

arrival of neighbours to be angry at. Shoulder to shoulder mother and father wait, tails intertwined, nursing their grudges, feeding on their animosities, impatient for the arrival of their beloved enemies. Not one foot will the family place on the neighbour's domain unless neighbours are present to make the intrusion worthwhile. But let the neighbours appear, having had their dew and scanty snack, and callicebus hell will break loose.

It is often the case that those who fail to understand the true nature of human spatial behaviour can make dreadful mistakes. An appalling tragedy occurred in 1989 at my own football ground, Hillsborough, when Liverpool played Nottingham Forest in the FA Cup semi-final. Many of the Liverpool supporters arrived late, a behaviour pattern which had at that time become rather common. A great crush developed outside the ground and there was real cause for concern for the safety of the crowd, so the police made what was to prove an awful mistake. They opened the large escape gates to allow the pressing crowd in. The noise of the crowd inside suggested events were afoot on the pitch, and the inevitable surging crush killed many innocent supporters, who were unable to escape due to the fencing that was then thought necessary to keep crowds off the pitch. Much has been written and said about this disaster, and this is certainly not the place to analyse the whole event. Some have wanted quite understandably to apportion blame. There were so many mistakes made that led to the tragedy that in fact no one person or group of people can be sensibly thought to be completely responsible. However, without doubt the fencing was a product of a form of thinking about human behaviour that has since been demonstrated to be wholly wrong. If people are herded and corralled by police and kept in crowded pens, it seems hardly surprising that some at least will respond by behaving as if this is really necessary. Thankfully the fences have since gone, and we now wonder why they were ever there in the first place.

However, another subtler mistake has followed. Lord Justice Taylor, who led the subsequent enquiry into the disaster, recommended that football stadia should be made entirely seated. This seemed to be argued on the basis of the better behaviour of people sitting down and the reduced likelihood of large swaying crowds resulting. This has changed quite fundamentally the nature of the human experience, and in the eyes of most has changed it for the worse. Seats are in neat and tidy rows and have numbers. They are sold individually, and one must go to the specified location. My son used to gather with friends before the match, and after a good lunch and some drinks they would walk to the ground together and stand together. Thus however many of them there were on that particular day, they all remained in a group enjoying the match together. This is no longer possible, and the social communal experience of the Kop with its groups of friends and wit and banter has been destroyed. The device of a fixed seat is more