major conferences and sporting events. Apart from the present

authors' interest in the social impacts of the America's Cup (40, 41, 65), the only other published study of the negative social effects of an Australian event is a 1986 study of what has been described as the "hoon effect" associated with the 1985 Adelaide Formula One Grand Prix (26); a hoon being "a reckless, irresponsible driver ... which may or may not have been encouraged by the staging of the Grand Prix" (26). For the five-week Grand Prix period in 1985, road casualties in South Australia were some 5 per cent higher than the previous year. Only a small fraction of this increase could be explained by reference to weather conditions, overall trends, or traffic volume. The Adelaide study inferred from this "that the particular nature of the Grand Prix, its emphasis on speed and aggressive driving, contributed substantially to these accidents" (26). Furthermore, considerable long-term behaviour modification may also result from the connection between the major sponsor's (Fosters Beer) product and the excitement and general well-being generated by the event (3). Nevertheless, despite the undoubted significance of the hoon effect as a social consequence of hosting a tourist event, research was generally favourable to the social effects of the Adelaide Grand Prix.

THE WORLD'S OLDEST INDUSTRIES: TOURISM AND PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is a "somewhat neglected topic" within the study of tourism and crime (32). Despite claims by Mathieson and Wall (52) that there is little evidence to confirm or deny a positive link between prostitution and tourism, there has been a long history of this relationship. For example, the association between prostitution and tourism in

many European resorts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been well documented (82).

In contemporary accounts of tourism and prostitution, attention has tended to focus on the growth of prostitution in less developed countries and, in particular, tourist destinations in South-East Asia associated with sex tourism (12, 13, 14, 32, 34, 35, 36). However, there is every reason to believe that a similar relationship exists in Western tourist communities. Nevertheless, we would note that in discussing prostitution in relation to criminal activity we are not casting moral opinions on commercial sexual activity, rather we are merely noting that, rightly or wrongly, in many Western countries and in the majority of Australia's states, prostitution is still classified as a crime.

Just as Miami has become synonymous with vice, the spicy combination of sun, sea, sand and sex has become associated with tourism (5). While popular television has reinforced the image of Miami as a place of sin, so does the tourist promotion industry play on the more licentious attributes of the tourist and highlight the unseemly characteristics of the tourist destination. Las Vegas, for instance, is renowned for its gambling and spectacular showgirl displays, while several other communities in the State of Nevada virtually owe their existence to the proceeds of legalised prostitution (76, 77). Atlantic City's recent rejuvenation as a tourist destination can be attributed to legalised gambling. Nowadays, the casino has come to be regarded as essential to the attraction of the tourist dollar by aspiring host communities (39). Lured by the promise of relatively easy riches and the fear of being outmanoeuvred by their counterparts, Australia's state governments have been

vying with each other to capture a larger share of the gambling market (38).

The "red light" districts of many cities are often seen as positive tourist attractions. London's Soho, Hamburg's Reeperbahn, Pat Pong in Bangkok, the Ginza in Tokyo, Hong Kong's Wanchai District, Vancouver's West End, Times Square and 42nd Street in New York, San Francisco's Broadway and Northbridge District, Rembrantsplein in Amsterdam and Sydney's Kings Cross, to name but a few, have achieved world-wide notoriety. Nevertheless, they attract the sensation-seeking tourist as participant or observer. When conditions become too threatening or downright dangerous, such as in San Francisco's "Tenderloin" (67, 85), the visitor can be driven off, but where a modicum of control over the underworld's activities is maintained, then certain classes of tourist may be drawn like flies to honey. The promise of the erotic experience has now become an essential part of the design and marketing of the tourist trip. "The Love Boat" is not merely a television fantasy but can be regarded as an expression of the relationship between tourism and the desire for quick sexual fulfillment within contemporary western popular culture.

With few exceptions, there is an apparent blind spot or natural reticence amongst academics to acknowledge the relationship between tourism and sex in Western society (49). As Graburn (32) pointed out there is not just a dearth, but a real need for "... research on these urgent problems". However, this lack of research may well be partly because of difficulties associated with data acquisition and the reluctance of police and governments to divulge the extent of underworld activity (95).

Australia's cities are not immune to the more "exotic" attraction. While Sydney's King's

Cross is the main centre of Australian pornography and prostitution, other communities also cater to hedonistic and ecstatic tastes. For instance, illegal gambling and prostitution in the West End of Brisbane and the Gold Coast achieved national prominence in the late 1980s and subsequent investigations by a Royal Commission contributed to the downfall of the State Government (4). As Jones (44) contended:

"Prostitution is widespread on the Coast especially in the tourist zone around Surfers Paradise and call girls occupy many high-rise apartments in central Surfers. Many escorts and massage parlours advertise in the Gold Coast Bulletin. The tolerant attitude towards commercial sex at Surfers probably reduces the attacks on innocent local women. Modern tourism requires a well-regulated supply of women and the pragmatic Queensland industry knows that these services must be provided, especially if the Coast is to compete with Asia where sex has become the main objective of many package tours."

Western Australia has a long history of tacit acceptance of brothels and prostitution (22, 86). Kalgoorlie's Hay Street brothels have for decades served the needs of the surrounding mining communities to the extent that they are now regarded as one of the town's institutions, if not "one of the town's largest industries" (95). Although not referred to in the official tourist promotional literature, the Hay Street brothels nevertheless have received sufficient publicity as to attract the interest of tourists (25). The brothels are part of the sightseeing excursions around the district and are featured on post cards offered for sale to visitors to Kalgoorlie.

Until 1959 Roe Street was an acknowledged focus of the prostitution trade in Perth. At this time properties used as brothels became vested in the Commonwealth and were sold, leading to their dispersal into the area now known as Northbridge (Perth's nightclub district) and into the suburbs (86, 95). Despite periodic disruption, the prostitution industry has continued to thrive in Perth in the form of massage parlours and escort agencies (86). The port of Fremantle by its very function has served the sexual needs of visiting sailors and continues to do so (22, p. 186). However, the level of activity in the local area appreciably increased during the period of the America's Cup.

THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICA'S CUP

Western Australia's hosting of the 1987 America's Cup defence was heralded by both Government and private industry alike as a major component of the economic development of the State. Hallmark events, such as the America's Cup, have a primary function of providing the host community with an opportunity to secure high prominence in the world tourism market place (34, 40). To this end, the State and Federal Governments allocated many millions of dollars to build the necessary infrastructure to help ensure the success of the event in attracting tourists. In addition, a number of steps were taken to bring Perth's social attractions more into line with the perceived expectations of the tourist trade.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the America's Cup was the extent to which the State Government relaxed State laws in order to cater for the perceived "needs" of the international tourist. The Burswood Island Resort and Casino Complex, for

instance, was rushed through the planning process without the appropriate environmental impact assessments being undertaken until after construction was underway. Within the Perth metropolitan area, shopping hours were extended for the duration of the Cup so as to provide retailers with more opportunity to capture the tourist dollar. However, the new trading hours were removed once the Cup period was over (40). Although in 1994 the West Australian Tourism Commission again moved to deregulate trading hours in order to cater for perceived tourist demand. According to the Commission "For WA to remain competitive as a tourist destination, it must keep pace with social change and deregulate shopping hours in tourist precincts" (96).

Hotels, taverns and nightclubs were able to obtain special licenses to remain open over a greatly increased number of hours of the week. Interestingly, such establishments have traditionally provided entertainment bordering on the illegal (55). Perth's licensed premises offered the America's Cup visitors the modern-day equivalent of bear-baiting, ratting and cock-fighting in the form of women's jelly-wrestling, striptease and topless barmaids. Relative to the sorts of sex-shows available in the world's more infamous entertainment districts Perth's offerings appear rather tame. Nevertheless, after the Cup was lost, a renewed concern for the public morality emerged, leading to a crackdown on hotel striptease and "see-through barmaids" (refers to their transparent clothing) and their removal from the less-pretentious hotel establishments. However, while the Cup was in progress, visitors and locals alike could enjoy the fruits of achieving a place, albeit temporarily, on the world tourism map. According to the Official America's Cup Directory (78):

"Perth has certainly come a long way since the bad old days when after dark the visitor was confined to a few spots offering rather dubious kinds of entertainment ... W.A.'s 'Cinderella' epithet has more recently been replaced by the 'State of Excitement--Home of the America's Cup'... And as you'll soon discover after dark, Perth certainly is an exciting fun place to be".

Given the contents of the Directory, the above comments are particularly pertinent. If the visitor to Western Australia, for whom the booklet was designed, took then State Premier Burke's recommendation on the frontispiece to "familiarise yourself with the contents of this complimentary guide and carry it with you at all times. It will help you achieve maximum enjoyment of your visit ...", then they could not but help notice the four pages of advertisements for some fourteen escort agencies. Almost without exception, these advertisements promoted sexual services of one form or another. Premier Burke's endorsement of the contents of the Directory did not go unchallenged by the Parliamentary Opposition, which led to a heated exchange in the State Legislature. However, although the debate addressed the question of the Western Australian Tourist Commission's position on prostitution, strip shows and the like, it failed come to grips with the issue of tacit support of such activities by the Government (87). Similarly, the glossy Perth and Fremantle 'What's on This Week' (56) devoted several prime pages at the rear of the booklet to lavishly illustrated advertisements of escort agencies with the following enticements:

"If you have ever wondered what it's like to be spoilt and pampered ... try a little bit of heaven ..." (p. 70)

"When only the best will do" (p. 69)

"Pleasing you ... pleases us" (p. 69)
"beautiful companions for discerning gentlemen" (p. 67),
"visiting massage by Perth's most beautiful ladies" (p. 68)

In anticipation of the increased visitors expected to be drawn to the Cup, the sex-oriented segment of the hospitality industry geared up to cater to a dramatic influx of tourists to the region. An advertisement in the Sunday Times personal column (71) stated, "Now that the casino is here and the America's Cup is close we need keen adventurous girls who enjoy meeting top line business executives etc. Various levels of income depending on your ambitions. All nationalities welcome ...". Evidently, the expected "tourist boom" associated with the Cup stimulated growth within the sex industry sector of the economy.

Prostitution, that is, the act of the selling of sexual favours, is not illegal in Western Australia. Although prostitution is not against the law, "many acts ancillary to it are" (25). These offences include soliciting, keeping a brothel, and living off the earnings of prostitution (25). While brothel workers' legal status may be a somewhat "grey" area, private workers are in fact working safely within state laws. Private workers were the one group that did increase during the America's Cup--in fact, the only sex workers in WA operating with an unequivocally legal status.

Prostitution in Western Australia exists in several forms: brothels and massage parlours, escort agencies, single private operators, street prostitution and child prostitution. However, an exact account of the number of persons acting as prostitutes is exceedingly difficult to provide, "due to a number of factors including the ubiquitous and changing nature of prostitution and the

movement by prostitutes in and out of the profession and between different settings" (25). Nevertheless, indirect measures of prostitution can be gained from the advertisements of brothels, escort agencies and private workers and from interviews with individuals who are involved in the sex industry.

Under the West Australian police policy of containment and conditional tolerance the police aim "to contain the number of operators of such premises [brothels] to an acceptable and manageable level, whilst achieving a maximum level in standards of conduct and health with minimum public inconvenience or nuisance" (24). Prostitutes are required to contact the vice squad if they wish to work. Women wishing to work in either a brothel or an escort agency are required to register themselves with the vice squad and provide a set of personal details. Single operators are not required to "officially register" (25), although it is apparent that the police do maintain a record of their activities.

The Commissioner of Police does not publicly provide statistics on the number of prostitutes working in Western Australia. According to the Commissioner, approximately one hundred and twenty single operator prostitutes were registered with the vice squad as of June 30, 1986 (15). This figure represented an increase of one hundred per cent over the previous year. The dramatic increase may perhaps be attributed to the heavier demands expected to be placed on the local prostitution industry through the large influx of Cup visitors. Although media reports that 500 eastern states' prostitutes had arrived in Western Australia for the Cup period were probably exaggerated, there seems little doubt that there was a significant increase in the level of prostitution (33, 40).

The number of prostitutes in Perth and Fremantle for the duration of the Cup was impossible to determine with a high degree of accuracy. Prostitutes are highly mobile and often work within the industry on a temporary or intermittent basis. The investigation of the America's Cup period was also complicated by the appearance of "enthusiastic amateurs" or "groupies" caught up in the excitement of the event and the possibility of gaining short-term income by working in the sex industry. The most substantial methodological problem was that efforts to obtain data from "official sources", such as the police and health authorities, proved completely unfruitful. Indeed, while figures are kept it is highly likely that release of them would have the potential to be politically embarrassing to the government. Similarly, managers of escort agencies and massage parlours were generally unwilling to discuss their operations officially, particularly after having been the object of some media publicity (27, 31). Interviews were conducted with high-ranking officials of the police and health services, State Parliamentarians, medical workers, hotel employees, taxi-drivers and members of the hospitality and entertainment industry. However, it should be noted that because of the sensitive nature of the subject, no one who was interviewed wish to be quoted in an official context and while useful information was obtained it could not be sourced because of the danger of breaking interviewee anonymity.

Interviewee's statements ranged from the remark that "prostitution does not exist in Perth" to, "I had never seen streetwalkers in Fremantle, before or since the Cup". Given such information that we were able to obtain and through cross-checking of sources, we are confident that the latter comment was more representative of the actual situation.

Taxi-drivers reported increased business to and from escort, massage and brothel destinations, along with a rise in prices charged for services. According to our sources, demand was so great during peak periods that there were line-ups in the brothels of Fremantle. There were also complaints that "enthusiastic amateurs" were depriving "working girls" of business and that the Perth brothels did not attract the same level of trade as those in the Fremantle area.

The West Australian Police Department (58) did expect "an influx of criminals and prostitutes to prey on [tourists]", and a newspaper article subsequently reported on the arrival of prostitutes from Asia and the eastern states of Australia for the Cup (28). Mr. Kim Flatman, a director of Rochdale Nominees which owned the Fremantle Fitness Studio, claimed that 500 prostitutes had arrived from the eastern states of Australia. This figure was later forcefully denied by Mr. Flatman's wife, "one of the city's leading brothel keepers", on the grounds that her husband was merely the accountant and knew nothing of the day-to-day running of the business. Furthermore, the enforcement of the income tax laws in Western Australia that required prostitutes to pay tax made it, "virtually impossible to attract women from the eastern states" (90). Indeed, the precise number of arrivals did appear to have been inflated. However, a police inquiry into the matter which may have clarified the situation was not made available to the public.

In order to assist in ascertaining the level of prostitution that existed during the Cup period, a study of private agents and their locations was conducted with respect to local newspaper advertisements of January 1986, 1987 and 1988 (Table 1). It is evident from this table that there was a new flow of

private agents into Fremantle and its nearby suburbs during the America's Cup, for example Bateman and Palmyra, which was not maintained in the following year. Most Fremantle agents specifically advertised their location. Private agents also chose areas such as Jandakot (site of Perth's small aircraft airport) and the wealthier riverside suburbs, most notably Nedlands where the Royal Perth Yacht Club (RPYC) is located. As the defending organisation of the Cup, the RPYC held several members' social functions throughout the event in Nedlands and Fremantle, perhaps creating an additional demand for dinner/social escorts. At least one upmarket Containment brothel offered "Dinner Companions" during the America's Cup (73), a service normally rarely advertised at all. A total of 82 private agents were found in the advertisements in January 1987, a 50% increase from the previous year. Meanwhile, the Vice Squad reported that it was aware of 180 private agents operating that year, also a 50% increase from their previous year's figures (16).

There was no increase in the number of Containment premises during 1987 and, somewhat surprisingly, no evidence of increases in the number of massage parlours or escort agencies; a total of nine non-containment agencies advertised each year in 1986 and 1987. On the question of increases in business during the America's Cup, Mrs Dorrie Flatman, owner of a containment brothel in Fremantle, commented that business did not increase substantially during the event, and that the Perth brothels lost business due to the constant enticement of Fremantle's night-life. She also confirmed that she had not heard of any new escort agencies or massage parlours during the Cup, apart from a few private agents that she was aware of at the time. Mrs. Flatman concluded that business

growth during the Cup, as far as the brothels were concerned, was unremarkable.

In 1988 however, advertisements beckoning clients to a number of Containment brothels told a different story. The brothels now boasted extensive renovations to their premises--"New Luxury Surroundings," "New Executive Premises," and "The Dungeon--Now Available"--in the The Sunday Times (74). From the enquiries of the authors, it appeared that the timing of this apparently costly upgrading at several premises indicated rather a more productive previous year for the brothels of Perth and Fremantle.

Meanwhile, private agents appeared to have migrated away from the "hot spots" of sporting activity by January 1988, most notably again in Fremantle and its surrounding suburbs, as well as Nedlands. The total number of private agents advertising at that time had also been reduced to 60. In 1990, the Vice Squad reported a decrease of 50% from their 1987 figures, estimating that 120 private agents were operating in the Perth metropolitan area. It was also revealed that only 13 tolerated brothels remained under the Containment Policy, employing 190 women (19).

Overall, the demand for sexual services seems to have increased and diversified during the America's Cup, and related to this would also be the up-market social component associated with the event. The number of private agents increased 50% in 1987, and those suburbs most affected were Fremantle, Nedlands and nearby upmarket suburbs. The Cup also created a demand for more social/dinner escort services, with at least one Containment brothel strongly courting this market. Another three brothels were upgraded in the year following the

Cup. This evidence strongly suggests that business significantly increased for the sex industry as a result of the America's Cup, but resumed pre-Cup levels of activity thereafter.

CRIME

The hosting of the America's Cup appeared to have a substantial impact on the West Australian crime rates. A number of crimes experienced a higher than average increase during 1987, and then decreased before resuming their usual patterns of annual increase (Table 2). This pattern is most clearly evident in the case of stealing with violence. Other crimes similarly influenced during 1987 included indecent assault, break and enter, damage, stealing and total offences. While these crimes decreased in the year following the America's Cup, other offences continued on a steady upward trend following their higher than average increases of 1987. These offences included common assault, serious assault and sexual assault.

Certainly, other crimes did not increase at a higher rate than average in 1987, and did not fit into any convincing pattern to mark the Cup year. However, there is reason to believe from interviews and media sources that the statistics in some categories were significantly underestimated. Had street drinking not been vastly under reported during the America's Cup, for example (16, 51), this offence probably would have presented a similar pattern to those found in terms of assaults.

Evidence of the impacts of the hosting of the America's Cup on criminal and illegal activity in the Fremantle area is substantial. According to the West Australian Police Force's America's Cup Division (1):

"During the period October 7, 1985 to February 16, 1986, prior to the America's Cup series, the Fremantle Police preferred a total of 5,502 charges. During the corresponding period while the America's Cup Defence Series was being conducted a total of 7,483 charges were preferred by the America's Cup Division and Fremantle Police. This reflects a growth in the number of charges of 1,981 or 36%."

Over the same period the number of arrests in Fremantle increased by 62.19%. The number of charges processed by the courts also increased: the Fremantle Traffic Court by 110.7%, the Fremantle Petty Sessions by 23.5%, and the Children's Court by 44.7%. Interestingly, the "overwhelming majority" of charges were preferred against permanent residents of the Fremantle area (1). However, police officers were instructed to avoid "heavy-handed and insensitive" action against visitors and this may have influenced the statistics (16). Similarly, the very high concentration of police in the Fremantle area probably produced a greater number of arrests and charges. On the other hand, the amount and nature of criminal activity could well have been significantly reduced by the high visibility of the police. Fortunately, the identifiable escalation in the amount of serious crimes during the Cup period, such as sexual assault, bodily harm, and stealing with violence, appears to have been temporary.

There were dramatic increases in the rates of arrests and charges, particularly for minor offences related to traffic infringements and drunken and disorderly behaviour (1, 81). However, these were undoubtedly a reflection of community reaction to the relaxed standards that existed during Fremantle's brief reign as "Cup City". This phenomenon reached critical levels on occasions when the comprehensive prepara-

tions of the Police Force were stretched beyond their limits. On the final race day festivities and the New Year's Eve "Mardi Gras" only good fortune and wise policing prevented a disaster. Both occasions were marked by large crowds where "street drinking was rife and uncontrollable". Police officers were forced to adopt "a greater degree of tolerance" in order "to avoid what may have developed into incidents with serious consequences" (51).

The local impact of this brief relaxation in law enforcement policy was confirmed on the front page of the January 2, 1988 edition of The West Australian, which reported that New Year's Eve revellers in Fremantle had staged a "night of violence on the streets of Fremantle for the second year in a row" (90). Sergeant Dave Tree gave this account of events: "The police were walking around with torn and bloodied uniforms like a defeated army. It was a disgrace to the people of Fremantle and we will rue for a long time the day we won the (America's) Cup. It's time the council had a really good look at what is happening in Fremantle." It appears that street drinking and disorderly behaviour had become somewhat "established" during the America's Cup in Fremantle, as had (perhaps) assaulting police officers. It is tempting to suggest that a substantial number of rowdy revellers had enjoyed the anarchy of the previous New Year's Eve in "New Fremantle", and had perhaps expected that a "new tradition" of offensive behaviour and tolerance might have been created. Indeed the editorial implored authorities not to let Fremantle's repeated "Night of Shame" become an "annual event" (90). It is thus reasonably well-documented that crime certainly increased as a result of the America's Cup, often without the police resources to keep up with criminal behavior, and this continued to affect the local community of

Fremantle long after the event, particularly in the case of disorderly behaviour.

There is a fine line between the fun, enjoyment, celebration and revelry of the hallmark event and the desperate search for excitement and titillation sought in the hedonistic experience. During the Cup's sojourn in Western Australia the tourism industry's selling of "Cup fantasies" to the "harried leisure class" (50), spilled over into a general relaxation of law and order. Moreover, the deism associated with the search for the tourist dollar tended to hide the high financial, environmental and social costs of preparing for such events. For the various government bodies, as well as the private sector, the conventional wisdom that tourism is the panacea for our economic ills dominated the analysis of the Cup's effects and continues to do so (96). As a result "boosterism", financial investment and promotion, both before and after the event, prevailed over concern for negative impacts on domestic behaviour and social mores and longer term changes to the social fabric of Fremantle (33, 40, 66).

CONCLUSIONS

The fulfillment of fantasy is a major factor in tourism. A promise of a new and exciting lifestyle is attractive not only to the tourist but also the local community. However, the tourism literature warns that increased tourism is not entirely beneficial in its consequences. Two of the more notably neglected attributes of tourism are potentially higher levels of crime and prostitution. In addition, a more insidious effect in the case of Fremantle's hosting of the America's Cup, was the manner in which domestic behaviour and social mores were modified and perhaps permanently affected.

The level of crime in Fremantle was dramatically impacted by the hosting of the America's Cup. Although the majority of the offenses were minor in nature they still represented a significant change in the level and nature of anti-social activity in the Fremantle district, a situation which demonstrates that the rapid rejuvenation of Fremantle has not been without costs. Fremantle's experience of the seasonal impacts of tourism, such as a rise in the crime rate, parallels both Australian (47, 83) and international (45, 48, 53, 62, 63) research findings in this regard. The apparent disregard of this unacknowledged social impact casts a shadow over the promotion of tourism as an engine of economic growth.

It should also be noted that, although not directly Cup related, several of the main players involved in the America's Cup Defence have since faced criminal charges. Following a judicial inquiry into state government activities during the 1980s, former Premier Brian Burke was jailed for corruption. Businessman Alan Bond, who won the America's Cup in 1983 and who defended the Cup in 1987, is awaiting further court appearances on the basis of alleged business corruption and malpractice, while numerous other Bond colleagues and local businessmen have been jailed for corrupt activities. The 1980s was a period in which unnaturally close relations between business interests and government led to corrupt business practice. The America's Cup was not to blame for the corruption, rather its hosting and the suspension of sound planning and policy practice in order to facilitate the event, was symptomatic of the worst excesses of the 1980s and for which Western Australia is still paying the cost.

In the Perth metropolitan area, including Fremantle, the exact level of prostitution was impossible to ascertain. However, such evidence as was available leaves no doubt that it existed in relation to tourism and that there were increases in prostitution activity associated with the tourist influx during the America's Cup. Research into the relationship between tourism and crime or prostitution cannot easily be subjected to the norms of empirical research which can be associated with other aspects of tourism and development. Research into such areas is subject to the interests of government and law enforcement agencies and, indeed, organised criminal elements in society. The highly political and shadowy legal area of prostitution control in particular requires the use of qualitative research techniques which respects the anonymity of individuals operating in the sex industry and which ensures the safety of the researcher. In the case of investigating the link between tourism and prostitution in Western Australia the situation is all the more problematic because the implementation of control lies in the discretionary hands of the police rather than being defined under legislation. This situation has in the past led to accusations of corruption (86) and continues to place both police and the Legislature in a defensive position. The authorities may also take note of the following observation:

"The type and extent of prostitution that any country indulges in holds ... an interesting mirror to its general morality and customs ... Truth, so often obscured by hypocrisy, can perhaps be more easily detached from the surrounding humbug in that unsententious environment where our whores do their trade; with them we cannot lie" (64).

The expressed focus of tourism promotion in Western Australia has turned towards *fun*,

that is, towards the satisfaction of the hedonistic needs of the more up-market, free-spending, younger market segment (43). Prior to the hosting of the America's Cup, Western Australian tourist promotion had been directed more towards the staid family, older and retired population groups, emphasising the uniqueness of Western Australia's scenery and wildflowers. The change of emphasis began some years ago with the creation of the Western Australian Tourist Commission and the identification of the West as the "State of Excitement." However, the advent of the America's Cup gave tourism in Western Australia an unprecedented boost (65) in the development and promotion of facilities catering to the perceived needs of the faster-paced, high-living, self-indulgent international and interstate visitor. As a result, the local community may well have adopted new patterns of behaviour that had hitherto been regarded as beyond the bounds of accepted social values.

Australia's chase after the international tourism dollar is regarded by many as essential to continued economic growth. Up to the present, social impacts can perhaps be considered unavoidable but nevertheless acceptable costs of this growth. Although Australia may not have yet experienced serious social dislocations (21, 37), there are real costs and often subtle social changes to host communities that warrant closer scrutiny. These impacts are inevitably disparaged or down-played by the promoters of tourism, making it virtually impossible to identify its full effects. Like war is to the generals, tourism is too important a topic to be left to its promoters.

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Table 1
Locations of Private Agents 1986-1987

Location	1986	1987	1988
Central City	11	13	12
Maylands	12	10	8
South Perth	4	9	4
Subiaco	3	6	5
Fremantle	2	5	0
Mt. hawthorn	2	2	1
Tuart Hill	0	3	5
Midland	1	1	2
Morley	2	2	4
Hammersley	2	2	3
Applecross	2	1	0
Victoria Park	1	2	1
Scarborough	2	1	0
Riverton	2	1	0
Doubleview	1	2	2
Wembley	1	2	1
Bassendean	1	3	2
Cottesloe	1	1	1
Cannington	1	0	2
Manning	1	1	2
Gosnells	1	2	2
Spearwood	1	0	0
Mullaloo	1	1	0
Bateman	0	1	0
Mundaring	0	1	0
Forrestfield	0	1	0
Nedlands	0	3	0
Jandakot	0	2	1
Girrawheen	0	1	0
City Beach	0	1	1
Armadale	0	1	0
Palmyra	0	1	0
Maddington	0	0	1
Total	55	82	60

Source: 89, 91, 92

Table 2

Western Australian Crime Statistics 1985-89

Year	Stealing with Violence	% Change	Indecent Assault	% Change
1985	271	-	1 257	-
1986	338	+24.7	1 369	+8.9
1987	459	+35.8	1 516	+10.7
1988	379	-17.4	1 437	-5.2
1989	552	+45.6	1 717	+19.5

Year	Damage	% Change	Break and Enter	% Change	Stealing	% Change
1985	14 381	-	26 777	-	42 506	-
1986	16 194	+12.7	29 444	+10.0	45 439	+6.9
1987	19 259	+18.9	34 841	+18.3	55 562	+22.3
1988	19 110	-0.8	34 386	-1.3	52 852	-4.9
1989	22 609	+18.3	40 921	+19.0	56 978	+7.8

Year	Sexual Assault	% Change	Serious Assault	% Change	Common Assault	% Change
1985	197	-	886	-	3 253	0
1986	197	0	998	+12.6	3 359	+3.3
1987	248	+25.9	1 209	+20.9	4 006	+19.3
1988	300	+21.0	1 490	+23.4	4 229	+5.6
1989	395	+31.7	1 639	+10.0	4 671	+10.5

Year	Police Assault	% Change	Street Drinking	% Change
1985	401	-	738	-
1986	378	-5.7	772	+4.6
1987	545	+44.2	867	+12.3
1988	597	+9.5	1 137	+31.4
1989	862	+44.4	no data	

Year	Homicide	% Change
1985	42	-
1986	37	-11.0
1987	32	-13.5
1988	39	+21.9
1989	42	+7.7

Year	Driving under the influence of Alcohol	% Change	0.08 blood alcohol	% Change
1985	6,059	-	6,046	-
1986	6,639	+9.6	6,455	+6.8
1987	6,209	+6.5	6,905	+7.0
1988	3,894	-37.3	5,363	-22.3
1989	4,401	+13.0	6,842	+27.6

Year	Total Offences	% Change
1985	113 870	-
1986	125 955	+10.6
1987	153 624	+22.0
1988	149 914	-2.4
1989	168 222	+12.2

Source: 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20